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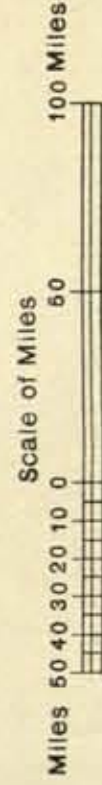
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# BURMA RACIAL MAP

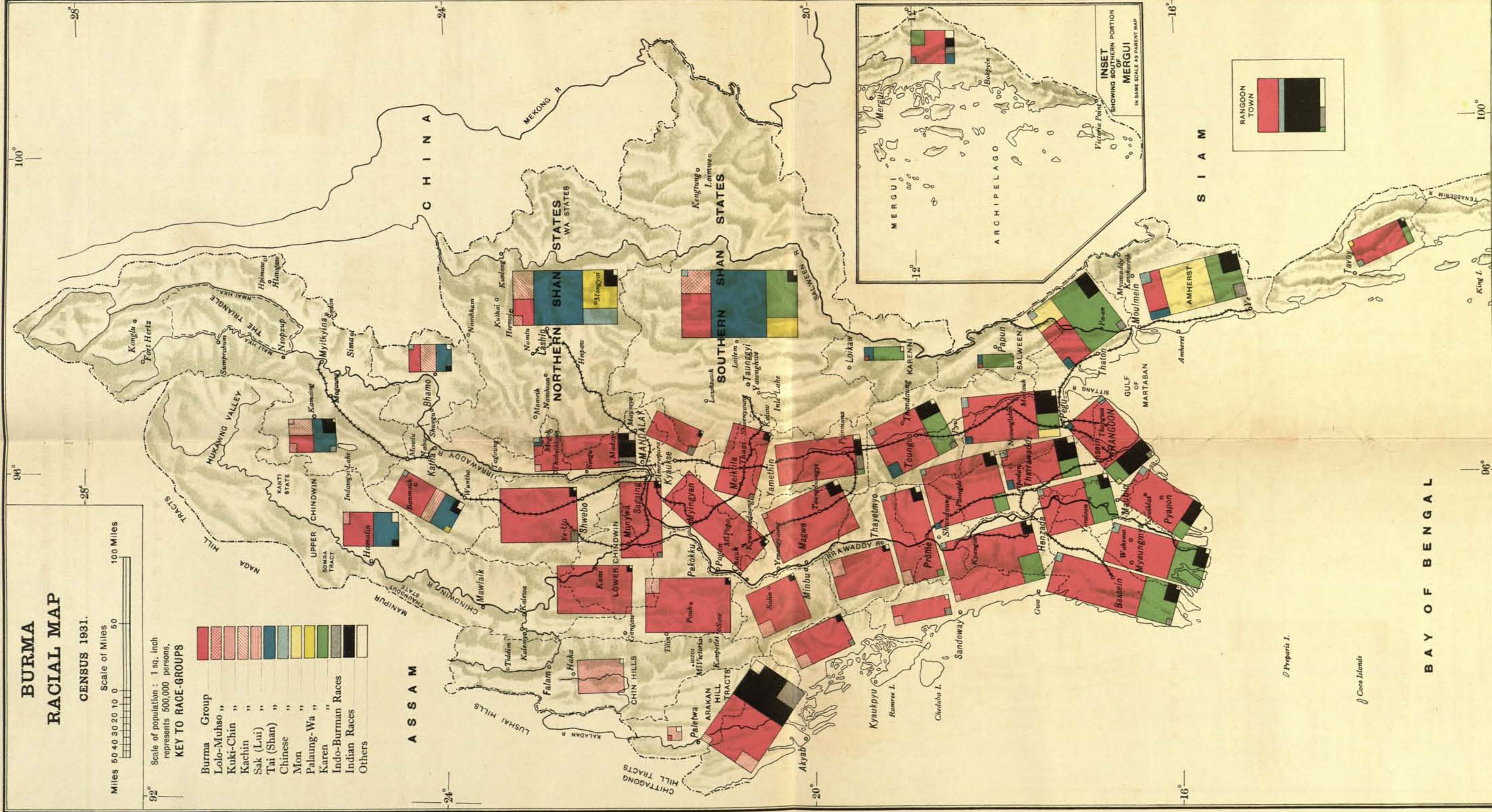
CENSUS 1931.



Scale of population: 1 sq. inch represents 500,000 persons.

KEY TO RACE-GROUPS

Burma Group
Lolo-Muhso "
Kuki-Chin "
Kachin "
Sak (Lui) "
Tai (Shan) "
Chinese "
Mon "
Palaung-Wa "
Karen "
Indo-Burman Races
Indian Races
Others





Original of the ...  
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THE ...

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# CENSUS OF INDIA, 1931

VOLUME XI

## BURMA

### PART I.—REPORT

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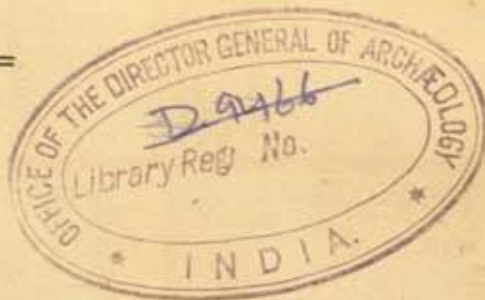
BY

J. J. BENNISON, I.C.S.

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\* Copies of the Racial and Linguistic Maps can be obtained from the Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Rangoon. The price of each, together with the connected appendix, is Re. 1 per copy.



## INTRODUCTION.

---

**I. Introductory.**—The first Census of Burma as part of the Census of India was taken in 1872 and covered that portion of the province which was then under British administration. The next census was in 1881 and covered the same area. Particulars of the extensions of the limits at subsequent censuses, which have been taken regularly at intervals of ten years, are given in paragraph 7 of Chapter I. This Report therefore embodies the results of the seventh census of Burma. The changes that were made in the method of enumeration adopted in 1921 are described in paragraph 3 of Chapter I.

In India proper the date of the final enumeration was the 26th February 1931. This date was not suitable for Burma since the holidays in connection with the full moon of Tabaung would have interfered with the preparation of the provisional totals. The final enumeration in Burma was therefore carried out two days earlier, on the 24th February 1931. Owing to the traffic between the Akyab and Chittagong districts, special arrangements had to be made to prevent any person being omitted or counted twice.

**II. Arrangements for the Enumeration.**—With the exception of East Manglūn in the Northern Shan States, the population of which was estimated and not actually enumerated, the population of Burma was enumerated either *synchronously* or *non-synchronously*. The Enumeration Map facing page 3 shows the method of enumeration adopted in different parts of the province and it will be noticed that in the regularly administered areas the enumeration was usually synchronous. In the synchronous areas each village-tract was divided into a number of blocks. The block was the enumerator's charge and usually contained between 30 and 40 houses. The blocks were then formed into circles, in charge of supervisors; a circle usually contained between 10 and 15 blocks, and between 400 and 500 houses. The circles were then grouped into domains, in charge of controllers, the size of the domain depending rather upon the area to be covered than upon the number of people or of houses. Each township consisted of one or more complete domains. Having divided up the district into domains, circles and blocks, the next duty was the numbering of the houses and the training of the controllers, supervisors and enumerators. The numbering of the houses not only facilitates the enumeration but also enables an estimate to be made of the number of forms required. In the actual enumeration there were two stages: there was first the *Preliminary Enumeration* in which the enumerator entered in his enumeration book particulars for all persons who were likely to be present in each house on the night of the census (24th February in Burma); the next stage was the *Final Enumeration* on the night of the 24th February, when the preliminary record was corrected so as to represent the persons actually present on that night. The size of the block was such that the final enumeration could be completed in a single evening.

In remote or sparsely populated areas, where it would have been difficult or impossible to carry out a final check in one single evening, the enumeration was non-synchronous and was carried out between October 1930 and February 1931. Each village or village-tract was made into a separate block, and the persons enumerated were the permanent residents, whether actually present or not. In order that the populations of the synchronous and non-synchronous areas could be combined into a valid total, precautions were taken to prevent any person from being omitted or counted twice. This was not a difficult matter as there was usually very little traffic across the boundaries between synchronous



and non-synchronous areas. Special arrangements had, of course, to be made for the census of railways, steamers, boats, pagoda festivals and other assemblies of people.

The attitude of the public was, on the whole, one of indifference. In one or two districts a few criminal cases had to be instituted. In the disturbed areas it was, of course, impossible to enumerate the rebels. In the Tharrawaddy district, the disturbed areas covered an area of more than a thousand square miles; the enumeration was carried out non-synchronously and all who took part are to be congratulated on the very efficient manner in which they carried out a dangerous as well as difficult piece of work.

**III. Provisional Totals.**—On the morning of the 25th February in synchronous areas the enumerators in each circle met their supervisor at some convenient place and a summary of the number of houses and persons (males and females) was prepared and despatched to the domain controller with all possible speed; the controller compiled a similar summary for his domain and sent that to the district office where a District Summary was compiled. The totals of the District Summary were called the Provisional Totals and were telegraphed by Deputy Commissioners to the Census Commissioner for India and the Provincial Superintendent before the 5th March. In non-synchronous areas, the work was so arranged that it was completed in time for the figures to be included in the provisional totals.

In only one district, Henzada, did the provisional total for the population differ appreciably from the final figure. The difference was 19,267 and was due to the fact that the rebellion broke out in that district shortly before the final enumeration and several enumeration books were lost. In most districts the error was less than one per thousand and in no district, except Henzada, was it as large as one per cent.

**IV. Tabulation.**—The record for each person was then copied from the enumeration book on to a separate slip of paper. For Rangoon the work of slip-copying was done by the Provincial Superintendent; for other districts it was done at the headquarters of the district and on completion the slips were sent to Rangoon together with the prescribed registers. The work of slip-copying was completed in most districts by the end of April.

In 1921 the slips were of six different colours, representing religions, and six different symbols were printed on the slips, representing the sex and the civil condition, making altogether 36 different kinds of slips. In 1931 only 12 different kinds of slips were used; six colours represented racial classes but only two kinds of symbols were printed on the slips: a rectangle for males and a circle for females. The civil condition was entered in the slip by the copyist, the figures "1", "2", or nothing at all, being written in the space inside the sex symbol according to whether the person was married, widowed or unmarried. The colours of the slips represented racial classes and not religions, as in 1921, owing to the substitution of race for religion in Imperial Tables VII and XIII.

Before being despatched from district headquarters to Rangoon, the slips for each circle were sorted according to colour and sex. On arrival in Rangoon the slips were made into sorting units and the remainder of the work consisted of sorting the slips according to the various entries in them, counting the numbers in each class and compiling tables to show the results. The sorting was commenced in May and for most tables was completed by the end of September 1931. The sorting of the slips for the Occupation Table took almost as long as all the other tables put together, and it was not till March 1932 that the sorting for this table was completed. The compilation began in July 1931 and the process of checking and re-checking the figures continued almost to the close of the operations; some additional Provincial Tables were compiled in addition to those prescribed by the Government of India. When the work was



heaviest in the Compilation office as many as 350 sorters, supervisors, compilers, etc., were employed. In the work of compilation, calculating machines such as the Dalton, Monroe and Comptometer were employed and they reduced the amount of work considerably.

**V. The Report.**—The writing of the Report was commenced towards the end of October 1932 and the last chapter was completed during the first half of March. During this period a large portion of the time was taken up with other matters, such as the arrangement of the Imperial and Provincial Tables, the preparation of the Subsidiary Tables appended to the chapters of the Report, and the writing of the Administrative Volume. Like the two previous Reports it has been written hurriedly, and apologies are due for lack of style, defective arrangement and repetitions. Many of the statistics are unreliable and it is often a very difficult matter to account for the variations from one census to another. On the rare occasions when I have ventured to express an opinion on the trend of events—a very rash thing to do in these uncertain times, when one can hardly see beyond tomorrow—it will be realised that the opinions are my own and not necessarily those of Government.

**VI. Cost of Census.**—The cost of the Census is approximately Rs. 3,85,672. This figure is only an estimate since certain charges for printing are not yet known, but the final figure will not differ appreciably from this. The cost of the 1921 census, according to the Departmental Accounts was slightly larger than this, namely Rs. 3,88,896. The figures are, however, not strictly comparable, since many charges were debited to the Census budget in 1931, which were not so debited at the previous census. The reduction, in spite of the increase in population, is mainly due to the measures of economy which were adopted.

**VII. Acknowledgments.**—In the taking of the census so many persons are employed that it is impossible to mention by name all those who have co-operated in the various stages of the operations. In the districts the work of enumeration fell largely on the Land Records Department, and I am particularly grateful to all members of that department for the very efficient manner in which they carried out their duties in connection with the census. The date was most unsuitable but they all accepted it cheerfully and did what was required of them. Reference has already been made to the dangerous and difficult task of enumerating the disturbed areas of Tharrawaddy district and in this connection I should like to mention the names of U Kyaw, A.T.M., Additional District Magistrate, U Mya, A.T.M., Superintendent of Land Records, and U Kin, Township Officer, Tharrawaddy. The names of other officers in the Land Records Department who did good work have been sent to the Commissioner of Settlements and Land Records, and it is hoped that this will prove more to their advantage than the mention of their names in this volume.

Mr. C. B. Rennick, F.S.I., F.L.G.A., was in charge of the enumeration in Rangoon and I am indebted to him for the extremely able manner in which he carried out a very difficult task. This is the first census of Rangoon for which the staff can be said to have been properly organised. I am also indebted to Mr. H. C. G. Brown for the smoothness and efficiency with which the enumeration of the Rangoon Port population under his charge was carried out. As at previous censuses the Agents of the Burma Railways and of the Irrawaddy Flotilla Company spared no pains to make the enumeration under their respective control a complete success.

To Mr. S. G. Grantham, I.C.S., I owe more than I can say for his valuable advice and guidance at all stages of the operations. Mr. Grantham was at all times most willing to help me in every possible way. Many of the improvements



that have been made in this census are the result of his suggestions. My thanks are also due to U Tun Ya, K.S.M., A.T.M., who has given me the benefit of his advice on many occasions and to Mr. A. K. Potter, I.C.S., for having supplied me with information at different times.

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As regards my immediate staff I was fortunate in being able to secure the services of U Lat as Deputy Superintendent and of Ko Ko Gyi as head clerk. U Lat deserves the same high praise as was given him at the two previous censuses. He was particularly helpful in maintaining order and discipline among the large temporary staff of about 350 and it was entirely due to the great care he took in their selection that the work was not interrupted by strikes, as it was in 1921. Mention must be made of the valuable services rendered by Maung Hla Maung, the Chief Inspector. He was in immediate charge of all the compilers, sorters, classifiers, etc., and I cannot speak too highly of the efficient manner in which he carried out all the work that was entrusted to him. In the calculation of the areas of districts, townships and states and in the preparation of the maps and diagrams for the Report I was fortunate in being able to secure the services of Mr. A. V. Dickson. Mr. D. M. Nayagam, the accounts clerk, was obtained from the Accountant-General's office and fully justified his selection. Maung Tin also gave entire satisfaction both as tour clerk and typist. Among many clerks who did good work in the Compilation office I should like to mention Maung Ba Thaw, Maung Hla Ngwe, Maung Ba Kyaw and Maung Ba Shin.

Practically all the printing in connection with the census was done at the Government Press and I am very grateful to Mr. W. G. Alder, the Superintendent, for the interest he has taken in the preparation of the Report and the promptitude with which the volumes have been printed.

Finally, I should like to place on record my appreciation of the help and advice which I have received from Dr. Hutton, the Census Commissioner. It has been a pleasure to work under him.

J. J. BENNISON.

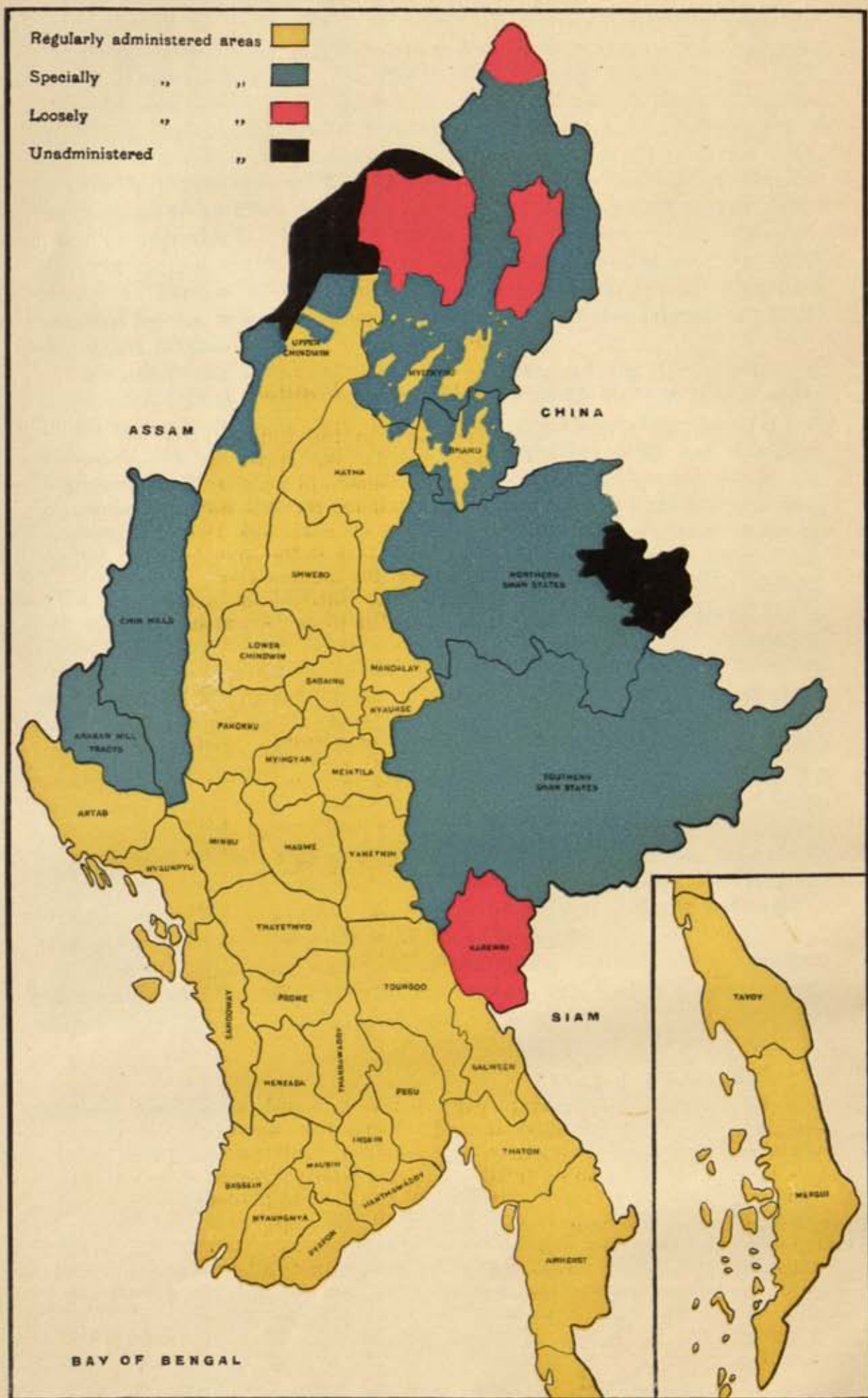
RANGOON, 16th March 1933.





## ADMINISTRATION MAP OF BURMA

1931





# REPORT

## ON THE

# CENSUS OF BURMA, 1931

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### CHAPTER I.

#### Distribution and Variation of Population.

**Area.**—Burma is the largest province in the Indian Empire. The area covered by the census operations was 233,492 square miles, Bombay being the next largest with 187,115 square miles. In the Chin Hills district an area of 1,396 square miles was enumerated for the first time; otherwise the areas covered by the census operations of 1921 and 1931 were the same. The areas of all districts, townships and states have been worked out afresh for this census since many of the figures given in previous Census Reports were very inaccurate; the method of calculation is explained in paragraph 18. The areas excluded from the census operations are given below.

Excluded areas.	Area in square miles.
(i) The unadministered and loosely administered territories associated with the Upper Chindwin district (including the Hukawng Valley and Naga Hills).	9,371
(ii) Sumptra Bum subdivision of Myitkyina district ...	1,810
(iii) Putao subdivision of Myitkyina district, excluding Fort Hertz and the eight Hkamti Long Shan States.	8,676
(iv) The Triangle ... ..	3,287
(v) The portion of the Arakan Hill Tracts which was brought under administration in 1930.	1,642
(vi) The uncontrolled Wa States ... ..	3,332
Total ...	28,118

In the Enumeration Map facing page 3 the excluded areas have been shown in black. The Administration Map facing this page shows the areas that are (a) regularly administered (b) specially administered (c) loosely administered and (d) unadministered. The only unadministered areas are the uncontrolled Wa States (3,332 square miles) and the unadministered territory (3,785 square miles) which is associated with the Upper Chindwin district, including the Naga Hills but excluding the Hukawng Valley; the loosely administered areas are the Hukawng Valley (5,586 square miles), part of Putao subdivision at the extreme north of Myitkyina district (957), the Triangle (3,287) and Karenni (4,519); the specially administered areas are the Federated Shan States, the Somra Tract and the Thaungdut and Kanti States (Upper Chindwin), the Shwegu and Sinlum Kachin Hill Tracts (Bhamo), the Waga and Wudi Kachin Hill Tracts (Katha), the Chin Hills district, the Arakan Hill Tracts and the whole of Myitkyina district



except the townships of Myitkyina, Mogaung and Kamaing and the loosely administered territory at the extreme north of the district. These specially administered territories have a total area of 97,028 square miles. The totals for these areas are as follows :—

Description of areas.	Area in square miles.
Regularly administered areas ...	143,116
Specially administered areas ...	97,028
Loosely administered areas ...	14,349
Unadministered areas ...	7,117
Total ...	261,610

**2. Meaning of "Population."**—The population of a country is usually a *de facto* population or a *de jure* population. The *de facto* population of an area means those persons who are *actually* present in that area at the moment when the census is taken ; the *de jure* population means those persons who are *normally resident* in that area, including those temporarily absent and excluding those temporarily present. The censuses of the United States and Canada are made on the *de jure* basis while those of Great Britain and some European countries are *de facto*. The Indian census aims at being a *de facto* census. With the exception of East Manglūn in the Northern Shan States, the population of which was estimated and not actually enumerated, the population of Burma was enumerated either *synchronously* or *non-synchronously*. In normal areas the enumeration was synchronous. There were two stages in the synchronous enumeration. There was first the *Preliminary Enumeration* in which the enumerator entered in his enumeration book particulars for all persons who were likely to be present in each house on the night of the census (24th February in Burma) ; the next stage was the *Final Enumeration* on the night of the 24th February, when the preliminary record was corrected so as to represent the persons actually present on that night. The size of the block (the enumerator's charge) was such that the final enumeration could be completed in a single evening. Thus in the synchronous areas the *de facto* population was enumerated. Variations had, of course, to be made in special cases, *e.g.*, travellers on railways and steamers had to be enumerated as and when convenient, the enumeration books being handed in at a subsequent place of call. In remote or sparsely populated areas where communications are difficult and there are few literate persons it is impossible to carry out a final check in one single evening. In these areas the enumeration was non-synchronous and was carried out between October 1930 and February 1931 and was so arranged that the work was completed in time for the figures to be included in the provisional totals which had to be telegraphed before the 5th March 1931. In non-synchronous areas the *de jure* population was enumerated. There were, however, exceptions to the rule of enumerating the *de facto* population in synchronous areas and the *de jure* population in non-synchronous areas. Owing to the fact that the enumeration in non-synchronous areas usually took place before the 24th February, a visitor from a synchronous area who arrived in a non-synchronous area after the enumeration had taken place and stayed there over the 24th February, would have been omitted if only the *de jure* population had been enumerated. Similarly a resident of a non-synchronous area, who had been enumerated there, would have been enumerated a second time if he had happened to be in a synchronous area on the night of the 24th February. In order therefore that the population of the synchronous and non-synchronous areas could be combined in a valid total precautions had to be taken to prevent any person from being omitted or counted twice. In most cases this was not a difficult matter since there was usually very little traffic across the boundaries between synchronous and non-synchronous areas. Important exceptions were the traffic between the Meiktila district and the Southern Shan States, and between the Mandalay district and the Northern Shan States. Since there is very little movement within non-synchronous areas the *de jure* population is practically the same as the *de facto* population. Thus for the province as a whole the census may be said to be approximately *de facto*. This matter is discussed in greater detail in paragraphs 3, 5 and 6 of the 1921 Census Report.

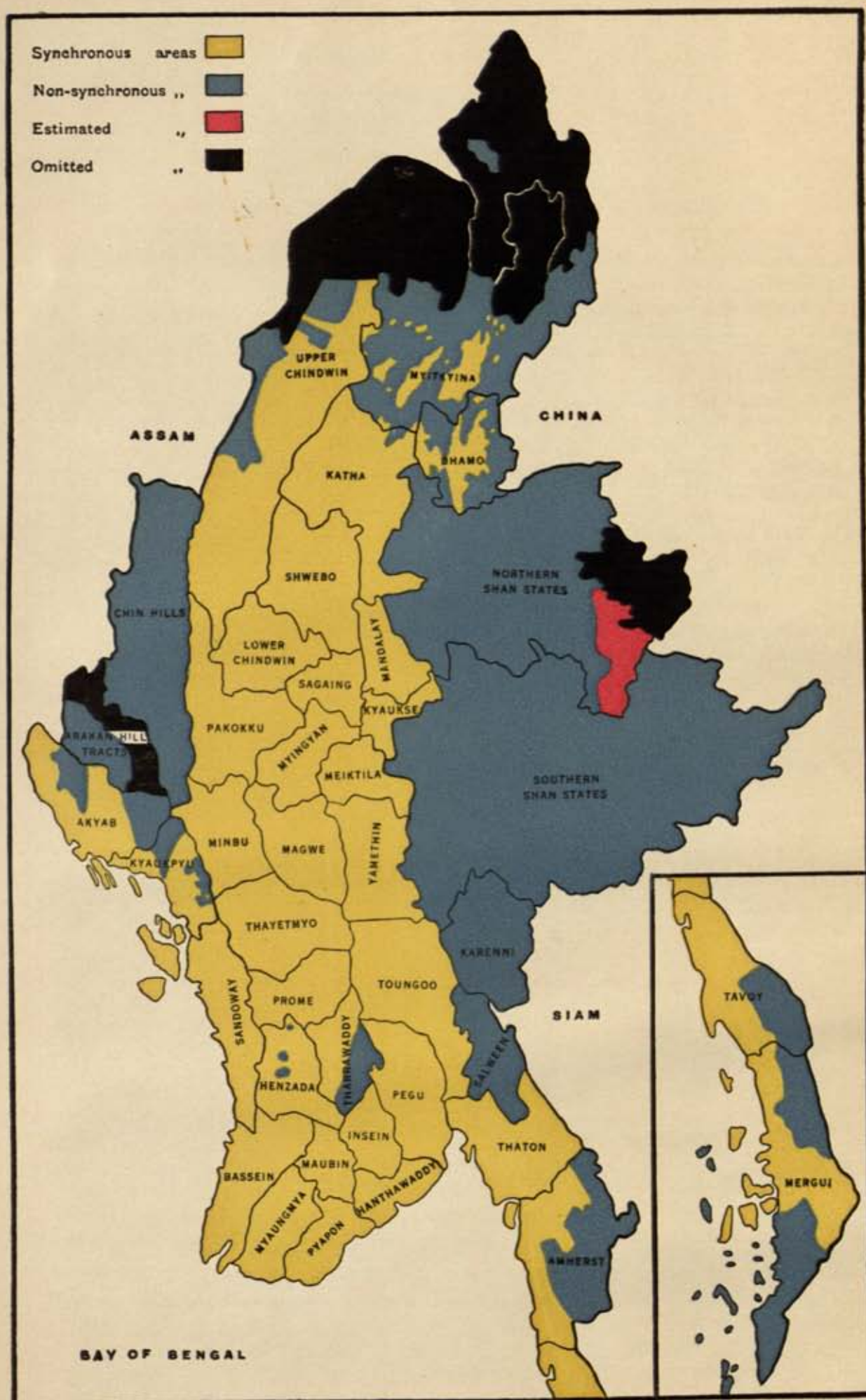






# ENUMERATION MAP OF BURMA

1931





**3. Method of Enumeration.**—At the 1921 census East Manglūn in the Northern Shan States, the Somra Tract in the Upper Chindwin district and the unadministered portion of the Pakōkku Hill Tracts had their populations estimated. At this census the whole of the Pakōkku Hill Tracts formed the Kanpetlet subdivision of the Chin Hills district and was enumerated non-synchronously; the Somra Tract was also enumerated non-synchronously, East Manglūn being the only area whose population was estimated.

There was no change from non-synchronous to synchronous in the enumeration of any area, but the Salween district, Thaungdut and Kanti States in the Upper Chindwin district, Tagundaing circle in Amherst district, and Mōng Mit State with the exception of the Ngadaung and Kodaung tracts and Mōng Leng, which had all been enumerated synchronously in 1921, were enumerated non-synchronously in 1931. In these areas a non-synchronous enumeration had many advantages over a synchronous enumeration and probably gave more accurate results; also, since there was very little traffic across the boundaries there was no difficulty in combining the figures obtained for them with those of the neighbouring synchronous areas.

In Tharrawaddy district an area of more than a thousand square miles had to be enumerated non-synchronously in 1931 owing to the activities of the rebels. In the Henzada district where the rebellion broke out suddenly and unexpectedly just before the date of the final enumeration a few enumeration books were lost and only a very small portion of the district had to be re-enumerated non-synchronously.

The non-synchronous areas were the Federated Shan States (except East Manglūn), Karenni, Salween district, the Somra Tract and the Thaungdut and Kanti States (Upper Chindwin), Shwegu and Sinlum Kachin Hill Tracts (Bhamo), Waga and Wudi Kachin Hill Tracts (Katha), the whole of Myitkyina district except the townships of Myitkyina, Mogaung and Kamaing and those parts which were excluded from the operations of the census, the Chin Hills district, the Arakan Hill Tracts (the part enumerated), a few remote areas in the Akyab, Kyaukpyu, Amherst, Tavoy and Mergui districts and the disturbed areas in the Tharrawaddy and Henzada districts. In a few parts of the synchronous area which were very remote from any district or township headquarters the final check was carried out in the afternoon of the 24th February, or a day or two before it. This was done in order that the despatch of the provisional totals would not be delayed. There was little, if any, traffic across the boundaries of these areas but precautions were taken to prevent any person from being omitted or counted twice. In both synchronous and non-synchronous areas the enumeration included a complete record of every person in the standard schedule. A statement showing the areas which were excluded from the synchronous areas either in 1921 or 1931 is given on page 4. The serial number in column 3 of that statement is the serial number in column 2 of the corresponding statement on page 3 of the 1921 Census Report. The Enumeration Map facing this page also shows how the different areas were treated. Of the total population of 14,667,146, the portion estimated and not actually enumerated was only 19,649 or one per *mille*, while 12,483,706 or 851 per *mille* were enumerated synchronously and 2,163,791 or 148 per *mille*, non-synchronously.

**4. Natural Divisions.**—In the Imperial Census Tables volume figures are given for administrative divisions and districts. This arrangement is required for administrative purposes, but in order to study the various problems arising out of the population statistics it is desirable to divide the province into Natural Divisions, in which natural and other features are more or less homogeneous or uniform. The Natural Divisions adopted for the present census are the same as in 1921, namely, the Burman, Chin, Salween and Shan Divisions. The districts and states included in the last three divisions are as follows :—

Chin.	Salween.	Shan.
Chin Hills.	Salween.	Northern Shan States.
Arakan Hill Tracts.	Karenni.	Southern Shan States.
The Burman division is divided into the Delta, Coast, Centre and North		



*Areas excluded from the Synchronous Census either in 1921 or in 1931.*

NOTE.—In column 4, O = omitted; E = estimated; NS = non-synchronous; S = synchronous.

District or State.	Description of Area and serial number.	Census of 1921.		Census of 1931— Method of enumeration and population recorded.	
		Serial number.	Method of enum- eration.	Non-syn- chronous.	Estimated or omitted.
1	2	3	4	5	6
Akyab ...	1. Minbya Chin Hills ...	1	NS	2,048	...
	2. Myohaung Chin Hills ...	2	NS	N/A	...
	3. Buthidaung Chin Hills ...	3	NS	3,390	...
	4. Ponnagyun Chin Hills ...	4	NS	4,530	...
Arakan Hill Tracts	5. The area administered in 1921 ...	5	NS	21,418	...
	6. The remainder of the district, i.e. the part brought under administration in 1930	6*	O	...	Omitted.
Kyaukpau ...	7. Twenty village-tracts in An township ...	7	NS†	4,739	...
Tharrawaddy ...	8. The disturbed areas in Tharrawaddy district ‡	...	S	116,192	...
Henzada ...	9. The disturbed areas in Henzada district §	...	S	4,117	...
Amberst ...	10. Natchaung, Tarigalon, Kyaiktaungbo and Myaukkyaukaung circles in Kya-in township	9	NS	23,300	...
	11. Tagundaing circle in Kya-in township ...	11	S	19,549	...
	12. Myawaddy circle in Kawkaik township ...	10	NS	13,087	...
Tavoy ...	13. Kyauktwin circle in Tavoy township (except Putletto village-tract)	12	NS	1,924	...
Mergui ...	14. Bokpyin township ...	13	NS	12,083	...
	15. Maliwun township ...	14	NS	9,885	...
	16. Pawit circle of Tenasserim township ...	15	NS	2,108	...
	17. Salons living in boats ...	16	NS	1,308	...
Bhamo ...	18. Shwegu Kachin Hill Tracts ...	19	NS	5,666	...
	19. Sinlum Kachin Hill Tracts ...	20	NS	48,996	...
Katha ...	20. Waga and Wudi Kachin Hill Tracts ...	22*	NS	859	...
Upper Chindwin	21. Somra Tract ...	25	E	7,981	...
	22. Thauungdet and Kanti States ...	...	S	9,396	...
	23. Unadministered and loosely administered territory	26	O	...	Omitted.
Myitkyina ...	24. Myitkyina Kachin Hill Tracts ...	28, 29, 32*	NS	9,305	...
	25. Mogaung Kachin Hill Tracts ...	21, 22,* 32*	NS	15,690	...
	26. Kamaing Kachin Hill Tracts ...	32*	NS	12,152	...
	27. Sadon subdivision ...	30, 32*	NS	20,921	...
	28. Htawgaw subdivision ...	27	NS	17,926	...
	29. Fort Hertz and eight Hkanti Long Shan States in Putao subdivision	23	NS	5,349	...
	30. The remainder of Putao subdivision ...	24*	O	...	Omitted.
	31. Sumptra Bum subdivision ...	24*	O	...	Omitted.
Chin Hills ...	32. The area known in 1921 as the unadministered portion of the Pakokko Hill Tracts	18	E	6,650	...
	33. The area brought under administration in 1930	6*	O	18,327	...
	34. The remainder of the district ...	17, 33	NS	146,260	...
Salween ...	35. The whole district ...	...	S	53,186	...
Northern Shan States	36. The uncontrolled portion of the Wa States ...	34	O	...	Omitted.
	37. East Manglun ...	35	E	...	19,649
	38. Mōng Mit State with the exception of the Ngadaung and Kodaung tracts and Mōng Leng	...	S	18,801	...
	39. The remainder of the Northern Shan States	36, 37, 38	NS	597,657	...
Southern Shan States	40. The whole ...	39	NS	870,230	...
Karenni ...	41. The whole ...	40, 41, 42	NS	58,761	...

\* Part only.

† At the 1921 Census six villages (called the Poko Chin Hills) in one of these 20 village-tracts (Kaingtha) were enumerated non-synchronously; the remaining villages in Kaingtha village-tract and the other 19 village-tracts were supposed to have been enumerated synchronously but apparently no final check was carried out in any of them.

‡ The portion of South Pegu Forest Division falling in Gyobingauk township and the whole of Minhla East, Letpadan East and Tharrawaddy townships except the towns of Minhla, Letpadan, Thônzè and Tharrawaddy and the railway premises at Ngapyugale.

§ Peinhnekwin village-tract (No. 43) in Kyangin township, Hngetkyikwin village-tract (No. 99) in Myanaung township and part of Kanyutkwin village-tract (No. 68) in Ingabu township.

|| In the 1921 Census Report Putletto village-tract was wrongly shown as having been enumerated non-synchronously.



subdivisions, the districts included in each being as follows :—

Delta.	Coast.	Centre.	North.
Rangoon.	Akyab.	Prome.	Bhamo.
Insein.	Kyaukpyu.	Thayetmyo.	Myitkyina.
Hanthawaddy.	Sandoway.	Pakókku.	Katha.
Tharrawaddy.	Amherst.	Minbu.	Upper Chindwin.
Pegu.	Tavoy.	Magwe.	
Bassein.	Mergui.	Mandalay.	
Henzada.		Shwebo.	
Myaungmya.		Sagaing.	
Maubin.		Lower Chindwin.	
Pyapôn.		Kyauksé.	
Toungoo.		Meiktila.	
Thatôn.		Yaméthin.	
		Myingyan.	

A much better scheme of natural divisions could have been drawn up if administrative districts could have been split up and included in different natural divisions. But a great deal of additional work would have been entailed in drawing up the tables, and further, many of them could not have been compiled. Thatôn district should perhaps have been included in the Coast subdivision but it has been included in the Delta subdivision for the sake of comparison with the figures given in the 1921 Census Report. Parts of some districts, *e.g.*, Myitkyina, were excluded from the census operations and figures for those parts are, of course, not included in the figures for the natural divisions. In some of the subsidiary tables in this Report the figures for the Shan division cover the censused area, which includes the estimated area of East Manglûn as well as the area actually enumerated; in other tables, *e.g.*, where figures are given for race, religion, etc., the figures cover only the area actually enumerated, because figures for race, religion, etc. are not available for the estimated area. The natural divisions are shown on the maps facing page 32. Since 1921 a small portion of Salween district (Salween division) has been transferred to Thatôn district (Delta subdivision); otherwise the areas covered by the divisions and subdivisions are the same as in 1921.

The areas and populations of the natural divisions are shown in marginal table 1. It will be noticed that the Burman division is much the largest, both in area and population. The Shan division includes about three-quarters of the remaining area, and about five-sixths of the remaining population. The Chin and Salween divisions are of comparatively minor importance, particularly in point of population. Each of the natural divisions has been described in great detail in paragraphs 16 to 24 of the 1921 Census Report and only a brief description will therefore be given here.

1. Comparative Areas and Populations of the Natural Divisions.				
Natural Division.	Area in square miles.	Population (thousands).	Percentage of Province.	
			Area.	Population.
1	2	3	4	5
Province ...	233,492	14,667	100	100
Burman ...	156,297	12,856	67	88
Delta ...	35,647	5,435	15	37
Coast ...	37,806	1,845	16	13
Centre ...	44,066	4,824	19	33
North ...	38,778	752	17	5
Chin ...	12,278	193	5	1
Salween ...	7,101	112	3	1
Shan ...	57,816	1,506	25	10

**5. Characters of the Natural Divisions.**—Burma is split up into natural divisions by its rivers and mountain ranges. The valleys of the Irrawaddy, Chindwin and Sittang run down the centre of the province and open out into the delta country before they reach the sea. On both sides of this central plain there are high hills which run southwards and end in coastal strips. The central plain together with the two coastal strips forms the Burman division; the hills on the west of this central plain form the Chin division while the hills on the east form a ridged plateau and are included in the Shan division. An extension of this Shan plateau and a small part of the basin of the Salween river form the Salween division.

The North subdivision of the Burman division consists of numerous mountain ranges and swiftly flowing rivers which render communications over large areas a matter of extreme difficulty. These physical characteristics have tended to produce many varieties of tribes and languages confined to small



areas. The Shans contended with the Burmese for supremacy over the whole of this area but the power of the Shans was finally broken by the Burmese king Alaungpaya in 1757 A.D. The plains are mainly occupied by Burmese and Shans. The rainfall is fairly heavy, being much greater than in the Centre subdivision but not so large as in the Delta. Rice is practically the only crop in the plains.

The Centre subdivision stretches from Shwebo district to Prome district and consists mostly of undulating lowlands. In the 1911 Report it is termed the Central Basin and the following description is taken from paragraph 11 of that Report :—

"The term 'Burma Proper' has already been appropriated to denote the area within the eight administrative divisions of the Province. But, both historically and ethnically, it could be claimed with greater propriety by the region which is prosaically termed the Central Basin. It coincides roughly with the permanent sphere of influence of the rapidly and continuously fluctuating Burmese kingdom as it was gradually fighting its way towards supremacy. It contains the capitals of Prome, Pagan, Ava, Sagaing, Shwebo, Amarapura and Mandalay, each of which has been the centre of decisive incidents in the turgid course of Burmese history. It is the cradle of the Burmese race. It is the venue of the transformation of numerous, petty, diverse and hostile nomadic tribes from the Himalayan region, into a united and powerful nation, sufficiently cohesive to maintain a virile and aggressive existence between its formidable Indian and Chinese neighbours. Neither the vicissitudes of war, nor the domination of alien conquerors, nor the immigration of numerous and diverse racial elements have been able to arrest this silent, steady and apparently inevitable development towards a unified and highly individualised nationality. The national or racial instinct has been sufficiently intense to avert the consequences of unsuccessful war during an era when such consequences usually approached extermination, and to absorb the intruding elements whether they came as immigrants or as conquerors. This central area, the heart of the Province, exhibits the various characteristics of Burmese life to a degree unattainable in any of the remaining divisions, modified as they are, each and all, by the existence of large numbers of half-absorbed and unabsorbed foreign immigrants."

It is described above as the cradle of the Burmese race, and even now, in spite of immigration, about 94 per cent of the population is Burmese, the remaining 6 per cent being mainly Indians, Chins and Zerbadis. The rainfall is slight, all districts except Prome and Thayetmyo having an average rainfall of between 26 and 38 inches. Many parts are subject to drought and it is the only subdivision in which there is a real diversity of crops, only about one-third of the cultivated area being devoted to rice.

The Delta subdivision coincides roughly with the ancient kingdom of the Mons (Talings) but except in comparatively small areas they have been absorbed by the Burmese. This subdivision contains a comparatively large proportion of immigrants, both from other parts of the province as well as outside the province. The Burmese represent 66 per cent of the population, the Mons 2, Karens 17, Indians 10 and Chinese 2. There is very little upland and 92 per cent of the cultivated area is devoted to rice. The rainfall in Thaton district averages 216 inches but in other districts it ranges from 83 to 127, the average for the whole subdivision being 109.

The Coast subdivision consists of the Akyab, Kyaukpyu and Sandoway districts in the north and the Amherst, Tavoy and Mergui districts in the south. These two coastal strips are separated by the Delta subdivision. The northern part is roughly the old province of Arakan; races of the Burma group (Arakanese, Yanbye, Burmese and Chaungtha) represent 64 per cent of the population, Indians 22 per cent (all but about six thousand are found in Akyab district), Indo-Burman races (mostly Arakan Mahomedans) 6 per cent, and Chins 6 per cent. The Chins generally live in the hills. In the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision races of the Burma group (Burmese, Tavoyans and Merguese) form 38 per cent of the population; Mons form 29 per cent, Karens 16, races of the Tai (Shan) group 3, Zerbadis 3 and Indians 6, all of whom are mostly found in the Amherst district: Mons are practically confined to Amherst. The rainfall is extremely heavy in both parts of this subdivision, averaging between 180 and 215 inches in all districts except Mergui, where it is 161 inches. A large part of this subdivision is not available for cultivation and about 90 per cent of the cultivated area is devoted to rice, except in the Tavoy and Mergui districts, for which the percentages are 70 and 53, respectively.

The Shan division consists of the Northern and Southern Shan States. Races of the Tai (Shan) group form 47 per cent of the population; the remainder consists of races of the Burma group (13 per cent), Karens (12), Palaung-Wa group (12), Lolo-Muhso group (6), Kachins (4), Chinese (4) and Indians (2). The more important races of the Burma group represented are Danu, Burmese,



Intha and Taungyo—the last two only in the Southern Shan States. Kachins are practically confined to the Northern Shan States and Karens (largely Taungthus) to the Southern Shan States. The Chinese are mostly Yunnanese and all but 4,000 are in the Northern Shan States. The Shan division contains in addition to forest land much undulating country where potatoes and other dry crops are cultivated; there are also broad valleys where paddy is grown.

The Chin division on the west is comparatively small in area, and is sparsely populated. The population is almost entirely composed of Chins. The wild nature of the country has had the effect of more or less isolating them from the rest of the world. The cultivation is of the primitive *taungya* type.

The Salween division is the smallest both in area and population. About four-fifths of the population are Karens and the remainder mostly Shans and Burmese.

**6. Statistical References.**—Figures for the area and population of each administrative district and division and for the number of houses are given in Imperial Table I. The variation in the population of each district and division during the last fifty years is given in Imperial Table II. Provincial Table I gives area and population figures for townships and states as well as districts. In addition the following subsidiary tables which are appended to this Chapter have been compiled:—

- IA.—Density, water-supply and crops.
- IB.—Density compared with rainfall and cultivated area.
- II.—Distribution of the population classified according to density.
- III.—Variation in relation to density since 1881.
- IV.—Variation in Natural Population.
- V.—Comparison of Census figures and vital statistics.
- VI.—Variation by townships and states classified according to density.
- VII.—Persons per house and houses per square mile.
- VIII.—Growth of population in two decades by natural divisions with particulars for certain religions.
- IX.—Variation in the Population of the Comparable area.

Reference will be made to other tables but those given above provide the bulk of the statistical material required for this Chapter.

**7. Variation in Population.**—The first census of Burma as part of the Census of India was taken in 1872. The area covered by the census operations included the present Arakan, Pegu, Irrawaddy and Tenasserim divisions and part of the present Thayetmyo district. The next census took place in 1881 and covered the same area. Since 1881 there have been progressive extensions of the census limits. In 1891 the census was extended to the greater part of Upper Burma, but the Shan States, the present Chin Hills district and portions of the present Bhamo, Myitkyina, Katha and Upper Chindwin districts were excluded. In 1901 further additions were made, namely, the Shan States (including Karenni but excluding East and West Manglūn and Kokang), the Chin Hills district (as it then existed), the administered portion of what was then known as the Pakōkku Hill-Tracts, and some administered portions of the northern districts which had been omitted from the 1891 census. In 1911 Kokang, West Manglūn and the unadministered portion of the Pakōkku Hill-Tracts were added. In 1921 the census was extended to the Somra Tract, East Manglūn and portions of Myitkyina (including Putao) district; the Coco Islands in the Hanthawaddy district, which had inadvertently been omitted from previous census operations, were also included. In 1931 the census limits were extended to include the area brought under administration and added to the Chin Hills district in 1930. In the above description areas in which the population was only estimated and not actually enumerated have been regarded as falling within census limits.

**8. Diagrammatic Representation of Variation in Population.**—Figures showing the variation in the population of districts during the last fifty years are given in Imperial Table II. The figures given for previous censuses represent the population at those censuses of the districts as they existed on the 24th February 1931, but the figures for any district in any year exclude



all areas omitted from the census of that year. Thus many of the increases are not true increases but are largely due to extensions of the census limits.

The best way of exhibiting the variations in population is by means of a diagram. In the diagrams facing pages 22 and 24 the variations in the populations of districts, natural divisions and the whole province have been represented. These diagrams have been drawn on a logarithmic or ratio scale: it is called logarithmic because the vertical distance between two numbers on the scale is not proportional to the difference between the numbers but to the difference between their logarithms. Equal vertical distances represent equal *percentage* changes and not equal *absolute* or *actual* changes, as in diagrams on a natural scale. The rate of increase in the population is represented by the slope of the line, and equal rates of increase are therefore represented by parallel lines, no matter where the lines appear on the diagram. These diagrams enable one to see at a glance the rates of variation in the populations of the different districts and to compare one with another; they also enable one to see where the increases have been due to extensions of the census limits, since lines have only been drawn between points representing populations of the same census area. For instance, the line representing the population of the province on Part A is broken at the 1891 census because there was an extension of the census limits at that census: the point representing the population in 1881 has been joined to the point representing the population in 1891 of the area censused in 1881, while the point representing the population in 1891 has been joined to the population in 1901 of the same area. A logarithmic scale has been used because a comparison between the *rates of increase* was considered of more importance than a comparison between the *absolute* or *actual increases*, but the actual increases can at the same time be read off the diagrams with the aid of the scales at the sides.

**9. Variation since 1872.**—In order to measure the increase in the population of the area enumerated in 1872 it is necessary to determine the increases due to extensions of the census limits at subsequent censuses. The area enumerated in 1872 and 1881 consisted of the present Arakan, Pegu, Irrawaddy and Tenasserim divisions together with the area which at those censuses formed the Thayetmyo district. Figures for the population of these four divisions (as they existed in 1931) at the 1881 and subsequent censuses are given in Imperial Table II. The Thayetmyo district covered the same area in 1881 as in 1872. Shortly after the annexation it was enlarged but at the 1891 and 1901 censuses the part enumerated in 1872 consisted of whole townships and there is therefore no difficulty in obtaining the population of this part in 1891 and 1901. But between 1901 and 1911 and again between 1911 and 1921 the townships of Thayetmyo district were altered and at the 1911 and

2. Variation since 1872 in the population of the area censused in 1872.			
Year of Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1872 ...	2,747,148	...	...
1881 ...	3,736,771	989,623	36.0
1891 ...	4,603,103	866,332	23.2
1901 ...	5,580,158	977,055	21.2
1911 ...	6,392,830	812,672	14.6
1921 ...	7,047,706	654,876	10.2
1931 ...	7,964,855	917,149	13.0
1872-1931 ...	...	5,217,707	189.9

subsequent censuses the part enumerated in 1872 did not consist of whole townships; in order to calculate the population of this part at those censuses one would have to add up the figures for the village-tracts and hamlets included in it but unfortunately these village-tracts and hamlets are not known. Approximate figures can, however, be obtained if it is assumed that the population of the part enumerated in 1872 increased at the same rate between 1901 and 1931 as the population of the rest of the district (the district boundary has remained unaltered since 1891). With this assumption the figures given in columns 2, 3 and 4 of marginal table 2 have been obtained.\* Figures have also been given for the present Arakan, Pegu,

\* The figure given in column 2 of marginal table 2 for the year 1891, namely, 4,603,103, agrees with that given in marginal table 1 on page 27 of the 1921 Report; the figure given for the year 1921 in the same marginal table in the 1921 Report, namely, 7,058,009, is apparently a misprint for 7,048,009, which is the figure obtained by assuming that the portion of the present Thayetmyo district which was *not* enumerated in 1872 consisted at the 1921 census of the Minhla and Sinbaungwe townships. The figures given in paragraphs 48 and 49 of the 1911 Report for the population in 1891, 1901 and 1911 of the census area of 1872 are all incorrect inasmuch as figures for the population of the whole of Thayetmyo district have been included instead of those for the part enumerated in 1872.



Irrawaddy and Tenasserim divisions in marginal table 3. The 1921 and 1931 figures in these two tables include 46 and 8 persons, respectively, representing the population of the Coco Islands, which were enumerated for the first time in 1921. It will be noticed that figures for the percentage increases in marginal table 3 are greater than those in marginal table 2. This is due to the fact that the percentage increases in the population of Thayetmyo district have been small. Between 1872 and 1901 the population of the portion of Thayetmyo district enumerated in 1872 increased from 156,816 to 174,191 which is an increase of 17,375 or only about 11 per cent in 29 years. There has also been little change since 1901, the population of the present Thayetmyo district having increased from 239,706 in 1901 to 274,177 in 1931, which is an increase of 34,471 or just over 14 per cent in 30 years. The present Arakan, Pegu, Irrawaddy and Tenasserim divisions consist of the Delta and Coast subdivisions of the Burman natural division, together with the Arakan Hill Tracts and Prome and Salween districts and it will be seen that the population has been trebled since 1872. The very large percentage increases in the early years were largely due to immigration into the Delta both from Upper Burma and from outside the province but a certain amount is also due to the progressive efficiency of enumeration.

3. Variation since 1872 in the population of the present Arakan, Pegu, Irrawaddy and Tenasserim divisions.

Year or Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1872 ...	2,590,332	...	...
1881 ...	3,567,211	976,879	37.7
1891 ...	4,408,466	841,255	23.6
1901 ...	5,405,967	997,501	22.6
1911 ...	6,212,412	806,445	14.9
1921 ...	6,862,106	649,694	10.5
1931 ...	7,765,614	903,508	13.2
1872—1931 ...	...	5,175,282	199.8

**10. Variation since 1891.**—The figures given in marginal table 2 for the variation in the population since 1872 cover an area slightly larger than the present Arakan, Pegu, Irrawaddy and Tenasserim divisions. In 1891 the census was extended to a large part of Upper Burma and from 1891 the variation can be studied over a much larger area. The census of 1901 covered a still larger area and in order to calculate the percentage variation between 1891 and 1901 it is necessary to calculate the population in 1901 of the area that was censused in 1891. This is not an easy matter as the area censused in 1891 does not appear to be known exactly. In 1901 the census was extended to the Shan States (including Karenni), the Chin Hills and the Pakòkku Hill Tracts. The population of these areas was 1,237,749 and if this figure is subtracted from the total population of the province, namely, 10,490,624, the remainder is 9,252,875. The 1911 and 1921 Census Reports do not agree with respect to the other areas that were censused for the first time in 1901. Thus it is stated in paragraph 28 on page 26 of the 1921 Report that the areas enumerated or estimated for the first time in 1901 had a population (in 1901) of over 1,500,000; this figure is, however, contradicted later on in the same paragraph where the population in 1901 of the area enumerated or estimated in 1891 is given as 9,230,748 (see marginal table 1 on page 27), which leaves 1,259,876 as the population of the area enumerated or estimated for the first time in 1901. In paragraphs 48 and 50 of the 1911 Report the population in 1901 of the area enumerated or estimated in 1891 is given as 9,118,734, which leaves 1,371,890 as the population of the area enumerated or estimated for the first time in 1901. The figure given in the 1921 Report, namely 9,230,748, is evidently wrong since in arriving at this figure the only area excluded besides those mentioned above (the Shan States, Chin Hills and Pakòkku Hill Tracts) is Kodaung township in the Ruby Mines district, which had a population in 1901 of 22,127. But other areas were omitted besides Kodaung township. At the 1891 census certain areas were excluded from the regular census operations but were subjected to a rough enumeration during the dry weather of 1891 (see Appendix A of the 1891 Report). The Imperial Tables volume of 1891 is very misleading because the figures for these "Excluded Tracts" have been entirely omitted from some of the Imperial Tables while in other tables the figures for some of these "Excluded Tracts" have been included in some columns but omitted from others. For instance in column 2 of Imperial Table II of 1891 the total population of Upper and Lower Burma is given as 7,722,053 and includes figures for the "Excluded Tracts" in the Bhamo and Katha districts but excludes figures for the "Excluded Tracts" in the Ruby



Mines and Upper Chindwin districts, whereas the figures for males and females in columns 5 and 8, respectively, of the same table do not include any figures for "Excluded Tracts." In Imperial Table II of the 1901 and subsequent censuses the population of the province in 1891 is given as 7,722,053 and the area of which this was the population has therefore been taken as the area that was censused in 1891. The population of the Ruby Mines district included in this figure is given in Imperial Table II of 1891 as 26,134. This figure represents the population of Mogôk township (18,810) and Twinngé township (7,324). At the 1891 census Mông Mit State was in the Ruby Mines district but it was one of the "Excluded Tracts" and the figure for its population was not included in Imperial Table II of 1891. On page xxxvii of Appendix A of the 1891 Report it is stated that the enumeration in the Mông Mit State was carried out in a very perfunctory manner and that the returns were of little value; this may have been the reason for their omission from the Imperial Tables. Between 1891 and 1901 part of Katha district was transferred to the Ruby Mines district and at the 1901 census the Ruby Mines district consisted of the townships of Mogôk (same as in 1891), Tagaung, Thabeikkyin, Momeik and Kodaung. Thabeikkyin was apparently formed out of Twinngé township, and Tagaung from the area transferred from Katha, while Momeik and Kodaung represented what was known in 1891 as Mông Mit (Momeik) State. The whole of the Ruby Mines district was enumerated at the 1901 census and since the part transferred from Katha had been enumerated in 1891 the population of the area enumerated for the first time in 1901 is represented by Momeik township (22,581) and Kodaung township (22,127), making a total population of 44,708. Thus no part of Mông Mit was included in the census area of 1891 and the statement in paragraph 28 of the 1921 Report that in 1891 the census was extended to the Mông Mit Shan State is incorrect.

The "Excluded Tracts" of the Upper Chindwin district at the 1891 census consisted of the States of Kale, Thaungdut and Kanti and the figures for all these States were omitted from the Imperial Tables of 1891 (see page 271 of the 1891 Provincial Tables volume). In 1891—presumably just after the census had been taken—the Kale State became the Kale township (see page 49 of the Upper Chindwin district Gazetteer A volume). The portion of the Upper Chindwin district which was enumerated for the first time in 1901 had a population in 1901 of 23,745, represented by Kale township 14,226,\* Kanti State 2,048 and Thaungdut State 7,471. This brings the total for the districts and states mentioned above to 1,306,202 (1,237,749 + 44,708 + 23,745). According to paragraphs 48 and 52 of the 1911 Report the total for the whole province is 1,371,890 so that if this latter figure is correct there is left 65,688 for the remaining districts.

The only other districts in 1901 which contained areas censused for the first time in 1901 were Bhamo, Myitkyina and Katha. These districts as they existed in 1901 had a population in 1901 of 323,137, compared with 183,508 in 1891. This is an increase of 139,629 or more than 75 per cent. If it is assumed that 65,688 (mentioned above) represents the population of the area censused for the first time in 1901 then the remainder, 73,941 (139,629 - 65,688), represents the increase in the population of the part censused in 1891. This increase amounts to about 40 per cent but is explained by the fact that a large part of the censused areas of the Bhamo and Katha districts at the 1891 census consisted of "Excluded Tracts" in which estimates of the population were made (Myitkyina district was not in existence in 1891: it was formed out of Bhamo district between 1891 and 1901). Estimates are often very wide of the mark and it is possible that an actual enumeration in 1891 would have given much larger figures. There were also disturbances in the Katha district which coincided with the 1891 census and hampered its efficiency.

Thus taking all things into consideration the figure given in the 1911 Report for the population in 1901 of the area censused for the first time in 1901, namely 1,371,890, would appear to be approximately correct. The exact area censused in 1891 does not seem to have been given in any of the Census Reports but the Census Superintendent of 1911 probably had access to material which has since been destroyed and in the absence of evidence to the contrary his figures should be accepted. The matter has been gone into at some length since there was disagreement between the figures in the 1911 and 1921 Census Reports.

\* Some of the figures given on page 798 of the Provincial Tables volume of 1901 for the population in 1891 of the townships of the Upper Chindwin district as they existed in 1901 do not appear to be correct. In particular, no figures appear to be required for Kale township in 1891, since at the 1891 census Kale State was outside the census area.



Since the exact boundaries of the area censused in 1891 are not known it is impossible to obtain reliable figures for the population of this area at the 1921 and 1931 censuses. In marginal table 1 on page 27 of the 1921 Report the population of this area in 1921 is given as 11,489,817 but it is not known how this figure was arrived at. In studying the variation of the population since 1891 it is advisable therefore to exclude the figures for the Bhamo, Myitkyina, Katha, Ruby Mines and Upper Chindwin districts. In marginal table 4, figures for these districts (as they existed at the 1901 and 1911 censuses) have been excluded. The 1921 and 1931 figures include 46 and 8 persons, respectively, representing the population of the Coco Islands, whereas the figures for the other years do not contain figures for these islands; otherwise the figures are comparable. The area covered by the figures\* is equivalent to Divisional Burma (see the 1931 Census Tables) with the exception of the Bhamo, Myitkyina, Katha, Upper Chindwin and Chin Hills districts (as they existed in 1931), i.e., it comprises the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions of the Burman natural division with the addition of the Salween district and the Arakan Hill Tracts.

It will be seen that the percentage increases in column 4 of marginal table 4 are less than those in column 4 of marginal table 3 on page 9. The reason is, of course, that marginal table 4 covers a much larger area. The additional area coincides with the Centre subdivision of the Burman natural division, with the exception of Prome district. According to Subsidiary Table III at the end of this chapter the percentage increases in the Centre subdivision have been much less than the percentage increases in the Delta and Coast subdivisions. Thus for the decade 1891—1901 the percentage increase in the Centre subdivision was only 9 per cent compared with 28 and 17 per cent respectively, in the Delta and Coast subdivisions.

According to marginal table 4 the percentage increase for 1891—1901 is 17·5 per cent. Part of the increase is due to migration. Separate figures for Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims for the same area are given in marginal tables 5, 6 and 7, respectively,† and it will be seen that Hindus increased by 63·8 per cent and Muslims by 32·3 per cent. The increase in the number of Hindus and Muslims combined corresponds roughly to the increase in the number of Indians, since although some

4. Variation in the population of Divisional Burma, excluding the Bhamo, Myitkyina, Katha, Upper Chindwin and Chin Hills districts (as they existed in 1931).

Year of Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1891 ...	7,392,950	...	...
1901 ...	8,687,493	1,294,543	17·5
1911 ...	9,947,435	1,259,942	14·5
1921 ...	10,896,301	948,866	9·5
1931 ...	12,178,942	1,282,641	11·8
1891—1931 ...		4,785,992	64·7

5. Variation in the number of Buddhists in the area covered by marginal table 4.

Year of Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1891 ...	6,691,917	...	...
1901 ...	7,765,210	1,073,293	16·0
1911 ...	8,757,392	992,182	12·8
1921 ...	9,510,121	752,729	8·6
1931 ...	10,559,031	1,048,910	11·0
1891—1931 ...		3,867,114	57·8

6. Variation in the number of Hindus in the area covered by marginal table 4.

Year of Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1891 ...	165,123	...	...
1901 ...	270,397	105,274	63·8
1911 ...	368,740	98,343	36·4
1921 ...	451,166	82,426	22·4
1931 ...	516,946	65,780	14·6
1891—1931 ...		351,823	213·1

\* At the 1901 and subsequent censuses this area was made up of whole districts, but the area obtained by excluding the Bhamo, Katha, Ruby Mines and Upper Chindwin districts (as they existed in 1891) from what was Divisional Burma in 1891 is slightly less, the population in 1891 of the area so obtained being 7,390,055, compared with 7,392,950, given above. The difference, namely 2,895, is due to a transfer or transfers of areas between the Centre and North subdivisions of the Burman natural division between 1891 and 1901. The figures in the second marginal table of paragraph 50 on page 38 of the 1911 Census Report cover the same area as marginal table 4 above but the figure for 1891 should be 7,392,950 (7,390,065 appears to be a misprint for 7,390,055).

† For the purpose of these tables the inhabitants of areas transferred between the Centre and North subdivisions between 1891 and 1901 (see foot-note above) have been taken to be Buddhists.



Muslims, *e.g.*, Zerbadis and Arakan Mahomedans, are not Indians, some Indians, *e.g.*, those who are Buddhists, Christians and Sikhs, are not Hindus or Muslims. The increase in the Indian population due to

migration would of course be much greater than the actual increase since the death rate of the Indian population in Burma has always been much greater than the birth rate. The figures for Buddhists are, however, not affected to any appreciable extent by migration and according to marginal table 5 the percentage increase for 1891—1901 was 16·0 \* compared with 12·8 for 1901—11. In paragraph 36 of the 1921 Census Report it is stated that the fall in the percentage increase was due to a deficit of births in 1901—11 compared with 1891—1901, but many of the figures given in that paragraph are incorrect (see footnote\* below) and although some part of the decrease may be due to there being a smaller proportion of women in the

7. Variation in the number of Muslims in the area covered by marginal table 4.

Year of Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1891 ...	250,413	...	...
1901 ...	331,254	80,841	32·3
1911 ...	409,980	78,726	23·8
1921 ...	488,927	78,947	19·3
1931 ...	569,587	80,660	16·5
1891—1931 ...	...	319,174	127·5

child-bearing ages during 1901—1911, as compared with 1891—1901, it seems probable that a considerable part of the decrease is due to under-enumeration in 1891, particularly in Upper Burma. According to paragraph 50 on page 39 of the 1911 Census Report "the enumeration in Upper Burma in 1891 was effected under great difficulties very shortly after that portion of the province had been annexed, and immediately after complete pacification had been effected. The subordinate officials had not yet grown accustomed to the methods of the new régime, and it is probable that a large portion of the under-enumeration indicated was due to so large an extension of census limits over an area where both the population and the supervising and enumerating staff possessed no previous experience of the methods and objects of the census enumeration."

The small increase of 9 per cent in the population of the Centre subdivision during 1891—1901, in spite of the under-enumeration in 1891, is due to the opening up of the Delta which caused migration on a large scale from Upper to Lower Burma.

**11. Variation since 1901.**—In 1901 the census was extended to the Shan States (including Karenni but excluding East and West Manglun and Kokang), the Chin Hills district (as it then existed), the administered portion of what was then known as the Pakòkku Hill Tracts, and some administered portions of districts in Upper Burma which had been omitted from the 1891 census. Figures for the area censused in 1901 are given in marginal table 8. In paragraph 29 of the 1921 Census Report it was pointed out that these figures include estimates of the population in remote parts of the province and that these estimates have often not been very accurate. It was also stated in that paragraph that a more accurate comparison could be made if the populations of some of these estimated areas and a few other areas

8. Variation in the population of the area censused in 1901

Year of Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1901 ...	10,490,624	...	...
1911 ...	12,061,928	1,571,304	15·0
1921 ...	13,087,906	1,025,978	8·5
1931 ...	14,533,290	1,445,384	11·0
1901—1931 ...	...	4,042,666	38·5

were excluded. The remainder of the province was conveniently called the

\* The rate of increase given in paragraph 36 of the 1921 Census Report, namely, 17·2 per cent, is incorrect. The figures in marginal table 14 of that paragraph include figures for the Upper Chindwin and Ruby Mines (excluding Mōng Mī) districts, but the censused areas of those districts were much larger in 1901 than in 1891 and they should therefore have been excluded in making the comparison. Thus the figure given in marginal table 14 for 1901, namely, 7,951,367, contains 187,683 from these two districts, whereas the 1891 figure, 6,784,358, contains only 96,540, a difference of 91,143. There appear to be other mistakes in the same paragraph. Thus the percentage increase in the number of Buddhists in 1891—1901 in the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions was about 15·9 per cent (not 17·2) and the actual increase in the number of Buddhists in the same area was about 80 thousands (not 350 thousands) more in 1891—1901 than in 1901—1911.



*Comparable Area* (the areas excluded are given in marginal table 2 on page 28 of the 1921 Census Report). Figures showing the variation in the population of the *Comparable Area* are given in marginal table 9. Figures for each natural division are given for the decade 1901—1911 in Subsidiary Table IX on page 60 of the 1921 Census Report, and in Subsidiary Table IX at the end of this chapter for 1911 to 1931. The percentage increases shown in marginal table 9 are less than those in marginal table 3, because the former table covers the greater part of the Shan States, where the increases have not been so large. The figures for the total population are largely influenced by migration; the figures for Buddhists, which are not affected to any appreciable extent by migration, are given in marginal table 10. The low percentage increase for 1911—21, namely, 7·6 per cent is, of course, largely due to the influenza epidemic of 1918—19. (paragraph 32) the reduction of the census *Area* through influenza was estimated at 1911 population, both for Buddhists and for the total population. If this figure (2·85) is added to the figure for the actual increase (7·6) the sum (10·45) is very little different from the increase during 1921—31 (10·3). The figure for 1901—11, namely, 12·6 per cent is, however, appreciably larger. In the 1921 Census Report the only explanation put forward to account for the small increase in 1911—21 as compared with 1901—11 (apart from the influenza epidemic) was the relatively small proportion of women in the child-bearing ages during 1911—21 compared with the previous decade. This may account for part of the difference but a certain amount would appear to be due to under-enumeration in 1901, particularly in the Shan States. The greater part of the Shan States was censused for the first time in 1901 and it will be seen from Subsidiary Table IX on page 60 of the 1921 Census Report that the increase in the number of Buddhists in the Shan natural division was only 0·7 per cent in 1911—21, compared with 11·6 per cent in 1901—11. The small increase of 0·7 per cent was largely due to the influenza epidemic, but the increase for 1921—31 was only 3·1 per cent (see Subsidiary Table IX at the end of this chapter). In paragraph 57 of the 1911 Report the degree of under-enumeration in 1901 is estimated at one per cent of the total population but the reasoning on which this estimate is based does not appear to be correct (see foot-note\* below). It is difficult to estimate at all accurately the increase in population due to under-enumeration but there appears to be no doubt that censuses become progressively more and more efficient as the methods and objects of taking them become more and more familiar.

9. Variation in the population of the Comparable Area.			
Year of Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1901 ...	10,278,715	...	...
1911 ...	11,763,961	1,485,246	14·4
1921 ...	12,790,754	1,026,793	8·7
1931 ...	14,218,958	1,428,204	11·2
1901—1931 ...	...	3,940,243	38·3

In the 1921 Census Report population of the *Comparable* about 2·85 per cent of the

10. Variation in the number of Buddhists in the Comparable Area.			
Year of Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1901 ...	9,182,339	...	...
1911 ...	10,340,689	1,158,350	12·6
1921 ...	11,125,571	784,882	7·6
1931 ...	12,273,712	1,148,141	10·3
1901—1931 ...	...	3,091,373	33·7

\* In paragraph 57 of the 1911 Census Report the rate of natural increase of the total population between 1901 and 1911 is given as 12 per cent as it was considered to be about one-half per cent less than the corresponding rate for Buddhists. The difference between 12 per cent and the actual increase in the total population (14·43 per cent) is attributed in that paragraph partly to under-enumeration in 1901 and partly to migration. This appears to be a mistake: the whole should have been attributed to migration since no allowance was made for under-enumeration in 1901 in arriving at the figure of 12 per cent. Also the increase in the population between 1901 and 1911 due to migration was obtained by subtracting the number of immigrants in 1901 from the number of immigrants in 1911: this also is incorrect (see paragraph 14 of this Report).



A rough estimate can also be obtained of the rate of *natural* increase of the *total* population during 1901—11. It will be seen from marginal table 11

11. Variation in the number of non-Buddhists in the Comparable Area.			
Year of Census.	Population.	Increase since previous census.	
		Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4
1901 ...	1,096,376	...	...
1911 ...	1,423,272	326,896	29·8
1921 ...	1,665,183	241,911	17·0
1931 ...	1,945,246	280,063	16·8
1901—1931 ...	...	848,870	77·4

that the non-Buddhists increased by 326,896 during 1901—11. Now at the 1901 and 1911 censuses only 35 per cent of the non-Buddhists in the *Comparable Area* were females and the birth rate would therefore be small; also nearly half the non-Buddhists were Indians and the death rate would therefore be high. It follows that the deaths would probably exceed the births, *i.e.*, that the increase due to migration would exceed the actual increase in the number of non-Buddhists, namely, 326,896. The figures for Buddhists were probably not affected appreciably by migration. Unfortunately reliable figures for arrivals and departures by sea are not available and the increase in the total population of the *Comparable Area* due to migration cannot be estimated at all accurately. If it were 350,000 then the increase in the total population of the *Comparable Area* due to natural causes would be 1,135,246 (1,485,246—350,000) or about 11 per cent; \* if it were 400,000 the increase would be 10·6 per cent. If the under-enumeration in 1901 is taken into account the percentage increase would, of course, be less than this. As regards 1911—21 it will be seen from marginal table 11 that the actual increase in the non-Buddhist population was only 241,911. Here again it is impossible to make a reliable estimate of the increase in the total population of the *Comparable Area* due to migration. If it were 300,000 † then the increase due to natural causes would be 726,793 (see marginal table 9) or 6·2 per cent; if it were 400,000 † the increase due to natural causes would be 626,793 or 5·3 per cent.

**12. Some factors affecting the growth of the population during 1921—31.**—Before discussing the variation of the population during the last decade brief mention will be made of some of the factors which have affected it. Burma is an agricultural country and the most important factors, apart from epidemics, are the agricultural conditions, including the climatic conditions, the prices obtained for the crops and the amount of waste land available for extension of cultivation. During the last decade climatic conditions appear to have been much the same as in the previous decade. There have been the usual floods and droughts but they have been confined to comparatively small

12. Surplus of Rice* (thousands of tons).		
Year.	Exportable surplus.	Actual export.
1921-22	2,705	2,685
1922-23	2,600	2,457
1923-24	2,025	2,522
1924-25	2,825	3,406
1925-26	2,850	2,898
1926-27	3,390	3,216
1927-28	3,016	2,959
1928-29	2,880	2,941
1929-30	3,050	3,431
1930-31	3,500	3,530

\* Paddy has been converted into rice.

areas and cannot be compared with the widespread calamities that occur in parts of India. According to the Season and Crop Reports floods appear to be as frequent a cause of failure of crops as drought. But there has never been any real shortage of the food supply. This is evident from marginal table 12 in which figures are given for the estimated amount of rice and paddy available for export and also the actual amount exported. Failure of crops is, however, a frequent cause of migration.

A more important factor than climatic conditions is the amount of land available for extension of cultivation. In the Season and Crop Report for 1930-31 the cultivable waste other than fallow is given as 20,666,630 acres—practically the same as the occupied area—but a very large proportion of this could only be cultivated by incurring expenditure on costly irrigation,

\* In paragraph 57 of the 1911 Census Report the rate of natural increase of the total population between 1901 and 1911 is given as 12 per cent as it was considered to be about one-half per cent less than the corresponding rate of Buddhists. The difference between 12 per cent and the actual increase in the total population (14·43 per cent) is attributed in that paragraph partly to under-enumeration in 1901 and partly to migration. This appears to be a mistake: the whole should have been attributed to migration since no allowance was made for under-enumeration in 1901 in arriving at the figure of 12 per cent. Also the increase in the population between 1901 and 1911 due to migration was obtained by subtracting the number of immigrants in 1901 from the number of immigrants in 1911; this also is incorrect (see paragraph 14 of this Report).

† In paragraph 30 of the 1921 Census Report the increase in the population of the province due to migration was estimated at 580 thousands but this figure is apparently incorrect (see paragraph 14 of this Report).



drainage and embankment schemes. The land that can be brought under cultivation without a considerable amount of preparation would appear to be extremely limited in some parts of the province. In marginal table 13 figures are given showing the occupied area in the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions of the Burman natural division in 1920-21 and 1930-31. Figures for the North subdivision have been excluded because it is difficult to get strictly comparable figures: a very large part of the increase in the occupied area in that subdivision is due to more accurate surveys. It will be seen from the figures in column 5 of marginal table 13 that the percentage increases in the occupied area of the Centre subdivision and the Arakan portion of the Coast subdivision are very much smaller than the increases in the Delta subdivision and the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision. There is apparently very little land available for extension of cultivation in the Centre subdivision and in Arakan and as explained in paragraph 16 this has affected the increase in the population of these areas.

13. Increase in the occupied area during the decade.				
Natural Division.	Occupied area in thousands of acres.		Increase.	
	1920-21	1930-31	Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4	5
Province *	18,538	20,124	1,586	9.0
Delta	7,776	8,845	1,069	13.8
Coast (Arakan)	1,138	1,218	80	7.0
Coast (Tenasserim)	857	1,048	191	22.3
Centre	8,767	9,013	246	2.8

\* Includes only the districts in the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions of the Burman natural division.

There appears to have been a big increase in the irrigated area. Figures for the area irrigated are given in marginal table 14. The increase during the decade amounts to 316,954 acres or 27 per cent. Of a total irrigated area of 1,513,650 acres in 1930-31 no fewer than 1,427,669 or 94 per cent were under rice. The original returns of irrigated areas are compiled by revenue surveyors and there are probably considerable differences of opinion among them as to what should or should not be regarded as irrigated. The drop in the irrigated area from 1,549,189 acres in 1928-29 to 1,505,628 in 1929-30 is entirely due to the fact that in 1928-29 an area of 67,993 acres in Myitkyina district was regarded as irrigated in that year but at the recent settlement of that district the attempt to distinguish between irrigated and unirrigated areas was abandoned and the figures for 1929-30 do not contain any figures for Myitkyina. It is possible that some of the increases in previous years are largely due to differences in classification, but even so the figures appear to be sufficiently large to justify the statement that there has been a considerable increase in the irrigated area and that this has been partly responsible for the increase in population.

In certain districts industrial expansion has had appreciable effects on the increase in population. The increase in Magwe district is largely due to activity in connection with the oilfields, while the increases in Tawngpeng State (Namtü), Tavoy and Mergui districts and Bawlake State (Karenni) are largely due to mining developments. As pointed out in paragraph 16, but for the slump in silver and base metals the increase in population in these mining areas would have been appreciably greater. There has also been considerable development in means of communication. As regards railways the total length of open line has increased from 1,623 miles to 2,057 miles, an increase of 434 miles. The increases in population in the Amherst, Hanthawaddy, Magwe, Lower Chindwin, Shwebo and Myingyan districts are partly due to the construction of these new lines.

14. Gross area irrigated.	
Year.	Area in acres.
1920-21	1,196,696
1921-22	1,346,726
1922-23	1,411,242
1923-24	1,477,815
1924-25	1,483,494
1925-26	1,461,656
1926-27	1,504,327
1927-28	1,493,273
1928-29	1,549,189
1929-30	1,505,628
1930-31	1,513,650
Increase ...	316,954



Perhaps the most important feature of the decade from an agricultural point of view was the calamitous fall in prices. In marginal table 15 figures

15. Wholesale prices of boat paddy in Rangoon during January to March.	
Year.	Price in rupees per 100 baskets (46 lbs.).
1921	152
1922	185
1923	178
1924	193
1925	178
1926	185
1927	181
1928	169
1929	159
1930	138
1931	77

are given for the average wholesale prices of boat paddy in Rangoon during the harvest months (January to March) from 1921 to 1931. Prices were maintained at a satisfactory level for the first half of the decade but there was an appreciable decline in 1927-28. The following years witnessed still further declines. The fall was greatest during 1930-31. The average price during January to March 1930 was Rs. 138. By the middle of September 1930 it had risen slightly to Rs. 145, but by the third week of October it had dropped to Rs. 100. A further fall took place in January 1931 when the new crop came on the market and the average price of the new crop during January to March 1931 was Rs. 77, a level which had not been touched during the previous thirty years. This slump in prices had a very disastrous effect upon the agricultural population. The Commissioner of Settlements and Land Records in the Season and Crop Report for

1930-31 describes their condition in the following words :—

"The year was one of extreme depression for the agriculturists of Burma. The slump in prices more than wiped out any advantage from the favourable season. Agricultural economy had for many years been based on the assumption that the price of paddy would be Rs. 150 or more, and even the fall of the previous year had not opened the landlords' and tenants' eyes to the probability of a further fall. People were content to attribute the fall to the manipulations of a few firms and shut their eyes to its world-wide nature. The result was that contracts for wages were made and loans taken on the same scale as in previous years at the beginning of the cultivating season. Consequently when the crop was harvested after labour had been paid for at the rates agreed upon, and rents paid in kind at the old rates, the tenant, though left with the same share of the produce, found its value reduced by half, and was unable to repay his loan and often not even able to repay the interest. The landlord found himself receiving produce worth only half as much as in the previous year with large irrecoverable loans outstanding and land revenue to pay at the same rates. Large sacrifices of revenue were made by the Local Government in recently settled districts, in some cases as much as a third of the total revenue being remitted, and half the *kaing* assessment in Upper Burma was also remitted. Though the labourer, who received the wages agreed upon and found the price of his staple food reduced, did not do badly, and the owner cultivator was still in a fairly sound position, the tenant found himself in a desperate state and the landlord found himself unable to make advances for the next cultivating season. The result was a contracting of credit all round. Stocks were disposed of to an unusual extent to obtain ready cash, and there is a general shortage of resources which must last at least till next year's crop is reaped."

In the absence of reliable vital statistics it is, of course, impossible to measure what effect, if any, the economic depression caused by the slump in prices had on the numbers of births and deaths.

The last decade has also witnessed the growth of national feeling in Burma. Unfortunately it has tended to assume a racial bias, particularly against Indians and Chinese. Owing to the severe depression the Burman has had to take to unskilled work and has come into competition with the Indian cooly. This communal feeling first manifested itself against Indians in the Rangoon riots of May 1930 and caused large numbers of Indians to return to India. There were also assaults on Indian tenants and cultivators in the Delta districts. But for these communal troubles there is no doubt that the Indian population at the 1931 census would have been appreciably larger. The riot which took place in January 1931 between Burmans and Chinese may have caused a few Chinese to return to China but since the census was taken shortly afterwards the census figures were not appreciably affected.

Then there was the rebellion. The following description is taken from paragraph 14 of the General Summary of the General Administration Report for 1930-31 :—

"The Burma Rebellion was the event of the year, indeed of many years. Burma has hitherto enjoyed the reputation of being the most loyal and contented province in India, and the outbreak of a sudden and prolonged rebellion came as a surprise. It began on 22nd December 1930 in Tharrawaddy (75 miles north of Rangoon), a turbulent district since Burmese times and in these latter years a favourite resort of political agitators. Military Police were despatched in twenty-four hours, and regular troops followed, but by May 1931 there had been outbreaks in Prome, Yamethin, Pyapôn, Henzada, Thayetmyo and attempted outbreaks elsewhere. The rebels were tattooed in order to render them invulnerable, and many wore simple uniform, for the rising was organised. Its object was the overthrow of Government



and the enthronement of a jungle king, for in its prime origin it had little to do either with modern politics or with economic stress. It was aggravated by, just as in its turn it proceeded to aggravate, economic stress, but it originated in an outburst of mediæval superstition of a recurrent and recognisable type."

Fortunately, when the preliminary enumeration was taken, the only areas affected were Tharrawaddy district and a small portion of Pegu district; in Henzada the rebellion broke out just before the final enumeration but the preliminary enumeration had already been completed. In Tharrawaddy and Pegu there was under-enumeration as it was, of course, impossible to enumerate the rebels.

**13. Vital Statistics**—A comparison of the vital statistics and the census figures is made in Subsidiary Table V. This table covers only the districts in the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions of the Burman natural division, *i.e.*, the districts for which figures are given in Statements I and II of the annual reports of the Director of Public Health. Since 1922 "full registration" has been in force in all these areas (except a very small portion of Akyab district). According to column 8 of Subsidiary Table V the difference between the actual increase in the population of these districts and the natural increase—as revealed by the vital statistics—is 561,627. A little more than half this difference is probably due to migration; the remainder is due to errors in the census records and vital statistics. A small part of this remainder might perhaps be due to under-enumeration in 1921 as compared with 1931, but the bulk of it is due to the registration of births being more defective than that of deaths.

A comparison between the average annual birth and death rates in the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions for 1911—20 and 1921—30 is made in marginal table 16. It will be seen that the rates for 1921—30 are all appreciably smaller

16. Comparison between the average annual birth and death rates for 1911—20 and 1921—30.

Natural Division. 1	Birth rate.		Dif- ference. 4	Death rate.		Dif- ference. 7
	1911—20 2	1921—30 3		1911—20 5	1921—30 6	
Province * ...	33·6	27·57	6·09	27·69	20·95	6·74
Delta ...	32·03	23·86	8·17	26·68	19·09	7·59
Coast ...	33·55	29·13	4·42	24·18	18·99	5·19
Centre ...	35·42	31·05	4·37	29·98	23·69	6·29

\* Includes only the districts in the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions of the Burman natural division.

On the 1st October 1923, orders were issued that this procedure should cease, since when the headman has been responsible for sending the counterfoils either to the township officer or to the police-station, as directed by the Deputy Commissioner. The periodical submission of the counterfoils is determined by the distance at which the village is situated from the police station. Thus counterfoils from villages situated within five miles are submitted monthly, between five and twenty miles quarterly and over twenty miles half-yearly. There has been no change in the method of submission in towns, where the ward headmen or registrars submit the foils weekly to the municipal office. In 1921 a headman kept no book register of births or deaths but kept only the third copy of the counterfoil book. One of the foils was given to the person reporting, one was sent to the police station or township office and the third was, as already stated, retained. In 1926 the counterfoils were reduced to two and in the place of the third counterfoil, which used to be retained by the headman, a permanent book register for births and a similar register for deaths were introduced. The object of the change in the method of collecting counterfoils was to ensure more correct records but it is clear that it has not had the desired effect. The Director of Public Health has passed the following remarks regarding the change of system :—

"I am afraid that birth registration must be regarded as being more unsatisfactory in the 1921—30 decade than in the previous decade. The change in the system of collecting counterfoils in rural areas is probably the biggest factor in causing this regrettable fall in the registration of births. Another factor in support of my theory is that in the towns an increase of 50,000 took place in the number of births registered. The fall in the total births is therefore in the rural areas and can only be ascribed to defective birth registration. In many towns a



ward headman or registrar gets four annas for each registration (birth or death). No such reward is given in rural areas. Until it is, it will be difficult to markedly increase the accuracy of registration. Birth registration is, of course, much more likely to be inaccurate than death registration, for, while the whole village or village-tract knows of a death, a birth is regarded as a matter of much less consequence and can more easily escape being known by the headman.

To sum up regarding the accuracy of vital statistics, I think that urban registration has improved. Health staffs have been increased and the appointment of trained Public Health Inspectors must have led to better figures. Rural registration has become worse and the most obvious reason seems to be the alteration of the method of collection."

The decrease in the death rate would appear to be due partly to inferior registration and partly to the fact that there was no epidemic in 1921—30 similar in severity to the influenza epidemic of 1918-19. In 1930 an order was issued that rewards should be given to headmen who do the best work in registering the vital statistics but it is not known whether this has had any effect in improving the registration. In a few districts Deputy Commissioners have taken up this question of vital statistics with energy but the interest displayed cannot be said to be general. In view, therefore, of the unreliability of the vital statistics no attempt will be made to reconcile them with the census figures.

#### 14. Effect of Migration upon the Increase of Population.—

Figures for immigrants and emigrants are given in Subsidiary Table IV and it will be seen from the Note to that table that *immigrants* of an area are persons enumerated in the area but born outside it, while *emigrants* are persons born within the area but enumerated outside it. The term *migrants* includes both *immigrants* and *emigrants*. Since the words *immigrants* and *emigrants* have special meanings in this Report so also have the words *immigration* and *emigration*. *Immigration* is the movement from place to place by which a person becomes an immigrant; similarly *emigration* is the movement from place to place by which a person becomes an emigrant. Further, the increase in the population of an area during a decade which is due to *immigration* is equal to the number of persons born outside the area who come to it during the decade, less the number born outside the area who leave it during the decade, while the decrease due to *emigration* is equal to the number of persons born in the area who leave it during the decade less the number born in the area who return to it during the decade. The increase in the population due to *migration* is equal to the increase due to immigration less the decrease due to emigration and is the same as the total number of persons, irrespective of birth-place, who come to the area during the decade less the total number who leave it during the decade. This is what is ordinarily understood by "the increase due to migration."

In marginal table 17 figures are given for the immigrants and emigrants

17. Immigrants and Emigrants for Burma.			
Year of Census.		Immigrants.	Emigrants.
1931	...	775,963	24,397
1921	...	706,749	19,086
1911	...	590,965	13,353

for the whole province at the last three censuses. The figures for emigrants include only persons enumerated in India (excluding Burma), because figures for persons enumerated outside India were not available at the 1931 census. It will be noticed that the immigrants in 1931 were 69,214 more than the immigrants in 1921. This figure, however, does not represent the increase due to immigration; nor does the difference between

24,397 and 19,086 represent the decrease due to emigration during 1921—31. In estimating increases or decreases due to immigration or emigration it should be borne in mind that children born to immigrants within the area of enumeration are not immigrants, and children born to emigrants outside the area of enumeration are not emigrants. The numbers of immigrants and emigrants therefore tend to decrease naturally since their numbers are reduced by deaths and not increased by births. The death rate will, of course depend on the age-distribution and on the race, the mortality among Indians being usually greater than among indigenous races. The age-distribution will depend on when the migration took place, but unfortunately the figures for immigrants and emigrants do not give any indication of this. If the migration took place many years ago a large proportion will be in the higher age-groups and therefore the death rate will be very high. As a rule the death rate cannot be estimated at all accurately and consequently only a very rough estimate can be obtained from the figures for immigrants and emigrants of the increase of population due to migration. In the case of the figures in



marginal table 17 if the number of persons born outside Burma who died in Burma during 1921—31 was 300,000 then the increase in the population due to immigration would be  $775,963 - 706,749 + 300,000$ , *i.e.*, 369,214, whereas if the number of persons born in Burma who died in India (excluding Burma) during 1921—31 was 6,000 then the decrease in the population due to emigration would be approximately \*  $24,397 - 19,086 + 6,000$ , *i.e.*, 11,311. The increase in the population due to migration would be  $369,214 - 11,311$ , *i.e.*, 357,903. These figures are, of course, pure guesses but they show how an estimate of the increase in population due to migration can be obtained from the birth-place statistics. If accurate death rates were available for the immigrant Indians and Chinese, who form the bulk of the immigrants, a much more accurate estimate could be made in this way.

A more reliable estimate of the increase of the population due to migration can however be obtained from the figures for the numbers of sea-passengers who entered and left the province during the decade. The bulk of the sea-traffic is confined to the ports of Rangoon and Akyab. In the case of Rangoon, figures for the arrivals and departures by sea are compiled by the Port Health Officer. The figures for arrivals are his own figures and include arrivals from all ports. As regards departures the Port Health Officer has his own figures for departures to foreign ports, *i.e.*, ports outside India and Burma but those for departures to ports in India and Burma he obtains from the shipping companies. At the beginning of every calendar year he writes to the shipping companies and asks them for the figures for the previous calendar year. All the figures compiled by the Port Health Officer include through passengers, but, for some reason or other, passengers to Tavoy, Mergui and Moulmein have never been included in the figures for departures. Since the figures for arrivals include arrivals from all ports, including Tavoy, Mergui and Moulmein, the result has been that the excess of arrivals over departures has been very seriously over-estimated. Some idea of the error can be obtained from the fact that for the years 1921 to 1930 inclusive the arrivals included 129,383 passengers from Tavoy, Mergui and Moulmein. This error can of course be put right by excluding the passengers from Tavoy, Mergui and Moulmein from the figures for arrivals. But there is another difficulty and that is that the figures for departures to Indian and Burmese ports supplied by the shipping companies are deficient. They are apparently based on estimates of the numbers of tickets sold and they do not include children who are not paid for. The Port Health Officer's figures, on the other hand, are believed to be correct since the passengers are actually counted. There is, however, another record of arrivals and departures, namely that kept by the Traffic Manager of the Port Commissioners. This record is compiled from monthly reports received from shipping companies and it does not include through passengers. Apparently these figures are also based on estimates of the numbers of tickets sold and are therefore deficient, but as the errors are presumably about the same for both arrivals and departures they probably give a much better estimate of the excess of arrivals over departures than the figures compiled by the Port Health Officer. Unfortunately they are available only from April 1924. In order to obtain an estimate of the increase in the population during 1921—31 due to migration through Rangoon the figures in marginal tables 18 and 19 have been compiled. Since the 1921 census was taken on the 18th March 1921 and the 1931 census on the 24th February 1931 the figures from April 1921 to February 1931, inclusive, would probably have been the best figures on which to base an estimate, but unfortunately monthly figures for departures to Indian and Burmese ports for the year 1921 are not available in the office of the Port Health Officer; figures for the calendar years 1921 to 1923 have therefore been given in marginal table 18. The excess of

18. Sea-passengers between Rangoon and all other ports except Tavoy, Mergui and Moulmein. (Figures compiled by Port Health Officer.)

Calendar Year. 1	Arrivals. 2	Departures. 3	Excess. 4
1921 ...	291,246	252,659	38,587
1922 ...	309,043	266,398	42,645
1923 ...	332,541	243,886	88,655
Total ...	932,830	762,943	169,887

\* Approximately, since the figures for emigrants include only those enumerated in India.



arrivals over departures during January to March 1924 would be different from the excess during January to March 1921 but the difference would probably not exceed 10,000. Through passengers are included in the figures of marginal table 18 but are excluded from those of marginal table 19. In both tables passengers to and from Akyab, Kyaukpyu and Andrew Bay (Sandoway) are included since the figures for these ports are included in those for Chittagong and they cannot be separated. The sum of the totals in columns 4 of these two marginal tables comes to 296,879. Since the figures in columns 2 and 3 of marginal table 19 are probably too small, those in column 4 will also be too small; on the other hand those in column 4

19. Sea-passengers between Rangoon and all other ports except Tavoy, Mergui and Moulmein. (Figures compiled by the Traffic Manager of the Port Commissioners.)

Financial Year (April to March). 1	Arrivals. 2	Departures. 3	Excess. 4
1924-25 ...	303,884	262,809	41,075
1925-26 ...	295,015	281,323	13,692
1926-27 ...	326,562	274,407	52,155
1927-28 ...	332,689	298,692	33,997
1928-29 ...	334,722	312,550	22,172
1929-30 ...	309,882	301,181	8,701
1930-31 ...	272,491	317,291	- 44,800
Total ...	2,175,245	2,048,253	126,992

of marginal table 18 are probably too large so that the errors will to a certain extent be cancelled. In March 1931 the departures exceeded the arrivals by 9,343 and if this figure is added to 296,879 the result is 306,222, which represents the increase in the population during 1921—31 due to migration through Rangoon.

In the case of Akyab the figures for the sea traffic between Akyab and India proper are not much use since the immigrants from Chittagong usually come to Akyab by land and return by sea, and no figures are available for the land traffic. An estimate of the increase due to migration between Akyab and India proper can be made from the figures for immigrants and emigrants for Akyab district at the 1921 and 1931 censuses and from the figures for the Indian population of Akyab district at those censuses. In paragraph 16 this increase is estimated to be about 21,000.

The land traffic across the frontier between Akyab district and India proper has already been taken into account. The increase in the population due to migration across the remainder of the land frontier of Burma, and between China and the mining districts of Tavoy and Mergui by sea is best estimated from the figures for immigrants and emigrants for the frontier districts at the 1921 and 1931 censuses. According to these figures the increase due to this migration was probably in the neighbourhood of 15,000. Immigration by land from China and Siam is largely responsible for this increase. The total increase in population due to migration is therefore about 342,000, Rangoon and Akyab being responsible for 306,000 and 21,000, respectively. This is a very rough estimate and may be many thousands out but it is the best that can be made from the statistics that are available. A great deal of time has been spent in trying to get more reliable figures. Incidentally it might be mentioned that the figure given in paragraph 30 of the 1921 Census Report for the increase during 1911—21 which was due to migration, namely 580 thousands, is probably far too high. Apparently, in the migration figures for Rangoon, passengers from Tavoy, Mergui and Moulmein were included in the figures for arrivals but passengers from Rangoon to these ports were excluded from the figures for departures.

**15. Variation since 1921.**—The population of the province increased from 13,212,192 in 1921 to 14,667,146 in 1931, *i.e.*, by 1,454,954. If the population of the area enumerated for the first time in 1931 is deducted the increase is 1,436,627 or 10·9 per cent. This is the actual increase and is partly due to migration and partly to the excess of births over deaths. In paragraph 14 the increase due to migration was estimated to be 342,000 or 2·6 per cent and the increase due to natural causes will therefore be 8·3 per cent. According to Subsidiary Table VIII the Buddhists increased by 1,146,094 or 10·2 per cent. This compares with 7·6 per cent during the preceding decade. The difference is, of course, mainly due to the influenza epidemic of 1918-19. Since the figures for Buddhists are not appreciably affected by migration the rate of natural increase during the last decade will also be in the neighbourhood of 10·2 per cent. It will be seen from Subsidiary Table VIII that the increase in the non-Buddhists was only 290,533 (1,436,627—1,146,094) and since the increase due to migration, namely 342,000, is largely confined to



non-Buddhists it follows that the deaths among the non-Buddhists must have exceeded the births. This is not surprising when one considers that only two-fifths of the non-Buddhists at the 1921 and 1931 censuses were females. The variation in the population of natural divisions and smaller areas is discussed in paragraph 16.

It is customary to calculate the increase in the Natural Population. The Natural Population of an area may be defined as the number of persons born within that area who were alive on the date of the census. Figures for the natural population of the censused area are given for 1921 and 1931 in Subsidiary Table IV at the end of this Chapter. It will be seen from the Note to that table that the natural population is obtained by adding the number of emigrants to the actual population and subtracting the number of immigrants. According to Subsidiary Table IV the natural population has increased by 11·0 per cent which is slightly larger than the increase in the actual population. It is difficult to explain satisfactorily what is meant by the statement that the natural population has increased by 11·0 per cent. Briefly it means that the persons born within the province who were enumerated at the 1931 census were 11·0 per cent more numerous than the persons born in the same area who were enumerated at the 1921 census. A large increase in the natural population is usually due to previous immigration since children born to immigrants within a particular area become part of the natural population of that area. For instance, in the Delta subdivision where large numbers of immigrants have settled down the rate of increase of the natural population is 16·4 per cent whereas the rate of increase of the actual population is only 12·7 per cent.

#### 16. Variation by Natural Divisions and Smaller Areas.—

Figures showing the variation in the population of districts since 1881 are given in Imperial Table II; all the figures correspond, as far as possible, to the present boundaries of districts and the variations include increases due to extensions of the census limits. In the diagrams facing pages 22 and 24 allowance has been made for these extensions, and graphs have been drawn for the whole province and natural divisions as well as districts. The percentage increases of population (or density) have been given for districts in columns 8 to 14 of Subsidiary Table III at the end of this chapter and for townships in Provincial Table I. The map facing page 26 also shows the percentage variations by townships. In calculating these percentages, allowance has been made for extensions of the census limits. Subsidiary Table VIII gives figures for Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims for the last two decades and for each natural division while Subsidiary Table IX gives similar figures for Buddhists and non-Buddhists in the *Comparable Area* (see paragraph 11).

Variation in population is due to natural causes, *i.e.*, births and deaths and to migration but it should be borne in mind that the figures given for the variations are sometimes affected by under-enumeration, particularly for the earlier decades. In Subsidiary Table IV of this chapter figures are given for immigrants and emigrants at the 1921 and 1931 censuses and it has been explained in the preceding paragraph how an estimate of the increase in population due to migration can be obtained from these figures. It will be seen from the Note to Subsidiary Table IV that for districts and natural divisions the figures in the table for emigrants include only persons enumerated in Burma, while those for the whole province include only persons enumerated in India, excluding Burma. In the earlier Census Reports the figures for immigrants and emigrants were often very unreliable (particularly for small areas such as districts) owing to frequent changes in the boundaries of districts, but the boundaries of some districts have not been altered to any appreciable extent for many years and a little more reliance can now be placed on the figures. In Subsidiary Table V figures are given for births and deaths but, as pointed out in paragraph 13, this table is not of much use.

There are considerable differences between the rates at which the populations of the different natural divisions have increased during 1921—31. In the Burman division the rates vary from 9·5 per cent in the Centre subdivision to 15·4 per cent in the Coast subdivision; in the Shan division the increase was only 5·1 per cent while in the Salween division there was a decrease in the population. These differences are due partly to differences in the rates of natural increase and partly to migration. In considering the increases due to migration it is advisable to distinguish between the movements



of the indigenous races and those of the non-indigenous races, since the movements of these two classes of the population are often in different directions and are influenced by different circumstances. A very large proportion of the indigenous races in the Burman natural division are Buddhists and a rough idea of the movement of the indigenous races in this division can be obtained by studying the figures for Buddhists. It will be seen from column 7 of Subsidiary Table VIII that the Buddhists of the Burman division increased by 11.1 per cent, while the increases in the Delta, Coast, Centre and North subdivisions of this division were 12.2, 14.9, 8.8 and 12.3 per cent, respectively. Since the figures for Buddhists in the Burman division as a whole are only very slightly affected by migration the actual rate of increase is approximately equal to the rate of natural increase. In the case of the Coast subdivision the rate of increase was very different in the two portions of which it is composed. In the Arakan portion the Buddhists increased by only 9.5 per cent while in the Tenasserim portion the increase was 20 per cent. Thus the rate of increase for the whole of the Coast subdivision is not representative of either portion. The above figures suggest that the population of the Centre subdivision has been reduced by emigration to the Delta subdivision and probably also to the North subdivision (a small amount); that the population of the Delta subdivision has been very slightly increased by immigration from the Arakan portion of the Coast subdivision but that it has also been reduced by emigration to the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision; and that the population of the Delta has, on balance, been increased as a result of these migrations. The movements in the previous sentence refer strictly to Buddhists but they probably apply also to indigenous races as a whole. It is difficult to estimate the amount of these migrations; the matter will be further discussed in Chapter III in connection with the birth-place statistics. The *percentage increase* in the population of the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision due to migration from the Delta, is, of course, much greater than the *percentage decrease* in the population of the Delta due to this migration since the population of the former is very much less than that of the Delta.

*Delta Subdivision.*—In addition to the immigration of indigenous races into the Delta there has been immigration of non-indigenous races. The Indians in the Delta have increased from 491,145 in 1921\* to 563,080 in 1931, which is an increase of 71,935 or 14.6 per cent. Since slightly less than one quarter of the Indians in the Delta are females and as the death rate of the Indian population of the Delta is high it is probable that the birth rate is less than half the death rate, in which case the increase in the Indian population of the Delta due to migration would probably be between two and three times the actual increase. These figures are rough since no reliable figures for birth and death rates or for migration are available. The Chinese in the Delta increased from 64,276 in 1921 to 86,144 in 1931, an increase of 21,868 or 34 per cent. As there is also a shortage of females in the Chinese population of the Delta (about 27 per cent were females in 1921 and 32 per cent in 1931) it is probable that the increase due to migration would be larger than the actual increase. The total population of the Delta has increased since 1921 by 612,962 or 12.7 per cent and it would appear from the above figures that about one-third of this increase is due to migration. As a result of this large increase in population one would expect a corresponding extension of cultivation, and according to the Season and Crop Reports the occupied area of the districts in the Delta subdivision has increased from 7,776,051 acres in 1920-21 to 8,845,368 acres in 1930-31, i.e., by 1,069,317 acres or nearly 14 per cent. This is slightly larger than the rate of increase of the population. As regards the separate districts of the Delta subdivision it will be seen from Subsidiary Table III that the only district in which the increase was less than 10 per cent is Tharrawaddy. The small increase of 3 per cent is, of course, due to the activities of the rebels. Apart from the rebels who were unenumerated, there was considerable emigration to other districts. The fact that there is any increase at all shows that the enumeration in the disturbed areas—which covered over a thousand square miles—must have been carried out very carefully. Pegu district was also affected by the disturbances. The occupied area increased by 24 per cent—due largely to the activities of the Colonization Department—but the increase in population was only 10 per cent. This was probably due to defective enumeration in the disturbed areas in the north-western part of the

\* The 1921 figures for Indians which are given in this Chapter do not include Myedus, Arabs and Persians and therefore differ from those given in the 1921 Imperial Tables volume.



## PART A

[illegible]

The scale on the right is for Karenni, the Arakan Hill Tracts and the Salween Districts and that on the left for the *remaining districts*, and the Chin and Salween Divisions. For the Delta and Coast Sub-divisions and the Province of Burma the initial and final figures for the population have been entered since neither of the above scales applies.

The breaks in the lines are due to extensions of the census limits.







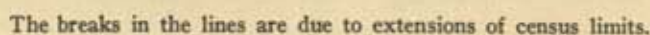
district and to emigration to safer places in other districts. In Nyaunglebin West township the population actually decreased by 7 per cent. The large increase of 38 per cent in Kawa township is apparently due to the disafforestation of the fuel reserves and the establishment of colonization centres. The occupied area of Insein district increased by only 5 per cent but the increase in population was 15 per cent. More than one-third of the increase in population occurred in the Insein township which shows an increase of 22 per cent. This large increase appears to have been largely due to the formation of the Mingaladon Cantonment and the extension of the Rangoon suburban train and bus services, the transfer of the Mental Diseases Hospital to Tadagale, the constitution of the Town Committees of Thingangyun, Kanbè, Kamayut and Thamaing and the establishment of factories in these places, and to immigration from Rangoon City. The Indian population of Insein district increased by 38 per cent during 1921-31. The population of Hanthawaddy district increased by 12 per cent compared with an increase of 8 per cent in the occupied area. The increase was partly due to the extension of the railway from Pegu to Kayan and Thongwa, Kayan township having an increase of 21 per cent and Thongwa 19 per cent. The large increase of 17 per cent in the population of Bassein district appears to be due to immigration from Henzada and other neighbouring districts: according to Subsidiary Table IV there were 51,128 immigrants in 1921 and in spite of the deaths since 1921—probably about 10,000—the number of immigrants had risen to 54,146 in 1931; on the other hand the emigrants fell from 27,232 in 1921 to 24,348 in 1931 so that the amount of emigration was comparatively small. There was a corresponding expansion of cultivation, the occupied area having increased by  $13\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. In Ngaputaw township the increase in population was as much as 40 per cent; according to the Deputy Commissioner this large increase was mainly due to more careful enumeration and better supervision by the domain controllers in 1931, although immigration is also partly responsible. Fortunately the rebellion in Henzada district did not break out till after the preliminary enumeration had been completed; only a few enumeration books were lost and only a very small part of the district had to be re-enumerated. The increase in population was 11 per cent although the occupied area increased by only  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; according to Subsidiary Table IV the population of the district was probably reduced a few thousands by migration. The density per unit of occupied area is greater in Henzada district than in any other district in the Delta. The population of Myaungmya district has increased by 20 per cent and the occupied area by 21 per cent. Extensive areas were available for extension of cultivation, particularly in the Labutta and Kanbè townships, and this induced immigration from other townships in the district and from other districts. The population of Kanbè township increased by as much as 96 per cent and that of Labutta by 84 per cent. The immigrants consisted of Indians and Chinese as well as indigenous races, the Indian population having increased by 7,657 or 39 per cent and the Chinese population by 2,839 or 63 per cent. In Maubin district the occupied area increased by 31 per cent and the population by 13 per cent. The large increase in the occupied area is due to the extension of cultivation in inundated tracts: a variety of paddy has apparently been introduced which is better suited to the flooded areas. In 1921 Henzada, Tharrawaddy and Toungoo were the only districts in the Delta (excluding Rangoon) in which the number of persons per unit of occupied area was greater than in Maubin and it would appear therefore that the large increase in the occupied area since 1921 is due to the relatively high density in 1921 as compared with neighbouring districts: if no land had been available for extension of cultivation there might have been emigration to other districts. The population of Pyapôn district increased by 16 per cent and the occupied area by only 7 per cent. Immigration was largely responsible for the increase in population, Indians having increased by 39 per cent. The increase in the population of Toungoo district was 13 per cent but there were considerable differences in the variations of the individual townships: the population of Leiktho actually decreased while that of Kyaukkyi increased by 22 per cent. In Thatôn district the increase was the same as in Toungoo. The small increase of 2 per cent in Bilin township may have been due to a reduction on the staffs on rubber estates and quarries and possibly also to emigration to Pegu district, where large accretions of land were formed. The last reason also accounts for the small increase in Kyaikto township (2 per cent).



*Centre.*—Mention has already been made of the migration of indigenous races from the Centre subdivision to the Delta and of the difficulty of estimating the amount of migration. The occupied area of the Centre subdivision increased from 8,767,130 acres in 1920-21 to 9,013,277 acres in 1930-31, an increase of 246,147 acres or only 2·8 per cent. In only two districts—Yamèthin and Prome—was there any appreciable extension of cultivation. There was, however, considerable expansion in connection with the oilfields, railways, roads and irrigation and this activity was mainly responsible for the large immigration of Indians. The Indian population of the Centre subdivision increased from 84,990 in 1921 to 112,594 in 1931, *i.e.*, by 27,604 or 32 per cent. The Chinese population increased from 8,220 in 1921 to 13,052 in 1931, *i.e.*, by 4,832 or 59 per cent. The increase in the Indian and Chinese populations was therefore 32,436 and since only about one quarter are females the increase in the population due to immigration of these two racial classes is probably nearly double this figure. As regards the individual districts, the population of Prome increased by 11 per cent and the occupied area by 10 per cent. It will be seen from the diagram facing this page that during the three previous decades the population remained practically stationary. This was largely due to emigration to other districts but during the last decade this appears to have stopped. Since 1921 the increase due to immigration appears to have exceeded the decrease due to emigration. Many of those who fled from Tharrawaddy were probably enumerated in Prome. There was a considerable increase in the Indian population—from 9,229 to 12,239 or 33 per cent. The variation in the population of Thayetmyo district has been similar to that of Prome. The increase during the last decade was only 7 per cent but this is about double what it was in the two previous decades, while during 1891—1901 there was a decrease in the population. The rainfall in Thayetmyo is precarious and there has been a reduction of the occupied area amounting to 3 per cent; there appears to have been a small amount of emigration. Prome and Thayetmyo were both important districts before the annexation as they were near the frontier line, but after the annexation their importance waned and their populations have been reduced by emigration to other districts. It will be noticed from Subsidiary Table IB that the density per unit of occupied area is greater in Prome and Thayetmyo than in any other district in the Centre subdivision (except Mandalay) and is more than twice as great as in the districts of Magwe, Meiktila, Myingyan, Shwebo, Sagaing and the Lower Chindwin. The small increase of 7 per cent in Pakòkku district is also due to emigration to Lower Burma districts and to industrial centres like Yenangyaung and Chauk. There was a succession of bad agricultural years during the decade and the occupied area increased by only 4 per cent. Yesagyó seems to have been affected most by emigration as its population has gone down by 4 per cent. The increase in the Minbu district amounted to only 1 per cent; it was largely confined to Salin township and was due, presumably, to the extension of the irrigation there. A further increase in this township is expected with the opening of the new Salin and Sinbyugyun canals which are under construction and are expected to be completed before the next census. Sidoktaya township had a small increase in population (4 per cent) during the last decade but in Ngapè, Pwinbyu and Sagu the population was about 1 per cent less than at the last census. Parts of the districts are very malarious and the death rate appears to be high. The small increase in the population may also be partly due to emigration. The large increase of 17 per cent in the population of Magwe district is due to expansion in the oilfields area and to the construction of railways and roads. The increases in Yenangyaung and Sale townships, where the oilfields are situated, were 23 and 27 per cent, respectively. The increase of 25 per cent in Taungdwingyi township is probably connected with the opening up of the railway from Pyinmana to Kyaukpadaung and the construction of the Taungdwingyi—Allanmyo and Taungdwingyi—Migyaungyè roads. The increase in the population of Mandalay district was only 4 per cent but according to Subsidiary Table IV even this small increase was due largely, if not entirely, to immigration. Accurate vital statistics are not available but it is probable that the death rate is high and the birth rate low, due perhaps to the age-distribution of the female population. Immigrants of non-indigenous races appear to have exceeded those of indigenous races. Indians increased from 30,051 to 37,725, *i.e.*, by 7,674 or 25 per cent, and Chinese from 2,266 to 3,153, *i.e.*, by 887 or 39 per cent. There was a small increase of 111 persons in the population of



CENTRE AND NORTH SUB-DIVISIONS AND SHAN DIVISION.









Mandalay municipality but a decrease of 1,096 persons in that of the cantonment; these variations will be discussed in Chapter II. About half the increase in the population of the district occurred in the Maymyo township. Immigration of Indians appears to be largely responsible for this increase but there has also been immigration of Shans from the Shan States. The population of Kyaukse district increased by only 6 per cent and the occupied area by 2 per cent. Even this small increase in population is largely due to immigration. There appears to have been a temporary immigration of agricultural labourers from the adjoining Meiktila and Myingyan districts just before the census and the remodelling of the distributaries of the Kinda canal system, in which many coolies were employed, also coincided with the closing stages of the census enumeration. Parts of Kyaukse district are very malarious and the death rate is apparently very high. According to the 1921 Census Report (paragraph 39) "it is on record that in the days of the Burmese kings Kyaukse district suffered so severely from malaria that it had to be repopulated periodically from other parts of the country." In Meiktila the increase in population was only 7 per cent, the increase in the occupied area being less than one per cent. The small increase in population appears to be due partly to emigration to neighbouring districts and partly to the removal of troops from Meiktila cantonment shortly after the 1921 census. In Yamèthin district the population increased by as much as 21 per cent, due largely to immigration. In 1920 the rains were very poor in Upper Burma and there was considerable emigration from Yamèthin district just before the 1921 census, the populations of Pyawbwè and Yamèthin townships being respectively 7 and 5 per cent less in 1921 than they were in 1911. Some of these emigrants may have returned but according to the birth-place statistics a very large proportion of those who came to the district during the last decade were persons born outside the district. The increase was greatest in Pyawbwè township (26 per cent) which may be partly due to more military police being stationed there in 1931; in other townships the increase was 19 per cent or more. The increase in the occupied area amounted to 12 per cent and was greater than in any other district in the Centre subdivision. The population of Myingyan increased by only 8 per cent and the occupied area by only one per cent. According to the birth-place statistics the population was probably reduced by migration. According to the report of a previous Deputy Commissioner quoted in the 1911 Census Report (pages 54 and 55) "emigration and immigration in Myingyan follow the barometer. It has long been an established custom in this district to migrate when scarcity threatens and to return when the rains promise a livelihood." There was a considerable increase in the Indian population, due presumably to the opening of the new railway lines from Myingyan to Paleik and from Taungdwingyi to Kyaukpadaung. The large increase of 18 per cent in the population of Shwebo district appears to be largely due to the fact that the last decade was particularly free from epidemics: there were fewer deaths registered than in the previous decade. There was also immigration from neighbouring districts, particularly Sagaing. The opening of the railway in the Ye-u subdivision and the development of irrigation in the district were probably largely responsible for this immigration. In contrast with Shwebo, the population of Sagaing increased by only 3 per cent. There has been a succession of bad agricultural years which has caused emigration to neighbouring districts, particularly Shwebo. There was also a bad epidemic of cholera in 1929 which was responsible for many deaths. The occupied area increased by only 4 per cent. The increase in the population of the Lower Chindwin district was only 8 per cent. Emigration to neighbouring districts—probably Shwebo—may be partly responsible but the birth-place statistics are not reliable since part of Shwebo district was transferred to the Lower Chindwin during the last decade. The extension of the railway to Ye-u may have had some effect on the increase in population.

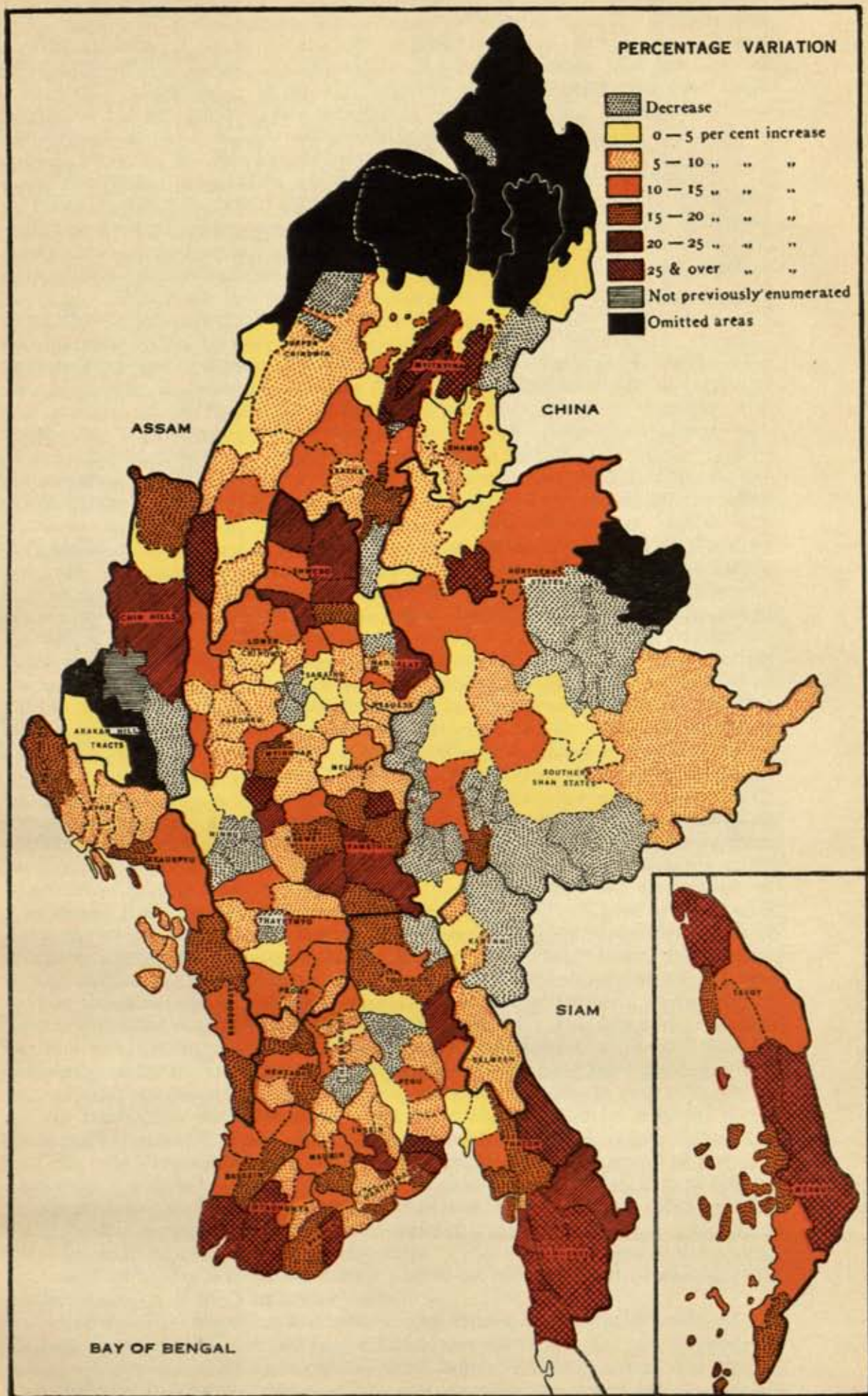
*Coast (Arakan).*—The northern portion of the Coast subdivision consists of the Akyab, Kyaukpyu and Sandoway districts. The increase in the population of Akyab district was 11 per cent. There were considerable differences in the rates at which the populations of the separate townships increased: Maungdaw and Buthidaung had increases of 18 and 16 per cent, respectively, while in Akyab and Kyauktaw the increase was only 4 per cent. Maungdaw and Buthidaung are largely composed of Indians, particularly Maungdaw. Indians form about one-third of the population of the district and there is considerable migration between the Akyab and Chittagong districts. Figures are available



for sea traffic between Akyab and Chittagong but there are no figures for the land traffic and the sea traffic figures alone are of no use in estimating the increase in the population due to immigration from India. During the last decade the Indians increased from 201,387 to 210,990, *i.e.*, by 9,603 or just under 5 per cent, while Indo-Burman races increased from 24,856 to 49,745, *i.e.*, by 24,889 or by 100 per cent. The Deputy Commissioner, Akyab, says this is due to the fact that at the last census some Arakan Mahomedans returned themselves as Indians; and he considers the 1931 figures to be correct in view of the fact that Indians and Indo-Burmans were more minutely questioned about their race in 1931. If the figures for Indians and Indo-Burman races are combined the increase is 34,492 or about 15 per cent. It is difficult to estimate at all accurately the separate increases in the Indian and Indo-Burman populations. In the Centre and Delta subdivisions the Indo-Burman races increased during the last decade by about 26 and 35 per cent, respectively. If the Indo-Burman races in the Akyab district increased by, say 30 per cent, then the actual increase would be 11,480 (assuming the 1931 figures to be correct) and the increase in the Indian population would then be 23,012, which is an increase of about 12 per cent on the estimated population in 1921, namely, 187,978 (210,990 - 23,012). But since only about 41 per cent of the Indians at the 1921 and 1931 censuses were females there would probably be not much difference between the birth and death rates of the Indian population and whatever increase there was in the Indian population would be due largely, if not entirely, to migration. The matter can also be approached from a consideration of the birth-place statistics. In 1921 the number of persons born in India who were enumerated in Akyab was 48,121 while the corresponding number in 1931 was 45,876. As no information is available regarding the age-distribution of these immigrants the death rate can only be guessed. If it were 50 per *mille* (it would be high since immigration has been going on for some time) the increase in the population of Akyab district due to immigration from India would probably be between 21,000 and 22,000. In 1921 the number of emigrants from Akyab district enumerated in India was 589; figures for 1931 are not available but if the decrease due to emigration is taken to be a few hundred then the increase due to migration (*i.e.*, the increase due to immigration less the decrease due to emigration) would be about 21,000. This figure does not differ a great deal from the estimated actual increase in the Indian population (23,012), from which it would appear that there is not very much difference between the birth and death rates of the Indian population. Races of the Burma group (mostly Arakanese, Yanbyè and Chaungtha) which form slightly more than one half of the population of Akyab district increased by only 7 per cent. According to the birth-place statistics there was a certain amount of emigration to Kyaukpyu, Sandoway, Bassein and other Lower Burma districts but this would probably amount to only three or four thousands; there was no appreciable immigration from other districts in Burma. The rate of natural increase of the races of the Burma group in Akyab district during the last decade would appear therefore to be in the neighbourhood of 8 per cent. The occupied area increased by only 4 per cent. The increase in the population of Kyaukpyu district was 10 per cent, the same rate of increase as that of the occupied area. Part of the increase—probably about two or three thousands—appears to be due to immigration: according to the birth-place statistics most of the immigrants were born in Akyab or India. Races of the Burma group, which form about 88 per cent of the population, increased by 9 per cent; the rate of natural increase would probably be about one per cent less than this, or about the same as in Akyab district. The population of Sandoway district increased by 15 per cent which is appreciably larger than the rates of increase for Akyab and Kyaukpyu. It is rather difficult to account for this large increase. Immigration is not responsible since the emigrants, if anything, exceeded the immigrants. Two British India Steam Navigation Company's steamers arrived at Andrew Bay on the morning after the census and their passengers and crew were included in the population of the district but they only amounted to 720. The Deputy Commissioner says that a large part of the increase is due to better enumeration in 1931. There does not appear to be any other explanation. The races of the Burma group, which represent about 88 per cent of the population, increased by 15 per cent and since there was very little migration this figure represents approximately the rate of natural increase. Since the rate of natural increase of the races of the Burma group in the Akyab



MAP OF BURMA SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE VARIATION  
OF POPULATION BY TOWNSHIPS AND STATES









and Kyaukpyn districts was only about 8 per cent the under-enumeration in 1921 in Sandoway district appears to have been considerable.

*Coast (Tenasserim).*—The southern portion of the Coast subdivision consists of the Amherst, Tavoy and Mergui districts. All districts in this portion had considerable increases in population: Amherst 24 per cent, Tavoy 15 and Mergui 20. Immigration is, of course, largely responsible. In the case of Amherst it is difficult to give a satisfactory explanation for the very large increase. In marginal table 20 figures are given for immigrants and emigrants. If these figures are correct it is doubtful whether the increase in population due to migration was more than 25,000 and it was probably appreciably less. The figures for emigrants do not include any persons enumerated in countries outside Burma, *e.g.*, Siam, since no figures are available but the numbers would not be large. Taking the increase due to migration as 25,000 the increase due to the excess of births over deaths comes to 73,323. This is a very large increase for a district whose population in 1921 was only 417,910. The rate of increase is about 17 per cent. This is equivalent to about 16 per mille per annum, which is a very large figure for the difference between the birth and death rates. There appear to be two possible explanations: either the birth-place statistics are very far from correct or there was under-enumeration in 1921. It seems probable that there was considerable under-enumeration in the non-synchronous areas in 1921. The population in 1921 of the areas enumerated non-synchronously at that census was 25,466; the population of these areas in 1931 was 36,387, an increase of 10,921 or about 43 per cent. At the 1921 census the Township Officers of Kya-in and Kawkareik experienced great difficulty in carrying out the census in the non-synchronous areas; the success of the 1931 enumeration in these areas is, in a great measure, due to the efforts of the Divisional Forest Officers of the Thaungyin and Ataran divisions and their staffs. The increases in Mudon, Amherst and Ye townships are largely due to the opening up of the railway to Ye and to the extensions of rubber cultivation: some part of the increase in Ye township may also be due to better enumeration in 1931. The increase in Kyaikmaraw township appears to be mainly due to extensions of cultivation. The occupied area of the district increased by about 19 per cent. The extensions of cultivation were mostly paddy land but the area under rubber also increased considerably during the decade. Unfortunately the census coincided with the slump in rubber and the staffs on rubber estates were very much depleted. The increase in population seems to have been largely confined to the rural areas since Moulmein town had an increase of only 7 per cent and the population of Kawkareik town was practically the same as in 1921. There was a small decrease in the Indian population of the district; apparently the excess of of deaths over births was more than sufficient to counterbalance the increase due to migration. The Chinese population, 11,287, was about one-third larger than at the previous census. The population of Tavoy district increased by 15 per cent and the occupied area by nearly 17 per cent. The large increase was partly due to immigration of indigenous races, Indians and Chinese. But for the slump in tin the increase in the population would have been greater. The increase in population of Mergui district amounted to 20 per cent. Immigration in connection with the rubber and tin mining industries may be partly responsible but the Deputy Commissioner considers that the slump in rubber and tin was responsible for a drop of several thousands during the last year or two of the decade; he is of the opinion that the increase is largely due to better enumeration in 1931. Apparently in the Victoria Point subdivision in 1921 the houses were not visited: the headmen were sent for and the schedules filled in from information supplied by them. The occupied area of the district increased by as much as 42 per cent; part of it—about 20,000 acres—was due to the extension of the area under rubber.

20. Immigrants and Emigrants for Amherst district.			
Year of census.		Immi grants.	Emigrants.
1931	...	42,128	20,943
1921	...	40,432	21,686

*North.*—The North subdivision of the Burman division consists of the Bhamo, Myitkyina, Katha and Upper Chindwin districts. In this subdivision a large proportion of the indigenous races belong to the Burma, Tai (Shan), Sak and Kachin groups. Races of the first three groups are usually Buddhists while Kachins are usually Animists. The Buddhist population increased by 12·3 per cent during the last decade but the figures for Kachins are practically



the same as in 1921. The increase in the Buddhist population is partly due to immigration. According to column 11 of Subsidiary Table III of Chapter III these Buddhists appear to have come largely from the Centre subdivision and the Shan States. The figures for immigrants and emigrants are given in

21. Immigrants and Emigrants for the North subdivision.			
Year of Census.		Immigrants.	Emigrants.
1931	...	77,533	9,715
1921	...	74,570	8,988

marginal table 21. It will be noticed that at both censuses the figures for immigrants were considerably larger than those for emigrants. This was also true at the 1901 and 1911 censuses. Immigration into the North subdivision has now been going on for a considerable number of years. From the figures in marginal table 21 it is not possible to form an accurate estimate of the increase in the population due to migration, since the age-distributions of the immigrants and emigrants are not known, but if the death rate is taken to be 30 per *mille* then the increase due to migration would probably be about 19,000. Immigration of Indians is largely responsible for this increase. The Indian population of the North subdivision increased during the decade from 24,106 to 32,075, *i.e.*, by 7,969 or 33 per cent. The increase due to immigration of Indians would of course be appreciably larger than this figure—possibly 50 per cent larger—since the deaths among Indians exceed the births. The Chinese population increased from 7,102 to 9,608, *i.e.*, by 2,506 or 35 per cent so that Chinese immigration would be responsible for another 3 or 4 thousands. As regards the separate districts the population of Bhamo increased by only 7 per cent. Immigration appears to be partly responsible for the increase. The increases in the Bhamo and Shwegu townships were 15 and 8 per cent, respectively, and in the Shwegu and Sinlum Kachin Hill Tracts, one and two per cent, respectively. The hill tracts form 71·4 per cent of the area of the district and contain 45·1 per cent of the population and judging by the small increase in population the Kachins evidently find it difficult to eke out a living. The population of Myitkyina district increased by 16 per cent and that of Katha by 10 per cent. During the decade a large part of Katha district was transferred to Myitkyina district and the birth-place statistics are of no use in estimating the increase in population due to migration. There appears to have been a considerable extension of cultivation in both districts. The Indians in the combined districts increased from 16,710 to 23,610 *i.e.*, by 6,900 or 41 per cent. There was a small decrease in the number of Kachins in the combined districts. The decrease of 8 per cent in the population of Sadon subdivision is apparently due to the poorness of soil and the high death rate. The large decrease of 30 per cent in the population of the Hkamti Long Shan States is due to emigration; many of the emigrants have now settled in the Myitkyina and Mogaung townships. The very large increase of 43 per cent in Mogaung township is mainly due to immigration. There have been very large extensions of cultivation in this township during the last 30 years with corresponding increases of population. The population of the Upper Chindwin district increased by 10 per cent. Kalemyo township had the biggest increase, 31 per cent, due presumably to immigration from neighbouring districts. The construction of the Kalewa—Kalemyo road is probably responsible for the immigration. The decrease in the population of Kanti State appears to be due to its unhealthiness and remoteness. The small increases in the Somra Tract, Thaungdut State and Kalewa township are probably due to the same causes. According to the Season and Crop Reports the occupied area of the Upper Chindwin district increased from 103,074 acres in 1920-21 to 167,977 acres in 1930-31, which is an increase of 64,903 acres. The greater part of this increase appears to be due to more accurate surveys.

*Shan.*—The population of this division increased by 5·1 per cent; in the Northern Shan States the rate of increase was 8·6 per cent and in the Southern Shan States 2·7 per cent. According to Subsidiary Table IX the Buddhists in the Northern and Southern Shan States increased by 7·7 and 0·9 per cent, respectively, compared with 3·7 and -0·7 per cent, respectively, in the previous decade. The higher rates are largely due to the fact that there was no epidemic during 1921-31 corresponding in severity to the influenza epidemic of 1918-19. The reason for the small increase in the Buddhists of the Southern Shan States is not apparent; in the 1921 Census Report (paragraph 39) it was suggested that low fertility or high infantile mortality might be the cause. The figures for immigrants and emigrants in the Northern and Southern Shan



States are given in marginal tables 22 and 23. It will be seen from the figures in these two tables that in both the Northern and Southern Shan States the increase in the population is partly due to migration. According to marginal table 24 there is a big increase in the number of immigrants from the Northern Shan States enumerated in the Southern Shan States while there is a small decrease in the number of immigrants from the Southern Shan States enumerated in the Northern Shan States. There would appear therefore to have been migration from the Northern to the Southern Shan States. In the Northern Shan States there was considerable immigration from India and Nepal; Indians (including Gurkhas) have increased from 10,051 to 21,253, *i.e.*, their numbers have been more than doubled. There has also been immigration from China into the Northern Shan States where the Chinese population has increased from 50,682 to 60,550,

*i.e.*, by 9,868 and this increase would appear to be largely, if not entirely, due to immigration. It will also be noticed from marginal table 24 that there has been immigration from India, Nepal, China and Siam into the Southern Shan States; Indians increased from 6,682 to 11,351, *i.e.*, by 4,669 or 70 per cent. In the Northern Shan States the rate of increase of population was greatest in Tawngpeng State, namely, 39 per cent. This is due to increased employment at Namtu and but for the slump in silver and the base

metals the increase would have been much greater. South Hsenwi again shows a decrease in population. Prohibition of opium cultivation appears to be partly responsible and there has also been a considerable number of deaths from *mak-aw-lam*.\* In East and West Manglūn there were decreases in population. The famine of 1928 is said to have caused a considerable number of deaths but the decreases appear to be due mainly to the inaccuracy of the estimate in East Manglūn and to under-enumeration in West Manglūn. The devastation of the Shweli valley by wild elephants and the unhealthiness of the State appear to be largely responsible for the small increase in the Mōng Mit State. In the Southern Shan States Yawngghwe had an increase of 11 per cent and Kengtung 8 per cent. Of the smaller states about one-third show increases. On the map facing page 26 the states in which there was an increase of population are coloured.

The Salween division consists of the Karenni States and the Salween district. The population of the Karenni States decreased by 8 per cent. Bawlake and Kyebogyi had increases of 9 and 1 per cent, respectively, but in Kantarawadi there was a decrease of 17 per cent. The decrease in Kantarawadi is largely due to the falling off of the timber trade. The increase in Bawlake appears to be due to the increased activity at the Mawchi Mines, which attracted a considerable number of coolies. Salween district had an increase of 8 per cent. Part of the increase appears to be due to the opening up of new agricultural areas and to the activity at the Mawchi Mines.

*Chin.*—This division consists of the Chin Hills district and the Arakan Hill Tracts. There was an increase in the area of the Chin Hills district during the decade; in 1929 the Pakōkku Hill Tracts were included and in 1930 some

22. Immigrants and Emigrants for the Northern Shan States.

Year of Census.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.
1931 ...	59,614	20,322
1921 ...	51,952	14,953

23. Immigrants and Emigrants for the Southern Shan States.

Year of Census.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.
1931 ...	30,555	17,642
1921 ...	17,750	17,415

24. Immigrants enumerated in the Northern and Southern Shan States in 1921 and 1931.

Birth-place.	Northern Shan States.		Southern Shan States.	
	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.
Northern Shan States	...	...	3,464	8,826
Southern Shan States	5,790	5,336	...	...
Karenni	...	5	312	473
Divisional Burma	12,356	12,482	3,449	4,733
India	7,187	12,220	3,294	4,689
China	24,514	22,962	3,095	4,629
Nepal	1,865	6,322	1,465	2,943
Siam	13	23	2,226	3,940
Elsewhere	227	264	445	322
Total	51,952	59,614	17,750	30,555

\* This is the name given by *Se-sayus* to various diseases, but apparently it does not exist as a separate pathological entity. In the Shan States where the name originated it is usually given to cases of pernicious malaria.



unadministered territory was brought under administration and added. This previously unadministered territory was enumerated for the first time in 1931 and had a population of 18,327. Excluding this area the population increased from 138,878 to 152,910, *i.e.*, by 14,032 or about 10 per cent. This increase is partly due to more settled conditions and to the absence of any serious epidemic. The Deputy Commissioner thinks it is also partly due to better enumeration in 1931 since the services of better educated enumerators were available. The increase in the Kanpetlet subdivision (formerly the Pakòkku Hill Tracts) may be partly due to the fact that in 1921 only an estimate was made of the population of the portion that was then unadministered. The area of the Arakan Hill Tracts was also increased during the decade by the addition of some previously unadministered territory but the new area was not enumerated. The population of the enumerated portion increased by only 2 per cent. The small increase is probably due to the unhealthiness of the locality.

*Summary.*—It will be gathered from the foregoing account of the variation in population that movements of the indigenous races are largely determined by the amount of waste land available for extension of cultivation. In the Centre subdivision and the Arakan portion of the Coast subdivision the land that can be brought under cultivation without a large expenditure of capital and labour would appear to be extremely limited, and cultivators are finding it more and more difficult to eke out a living. Fortunately land has been available in the Delta and North subdivisions and in the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision and this accounts for the migration of the indigenous races to these areas. There has also been a considerable amount of migration within each subdivision of the Burman natural division. This can be seen from the map facing page 26: it will be noticed that in most districts there are considerable differences between the rates at which the populations of the individual townships have increased. The reason for the small increase in the indigenous population of the Shan division is not apparent.

The non-indigenous races are mostly Indians and Chinese. The Indian population of the province has increased from 881,357 to 1,017,825, *i.e.*, by 136,468 or 15½ per cent, while the Chinese population has increased from 149,060 to 193,594, *i.e.*, by 44,534 or 30 per cent. In the case of the Chinese the increase is due largely, if not entirely, to migration; in the case of the Indians the increase due to migration is probably at least double the actual increase. The immigration of Indians and Chinese has not been confined to a few districts: it has spread all over the province. In practically every district there has been an increase in their numbers.

**17. Houses.**—The number of houses is given for districts in Imperial Table I and for townships and states in Provincial Table I, while Subsidiary Table VII gives the average number of persons per house and the average number of houses per square mile for districts and natural divisions. A house was defined as the separate residence of a family, a residence being considered separate if it had a separate entrance from the common way. This was the same definition as in 1911 and 1921. If a building was jointly occupied by two or more families it was treated as one house if the families shared meals and as two or more if they cooked and ate separately. In hotels each room or suite of rooms allotted to a different traveller or family was treated as a house. In the case of cooly lines the tenement was taken as the house. Monasteries, *zayats*, schools, godowns and field huts and all other buildings were treated as houses if used as dwelling houses. It will be seen from Subsidiary Table VII that there has been a progressive decrease since 1891 in the average number of persons per house. In the 1921 Census Report it is stated that no confidence can be placed in the figures as there is no sufficient safeguard against the copying of wrong numbers into the registers, and it is suggested that in some cases the highest serial house-number may have been taken as a substitute for the number of occupied houses. As regards the figures for 1921 and 1931 the census arrangements were practically the same at the two censuses and there is no reason to suppose that the 1931 figures are more (or less) accurate than the 1921 figures. It will be noticed that in practically all districts there has been a reduction since 1921 in the average number of persons per house. In the greater part of the province and particularly in the rural areas the ordinary definition of house applies, namely,



the separate residence of a family, and, as pointed out in the 1921 Census Report, by *family* is meant *household* (in Burmese *ein-daung*). If, therefore, any reliance can be placed on the figures there would appear to have been a reduction since 1921 in the average size of the Burmese household.

**18. Calculation of Areas.**—As stated in paragraph 1 the areas of all districts, townships and states have been worked out afresh. The inaccuracy of many of the figures given in previous Census Reports was first brought to notice by the Deputy Commissioner, Pakôkku, who pointed out that the area of Pakôkku district as given in the 1921 Census Report was 872 square miles larger than the area worked out by planimeter from Survey of India maps, although the boundaries of the district had remained unaltered since 1921. The areas of other districts were then calculated and large differences were often found between the figures as obtained by planimeter and those reported by Deputy Commissioners. On going into the matter further it was learnt that the areas of practically all districts in Burma were last worked out about the year 1896 by the Surveyor-General's office in Calcutta from maps supplied by Commissioners of divisions (Myitkyina and the Upper Chindwin districts were omitted as their boundaries were not defined). The figures given in the Census Reports of 1901, 1911 and 1921, in District Gazetteers and in other Government reports and publications have apparently been based on these figures. When a portion of a district has been transferred to another district the area of the portion transferred has been subtracted from the former and added to the latter but the combined area of the two districts has remained the same. There have been many changes in the boundaries of districts since 1896 and as the areas of the portions transferred may not have been calculated accurately serious errors may have been introduced. It is also possible that in 1896 the exact boundaries of some districts were not known. It was therefore decided to calculate the areas afresh. Unfortunately the Survey of India maps in the office of the Commissioner of Settlements and Land Records could not be used since the district and township boundaries on them had not been kept up-to-date. However the Director of the Burma Circle (Survey of India), Maymyo, very kindly allowed the office copies of his maps to be used. Most of the maps were modern style maps (dating from 1905) but some of them were based on much earlier surveys. Degree sheets ( $\frac{1}{4}$  inch) were used whenever possible but  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch and 1 inch sheets were also used if more recent than the  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch. In each  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch sheet there are 16 squares and the area of each district falling in each square was calculated by planimeter; the sum of the figures so obtained for each square was then compared with the area of the square as given in the Auxiliary Tables (published by the Geodetical Branch of the Survey of India) and the figures increased or reduced proportionately so as to make the total agree with the figure given in the Tables. The areas of the districts were then obtained by adding up the figures for the different squares. The areas of townships were worked out in a slightly different manner: the area of each township (or state) in each *sheet* (not square) was calculated and the figures obtained for each sheet were increased or reduced proportionately so as to make the total agree with the area of the sheet as given in the Auxiliary Tables. By adding up the figures for the different sheets figures were obtained for townships and districts. Thus figures for districts were obtained in two different ways. This was considered advisable in order to have some sort of check on the working. The two results usually differed by only a few square miles; where the difference was greater than this the reason for the difference was investigated. The planimeter work was done in Maymyo but the checking of the work and the compilation was done in the Census Office in Rangoon. Where there was any doubt as to the correctness of the working the sheet was done over again, a planimeter and sheets being borrowed from the office of the Commissioner of Settlements and Land Records. In some cases the boundaries had been altered since the date of publication of the sheet; in other cases they were not shown at all (this applies particularly to the older sheets on which township boundaries were not shown) while in a few others the boundaries were incorrect. In all these cases the correct boundaries had to be looked up from the notifications and this entailed a great deal of extra work. When the revised figures were compared with the ones reported by Deputy Commissioners many large differences were found. The most striking are shown in marginal table 25. The biggest difference is in the case of



Bhamo district. The area given in the 1901 Census Tables is 4,146 square miles but in Note 5(h) to Imperial Table I on page 4 of the 1911 Census Tables volume it is stated that the areas of the Kachin Hills were excluded from the area given for Bhamo district in 1901 and the area was increased to 6,903 square miles. This was a mistake as the Deputy Commissioner, Bhamo, has verified that the Kachin Hills were not excluded. The mistake was repeated in the 1921 Census Tables. The boundaries of Bhamo district have not been changed since 1901 and the revised figure is the same as that given in the 1901 Census Tables. The large differences in the case of Kyaukpyu, Sandoway and Mergui may be partly due to inclusion of islands or water areas which may have been omitted from

25. Difference between old and revised figures.			
District or other area.	Area in square miles.		
	Old figure.	Revised figure.	Difference.
Arakan Hill Tracts	1,501	1,901	+ 400
Kyaukpyu ...	4,387	4,767	+ 380
Sandoway ...	3,784	4,157	+ 373
Amherst ...	7,105	7,410	+ 305
Mergui ...	10,050	10,906	+ 856
Toungoo ...	6,128	6,456	+ 328
Minbu ...	3,293	3,594	+ 301
Pakòkku ...	6,210	5,356	- 854
Bhamo ...	6,903	4,146	- 2,757
Upper Chindwin ...	16,037	14,867	- 1,170
Northern Shan States	20,177	21,400	+ 1,223
Southern Shan States	36,153	36,416	+ 258

previous calculations. These districts contain innumerable islands and several estuaries and it is often very difficult to say where the boundary lies. The difference in the Amherst district is apparently due to under-estimation of the area of the Kawkaik township: the revised figure is 1,951 square miles compared with the old figure of 1,646. The very large difference for Pakòkku district cannot be explained. In the Upper Chindwin district the boundaries of Kanti State and Homalin township and the loosely administered and unadministered territories associated with that district have apparently not been defined and consequently the figures are only approximate; the areas were worked out from maps supplied by the Deputy Commissioner. The figure given for the area of the Upper Chindwin district in the 1921 Census Report, namely 16,037 square miles, apparently includes a large amount of territory north of latitude 26°. The revised figures for the various states in the Northern Shan States are all larger than the old ones, *e.g.*, the old figures for Tawngpeng and West Manglūn are 781 and 500, respectively, and the revised ones 938 and 878, respectively. The areas of East and West Manglūn and the uncontrolled Wa States were worked out from a map supplied by Mr. G. E. Harvey, I.C.S. With one or two exceptions there is very little difference between the old and revised figures for the States in the Southern Shan States. At the last census the Myitkyina, Mogaung and Kamaing subdivisions in the Myitkyina district were taken to be half plains area and half Kachin Hill Tracts. These proportions appear to have been very inaccurate. The boundaries between the township areas of the Myitkyina, Mogaung and Kamaing subdivisions and the Hill Tracts have never been defined and the figures for the areas of the townships (*i.e.*, the plains areas) and the hill-tracts were worked out from a map supplied by the Deputy Commissioner. The total plains area in the Myitkyina district comes to 1,896 square miles, more than half of which is in the Myitkyina township. The areas of the Kachin Hill Tracts in the Bhamo and Katha districts were also worked out from maps supplied by the Deputy Commissioners. There are many large differences in the old and revised figures for townships but they are too numerous to mention. It is not known when, how or by whom the old figures for townships were calculated. In order to check the revised figures for townships some Deputy Commissioners were asked to send Survey of India  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch sheets showing the correct township boundaries, or a tracing from these sheets. Sometimes a Land Records map of the district on the same scale was also sent but as a rule these maps were not accurate, particularly in the case of uncultivated areas.

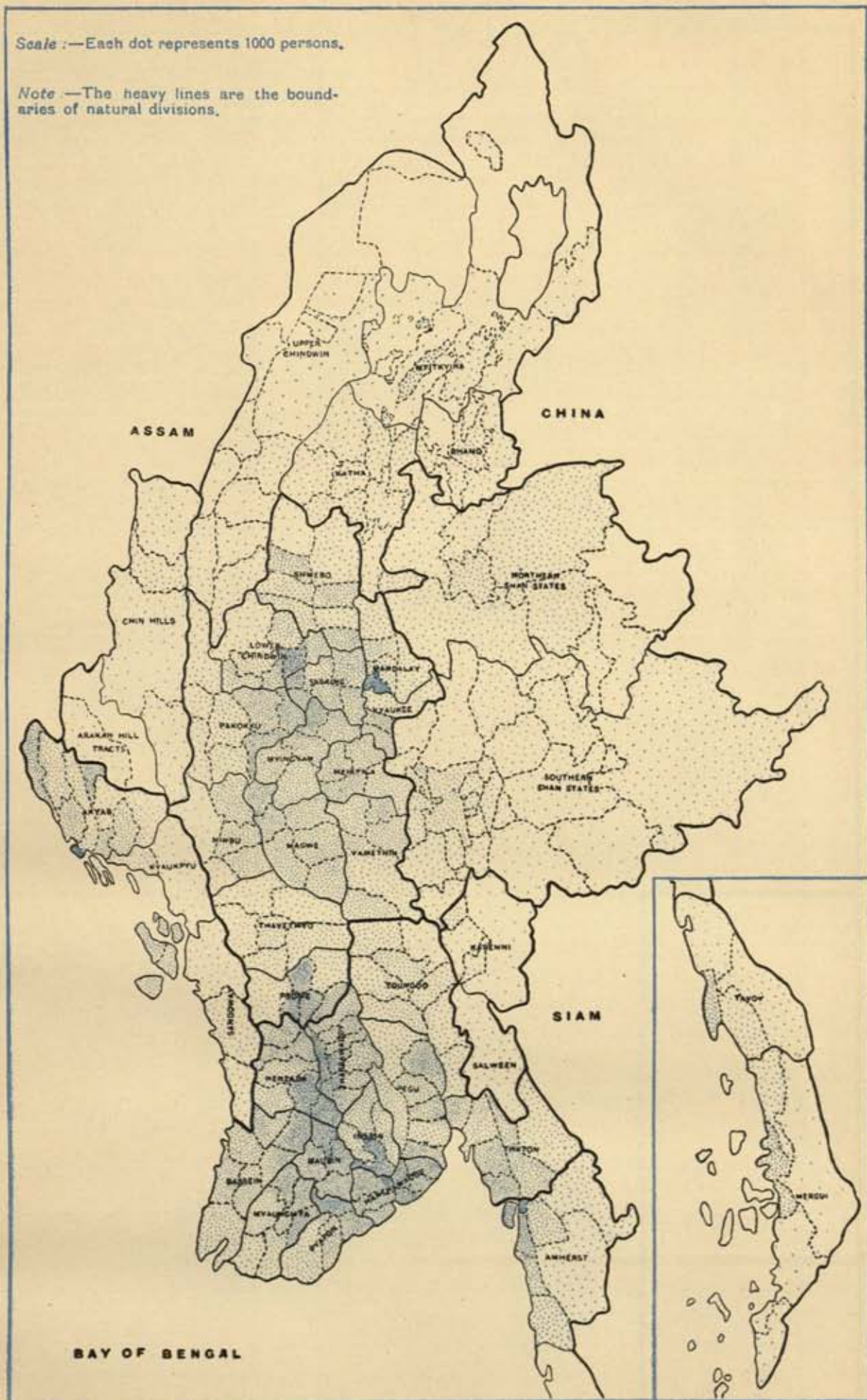
**19. Density of Population.**—Figures for density of population are given in Subsidiary Tables IA, IB, II, III and VI of this Chapter and also in Provincial Table I (at the end of the volume of Imperial Tables), where figures are given for townships and states as well as districts. In marginal table 26 the density of population in Burma is compared with that in the other major provinces. It will be noticed that Burma has the largest area of any province in India but that in point of population it only comes



MAP OF BURMA SHOWING DENSITY OF POPULATION BY  
TOWNSHIPS AND STATES

Scale :—Each dot represents 1000 persons.

Note.—The heavy lines are the boundaries of natural divisions.





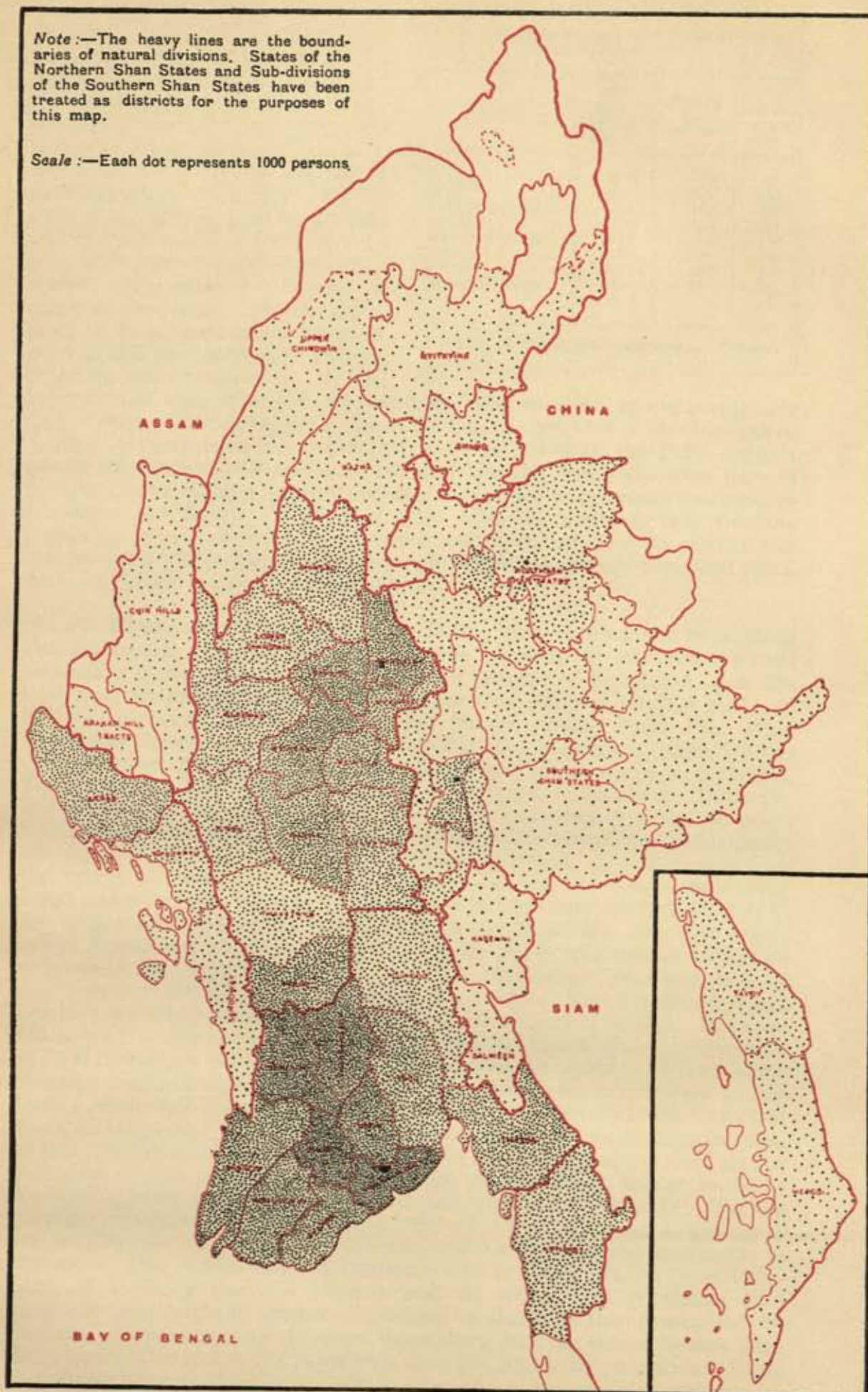




# MAP OF BURMA SHOWING DENSITY OF POPULATION BY DISTRICTS

**Note:**—The heavy lines are the boundaries of natural divisions. States of the Northern Shan States and Sub-divisions of the Southern Shan States have been treated as districts for the purposes of this map.

**Scale:**—Each dot represents 1000 persons









eighth. The difference between the densities in Bengal and Burma is very striking. In the two maps facing page 32 the density of population is shown by districts and townships, respectively. Each dot represents a thousand persons and the effect of this is to produce dark shading in densely populated areas and light shading in sparsely populated areas. This method appears to have advantages compared with the method of hatching used in the 1911 and 1921 Census Reports as it does away with the arbitrary character of classes. Also there is no need to calculate any areas. On the other hand it is a much more laborious process and also extremely difficult to get the dots the same size. It will be seen from these maps that the population is by no means spread evenly over the province. The township map gives perhaps the best idea of the distribution. A large proportion of the population is to be found in the Delta districts and in the districts between Mandalay and Magwe. The only other parts of the province containing densely populated areas are in the neighbourhood of Moulmein and Akyab. It will be noticed from the township map that the population in each district is by no means evenly spread over the district and that most districts contain densely populated as well as sparsely populated areas. Amherst district is a good example of this.

26. Population per square mile in Indian Provinces (including States), 1931.

Province.	Area (thousands of square miles).	Population (millions).	Population per square mile.
Burma ...	233.0	14.7	63
Bengal ...	83.0	51.1	616
United Provinces ...	112.2	49.6	442
Madras *	143.9	47.2	328
Bihar and Orissa ...	111.7	42.3	379
Bombay ...	187.1	30.4	162
Punjab ...	136.3	28.5	209
Central Provinces ...	131.1	18.0	137
Assam ...	67.3	9.2	137

\* Figures for Cochin and Travancore are excluded.

**20. Pressure of Population.**—It has been pointed out in previous Census Reports that the figures for density obtained by dividing the total population by the area do not represent the pressure of population upon the land, since no discrimination is made between the different kinds of land: all land is included whether it is fertile, barren, urban, rural, etc. More satisfactory figures are obtained by dividing the population either by the cultivable area, the area occupied for cultivation, or the area actually cultivated. Figures for density calculated in this way are given in Subsidiary Table IB. But the figures for cultivable area are not very satisfactory since the word "cultivable" is an elastic one and liable to different interpretations. Perhaps the best figure for density is that based on the occupied area. It will be seen from the figures in column 5 of Subsidiary Table IB that the figures for density based on the occupied area are much higher in the Coast subdivision than in the Centre subdivision—the only exceptions are Mandalay, which is largely urban, Prome and Thayetmyo. The reason for this is that land in the Centre subdivision does not yield as much as land in the Delta. This appears to be due mainly to the insufficient rainfall in the Centre. The population which can be supported is largely dependent upon the amount of rainfall. But rainfall is not the only factor, as will be seen from the figures given in columns 8 to 10 of Subsidiary Table IB for the ratio between the density and the rainfall. It will be noticed that the figures in those columns for the districts in the Centre subdivision are much larger than those for the districts in the Delta and Coast subdivisions. In the Centre subdivision irrigation has done a great deal to conserve the water and thereby increase the food supply, and it must also be remembered that excessive rain may cause floods, which appear to be as frequent a cause of failure of crops in this province as drought. But the pressure of population on the land depends not only on what can be got out of the land but also on the standard of living which the population endeavours to maintain. The Indian cooly or cultivator who comes to Burma has a lower standard of living than the Burman and the pressure of population in a particular area might be greater if occupied by Burmans than if occupied by Indians. Until comparatively recent times there does not appear to have been any considerable pressure of population upon the land in this province. There has always been plenty of waste land in some part of the province available for extension of cultivation. The reasons usually given for the sparseness of the population in Burma are its isolation and what is called in the 1911 Census Report "the cumulative effect of almost continuous warfare protracted through



centuries of time." During the twenty or thirty years which followed the annexation of Upper Burma there was a particularly rapid extension of cultivation, and while the indigenous population was confining itself largely to agricultural extension the deficiency of labour in the commercial and industrial occupations was filled by immigrant races, mainly Indians. But, as has been pointed out earlier in this Chapter, the land which can be brought under cultivation without a large expenditure of capital is now exceedingly limited in many parts of the province. The Burman has therefore endeavoured to obtain a share in the industrial life of the province and has come into competition with the Indian. Much of the work that is at present done by Indians could be done by Burmans and it is probable that there will be a keener competition for this work in the future. For the more skilled occupations, such as those connected with engineering in all its branches, the Burman would appear to be temperamentally suited, but his lack of training is often a drawback. As regards commerce it remains to be seen whether the Burman will be able to compete successfully. According to the 1901 Census Report (paragraph 169) "the Burman, as we know him, is essentially a non-migratory, unbusiness-like, irresponsible creature, perfectly incapable of sustained effort, content with what can be gained by a minimum of toil." This may be true of the Burman of thirty years ago but it does not quite fit the Burman of to-day. Thirty years ago when land was plentiful and there was not much difficulty in making a living the Burman presumably did not see the force of working a whole day if he could get what he wanted by working half a day. But conditions are very different now and one wonders what the Census Superintendent of 1901 would have said if he had seen Burman gangs of stevedore coolies working in Rangoon. It is impossible to say what will happen in the future. Much depends on the attitude of Government towards immigration. But this is a political matter and is outside the scope of this Report.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IA.—*Density, water-supply and crops in the Burman Natural Division.*

District and Natural Division.	Mean density per square mile in 1931.	Percentage of total area.					Percentage of cultivated area in 1930-31.		Percentage of area cultivated in 1930-31 which is irrigated.	Normal rainfall (inches).	Percentage of gross cultivated area cropped in 1930-31 with				
		Not available for cultivation.		Cultivable.			Cultivated in 1930-31.	Double cropped.			Rice.	Beans.	Other cereals and pulses.	Oil-seeds.	Other crops.
		Reserved Forests and Fuel Reserves.	Other.	Total.	Occupied for cultivation.	Cultivated in 1930-31.									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Burman ...	82	20	38	42	22	18	44	3	9	...	69	3	5	11	12
<i>Della</i> ...	152	22	22	56	39	37	66	...	2	109	92	1	...	...	7
Rangoon ...	16,146	...	85	15	12	12	79	...	3	99	76	...	...	...	24
Insein ...	173	24	7	69	51	50	72	...	...	90	93	...	...	...	7
Hanthawaddy ...	212	1	16	83	78	75	90	...	...	113	94	...	...	...	6
Tharrawaddy ...	181	37	4	59	37	35	59	...	...	88	89	4	1	...	6
Pegu ...	119	37	13	50	45	42	85	...	2	127	97	...	...	...	3
Bassein ...	138	17	30	53	36	35	65	...	1	109	93	1	...	...	6
Henzada ...	220	31	21	48	39	38	78	...	1	84	83	2	2	1	12
Myaungmya ...	158	16	11	73	50	50	68	...	...	104	95	...	...	...	5
Maubin ...	226	...	13	87	63	56	64	...	3	96	87	1	1	...	11
Pyapön ...	161	26	17	57	55	54	95	...	...	96	98	...	...	...	2
Toungoo ...	66	27	54	19	15	14	73	...	14	83	88	1	...	1	10
Thatön ...	109	7	14	79	26	25	31	...	4	216	89	...	...	1	10
<i>Coast</i> ...	49	13	54	33	10	9	27	...	1	193	85	...	...	1	14
Akyab ...	123	1	29	70	26	22	32	...	...	203	93	...	...	1	6
Kyaukpau ...	46	...	88	12	8	7	63	...	...	180	91	...	...	1	8
Sandoway ...	31	10	85	5	5	5	87	...	...	211	86	...	...	1	13
Amherst ...	70	22	37	41	15	14	33	...	3	190	86	...	...	...	14
Tavoy ...	33	17	52	31	5	5	16	...	...	215	70	...	...	...	30
Mergui ...	15	16	55	29	3	3	10	...	...	161	53	...	...	2	45
<i>Centre</i> ...	109	23	33	44	32	21	47	8	20	34	34	8	12	27	19
Prome ...	140	35	32	33	23	22	70	...	15	47	87	3	...	1	9
Thayetmyo ...	59	14	66	20	9	7	36	8	6	45	39	2	6	27	26
Pakókku ...	93	21	46	33	22	15	45	5	2	24	15	7	24	41	13
Minbu ...	77	44	27	29	23	13	47	6	44	35	41	13	10	22	14
Magwe ...	134	16	28	56	47	26	46	16	9	31	14	2	18	47	19
Mandalay ...	176	31	39	30	20	14	47	1	54	33	62	14	1	4	19
Kyaukse ...	122	31	28	41	33	24	59	11	78	30	59	12	1	13	15
Meiktila ...	139	18	16	66	49	31	47	13	24	33	23	9	11	29	28
Yamethin ...	93	37	9	54	23	17	31	6	35	38	50	6	6	20	18
Myingyan ...	174	5	21	74	67	41	55	13	3	26	5	8	22	44	21
Shwebo ...	78	18	41	41	30	21	52	4	42	34	79	3	...	5	13
Sagaing ...	179	...	15	85	71	46	55	5	4	31	12	22	8	26	32
Lower Chindwin ...	104	22	23	55	39	24	43	5	5	31	21	16	18	27	18
<i>North *</i> ...	19	24	45	31	3	3	9	...	22	...	94	1	...	1	4
Bhamo ...	29	15	52	33	2	2	5	...	28	72	97	...	...	...	3
Myitkyina ...	14	12	49	39	3	2	6	...	...	79	93	...	...	1	6
Katha ...	33	34	44	22	5	4	20	...	26	58	96	1	...	1	2
Upper Chindwin ...	14	29	40	31	2	2	7	...	30	...	91	2	...	1	6

\* Records of cultivation are available only for a small part of any district in North.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IB.—*Density compared with rainfall and cultivated area.*  
(Delta, Coast and Centre Subdivisions of Burman Natural Division.)

District and Natural Division.	Mean Rainfall (inches).	Density per 1,000 acres of				* Ratio to the rainfall of the density as calculated for the			
		Total Area.	Cultivable Area.	Area occupied for Cultivation.	Area cultivated in 1930-31.	Total Area.	Cultivable Area.	Area occupied for Cultivation.	Area cultivated in 1930-31.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<i>Delta</i>	109	239	425	614	644	22	39	56	59
Rangoon	99	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Insein	90	273	397	531	551	30	44	59	61
Hanthawaddy	113	342	411	441	456	30	36	39	40
Tharrawaddy	88	277	468	751	798	32	53	85	91
Pegu	127	187	376	464	442	15	30	33	35
Bassein	109	216	406	603	626	20	37	55	57
Henzada	84	334	691	856	886	40	82	102	105
Myaungmya	104	235	321	466	473	23	31	45	46
Maubin	96	354	407	563	633	37	42	59	66
Pyapön	96	243	426	440	448	25	44	46	47
Toungoo	83	109	572	744	788	13	69	90	95
Thatön	216	171	217	655	691	8	10	30	32
<i>Coast</i>	193	81	246	814	910	4	13	42	47
Akyab	203	194	276	736	863	10	14	36	43
Kyaukpyu	180	78	674	946	1,076	4	37	53	60
Sandoway	211	53	1,030	1,096	1,179	3	49	52	56
Amherst	190	114	278	776	829	6	15	41	44
Tavoy	215	53	171	991	1,036	2	8	46	48
Mergui	161	26	88	803	906	2	5	50	56
<i>Centre</i>	34	170	386	535	813	50	113	157	239
Prome	47	220	677	939	961	47	144	200	205
Thayetmyo	45	90	460	970	1,292	20	102	216	287
Pakókku	24	126	383	580	850	52	160	242	354
Minbu	35	132	461	576	979	38	132	165	280
Magwe	31	211	375	446	813	68	120	144	262
Mandalay	33	272	922	1,343	1,955	83	279	407	592
Kyaukse	30	184	451	554	760	61	150	185	253
Meiktila	33	219	333	447	715	66	101	135	217
Yamethin	38	152	279	647	910	40	73	170	239
Myingyan	26	270	364	401	656	104	140	154	252
Shwebo	34	125	307	418	592	37	90	123	174
Sagaing	31	288	339	404	621	93	109	130	200
Lower Chindwin	31	167	305	424	706	54	98	137	228

\* All ratios multiplied by 10.

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Distribution of the population classified according to density.*

Natural Division.	Townships with a population per square mile of															
	Under 50.		50-100.		100-150.		150-300.		300-450.		*450-600.		*750-1000.		1000 & over.	
	Area in sq. miles.	Persons (thousands).	Area in sq. miles.	Persons (thousands).	Area in sq. miles.	Persons (thousands).	Area in sq. miles.	Persons (thousands).	Area in sq. miles.	Persons (thousands).	Area in sq. miles.	Persons (thousands).	Area in sq. miles.	Persons (thousands).	Area in sq. miles.	Persons (thousands).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
PROVINCE	151,621	3,218	34,251	2,413	19,070	2,274	25,851	5,205	2,008	648	454	217	64	55	163	639
	64.94	21.94	14.67	16.45	8.17	15.51	11.07	35.49	0.86	4.41	0.19	1.48	0.03	0.37	0.07	4.35
Burman	77,487	1,666	51,320	2,187	19,046	2,272	25,776	5,192	1,996	643	454	217	59	50	159	630
	49.58	12.96	20.04	17.01	12.18	17.67	16.49	40.38	1.28	5.00	0.29	1.69	0.04	0.39	0.10	4.90
Delta	1,712	59	13,356	932	4,420	533	13,986	2,793	1,733	553	363	164	...	...	77	400
	4.80	1.10	37.47	17.16	12.40	9.80	39.23	51.38	4.86	10.18	1.02	3.01	...	...	0.22	7.37
Coast	28,916	640	3,280	218	3,575	425	1,919	431	...	...	...	...	59	50	57	82
	76.48	34.67	8.67	11.79	9.46	23.05	5.08	23.36	...	...	...	...	0.16	2.71	0.15	4.42
Centre	10,323	374	12,891	930	10,602	1,262	9,871	1,968	263	90	91	53	...	...	25	148
	23.43	7.75	29.25	19.27	24.06	26.16	22.40	40.80	0.60	1.86	0.20	1.09	...	...	0.06	3.07
North	36,536	593	1,793	107	449	52	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	94.22	78.87	4.62	14.25	1.16	6.88	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chin	12,278	193	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	100.00	100.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Salween	7,101	112	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
	100.00	100.00	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shan	54,755	1,247	2,931	226	24	2	85	13	12	5	...	...	5	5	4	9
	94.71	82.77	5.07	14.97	0.04	0.17	0.15	0.87	0.02	0.33	...	...	0.01	0.31	...	0.58

NOTE.—The proportions per cent which the area and population of each group bear to the total are given in italics below the absolute figures.

\* The class 600-750 has been omitted as there was no township falling within it.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Variation in relation to density since 1881.*

NOTE.—All figures relate to the areas included in 1931 in the district or natural division named. The variation of density in any district or natural division in a period in which an extension of the census within that area took place has been calculated, as nearly as possible, for the portion included in the census of the beginning of the period, e.g., the entry for the Province in column 12 relates to Lower Burma as enumerated in 1881 and excludes besides Upper Burma all those parts of the Thayetmyo District which were under Burmese rule in 1881.

District and Natural Division.	Mean density per square mile.						Percentage increase of density.							
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1881.	1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	1881 to 1891.	1901 to 1931.	1881 to 1931.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	
PROVINCE ...	63	57	53	47†	61	44‡	11	9	15	18	24	39	118	
Burman ...	82	74	68	60	63	46	12	9	15	17	24	40	118	
<i>Delta</i> ...	152	135	122	105	82	64	13	11	16	28	28	45	137	
Rangoon * ...	16,146	13,932	11,953	10,002	7,425	5,472	16	17	19	35	36	61	195	
Insein ...	173	151	137	117	95	72	15	10	17	23	33	48	142	
Hanthawaddy ...	212	189	172	154	126	95	12	10	12	22	34	38	124	
Tharrawaddy ...	181	175	154	141	121	97	3	14	10	17	25	29	87	
Pegu ...	119	108	93	73	52	40	10	17	28	41	28	63	194	
Bassein ...	138	118	106	94	77	65	17	11	13	22	20	46	113	
Henzada ...	220	198	191	174	157	131	11	3	10	11	20	27	69	
Myaungmya ...	158	132	119	101	64	37	20	11	18	56	73	57	322	
Maubin ...	226	201	186	169	130	106	13	8	10	30	23	33	114	
Pyapön ...	161	139	123	109	70	38	16	13	13	55	84	48	322	
Toungoo ...	66	59	54	43	33	29	13	9	26	32	11	54	126	
Thatön ...	109	97	83	69	53	46	13	16	22	29	16	59	138	
<i>Coast</i> ...	49	42	38	33	29	24	15	12	15	17	18	49	106	
Akyab ...	123	111	102	93	80	69	11	9	10	16	16	32	77	
Kyaukpyn ...	46	42	39	35	34	31	10	8	10	3	10	30	48	
Sandoway ...	31	27	25	22	19	16	15	9	13	16	20	42	98	
Amherst ...	70	56	50	41	32	24	24	14	23	29	29	72	186	
Tavoy ...	33	29	25	20	18	16	15	16	23	16	12	64	112	
Mergui ...	15	12	10	8	7	5	20	22	26	20	30	83	186	
<i>Centre</i> ...	109	100	93	83	76	...	9	7	13	9	...	32	...	
Prome ...	140	126	129	125	126	112	11	2	4	1	12	12	25	
Thayetmyo ...	59	55	53	52	54	...	7	3	4	...	...	14	...	
Pakòkku ...	93	87	77	67	58	...	7	14	15	14	...	40	...	
Minbu ...	77	76	73	65	60	...	1	5	13	8	...	19	...	
Magwe ...	134	114	98	76	69	...	17	17	29	10	...	77	...	
Mandalay ...	176	169	161	173	177	...	4	5	7	2	...	1	...	
Kyaukse ...	122	115	114	114	102	...	6	1	...	12	...	7	...	
Meiktila ...	139	130	125	113	97	...	7	3	11	16	...	22	...	
Yamèthin ...	93	77	73	58	49	...	21	5	26	18	...	61	...	
Myingyan ...	174	162	146	120	117	...	8	11	22	2	...	46	...	
Shwebo ...	78	66	60	48	39	...	18	10	24	24	...	61	...	
Sagaing ...	179	174	166	148	129	...	3	5	12	15	...	21	...	
Lower Chindwin ...	104	96	89	77	65	...	8	8	15	19	...	35	...	
<i>North</i> ...	19	18	17	15	...	...	11	6	17	...	...	38	...	
Bhamo ...	29	27	26	19	...	...	7	5	36	...	...	52	...	
Myitkyina ...	14	12	10	8	...	...	16	18	25	...	...	80	...	
Katha ...	33	31	30	27	...	...	10	1	11	...	...	23	...	
Upper Chindwin ...	14	13	12	11	...	...	10	5	11	...	...	28	...	
Chin ...	16	15	15	12	...	...	9	5	31	...	...	39	...	
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	11	11	12	11	8	8	2	6	8	41	1	4	...	
Chin Hills ...	17	15	16	12	...	...	10	48	36	...	...	46	...	
Salween ...	16	16	15	...	...	...	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	
Salween ...	21	19	18	14	12	11	8	8	23	20	5	44	...	
Karenni ...	13	14	14	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	
Shan ...	26	25	24	21	...	...	5	4	15	...	...	26	...	
Northern Shan States ...	30	27	26	21	...	...	9	9	28	...	...	54	...	
Southern Shan States ...	24	23	23	21	...	...	3	1	9	...	...	13	...	

\* The density for Rangoon was obtained by dividing the total population by the land area (24.8 square miles).

† In 1901 the census was extended to the Shan States, Karenni, Chin Hills and other sparsely populated areas.

‡ The census of 1881 related only to Lower Burma.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Variation in Natural Population.*

NOTE.—The *Immigrants* of an area are the persons enumerated at the census within that area who reported a birth-place outside it, while *Emigrants* are persons enumerated outside the area who reported a birth-place within it; the *Natural Population* may be defined as the number of persons born within the area who were alive on the date of the census and is obtained by adding the number of Emigrants to the actual population and subtracting the number of Immigrants. The figures for Emigrants both for 1921 and 1931 are defective: no figures have been included for persons enumerated outside India since hardly any figures were received in 1931, while figures for persons enumerated in India proper have been included only in the figures for the province since only figures for the province (and not the district) of birth were compiled in 1931. The 1921 figures relate to the districts as they existed in 1921, but those for Myitkyina and Putao and for the Chin Hills and the Paköku Hill Tracts have been combined.

District and Natural Division.	Population in 1931.				Population in 1921.				Increase per cent in natural population 1921 to 1931
	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.	Natural population.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	14,667,146	775,963	24,397	13,915,580	13,212,192	706,749	19,086	12,524,529	11·0
<b>Burman</b> ...	12,856,207	736,283	20,679	12,140,603	11,504,629	685,978	19,069	10,837,720	12·0
<i>Della</i> ...	5,435,058	670,678	49,210	4,813,590	4,820,745	725,924	41,397	4,136,218	16·4
Rangoon ...	400,415	259,758	36,303	176,960	341,962	231,647	34,740	145,055	*
Insein ...	331,452	71,429	17,674	277,697	293,083	72,544	13,771	234,310	*
Hanthawaddy ...	408,831	66,085	33,851	376,597	364,624	75,555	32,637	321,706	17·1
Tharrawaddy ...	508,319	40,064	28,403	496,658	492,429	62,821	32,498	462,106	7·5
Pegu ...	489,969	104,056	21,919	407,832	445,620	124,308	21,190	342,502	19·1
Bassein ...	571,043	54,146	24,348	541,245	489,473	51,128	27,232	465,577	16·3
Henzada ...	613,280	25,640	43,624	631,264	550,920	32,360	50,846	569,406	10·9
Myaungmya ...	444,784	84,178	11,512	372,118	370,551	83,205	9,354	296,700	25·4
Maubin ...	371,509	35,432	30,894	366,971	330,106	45,148	33,436	318,394	15·3
Pyawon ...	334,158	82,353	16,738	268,543	288,994	92,679	10,472	206,787	29·9
Toungoo ...	428,670	73,842	16,455	371,283	381,883	81,420	17,116	317,579	20·2
Thaton ...	532,628	34,955	28,749	526,422	471,100	38,751	23,747	456,096	15·3
<i>Coast</i> ...	1,845,301	115,285	35,078	1,765,094	1,598,493	113,501	34,561	1,519,553	16·2
Akyab ...	637,580	49,126	4,589	593,043	576,430	53,657	2,377	525,150	12·9
Kyaukpau ...	220,292	5,743	7,831	222,380	199,873	3,940	9,373	205,306	8·3
Sandoway ...	129,245	4,290	6,259	131,214	112,029	3,628	5,142	113,543	15·6
Amherst ...	516,233	42,128	20,943	495,048	417,910	40,432	21,686	399,164	24·0
Tavoy ...	179,964	10,482	6,210	175,692	156,786	9,055	6,018	153,749	14·3
Mergui ...	161,987	16,218	1,948	147,717	135,465	14,739	1,915	122,641	20·4
<i>Centre</i> ...	4,823,979	136,140	190,029	4,877,868	4,405,770	114,750	276,890	4,567,910	6·8
Prome ...	410,651	23,351	28,580	415,880	371,575	23,204	44,370	392,741	5·9
Thayetmyo ...	274,177	7,172	20,200	287,205	255,406	6,936	31,116	279,586	2·7
Paköku ...	499,181	11,283	35,695	523,593	465,771	11,908	32,652	486,515	7·6
Minbu ...	277,876	14,807	15,483	278,552	274,302	19,064	20,854	276,092	0·9
Magwe ...	499,573	44,627	25,429	480,375	423,252	27,855	35,654	431,051	*
Mandalay ...	371,636	62,925	35,257	343,968	356,621	54,751	43,969	345,839	- 0·5
Kyaukse ...	151,320	19,298	5,103	137,125	142,677	16,999	5,833	131,511	4·3
Meiktila ...	309,999	9,668	38,654	338,985	289,897	10,771	42,735	321,861	5·3
Yamethin ...	390,820	38,239	18,306	370,887	323,189	34,955	22,865	311,099	19·2
Myingyan ...	472,557	9,938	38,812	501,431	442,008	7,324	40,019	474,703	*
Shwebo ...	446,790	23,601	31,697	454,886	391,284	19,053	33,240	405,471	*
Sagaing ...	335,965	12,691	30,924	354,198	326,908	14,158	32,067	344,817	2·7
Lower Chindwin ...	383,434	17,655	25,004	390,783	342,880	4,846	28,590	366,624	*
<i>North</i> ...	751,809	77,533	9,715	684,051	679,621	74,570	8,988	614,039	11·4
Bhamo ...	121,193	19,065	4,507	106,635	112,960	19,787	4,535	97,708	9·1
Myitkyina ...	171,524	48,487	2,649	125,686	126,055	30,425	4,052	99,682	*
Katha ...	254,170	17,996	25,736	261,910	253,725	27,552	15,608	241,781	*
Upper Chindwin ...	204,982	18,498	3,336	189,820	186,881	15,920	3,907	174,868	8·6
<b>Chin</b> ...	192,655	1,992	3,807	194,470	159,792	2,629	5,758	162,921	*
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	21,418	907	275	20,786	20,914	1,134	471	20,251	2·6
Chin Hills ...	171,237	1,096	3,543	173,684	138,878	1,496	5,288	142,670	*
<b>Salween</b> ...	111,947	11,325	1,356	101,978	114,229	7,453	1,818	108,594	- 6·1
Salween ...	53,186	4,517	609	49,278	50,379	4,752	687	46,314	6·4
Karenni ...	58,761	6,884	823	52,700	63,850	3,006	1,436	62,280	- 15·4
<b>Shan</b> ...	1,506,337	76,007	23,802	1,454,132	1,433,542	60,448	23,114	1,396,208	4·1
Northern Shan States ...	636,107	59,614	20,322	596,815	585,924	51,952	14,953	548,925	8·7
Southern Shan States ...	870,230	30,555	17,642	857,317	847,618	17,750	17,415	847,283	1·2

\* This district (or division) suffered a change of boundary between 1921 and 1931 (the percentage increase has been given in column 10 when the change of boundary was small).



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—Comparison of census figures and vital statistics.

Natural Division and District.			Average annual rate per 1,000 for the years 1921—1930.†			Population in 1921.	Increase of population.		Excess of column 7 above col. 6 due to migration and erroneous records.
			Births.	Deaths.	Excess of births over deaths.		Corresponding to columns 4 and 5.	According to Imperial Census Table II, 1931.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
PROVINCE* ... ..	27.57	20.95	6.62	10,826,359	716,352	1,277,979	561,627		
<i>Delta</i> ... ..	23.86	19.09	4.77	4,822,096	230,065	612,962	382,897		
Rangoon ... ..	20.24	33.51	- 13.27	345,505	- 45,849	54,910	100,759		
Insein ... ..	25.63	19.09	6.54	289,540	18,936	41,912	22,976		
Hanthawaddy ... ..	25.74	17.40	8.34	364,624	30,410	44,207	13,797		
Tharrawaddy ... ..	25.68	19.09	6.59	492,429	32,451	15,890	- 16,561		
Pegu ... ..	25.06	20.07	4.99	446,706	22,291	43,263	20,972		
Bassein ... ..	22.55	17.52	5.03	489,473	24,620	81,570	56,950		
Henzada ... ..	28.57	20.01	8.56	550,920	47,159	62,360	15,201		
Myaungmya ... ..	22.68	17.82	4.86	370,551	18,009	74,233	56,224		
Maubin ... ..	25.14	17.52	7.62	330,106	25,154	41,403	16,249		
Pyapön ... ..	20.89	16.48	4.41	288,994	12,745	45,164	32,419		
Toungoo ... ..	21.37	17.62	3.75	380,797	14,280	47,873	33,593		
Thatön ... ..	20.68	14.36	6.32	472,451	29,859	60,177	30,318		
<i>Coast</i> ... ..	29.13	18.99	10.14	1,598,493	162,155	246,808	84,653		
Akyab ... ..	25.36	19.07	6.29	576,430	36,257	61,150	24,893		
Kyaukpyu ... ..	20.71	15.65	5.06	199,873	10,114	20,419	10,305		
Sandoway ... ..	36.74	23.34	13.40	112,029	15,012	17,216	2,204		
Amherst ... ..	31.20	17.51	13.69	417,910	57,212	98,323	41,111		
Tavoy ... ..	38.64	22.85	15.79	156,786	24,757	23,178	- 1,579		
Mergui ... ..	33.93	20.05	13.88	135,465	18,803	26,522	7,719		
<i>Centre</i> ... ..	31.05	23.69	7.36	4,405,770	324,132	418,209	94,077		
Prome ... ..	32.05	24.87	7.18	371,575	26,679	39,076	12,397		
Thayetmyo ... ..	29.88	23.03	6.85	255,406	17,495	18,771	1,276		
Pakôkku ... ..	34.87	23.56	11.31	465,771	52,679	33,410	- 19,269		
Minbu ... ..	31.17	27.70	3.47	274,302	9,518	3,574	- 5,944		
Magwe ... ..	24.80	18.00	6.80	425,926	28,963	73,647	44,684		
Mandalay ... ..	39.17	34.83	4.34	356,621	15,477	15,015	- 462		
Kyaukse ... ..	37.31	33.75	3.56	142,677	5,079	8,643	3,564		
Meiktila ... ..	26.43	19.71	6.72	289,897	19,481	20,102	621		
Yaméthin ... ..	32.14	22.97	9.17	323,189	29,636	67,631	37,995		
Myingyan ... ..	24.46	17.37	7.09	439,334	31,149	33,223	2,074		
Shwebo ... ..	33.87	25.55	8.32	380,016	31,617	66,774	35,157		
Sagaing ... ..	28.39	21.55	6.84	326,908	22,361	9,057	- 13,304		
Lower Chindwin ... ..	32.96	23.36	9.60	354,148	33,998	29,286	- 4,712		

\* Includes only the districts mentioned in this table.

† The figures of columns 2 and 3 for districts are the averages of the annual rates given in the annual reports of the Public Health Department and columns 4 and 6 have been deduced from them with the aid of column 5 in which figures are given for the population in 1921 of the districts as they existed in 1931. The figures of columns 5 and 6 for natural divisions and the province have been obtained by totalling those of the districts. The number of births and deaths in the natural divisions and the province were obtained by totalling the figures for the districts (as calculated from the rates given for the districts) and the ratios in columns 2, 3 and 4 were then calculated with the aid of column 5.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—*Variation by townships and states classified according to density.*

## (a) ACTUAL VARIATION.

Natural Division.	Variation in townships and states with a population per square mile at commencement of decade of								
	Under 50.	50-100.	100-150.	150-300.	300-450.	450-600.	600-750.	750-1000.	1000 & over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PROVINCE ...	272,363	299,186	226,423	499,862	65,332	26,385	...	3,010	62,393
Burman ...	194,941	274,280	226,375	502,303	64,366	26,385	...	1,820	59,757
Delta ...	4,025	131,591	43,013	297,909	59,998	21,516	...	...	54,910
Coast ...	102,268	29,029	49,982	57,877	...	...	...	1,820	5,832
Centre ...	41,417	104,282	117,741	146,517	4,368	4,869	...	...	- 985
North ...	47,231	9,378	15,639	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chin ...	32,863	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Salween ...	- 931	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shan ...	45,490	24,906	48	- 2,441	966	...	...	1,190	2,636

## (b) PROPORTIONAL VARIATION.

Natural Division.	Percentage of variation in townships and states with a population per square mile at commencement of decade of								
	Under 50.	50-100.	100-150.	150-300.	300-450.	450-600.	600-750.	750-1000.	1000 & over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PROVINCE ...	9	14	11	11	11	14	...	6	11
Burman ...	13	14	11	11	11	14	...	4	10
Delta ...	7	16	9	12	12	15	...	...	16
Coast ...	19	15	13	16	...	...	...	4	8
Centre ...	12	13	10	8	5	10	...	...	- 1
North ...	9	10	43	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chin ...	21	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Salween ...	- 1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Shan ...	4	12	2	- 16	24	...	...	35	44



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—Persons per house and houses per square mile.

District and Natural Division.	Average number of persons per house.					Average number of houses per square mile.				
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	4.67	4.84	4.90	5.01	5.35	13.4	11.7	10.7	8.8	8.3
<b>Burman</b> ...	4.66	4.88	4.89	5.06	5.35	17.7	15.1	13.7	11.5	8.5
<i>Delta</i> ...	4.80	5.08	5.14	5.39	5.52	31.7	26.9	24.2	19.9	15.3
Rangoon ...	5.85	5.89	5.91	5.99	6.36	2,761.6	2,480.6	1,774.1	2,063.6	1,288.5
Insein ...	4.55	4.89	5.06	5.32	5.27	38.0	31.6	34.9	30.1	26.1
Hanthawaddy ...	4.91	5.17	5.06	5.32	5.27	43.1	37.8	34.9	30.1	26.1
Tharrawaddy ...	4.57	4.86	4.92	5.26	5.37	39.5	35.4	30.8	26.4	32.1
Pegu ...	4.73	5.02	5.16	5.43	6.04	25.1	21.7	18.9	14.6	20.5
Bassein ...	4.83	5.15	5.34	5.67	5.57	28.5	23.0	20.1	16.7	12.1
Henzada ...	4.68	4.80	5.09	5.21	5.42	47.1	40.0	36.8	32.5	36.1
Myaungmya ...	4.73	5.18	5.14	5.41	5.84	33.4	27.0	24.6	18.9	14.1
Maubin ...	4.93	5.27	5.12	5.61		45.9	38.2	36.2	24.9	
Pyapôn ...	4.77	4.58	5.07	5.61		33.7	24.1	23.5		
Toungoo ...	4.34	4.45	4.58	4.65	4.72	15.3	14.0	12.4	9.7	5.4
Thatôn ...	5.09	5.38	5.45	5.55	5.11	21.5	18.1	15.6	12.2	7.2
<i>Coast</i> ...	4.98	5.18	5.07	5.11	5.27	9.8	8.8	8.0	6.8	5.4
Akyab ...	4.79	4.91	4.89	4.94	5.02	25.7	22.9	21.1	18.9	14.9
Kyaukpau ...	4.28	4.48	4.43	4.47	4.78	10.8	10.2	9.5	8.6	10.9
Sandoway ...	4.74	4.97	5.19	5.17	5.52	6.6	6.0	5.2	4.6	3.8
Amherst ...	5.62	5.85	5.71	5.84	5.79	12.4	10.1	9.1	7.3	4.7
Tavoy ...	5.14	5.24	4.81	4.86	4.97	6.5	5.6	5.2	4.3	2.7
Mergui ...	5.08	5.36	5.43	5.53	5.46	2.9	2.6	2.1	1.6	1.7
<i>Centre</i> ...	4.39	4.48	4.60	4.77	5.25	25.0	22.1	20.1	17.4	12.1
Prome ...	4.25	4.46	4.71	4.89	4.85	32.9	28.6	27.6	25.6	25.7
Thayetmyo ...	4.29	4.47	4.44	4.82	5.11	13.8	12.0	11.8	10.5	15.7
Pakokku ...	4.68	4.73	4.84	4.89	5.42	19.9	15.8	13.6	11.7	9.1
Minbu ...	4.25	4.51	4.75	4.67	5.03	18.2	18.5	16.8	15.2	13.9
Magwe ...	4.73	5.07	5.19	5.39	6.27	28.3	22.6	18.4	15.7	6.4
Mandalay ...	3.93	4.26	4.42	4.73	4.86	44.7	39.5	36.5	36.6	36.7
Kyaukse ...	3.96	3.91	5.09	3.91	4.11	30.7	28.5	21.8	28.4	29.3
Meiktila ...	4.54	4.65	4.92	5.16	5.45	30.5	27.3	26.1	22.4	12.6
Yamethin ...	4.24	4.64	3.96	4.96	5.42	22.0	16.7	18.2	11.5	4.4
Myingyan ...	4.57	4.82	4.68	4.88	6.24	38.2	33.4	30.3	23.3	15.1
Shwebo ...	4.29	4.31	4.41	4.26	4.57	18.1	15.9	14.2	11.9	11.1
Sagaing ...	4.44	4.51	4.41	4.77	5.25	40.3	39.7	38.8	31.8	9.5
Lower Chindwin ...	4.50	3.72	4.48	4.53	5.58	23.2	26.5	20.3	17.5	12.2
<i>North</i> ...	4.75	4.89	4.85	4.90	5.40	4.1	3.8	3.0	2.5	1.2
Bhamo ...	4.49	4.60	4.87	4.59	5.30	6.5	3.6	3.2	4.2	1.0
Myitkyina ...	4.68	4.76	4.96	4.86	5.30	3.0	2.4	1.6	1.3	
Katha ...	4.88	5.10	4.83	4.97	5.72	6.9	5.6	5.7	5.0	1.9
Upper Chindwin ...	4.80	4.90	4.81	4.98	5.20	2.9	2.4	2.3	1.6	0.9
<b>Chin</b> ...	4.59	4.55	4.61	3.87	...	3.4	2.8	2.8	2.0	...
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	3.79	3.94	4.08	4.32	3.82	3.0	3.5	3.6	0.9	3.8
Chin Hills ...	4.72	4.63	4.70	3.79	...	3.5	2.7	2.6	2.6	...
<b>Salween</b> ...	4.30	4.22	4.09	3.73	...	3.7	3.9	3.9	3.2	...
Salween ...	4.60	4.48	4.33	4.27	4.65	4.5	4.2	4.1	3.2	1.5
Karenni ...	4.06	4.03	3.93	3.37	...	3.2	3.7	3.8	3.2	...
<b>Shan</b> ...	4.83	5.04	5.13	4.93	...	5.4	5.1	4.9	4.0	...
Northern Shan States ...	4.96	5.14	5.45	5.14	...	6.0	5.7	5.3	3.9	...
Southern Shan States ...	4.74	4.97	4.95	4.83	...	5.0	4.7	4.7	4.1	3.9



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—*Growth of population in two decades by Natural Divisions with particulars for certain religions.*

NOTE.—Between 1921 and 1931 a small part of Salween district (Salween division) was transferred to Thaton district (Delta subdivision) and the figures for 1911 and 1921 have been adjusted to correspond to the natural divisions as they existed in 1931. For columns 5 to 8 increases due to extensions of the census area have been excluded.

Natural Division.	Total population recorded.			Corrected increase.			
	1931.	1921.	1911.	Absolute.		Per cent.	
				1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
ALL RELIGIONS.							
PROVINCE	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burman	14,667,146	13,212,192	12,115,217	1,436,627	1,033,862	10.9	8.5
Delta	12,856,207	11,505,980	10,489,404	1,350,227	980,164	11.7	9.3
Coast	5,435,058	4,822,096	4,333,606	612,962	488,444	12.7	11.3
Centre	1,845,301	1,598,493	1,432,297	246,808	166,196	15.4	11.6
North	4,823,979	4,405,770	4,113,894	418,209	291,876	9.5	7.1
	751,869	679,621	609,607	72,248	33,648	10.6	5.5
Chin	192,655	159,792	168,041	14,536	8,249	9.1	-4.9
Salween	111,947	112,878	109,032	931	3,846	-0.8	3.5
Shan	1,506,337	1,433,542	1,348,740	72,795	58,101	5.1	4.3
BUDDHISTS.							
PROVINCE	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burman	12,348,037	11,201,943	10,384,579	1,146,094	785,551	10.2	7.6
Delta	11,100,371	9,991,033	9,213,448	1,109,338	771,158	11.1	8.4
Coast	4,552,857	4,057,402	3,697,558	495,455	359,844	12.2	9.7
Centre	1,377,600	1,199,407	1,088,464	178,193	110,943	14.9	10.2
North	4,598,021	4,225,111	3,950,305	372,910	274,806	8.8	7.0
	571,893	509,113	477,121	62,780	25,565	12.3	5.4
Chin	2,751	2,488	1,917	263	571	10.6	29.8
Salween	44,678	44,478	41,276	200	3,202	0.4	7.8
Shan	1,200,237	1,163,944	1,127,938	36,293	10,620	3.1	0.9
HINDUS.							
PROVINCE	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burman	570,953	485,150	389,679	85,803	93,043	17.7	23.9
Delta	541,759	469,390	381,277	72,369	85,685	15.4	22.5
Coast	388,049	342,709	280,374	45,340	61,227	13.2	21.8
Centre	54,227	51,087	43,503	3,140	7,562	6.1	17.4
North	74,119	57,128	44,022	16,991	12,860	29.7	29.2
	25,364	18,466	13,378	6,898	4,036	37.4	30.2
Chin	1,808	2,400	2,069	592	331	-24.7	16.0
Salween	1,677	648	452	1,029	196	158.8	43.4
Shan	25,709	12,712	5,881	12,997	6,831	102.2	116.2
MUSLIMS.							
PROVINCE	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Burman	584,839	500,592	420,777	84,247	79,678	16.8	18.9
Delta	576,740	495,124	417,028	81,616	77,959	16.5	18.7
Coast	182,612	157,786	127,043	24,826	30,697	15.7	24.2
Centre	304,828	259,887	220,558	44,941	39,329	17.3	17.8
North	81,538	70,676	61,927	10,862	8,749	15.4	14.1
	7,762	6,775	7,500	987	816	14.6	-10.9
Chin	153	102	205	51	103	50.0	-50.2
Salween	794	770	660	24	110	3.1	16.7
Shan	7,152	4,596	2,884	2,556	1,712	55.6	59.4



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—*Variation in the Population of the Comparable Area (see paragraph 11).*

NOTE.—Between 1921 and 1931 a small part of Salween district (Salween division) was transferred to Thaton district (Delta subdivision) and the figures for 1911 and 1921 have been adjusted to correspond to the natural divisions as they existed in 1931.

Area.	1931.	1921.	1911.	Increase.			
				Absolute.		Per cent.	
				1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>I. ALL RELIGIONS.</b>							
<b>TOTAL COMPARABLE AREA.</b>	14,218,958	12,790,754	11,763,961	1,428,204	1,026,793	11·2	8·7
<b>Burman</b> ... ..	12,821,785	11,469,568	10,489,404	1,352,217	980,164	11·8	9·3
Delta ... ..	5,435,050	4,822,050	4,333,606	613,000	488,444	12·7	11·3
Coast ... ..	1,845,301	1,598,493	1,432,297	246,808	166,196	15·4	11·6
Centre ... ..	4,823,979	4,405,770	4,113,894	418,209	291,876	9·5	7·1
North ... ..	717,455	643,255	609,607	74,200	33,648	11·5	5·5
<b>Shan</b> ... ..	1,343,987	1,272,158	1,229,153	71,829	43,005	5·6	3·5
Northern Shan States ... ..	473,757	424,540	392,579	49,217	31,961	11·6	8·1
Southern Shan States ... ..	870,230	847,618	836,574	22,612	11,044	2·7	1·3
<b>Remainder</b> ... ..	53,186	49,028	45,404	4,158	3,624	8·5	8·0
<b>II. BUDDHISTS.</b>							
<b>TOTAL COMPARABLE AREA.</b>	12,273,712	11,125,571	10,340,689	1,148,141	784,882	10·3	7·6
<b>Burman</b> ... ..	11,095,111	9,984,606	9,213,448	1,110,505	771,158	11·1	8·4
Delta ... ..	4,552,857	4,057,402	3,697,558	495,455	359,844	12·2	9·7
Coast ... ..	1,377,600	1,199,407	1,088,464	178,193	110,943	14·9	10·2
Centre ... ..	4,598,021	4,225,111	3,950,305	372,910	274,806	8·8	7·0
North ... ..	566,633	502,686	477,121	63,947	25,565	12·7	5·4
<b>Shan</b> ... ..	1,150,612	1,115,989	1,107,971	34,623	8,018	3·1	0·7
Northern Shan States ... ..	396,136	367,938	354,821	28,198	13,117	7·7	3·7
Southern Shan States ... ..	754,476	748,051	753,150	6,425	5,099	0·9	0·7
<b>Remainder</b> ... ..	27,989	24,976	19,270	3,013	5,706	12·1	29·6
<b>III. NON-BUDDHISTS.</b>							
<b>TOTAL COMPARABLE AREA.</b>	1,945,246	1,665,183	1,423,272	280,063	241,911	16·8	17·0
<b>Burman</b> ... ..	1,726,674	1,484,962	1,275,956	241,712	209,006	16·3	16·4
Delta ... ..	882,193	764,648	636,048	117,545	128,600	15·4	20·2
Coast ... ..	467,701	399,086	343,833	68,615	55,253	17·2	16·1
Centre ... ..	225,958	180,659	163,589	45,299	17,070	25·1	10·4
North ... ..	150,822	140,569	132,486	10,253	8,083	7·3	6·1
<b>Shan</b> ... ..	193,375	156,169	121,182	37,206	34,987	23·8	28·9
Northern Shan States ... ..	77,621	56,602	37,758	21,019	18,844	37·1	49·9
Southern Shan States ... ..	115,754	99,567	83,424	16,187	16,143	16·3	19·4
<b>Remainder</b> ... ..	25,197	24,052	26,134	1,145	2,082	4·8	8·0



## CHAPTER II.

### Towns and Villages.

#### A.—Towns.

**21. The Selection of Towns.**—In the Imperial Code of Census Procedure a town is defined as including (a) every municipality, (b) all civil lines not included within municipal limits, (c) every cantonment and (d) every other continuous collection of houses inhabited by not less than 5,000 persons which the Provincial Superintendent may decide to treat as a town for Census purposes. In Burma the principal areas which satisfy the above definition are the municipalities and cantonments, the notified areas—which have a local government similar to that of municipalities—and the areas in which the Burma Towns Act is in force. All these areas have therefore been treated as towns. Nine other areas, namely, Namtu-Panghai, Dedayè, Pyuntaza, Kengtung, Daik-u, Hsipaw, Yawngghwe, Sagu and Sinbyugyun were also treated as towns as they were considered to be of an urban character and were expected to have a population exceeding 5,000, but the last four did not manage to come up to this figure. As pointed out in the 1911 Census Report the Census Superintendent at the conclusion of the census operations is in a better position to judge whether a place should be treated as a census town or not but unfortunately he has to make his decision at an early stage in the operations and is dependent on the opinion of the district officer. In column 3 of Imperial Tables IV and V the letters M, N and T are shown against those towns which contain a municipal area, a notified area and an area which comes under the Burma Towns Act, respectively, while the letter C has been shown against cantonments. It will be noticed that the larger towns contain municipal areas as well as areas where the Burma Towns Act is in force, and as a rule the municipal boundaries coincide with the boundaries of the areas under the Burma Towns Act. This appears to be due to the fact that in 1908 all local areas which then constituted municipalities were declared to be towns for the purposes of the Burma Towns Act. But in some cases the municipal boundary extends beyond the area under the Burma Towns Act. The Burma Municipal Act and the Burma Towns Act are dealt with by different departments of Government and apparently an application is sometimes made to have the municipal boundaries extended but no application is made to bring the new area under the Burma Towns Act. In cases where the municipal boundary extends beyond the boundary of the area under the Burma Towns Act the census town was taken to include the municipal area. Shwedaung, Yenangyaung and Nyaunglebin were constituted municipalities after 1908 and at the date of the census were the only municipalities which did not contain any area under the Burma Towns Act. In the case of Pegu, Meiktila and Thongwa the boundary of the census town extends beyond the municipal boundary, but in only one town, Taungdwingyi, does the boundary of a municipal or notified area extend beyond that of the census town. The municipal boundary of Taungdwingyi was extended in December 1930 but apparently a copy of the notification was not received by the District Census Officer till after the census had been taken and the boundary of the census town of Taungdwingyi therefore coincides with the municipal boundary as it existed before the extension. Most of the notified areas do not come under the Burma Towns Act, the only exception being Tharrawaddy in Divisional Burma, and Lashio, Kalaw and Taunggyi in the Shan States. Bogale and Amarapura appear to be the only areas under the Burma Towns Act which are not included in a municipal or notified area or a cantonment.

**22. Statistical References.**—The selection of the towns is described in the previous paragraph. In Imperial Table IV the towns have been classified according to their population in 1931 and figures are given for the 1881 and subsequent censuses. In Imperial Table V the population of each town is classified by religion, the towns being arranged according to the division and



district in which they are situated. Provincial Table III, which was not compiled at previous censuses, is in the same form as Imperial Table V, the only difference being that the population is classified by race instead of by religion. In Imperial Table I figures are given for the urban population of each district (*i.e.* the population enumerated in towns) and for the rural population (the population enumerated in other places). In Imperial Table III towns and village-tracts are classified by population. Figures for the age-distribution of the total population and of certain racial classes are given for towns over 10,000 in Part III of Imperial Table VII, while literacy figures by age-groups are given for the total population and for certain racial classes for towns over 10,000 in Part III of Imperial Table XIII. The numbers of towns and village-tracts in each township and state are given in columns 3 and 4 of Provincial Table I. In addition, the following subsidiary tables have been compiled and are appended to this Chapter :—

- I.—Distribution of the population between towns and village-tracts.
- II.—Number per *mille* of the total population and of each religion who were enumerated in towns.
- III.—Towns classified by population.
- IV.—Cities.
- V.—Number per *mille* of the total population and of selected racial classes who were enumerated in towns.

In the Census Reports of the Government of India the word *urban* is ordinarily applied to the population of places treated as towns for the purpose of Imperial Tables IV and V. In paragraph 50 of the 1921 Census Report for Burma it is pointed out that the urban population is not confined to the population of such towns and that there are other places which should be regarded as urban. Figures were therefore compiled in 1921 for all such places and the word *urban* was applied to the population of those places (figures for urban areas are given in Subsidiary Tables V and VI of Chapter II of the 1921 Census Report). But it is extremely difficult to draw up a definition of an urban area which will be understood and interpreted in the same way by the various district officers who are responsible for the selection. It is not clear who made the selection at the 1921 Census but it would appear to have been done by subordinates: Deputy Commissioners and District Census Officers were supposed to take the list of urban areas on tour with them and check the boundaries but it is extremely doubtful whether many of them did so. Apparently there was some difficulty in deciding which places should be treated as urban areas and in some districts quite small rural villages were selected. For the present census Deputy Commissioners were asked their opinion as to the desirability or otherwise of collecting figures for urban areas but only 4 out of 34 who replied were in favour of doing so and it was therefore decided to compile statistics only for the places treated as towns for the purpose of Imperial Tables IV and V. These towns are mostly municipal or notified areas or cantonments and there is no difficulty about their boundaries. The selection is somewhat arbitrary but there does not appear to be any other alternative.

At the last census in Burma figures were also compiled for the *normal civil population* and the *adventitious population* of towns (these terms are defined in paragraph 47 of the 1921 Census Report). In a few towns, *e.g.* Rangoon (see paragraph 27), the adventitious population forms an appreciable proportion of the total population and is subject to considerable fluctuations from one census to another. Separate figures for these classes of population have therefore been compiled and separate figures for them will presumably be given in the Town and Village Census Tables in the new B volumes of the District Gazetteers, when and if printed. Separate figures for the normal civil population and the adventitious population have not been given in Imperial Table V (in which the population of towns is classified by religion)—as was done at the last census in Burma—or in Provincial Table III for Burma in which the population of towns is classified by race, since the extra cost of compilation was considered disproportionate to the importance of the figures.

**23. Description of Towns.**—The number of towns has increased from 79 in 1921 to 92 in 1931. At the 1931 census the cantonments of Rangoon, Mandalay and Maymyo were treated as separate towns and this is responsible for an increase of three. In the 1921 Census Report towns over 10,000 were conveniently described as *major towns*, and smaller towns as *minor*



*towns.* It will be seen from Imperial Table IV that there are now 31 major towns, or 30 if Mandalay Municipality and Cantonment are counted as one, compared with 24 in 1921. Most of the towns in Burma are largely trading centres; there are very few purely industrial towns. Rangoon is the chief industrial centre as well as the chief port and the capital of the province. Mandalay is the next largest town and it is the most important trading centre in Upper Burma but its industries are mostly cottage industries. Moulmein, Bassein, Akyab, Tavoy and Mergui are important seaports. Mandalay, Prome and Henzada are the most important inland ports. Rangoon, Moulmein, Bassein, Akyab, Insein, Syriam, Chauk, Yenangyaung and Namtu-Panghai are the most important industrial centres. Syriam and Insein are suburbs of Rangoon. Syriam owes its growth to the establishment of oil refineries while at Insein there are large railway engineering works. The extension of the Rangoon suburban bus and train services appears to be mainly responsible for the large increase in the population of Insein town during the last decade; people who work in Rangoon find it cheaper to live in Insein. Yenangyaung and Chauk are the most important centres in the oil-fields; the increase in the population of Chauk during the last decade has been particularly rapid as it was not a town at all at the last census. Namtu-Panghai is the smelting headquarters of the silver and lead mines of the Burma Corporation; the increase in population since 1921 has been considerable and, but for the slump in silver and base metals, would have been appreciably greater. Myingyan is a trading centre but it also has important cotton mills. With the exception of Maymyo which is the seat of Government during the hot weather the other major towns not mentioned above and most of the minor census towns owe their growth and importance to trade although many of them contain rice-mills and saw-mills. A few of them, *e.g.* Taunggyi, Lashio, Bhamo and Myitkyina are important administrative centres. Thingangyun, Kamayut, Kanbè and Thamaing are suburbs of Rangoon and in 1921 were not treated as towns.

**24. Variation in Urban Population.**—Figures for the urban population at previous censuses are given in Imperial Table IV but, as explained in Notes 3 and 4 to that table, the figures for the variation include increases of population due to extensions of the boundaries of towns and to the inclusion of new towns. The increases in the urban population due to the inclusion of these new areas cannot be calculated exactly, since figures for the population of these extensions are not available, but it is possible sometimes to say whether there has been a movement from the towns to rural areas or *vice versa*. For instance, it is pointed out in paragraph 31 of the 1911 Census Report that there was a considerable increase in the total population during 1901—11 and yet the population of 47 comparable towns (*i.e.* places which were towns at the 1901 and 1911 censuses) was actually less in 1911 than in 1901 in spite of the fact that the aggregate area of these towns was probably greater in 1911 than in 1901. This was due to the considerable agricultural development that took place

1. Comparison between the percentage classification of the urban population by religion at the 1901 and subsequent censuses.				
Religion.	1901.	1911.	1921.	1931.
Buddhist ...	67.5	61.5	59.6	58.6
Animist ...	1.3	2.2	1.9	2.1
Hindu ...	15.7	18.4	19.7	20.3
Muslim ...	11.7	13.1	13.1	12.6
Christian ...	3.3	4.2	4.2	4.7
Others ...	0.4	0.6	1.5	1.6
Total ...	100*	100	100	100*

there was a movement on the part of the indigenous races from towns to rural areas. According to the following extract taken from paragraph 37 of the 1911 Census Report there were two definite and distinct tendencies.

\* The percentages in this column do not total 100. This is because each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and when this is done it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100. A similar discrepancy sometimes appears in tables in which figures are given to the nearest whole thousand. In future, explanations of these discrepancies will not usually be given.



"The first tendency is a slow but continuous transfer of a portion of the indigenous population from the towns to the available uncultivated areas of the province. The second is a complementary invasion of the towns by the members of alien races who are quite prepared to undertake the mechanical and routine occupations of modern industry. The two movements act and react upon one another. At the present time they are tending towards a racial cleavage between the rural and urban populations of the province. But the tendency is by no means extensive, or established, or permanent, or inevitable. The occupation of available land by the indigenous races is not a process capable of indefinite extension. Neither is the continued future immigration of Indians and Chinese in large numbers a matter of absolute certainty".

As regards the decade 1911—21, there were 59 towns which were towns at the 1911 and 1921 censuses. The population of these 59 comparable towns

increased from 1,106,703 in 1911 to 1,193,863 in 1921 *i.e.*, by 87,160 or 7·9 per cent. Part of this increase was probably due to extensions of the boundaries of these towns between 1911 and 1921, and since the population of Divisional Burma (in which all these 59 towns are situated) increased by 9·1 per cent, there would appear to have been some movement from the towns to the rural areas. In marginal table 2 figures are given for the different religions and it will be noticed that the Buddhists (which represent the indigenous races) increased by only 4·2 per cent. The Animists in towns are mostly Chinese and the large decrease in the number of Animists is not due to a reduction in the number of Chinese but to the fact that at the 1911 census practically all the Chinese, except Muslims and Christians, were returned as Animists, whereas at the 1921 census there were considerable numbers of Confucians and Buddhists. For instance, only 71 Confucians were enumerated in the above 59 towns in 1911 compared with 13,243 in 1921. This also accounts for the increase of 171·1 per cent shown in marginal table 2 for "Others". Thus there would appear to have been a very considerable increase in the Chinese population of towns during 1911—21. The figures for Hindus and Muslims in marginal table 2 may be taken to represent the Indian and Indo-Burman races and they suggest that there was also a considerable increase in the Indian population of towns. According to marginal table 1 the percentage of Buddhists in the urban population dropped from 61·5 in 1911 to 59·6 in 1921, while the percentage of Hindus increased from 18·4 to 19·7. It has been shown that during 1901—11 there was a tendency for the indigenous population to move from the towns to the rural areas and a complementary tendency for the immigrant races to move into the towns. These two tendencies would appear to have persisted into the 1911—21 decade.

There were 92 towns in 1931 with a population of 1,520,037, compared with 79 towns in 1921 with a population of 1,291,527. The cantonments of Rangoon, Mandalay and Maymyo were treated as separate towns in 1931 so that the increase in the number of towns was 10. Mogòk and Loilem which were treated as towns in 1921 have fallen out of the list and 12 new towns have taken their place in 1931. In marginal table 3 figures have been given showing the variation in the 80 places (cantonments being counted as separate towns) which were towns at the 1921 and 1931 censuses. The increase in the population of these 80 towns was 13·0 per cent. The increase in the total population of the province was 10·9 per cent, but since part of the increase in the population of the towns was probably due to their aggregate area in 1931 being greater than in 1921,

2 Variation in the population of comparable towns during 1911—21, by religion.				
Religion.	Population in		Increase.	
	1911.	1921.	Actual.	Per cent.
Buddhist ...	674,541	702,713	28,172	4·2
Animist ...	24,456	21,510	- 2,946	- 12·0
Hindu ...	206,662	237,935	31,273	15·1
Muslim ...	147,129	161,055	13,926	9·5
Christian ...	47,007	51,924	4,917	10·5
Others ...	6,908	18,726	11,818	171·1
Total ...	1,106,703	1,193,863	87,160	7·9

3. Variation in the population of comparable towns during 1921—31, by religion.				
Religion.	Population in		Increase.	
	1921.	1931.	Actual.	Per cent.
Buddhist ...	762,306	846,009	83,703	11·0
Animist ...	24,478	30,189	5,711	23·3
Hindu ...	253,000	293,602	40,602	16·0
Muslim ...	168,666	186,020	17,354	10·3
Christian ...	54,516	68,364	13,848	25·4
Others ...	19,150	24,564	5,414	28·3
Total ...	1,282,116	1,448,748	166,632	13·0



one cannot say definitely that there has been any general movement from the rural areas to the towns, taking the province as a whole. It will be noticed that the Buddhists in these towns increased by 11·0 per cent, which is less than the increase for all religions. Since there may have been contrary tendencies in the different natural divisions the figures for each natural division have been given in

4. Variation in the population of the comparable towns, by natural divisions				
Natural Division.	Population in		Variation.	
	1921.	1931.	Actual.	Per cent.
Province ...	1,282,116	1,448,748	166,632	13·0
Burman ...	1,248,116	1,403,995	155,879	12·5
Delta ...	667,611	776,885	109,274	16·4
Coast (Arakan) ...	44,215	46,396	2,181	4·9
Coast (Tenasserim).	112,665	121,504	8,839	7·8
Centre ...	408,513	441,777	33,264	8·1
North ...	15,112	17,433	2,321	15·4
Shan ...	34,000	44,753	10,753	31·6

marginal table 4. It will be seen that the increase in the Burman natural division was 12·5 per cent, which compares with an increase of 11·7 per cent in the total population of the Burman division. The small increase of 4·9 per cent in the Arakan portion of the Coast subdivision is mainly due to the population of Akyab town being only slightly larger than in 1921. The increase of 7·8 per cent in Amherst, Tavoy and Mergui compares with an increase of 20·8 per cent in the total population. In Amherst district, Moulmein

town increased by only 7 per cent and Kawkaik town remained practically unchanged whereas the rural areas increased by as much as 27 per cent. As pointed out in Chapter I of the Report there was a considerable amount of waste land in Amherst district available for extension of cultivation. There was a big increase in the population of Myitkyina town—probably due to more military police being stationed there in 1931—and this accounts for the large increase in the North subdivision. The increases in Namtu-Panghai and Taunggyi were mainly responsible for the large increase in the Shan division. The increase in the population of the comparable towns of the Centre subdivision was 8·1 per cent which compares with an increase of 9·5 per cent in the total population. In some districts, such as Prome, Thayetmyo and Yamethin, there appears to have been a tendency to move from the towns to the rural areas while in others such as Pakokku, Myingyan and Sagaing the tendency was in the reverse direction. The Buddhists in the comparable towns of the Centre subdivision increased by only 5·8 per cent while the Buddhists in the whole of the Centre subdivision increased by 8·8 per cent, which suggests that there was a tendency for the indigenous races to move from the towns to the rural areas. The greatest increase in the urban population has occurred in the Delta subdivision. The increase in the population of the comparable towns in the Delta subdivision was 16·4 per cent while the increase in the total population of the Delta subdivision was only 12·7 per cent. Both in 1921 and in 1931 more than half the urban population of the province was enumerated in the Delta subdivision. The large increase in the urban population of the Delta does not appear to have been confined to a few districts: in practically every district the ratio of the urban population to the total population was greater in 1931 than in 1921. A notable exception is Bassein but the reason for this appears to be that Kyonpyaw and Ngathaingyaung were smaller in area in 1931 than they were in 1921.

The movements of the indigenous races relative to the non-indigenous races

can also be studied by comparing the figures for the percentage of Buddhists in the urban population at successive censuses. According to marginal table 1 the percentage of Buddhists in the urban population has fallen from 59·6 in 1921 to 58·6 in 1931. If only the comparable towns are taken into account the figures are 59·5 and 58·4, respectively. Figures for the different natural divisions are given in marginal table 5 and it will be seen that the percentage has fallen in all the subdivisions of the Burman division except the Delta and the Arakan portion of the Coast subdivision. The fall has been greatest in the Shan division and is largely due to the immigration of non-indigenous races, mostly Indians and Chinese, into Namtu-Panghai.

5. Percentage of Buddhists in the population of the comparable towns, by natural divisions.		
Natural Division.	Percentage in 1921.	Percentage in 1931.
Province ...	59·5	58·4
Burman ...	59·3	58·5
Delta ...	49·8	49·9
Coast (Arakan) ...	40·1	40·4
Coast (Tenasserim)	60·1	60·0
Centre ...	77·6	75·9
North ...	38·7	38·0
Shan ...	63·9	54·4

In column 2 of Subsidiary Table II the percentage of the total population of the province which was enumerated in towns is given as 10·4. In the



corresponding table for 1921 the percentage is 9·8. Part of the increase is due to the urban areas in 1931 being larger than in 1921. If only the comparable towns are taken into account the figures for 1921 and 1931 are 9·72 and 9·90, respectively. The increase in the percentage appears to be small when one considers that the population of the comparable towns increased by 13·0 per cent whereas the total population increased by only 10·9 per cent. The relation between the rates of increase may be expressed as follows: If the urban population increases by X per cent and the total population by Y per cent then the percentage increase in the *ratio* of the urban population to the total population will be  $\frac{100}{100+Y} (X - Y)$ . If Y is small this is approximately equal to (X - Y).

It is usual to classify the towns according to whether they are progressive, stationary or declining. This is a difficult matter since the areas of the towns at the 1921 and 1931 censuses may not have been the same. Further, the population at either census may have been swollen owing to the presence of travellers or other adventitious population. The rates of increase appear to have been greatest in the towns given in marginal table 6. Most of the more progressive towns are probably to be found in this list. It will be seen that the next largest towns after Rangoon have not been included. The population of Mandalay Municipality was practically the same as in 1921 while Moulmein and Bassein had an increase of 7 per cent, Akyab 4, Tavoy 5½, and Prome 8½. Unless some new industry is established in these places it seems doubtful whether their populations will increase much during the next decade. Of the new towns Chauk, Pyuntaza, Daik-u, Thingangyun, Kamayut, Kanbè and Thamaing may be regarded as progressive. Sagu and Sinbyugyun were included as towns on the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioner but neither of them had a population exceeding 5,000 and it seems doubtful whether they should have been regarded as towns. The large increase in Tharrawaddy town is presumably due to the rebellion in that district.

6. Towns showing the greatest rates of increase.				
Town.	Population.		Increase.	
	1921.	1931.	Actual.	Per cent.
Rangoon City ...	341,962	400,415	58,453	17·1
Henzada ...	23,651	28,542	4,891	20·7
Myingyan ...	18,931	25,457	6,526	34·5
Toungoo ...	19,332	23,223	3,891	20·1
Pakòkku ...	19,507	23,115	3,608	18·5
Pegu ...	18,769	21,712	2,943	15·7
Insein ...	14,308	20,487	6,179	43·2
Mergui ...	17,297	20,405	3,108	18·0
Pyinmana ...	14,886	17,656	2,770	18·6
Thatón ...	15,091	16,851	1,760	11·7
Maymyo Municipality ...	12,839	16,586	3,747	29·2
Sagaing ...	11,858	14,127	2,269	19·1
Namtu-Panghai ...	7,699	12,780	5,081	66·0
Pyapón ...	8,107	12,338	4,231	52·2
Letpadan ...	9,901	12,160	2,259	22·8
Yenangyaung ...	10,028	11,098	1,070	10·7
Mònywa ...	9,225	10,800	1,575	17·1
Kyaiklat ...	9,224	10,658	1,434	15·5
Thóngwa ...	8,153	10,546	2,393	29·4
Myanaung ...	7,793	9,072	1,279	16·4
Maubin ...	6,812	8,897	2,085	30·6
Taunggyi ...	6,016	8,652	2,636	43·8
Taungdwingyi ...	6,306	8,339	2,033	32·2
Nyaung-u ...	7,094	8,118	1,024	14·4
Bogale ...	5,012	8,074	3,062	61·1
Thónzé ...	6,594	7,962	1,368	20·7
Pyu ...	6,451	7,807	1,356	21·0
Myaungmya ...	6,280	7,773	1,493	23·8
Moulmein	6,115	7,747	1,632	26·7
Kyauksè ...	6,107	7,353	1,246	20·4
Myitkyina ...	4,956	7,328	2,372	47·9
Tharrawaddy ...	3,625	7,131	3,506	96·7
Dedayè ...	5,568	6,778	1,210	21·7
Danubyu ...	4,860	6,334	1,474	30·3
Pyawbwe ...	4,704	6,160	1,456	31·0
Myitnge ...	3,439	5,682	2,243	65·2
Nattalin ...	4,898	5,633	735	15·0
Hsipaw ...	3,949	4,849	900	22·8
Yawnghwe ...	4,173	4,705	532	12·7
Lashio ...	3,448	4,638	1,190	34·5
Minhla ...	3,829	4,413	584	15·3
Ye-u ...	2,742	3,739	997	36·4
Kalaw ...	2,997	3,621	624	20·8

## 25. Urban Population by Religion and Race.—In marginal

table 7 the total population and the population of the urban and rural areas are classified by religion. The percentages for the urban areas are, however, by no means representative of all the towns since the religious distribution in the larger industrial towns is very different from that in the smaller towns. In the marginal table on page 23 of the 1911 Census Report percentages are given for the six industrial towns of Rangoon, Syriam, Insein, Moulmein, Bassein and Akyab, and for the remaining towns. In marginal table 8 figures have been given for 1911,

7. Percentage classification of the urban and rural population in 1931 by religion.

Religion.	Whole province.	Urban areas.	Rural areas.
Buddhist ...	84·3	58·6	87·3
Animist ...	5·2	2·1	5·6
Hindu ...	3·9	20·3	2·0
Muslim ...	4·0	12·6	3·0
Christian ...	2·3	4·7	2·0
Others ...	0·3	1·6	0·2
Total ...	100	100	100



1921 and 1931. It will be seen that there is a very much smaller percentage of

8. Comparison between the percentage distribution of the urban population by religion at the 1911, 1921 and 1931 censuses.

Religion.	Large industrial towns.*			Remaining towns.		
	1911.	1921	1931.	1911	1921.	1931.
Buddhist ...	37.2	36.5	37.3	77.7	74.7	71.9
Animist ...	2.4	1.2	1.6	2.1	2.4	2.4
Hindu ...	33.3	33.9	32.8	8.5	10.3	12.5
Muslim ...	19.8	19.0	18.2	8.7	9.2	9.1
Christian ...	6.6	6.4	7.0	2.5	2.8	3.3
Others ...	0.7	3.0	3.1	0.5	0.5	0.7
Total ...	100	100	100	100	100	100

\* Rangoon, Syriam, Insein, Moulmein, Bassein and Akyab.

in the Rangoon suburban towns of Thingangyun, Kamayut, Kanbè and Thamaing.

It is, however, much more satisfactory to classify the urban population by

9. Percentage classification of the urban and rural population in 1931 by race.

Race.†	Whole province.	Urban areas.	Rural areas.
Indigenous races	90.3	58.5	93.9
Indians ...	6.9	30.5	4.2
Chinese ...	1.3	4.7	0.9
Indo-Burman races	1.2	4.2	0.9
Others ...	0.2	2.0	...
Total ...	100	100	100

in marginal table 10. In the large industrial towns Indians form half the

10. Classification of the urban population by race in 1931.

Race.	Large industrial towns.		Remaining towns.	
	Actual Population.	Per cent.	Actual Population.	Per cent.
Indigenous races ...	210,796	36.0	679,170	72.7
Indians ...	290,124	49.6	173,090	18.5
Chinese ...	39,262	6.7	32,871	3.5
Indo-Burman races ...	24,497	4.2	39,708	4.2
Others ...	20,555	3.5	9,964	1.1
Total ...	585,234	100	934,803	100

towns of Namtu-Panghai, Chauk, Yenangyaung and the Rangoon suburban towns of Thingangyun, Kanbè, Kamayut and Thamaing are excluded from the remaining towns the percentage of indigenous races increases to 74.0 while the percentage of Indians drops to 17.3. Yenangyaung appears to be the only industrial town in which Indians form a comparatively small proportion (about 12 per cent) of the total population. This is due to the fact that many of the industrial workers live outside the town. In Chauk Indians form about one

Buddhists (indigenous races) and a very much larger percentage of Indians in the large industrial towns than in the remaining towns. There has not been much change since 1911 in the percentages for the large industrial towns, but the percentage of Buddhists in the remaining towns has dropped from 77.7 to 71.9. This is due to the fact that the remaining towns now include industrial centres like Namtu-Panghai and Chauk where there is a large proportion of Indians. There is also a considerable number of Indians

race, instead of religion, and in marginal table 9 percentages are given for indigenous races, Indians, Chinese, Indo-Burman races and "Others". This is the first time that racial figures have been given for towns in Burma and it is therefore impossible to give comparable figures for previous censuses. Indigenous and Indo-Burman races together form about five-eighths of the urban population while non-indigenous races form about three-eighths; Indians alone form 30 per cent. The percentages for the large industrial towns and the remaining towns are given in marginal table 10. In the large industrial towns Indians form half the population, indigenous and Indo-Burman races about 40 per cent and Chinese about 6½ per cent while Anglo-Indians, Europeans and other immigrant races form the remaining 3½ per cent. In the remaining towns the distribution is very different: indigenous and Indo-Burman races make up nearly 77 per cent of the population, Indians about 18½ per cent, Chinese 3½ and the remaining races only one per cent. The percentage of indigenous races in the remaining towns is just twice the percentage in the large industrial towns. If the industrial

† The indigenous races include all races in groups A to O; Indians, Chinese and Indo-Burman races form groups X, R and S, respectively, while "Others" are represented by groups Y and Z. The races in each group are given in Part I of Imperial Table XVII. The Indo-Burman races are largely Zerbadis while "Others" are mostly Europeans and Anglo-Indians.



So far only the distribution of the urban population by race or religion has been discussed but it is interesting to compare also the percentages of the different races and religions who were enumerated in urban areas. In Subsidiary Table II figures are given for the number per *mille* of the total population and of each religion who were enumerated in towns, while in Subsidiary Table V similar figures are given for certain racial classes. These figures are for the whole province and since the figures vary considerably in different parts of the province, table 11 below has been compiled in which figures are given for natural divisions and other areas. Figures have been given for racial classes since for Burma a racial classification of the population is much more satisfactory than a religious classification. The Indians and Chinese represent the bulk of the immigrant races. It will be seen from table 11 below that in the case of the Indians the figures for the province are largely influenced by those for Akyab district. The number per *mille* of Indians who were enumerated in

11. Number per <i>mille</i> of the indigenous population and of Indians and Chinese who were enumerated in towns.						
Natural division or other area.	Actual Population (urban and rural areas).			Number per <i>mille</i> enumerated in towns.		
	Indigenous Races.*	Indians.	Chinese.	Indigenous Races.	Indians.	Chinese.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>Province</b> ... ..	13,220,022	1,017,825	193,594	67	455	373
Province less Akyab District ...	12,844,178	806,835	192,905	68	547	371
<i>Burman Division</i> ... ..	11,533,774	980,524	128,645	75	459	527
Burman Division less Akyab District	11,157,930	769,534	127,956	76	557	526
Delta Subdivision ... ..	4,723,014	563,080	86,144	86	568	552
Coast Subdivision (Arakan) ...	710,517	217,301	978	28	107	738
Akyab District ... ..	375,844	210,990	689	40	103	823
Coast Subdivision (Tenasserim) ...	755,831	55,474	18,863	93	536	490
Centre Subdivision ... ..	4,637,226	112,594	13,052	78	623	654
North Subdivision ... ..	707,186	32,075	9,608	11	215	181
<i>Shan Division</i> ... ..	1,387,035	32,604	64,449	18	404	67
Northern Shan States ... ..	533,561	21,253	60,550	18	419	52
Southern Shan States ... ..	853,474	11,351	3,899	19	387	209

\* Includes races of groups A to O. (see Part I of Imperial Table XVII.)

towns is 455 for the whole province but if Akyab district is excluded the number is 547. Thus more than half the Indians in the province, excluding Akyab district, were enumerated in towns. In Akyab district itself 210,990 Indians were enumerated but only about one-tenth were enumerated in towns. In parts of Akyab district Indians are so numerous that they should perhaps be regarded as indigenous. This also applies to the Chinese in the Northern Shan States. Nearly one-third of the Chinese in the province were enumerated in the Northern Shan States and practically all the Chinese in the Northern Shan States are Yunnanese. In Kokang circle of North Hsenwi with a population of 36,153 about three quarters are Chinese. In the Northern Shan States the number per *mille* of the Chinese population who were enumerated in towns was only 52, whereas in the Burman natural division more than half the Chinese were enumerated in towns. It will be noticed that for both Indians and Chinese the number per *mille* enumerated in towns is greatest in the Centre subdivision.



## 26. The Sex-ratio in Towns.—The

12. The Sex-ratio in urban areas by racial classes.

Town.	Number of females per 100 males.			
	Total Population.	Indigenous Races.	Indians.	Chinese.
Rangoon City ...	48	99	24	54
<i>Municipality</i> ...	48	99	24	54
<i>Cantonment</i> ...	38	105	34	...
Mandalay City ...	90	103	33	49
<i>Municipality</i> ...	93	105	32	51
<i>Cantonment</i> ...	66	79	39	18
Moulmein ...	71	101	35	74
Bassein ...	57	94	18	40
Akyab ...	33	96	7	46
Tavoy ...	99	114	32	53
Henzada ...	81	99	29	44
Prome ...	85	107	39	47
Myingyan ...	85	94	33	44
Toungoo ...	76	95	36	54
Pakōkku ...	95	101	21	48
Pegu ...	82	108	42	46
Maymyo ...	57	78	41	44
<i>Municipality</i> ...	69	108	43	47
<i>Cantonment</i> ...	26	24	32	...
Insein ...	53	65	41	23
Mergui ...	86	113	29	56
Namtu-Panghai ...	30	108	12	13
Chauk ...	64	94	17	27
Yenangyaung ...	80	92	32	28
All Towns over 10,000 ...	64	101	25	50
All Towns under 10,000 ...	82	102	37	44
All Towns ...	68	101	27	49
Rural areas ...	100	103	50	54
The whole province (urban and rural areas)	96	103	39	52

10,000 the ratio is 37 which compares with 50 for rural areas and 39 for the whole province. For Chinese the sex-ratio in all towns is 49 and compares with 54 in rural areas. Strange to say the ratio for towns under 10,000 is only 44 and is less than the ratio for towns over 10,000 namely 50.

**27. Rangoon City.**—The boundaries of Rangoon City are the same as those of Rangoon Town District and include, besides the municipal and cantonment areas, some water area within the Port of Rangoon which lies outside the municipal area. Figures for the areas of these separate parts are given in Note 6 to Provincial Table I. The persons enumerated in the Port of Rangoon were practically all enumerated within municipal limits and they have therefore been included in those for the municipality. In Imperial Tables IV and V separate figures are given for the municipal and cantonment areas. The population of Rangoon City has increased from 341,962 in 1921 to 400,415 in 1931. Part of this increase is due to an extension of the city limits, Letkokpin village-tract and part of Sinmalaik village-tract having been taken over from Insein district. The population in 1921 of the City as it existed in 1931 was 345,505. The increase in population due to migration and natural causes is therefore 54,910 or 15.9 per cent. It is explained in paragraph 53 of the 1921 Census Report that not only are persons on ships in port on the night of the census included in the figures for Rangoon but also persons on ships that arrive in Rangoon from ports in India within fifteen days after the date of the census, if not censused already in India. The number of persons so enumerated

sex-ratio in towns is given for the total population and for indigenous races, Indians and Chinese in marginal table 12. For the purpose of comparison figures for rural areas and for the whole province (including urban and rural areas), are also given. It will be seen that the sex-ratio for all towns is 68, which compares with 100 for rural areas and 96 for the whole province. For indigenous races the sex-ratio for all towns is 101, the figures for towns over 10,000 and towns under 10,000 being 101 and 102, respectively. These figures are not appreciably different from the ratio for rural areas and for the whole province, namely 103. Apparently Burmese women appreciate the amenities of town life. The very low sex-ratio for indigenous races for Insein is probably due to the large number of male students at schools, colleges and other institutions. The reason for the high rates in Tavoy and Mergui is not apparent. In all towns the excess of males is largely, if not entirely, confined to immigrant races. The sex-ratio is particularly low for Indians, who form the bulk of the immigrant population in towns. The sex-ratio for Indians is very small in the larger towns, the ratio for towns over 10,000 being 25; for towns under



may vary considerably since a boat from the Coromandel Coast may contain as many as 3,000 passengers. There may also be considerable differences, between one census and the next, in the numbers of military police and troops, inmates of hospitals, the Jail and other institutions, travellers and other adventitious population. In 1921 this adventitious population amounted to 24,275, whereas in 1931 it was only 22,317 (details are given in marginal table 13).

If these figures are subtracted from the total population the remainder of the population (termed the normal civil population in the 1921 Census Report) increased from 321,230 to 378,098, *i.e.* by 56,868 or 17·7 per cent.

In columns 2 to 6 of marginal table 14 figures are given showing the percentage distribution of the

total population of Rangoon and of selected racial classes, while the figures in column 7 represent the percentage distribution of Burmese in the whole province. Rangoon has a deficiency of males in the age-groups 0-15 and 60 and over and an excess in 20-40. This is true of all the races included in the table. The difference between the age-distribution in Rangoon and the rest of the province is due to immigration. The difference between the distribution of Telugu males in Rangoon and Burmese males in the whole province is very striking. The Telugus in Rangoon are mostly unskilled labourers and it will be noticed that nearly two-thirds of them are in the age-group 20-40. There is also a deficiency of females in the age-groups 0-15 (for all the races mentioned in the table except Chinese) and 60 and over, and an excess in the age-group 20-40, but the differences and excesses are not so great as those for males.

In marginal table 15 figures are given for the population and the sex-ratio of the different racial classes in Rangoon. Indians form more than half the population of Rangoon, 63 per cent of all males and 32 per cent of all females being Indians. Indigenous races represent 32 per cent of the population and it will be noticed that only a very small proportion belongs to races other than Burmese. Chinese represent 7½ per cent and Indo-Burman Races 3 per cent, while the remaining 4 per cent are largely Europeans and Anglo-Indians. It should also be noticed that about one-half of the females belong to indigenous races.

13. Adventitious population of Rangoon in 1931.

Class.	Males.	Females.
Port population (including Irrawaddy Flotilla Company's steamers) ...	16,452	389
Travellers (Railway) ...	380	62
Inmates of Hospitals, Jail and other institutions ...	3,119	457
Military Police Lines ...	553	193
Cantonment (Military Area) ...	571	141
Total ...	21,075	1,242

14. Percentage age distribution of the total population of Rangoon and of selected racial classes.

Age-group.	Rangoon.					Whole Province
	All races.	Indians.	Telugus.	Chinese.	Burmese	Burmese
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Males.						
0-15	17·9	11·4	9·0	24·6	27·8	38·5
15-20	10·9	10·9	10·1	10·4	11·0	9·2
20-40	53·1	60·5	64·2	44·8	39·6	30·8
40-60	15·9	15·8	15·5	17·8	15·8	16·0
60 & over	2·2	1·4	1·1	2·5	3·9	5·5
Total ...	100	100	100	100	100	100
Females.						
0-15	33·4	35·3	30·0	39·7	30·7	37·5
15-20	11·0	10·8	10·4	10·2	11·0	10·0
20-40	37·3	40·5	46·5	32·5	36·3	31·3
40-60	14·4	11·2	11·4	14·4	16·7	15·7
60 & over	3·9	2·2	1·7	3·2	5·3	5·5
Total ...	100	100	100	100	100	100

15. The population and the sex-ratio of different racial classes in Rangoon.

Racial Class.	Population.			Females per 100 males.
	Total.	Males.	Females.	
Burmese ...	121,998	61,063	60,935	100
Karens ...	3,226	1,612	1,614	100
Other indigenous races.	2,358	1,309	1,049	80
Indians ...	212,929	171,714	41,215	24
Tamils ...	38,450	23,354	15,096	65
Telugus ...	68,591	57,388	11,203	20
Oriyas ...	8,034	7,518	516	7
Bengalis ...	13,067	10,699	2,368	22
Chittagonians	16,991	16,608	383	2
Hindustanis.	32,731	29,242	3,489	12
Other Indians.	35,065	26,905	8,160	30
Chinese ...	30,626	19,919	10,707	54
Indo-Burman Races.	12,560	6,125	6,435	105
Europeans	4,426	2,895	1,531	53
Anglo-Indians	9,977	5,071	4,906	97
Others ...	2,315	1,355	960	71
Total ...	400,415	271,063	129,352	48



Among the Chinese there is slightly more than one female for every two males, but among Indians there is only one female to 4 males. The sex-ratio varies considerably among the various Indian races and is lowest for Chittagonians (2 females per 100 males) and greatest for Tamils (65 per 100 males). Owing to the small proportion of females in the population of Rangoon the death-rate exceeds the birth-rate. If the vital statistics are correct the deaths exceeded the births by about 46,000, but in spite of this there was an increase in the population amounting to 54,910. The increase due to migration must therefore have been in the neighbourhood of 100,000. The deaths will exceed the births so long as there is such a big disparity between the numbers of males and females. If there was no migration the population would fall and the ratio of females to males would gradually increase. During the last twenty years there has been an increase in the sex-ratio, the present figure of 48 females per 100 males comparing with 41 in 1911.

In marginal table 16 the population of Rangoon has been classified by

Birth-place.	Population.			Number per <i>mille</i> .		
	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
Rangoon	140,657	68,900	71,757	351	254	555
Burma outside ...	55,772	30,524	25,248	139	113	195
Rangoon India proper ...	181,707	155,177	26,530	454	572	205
China ...	16,865	12,528	4,337	42	46	34
Elsewhere	5,414	3,934	1,480	14	15	11
Total ...	400,415	271,063	129,352	1,000	1,000	1,000

birth-place. The big proportion of persons born outside Burma, namely 510 per *mille*, is evidence of the fact that the population of Rangoon is largely composed of immigrant races. Nearly one-half of the population (496 per *mille*) was born in India proper or China, while only slightly more than one-third (351 per *mille*) was born in Rangoon. The proportions for males and females differ considerably; only one-quarter of the females were born out-side Burma compared with 633 per *mille* for males. During the last twenty years there has been a reduction in the proportion of foreign born, the present figures of 510 per *mille* comparing with 583 per *mille* in 1911.

**28. Mandalay City.**—Mandalay City includes the municipality and the cantonment. There has been a slight increase in the population of the municipality—from 134,839 to 134,950—but the population of the cantonment has dropped from 14,078 to 12,982. The reduction in the population of Mandalay City is therefore 985 or 0·7 per cent. During the preceding decade there was an increase of 8 per cent but it is pointed out in paragraph 55 of the 1921 Census Report that this was largely due to the fact that in 1911 about 10,000 persons were temporarily absent from the City owing to plague and that if these 10,000 persons are included in the 1911 population the increase would only be 0·4 per cent. Thus the population of Mandalay has remained practically stationary since 1911. Figures for immigrants and emigrants for Mandalay City are not available and therefore the increase or decrease due to migration cannot be calculated. According to the vital statistics the births exceeded the deaths by 1,658. The sanitary conditions leave much to be desired and plague is responsible for a large number of deaths. In 1929 the Municipal Committee had to be superseded owing to mismanagement. The decrease in the population of the cantonment is probably due to migration.

Racial Class.	Municipality.	Cantonment.
Burmese ...	102,881	8,736
Other Indigenous Races ...	3,533	375
Chinese ...	2,094	77
Indians ...	13,854	3,250
Indo-Burman Races	10,974	319
Others ...	1,614	225
Total ...	134,950	12,982

The changes that have taken place in the administration of cantonments may be responsible for this migration. There does not appear to have been much change in the numbers of troops or in the jail population. In marginal table 17 figures are given for selected racial classes. The indigenous races are mostly Burmese, and the Indo-Burman races are all Zerbadis. In Mandalay City there are 905 females per 1,000 males, the figures for the municipality and cantonment being 932 and 661, respectively. The proportion of persons in Mandalay City who were born outside Burma is 100 per *mille*, while of the 900 born within the province 764 were born in Mandalay district.



*B.—Villages.*

**29. Village Population**—In the regularly administered parts of Burma the unit of census organisation outside towns was the *village-tract*, which is the jurisdiction of a village headman. As pointed out in previous Census Reports the village-tract is an administrative unit and may contain only part of a residential village, several such villages, or no true village at all but only a number of clusters of houses scattered throughout the tract. In 1901 an attempt was made to classify the village population by residential villages instead of by administrative village-tracts but the results were not satisfactory and since 1911 the village-tract has been the unit in the regularly administered areas. In Imperial Table III census towns and village-tracts are classified by population. It should be noted that some of these census towns are partly or entirely composed of village-tracts (which do not come under the Burma Towns Act) and that the figures for village-tracts in Imperial Table III represent village-tracts outside census towns. This also applies to Provincial Table I. In Provincial Table I of the last census figures are given for the total number of village-tracts (whether within census towns or not) and the figures for towns represent towns as defined under the Burma Towns Act (which do not contain any village-tracts). The figures for towns and village-tracts in Provincial Table I of that census are therefore different from those in Imperial Table I in which figures are given for (a) census towns and (b) village-tracts outside census towns. Since the number of village-tracts within census towns in any district is very small compared with the total number of village-tracts in the district it was decided for this census to give figures in Provincial Table I, as well as in Imperial Table I, for (a) census towns and (b) village-tracts outside census towns. This is what was done in 1911. In Imperial Tables IV and V the letter "T" has been entered against towns that contain areas under the Burma Towns Act. In the Shan States, Karenni, the Chin Hills district, the Arakan Hill Tracts and the hill-tracts of all other districts except Myitkyina and Katha, the figures in Imperial Table I and Provincial Table I usually represent residential villages, while in the hill-tracts of Myitkyina and Katha districts they represent *Duwas'* charges. In marginal table 18 figures are given for the number of village-tracts outside census towns in the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions of the Burman natural division at the 1921 and 1931 censuses. The figures for 1931 are much smaller than those for 1921. The size of a village-tract is determined by administrative considerations—it must not be too large for the control of a village headman and the commission on the revenue collections should be sufficient to provide an adequate remuneration—and the figures in marginal table 18 are therefore of no interest except for administrative purposes; they have no bearing upon the life of the population in rural areas. At the last census figures were compiled for the number of villages with over 40 houses and less than 100, and with 100 houses or more and the information was entered in columns 5 and 6 of Provincial Table I. This information has not been compiled at this census because Deputy Commissioners, with only three exceptions, did not consider the figures worth compiling. Both in the Northern and Southern Shan States there appears to have been a small decrease in the number of villages, while in the Chin Hills there has been very little change. The average number of persons per village is 98 in the Northern Shan States and 78 in the Southern Shan States, which compares with 184 in the Chin Hills.

18. Number of village-tracts outside census towns.		
Natural Subdivision	1921.	1931.
Delta	5,355	4,660
Coast (Arakan)	1,401	1,140
Coast (Tenasserim)	674	639
Centre	6,048	5,048



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Distribution of the population between Towns and Village-tracts.*

Natural Division.	Average population per		Number per mille residing in		Number per mille of urban population residing in towns with a population of				Number per mille of rural population residing in village-tracts with a population of			
	Town.	Village-tract.	Towns	Village-tracts.	20,000 and over.	10,000 to 20,000.	5,000 to 10,000.	Under 5,000.	5,000 to 10,000.	2,000 to 5,000.	500 to 2,000.	Under 500.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	16,522	405	104	896	594	147	221	38	10	164	603	223
<b>Burman</b> ...	17,356	845	115	885	612	143	218	27	11	189	681	119
Delta ...	19,511	990	151	849	657	95	236	12	11	190	725	74
Coast ...	21,268	942	92	908	899	...	39	62	4	207	693	96
Centre ...	14,633	863	97	903	452	285	226	37	15	198	661	126
North ...	5,811	370	23	977	...	...	869	131	7	84	490	419
<b>Chin</b> ...	...	198	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	324	676
<b>Salween</b> ...	...	144	...	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	21	350	629
<b>Shan</b> ...	6,393	84	30	970	...	286	316	398	6	3	46	945

SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Number per mille of the total population and of each religion who were enumerated in Towns.*

District and Natural Division.	Total Population.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	104	72	42	541	327	217	507
<b>Burman</b> ...	115	78	93	552	325	236	802
<i>Delta</i> ...	151	90	269	556	598	217	935
Rangoon ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Insein ...	156	85	218	582	418	266	600
Hanthawaddy ...	63	42	141	133	207	152	699
Tharrawaddy ...	101	80	428	684	651	230	741
Pegu ...	83	66	235	184	268	70	52
Bassein ...	100	68	248	729	642	73	353
Henzada ...	72	61	246	600	424	79	915
Myaungmya ...	56	45	179	223	185	21	98
Mauhin ...	68	55	249	363	348	50	750
Pyapön ...	113	92	332	254	462	73	272
Toungoo ...	86	65	67	241	440	87	679
Thatön ...	44	35	142	125	158	72	671
<i>Coast</i> ...	92	68	60	598	110	201	813
Akyab ...	63	45	3	672	54	889	952
Kyaukpyu ...	19	15	3	523	111	99	...
Sandoway ...	31	19	25	448	225	33	...
Amherst ...	140	81	223	674	429	375	747
Tavoy ...	161	149	171	331	599	147	730
Mergui ...	126	105	213	342	203	50	453
<i>Centre</i> ...	97	78	143	625	516	598	559
Prome ...	122	102	148	675	729	306	773
Thavetnyo ...	79	72	16	652	828	313	427
Pakòkku ...	46	44	32	348	591	470	524
Minbu ...	76	71	57	372	580	717	480
Magwe ...	81	68	248	351	487	243	596
Mandalay ...	493	413	882	835	822	985	907
Kyaukse ...	49	42	178	367	84	231	387
Meiktila ...	30	21	549	279	292	721	299
Yamethin ...	85	60	126	585	389	250	150
Mingyan ...	71	64	590	749	839	964	857
Shwebo ...	34	27	386	394	122	185	361
Sagaing ...	57	48	637	567	507	163	722
Lower Chindwin ...	28	23	526	484	663	682	451
<i>North</i> ...	23	12	11	180	338	57	432
Bhamo ...	65	57	15	520	660	57	607
Myitkyina ...	43	18	11	233	496	73	319
Katha ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Upper Chindwin ...	11	8	6	126	141	28	148
<b>Shan</b> ...	30	20	16	384	522	104	59
Northern Shan States ...	36	20	24	398	536	115	26
Southern Shan States ...	26	20	3	355	508	99	197



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Towns classified by Population.*

Town.			Percentage of total Urban population.	Number of females per 1,000 males.	Increase per cent in the population of towns as classed at previous census.				Increase per cent in Urban population of each class from 1891 to 1931.	
Serial No.	Class.	Number of Towns in 1931.			1921 to 1931.	1911 to 1921.	1901 to 1911.	1891 to 1901.	(a) In Towns as classed in 1891.	(b) In the total of each class in 1931 as compared with the corresponding total in 1891.
1(a)	1(b)	1(c)	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
I	100,000 and over ...	2	36	572	12	14	3	13	49	49
II	50,000—100,000	1	4	706	7	6	- 1	5	17	17
III	20,000— 50,000	11	22	691	8	2	7	- 9	3	175
IV	10,000— 20,000	17	13	754	16	6	3	4	28	9
V	5,000— 10,000	46	22	815	12	1	2	7	12	90
VI	Under 5,000	15	3	764	30	19	49	41	110	4

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Cities.*

City.	Population in 1931.	Number of persons per square mile.	Number of females per 1,000 males.	Proportion of foreign born* per mille.	Percentage of Variation (Increase + ; Decrease—).					
					1921—1931.	1911—1921.	1901—1911.	1891—1901.	1881—1891.	1881—1931.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Rangoon ...	400,415	16,146	477	509	+ 17·1	+ 16·6	+ 24·9	+ 30·3	+ 34·4	+ 198·4
Mandalay ...	147,932	5,917	905	100	- 0·7	+ 7·7	- 24·8	- 26	...	- 21·7†

\* "Foreign born" means born outside Burma.

† Relates to the period 1891-1931.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*Number per mille of the total population and of selected racial classes who were enumerated in Towns.*

District and Natural Division.	Total Population.	Burmese	Other Indigenous Races.	Chinese.	Indian Hindus.	Indian Muslims.	Other Indians.	Indo-Burman Races.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	104	90	26	373	539	321	556	352	901
<b>Burman</b> ...	115	89	33	527	550	319	566	351	909
<i>Della</i> ...	151	106	21	552	556	598	585	613	957
Rangoon ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
Insein ...	156	90	48	333	584	423	533	357	945
Hanthawaddy ...	63	46	5	148	133	194	119	240	649
Tharrawaddy ...	101	83	40	659	684	681	569	605	919
Pegu ...	83	73	14	314	184	242	106	406	584
Bassein ...	100	83	17	392	729	612	567	702	929
Henzada ...	72	66	18	348	598	370	375	528	819
Myaungmya ...	56	59	5	201	224	170	72	310	703
Maubin ...	68	75	8	207	362	345	271	420	980
Pyapön ...	113	95	33	335	256	448	68	641	947
Toungoo ...	86	76	18	365	241	387	653	681	891
Thatön ...	44	79	16	258	125	124	165	218	446
<i>Coast</i> ...	92	165	50	502	598	88	417	174	848
Akyab ...	63	176	39	823	673	53	171	55	962
Kyaukpyu ...	19	225	13	521	524	83	1,000	141	647
Sandoway ...	31	29	3	550	450	297	...	207	250
Amherst ...	140	290	33	503	674	436	623	422	913
Tavoy ...	161	377	139	493	326	566	927	639	661
Mergui ...	126	425	88	447	339	616	492	310	618
<i>Centre</i> ...	97	78	68	654	612	665	595	428	819
Prome ...	122	104	9	645	675	705	531	757	839
Thayetmyo ...	79	74	5	490	652	709	546	917	609
Pakölku ...	46	45	2	624	348	535	409	695	341
Minbu ...	76	75	1	609	375	594	493	469	447
Magwe ...	81	67	18	637	351	445	387	622	334
Mandalay ...	493	418	525	885	828	930	953	768	990
Kyaukse ...	49	42	163	156	365	390	367	57	606
Meiktila ...	30	21	46	484	279	416	388	184	476
Yaméthin ...	85	59	39	612	586	644	212	337	747
Myingyan ...	71	64	836	678	748	828	920	908	986
Shwebo ...	34	27	100	346	395	369	411	66	331
Sagaing ...	57	46	960	651	535	633	455	465	443
Lower Chindwin ...	28	23	557	663	482	663	514	620	652
<i>North</i> ...	23	20	5	181	181	330	350	366	293
Bhamo ...	65	103	15	450	544	576	516	797	598
Myitkyina ...	43	88	6	135	234	477	386	532	425
Katha ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Upper Chindwin ...	11	14	1	182	130	137	149	180	127
<b>Chin</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chin Hills ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Salween</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Salween ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karenni ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Shan</b> ...	30	194	15	67	387	482	434	607	701
Northern Shan States ...	36	176	12	52	403	540	313	505	575
Southern Shan States ...	26	234	17	290	355	382	516	651	862



## CHAPTER III.

### Birth-place.

**30. Statistical References.**—The birth-place entered in the enumeration schedules was the district of birth, and if the person was born in a province in India proper the name of the province was added ; if the person was born in India outside British territory or outside India the name of the state or country was entered. But although the district of birth was entered in the schedules for persons born in India proper figures were compiled only for the province of birth. This was done as a measure of economy. Figures were, however, compiled for birth-districts in Burma. A reference has already been made to the birth-place statistics in paragraphs 14, 15 and 16 of Chapter I in connection with the increase in population. The manner in which an estimate of the increase in population due to migration can be obtained from the birth-place statistics has been explained in paragraph 14 of Chapter I, and the special meanings assigned to the words *immigrant*, *emigrant*, *immigration* and *emigration* in this Report have also been explained in that paragraph. The treatment of migration or the movement of the population from place to place belongs properly to this chapter but it has been touched upon in Chapter I in explaining the variation in the population. Incidentally, the title prescribed by the Government of India for Chapter I was "Distribution and Movement of Population." The word "movement" in this title refers to movements with respect to time rather than place. Although the word is often used in works on population in this technical sense it is not the commonly accepted meaning, and in order to avoid ambiguity the word "variation" has been used in the title of Chapter I of this Report. This is the word used in the 1921 Census Report for Burma.

The primary statistics compiled from the entries in the enumeration schedules are given in Imperial Table VI ; the table is divided into three parts and Note 2 to the table describes the information given in each part. Separate figures for Indians born in Burma and Indians born outside Burma are given in Imperial Table XI—Occupations by Race, in Provincial Table V—Indians by Religion, Race and Birth-place and in Provincial Table VI—Race and Economic Function. Subsidiary Table IV of Chapter I gives the immigrants and emigrants and the natural population of each district and natural division. The following seven subsidiary tables which are printed at the end of this chapter have also been compiled :—

- I.—Immigrants of each District or Natural Division classified by Birth-place.
- II.—Emigrants from each District or Natural Division to other parts of Burma.
- III.—Migration between Natural Divisions—Comparison between Censuses of 1931 and 1921.
- IV.—Migration between Burma and other parts of India, 1931.
- V.—Migration between Burma and other parts of India compared for 1931 and 1921.
- VI.—Proportions of migrants to the actual population of each district and the ratio of the sexes amongst them.
- VII.—Statistics of Indians born outside Burma.

In most countries the figures for birth-place are used as a basis for analysing the movements of the population—presumably because there is usually no other basis—but in many respects they are unsatisfactory. Thus they make no distinction between permanent and temporary migrations. A person is treated as a migrant if he happens to be enumerated in a place outside his birth-district although he may have left his birth-place for a temporary purpose and may be returning the next day. On the other hand a person may move his residence permanently from one place to another and be enumerated there but if the two places are in the same district he does not become a migrant. Further, the birth-place figures are often unreliable on account of frequent changes in the boundaries of districts. This applies particularly to the figures for districts for previous censuses. Much more reliance can, however, be placed on the figures for natural divisions since the probability of giving a wrong district is greater than that of giving a district in the wrong natural division.



**31. Sources of Immigrants.**—The principal sources of the immigrants are given in marginal table 1. The number of immigrants

1. Immigrants in 1921 and 1931.				
Birth-place.	1921.	1931.	Increase.	
			Actual.	Per cent.
India ...	572,530	617,521	44,991	7.9
China ...	102,344	114,270	11,926	11.7
Nepal ...	13,712	23,889	10,177	74.2
Siam ...	7,645	9,619	1,974	25.8
Europe ...	6,553	7,098	545	8.3
Elsewhere ...	3,965	3,566	-399	-10.1
Total ...	706,749	775,963	69,214	9.8

has increased by 69,214 or 9.8 per cent. This does not, of course, represent the increase due to immigration. It is pointed out in paragraph 14 of Chapter I that children born in Burma to immigrants are not themselves immigrants and that there is a natural tendency for immigrants to decrease because their numbers are reduced by deaths and not increased by births. The same applies to emigrants. This fact should be borne in mind when comparing the figures for immigrants and emigrants at different censuses. The increase in the population of the province due to immigration was

probably between 300,000 and 400,000 (see paragraph 14 of Chapter I).

The actual and percentage increases shown in marginal table 1 are not as great as those for the preceding decade (see marginal table 7 on page 88 of the 1921 Census Report). India and China supply the bulk of the immigrants. India shows the largest absolute increase but the increases for China and Nepal are also considerable. The figures for Nepal are striking, the increase being as much as 74 per cent. The immigrants from India, China, Nepal, Siam and Europe are discussed at greater length in the subsequent paragraphs. The most important countries included under "Elsewhere" in marginal table 1 are Ceylon (748), Straits Settlements and Malaya (580), Japan (570) and America (489); the decrease of 10 per cent in the number of immigrants from these places is due to the fact that the excess of arrivals over departures has been less than the number of deaths.

**32. Immigrants from India.**—The distribution of the immigrants from India is given in marginal table 2. The increase of 7.9 per cent compares

2. Distribution of immigrants from India.				
Natural Division in which enumerated.	1921.	1931.	Increase.	
			Actual.	Per cent.
Province ...	572,530	617,521	44,991	7.9
Burman ...	559,789	598,911	39,122	7.0
Delta ...	393,472	416,931	23,459	6.0
Coast (Arakan) ...	50,879	49,844	-1,035	-2.0
Coast (Tenasserim) ...	35,926	34,587	-1,339	-3.7
Centre ...	66,019	81,410	15,391	23.3
North ...	13,493	16,139	2,646	19.6
Chin ...	1,401	764	-637	-45.5
Salween ...	859	937	78	9.1
Shan ...	10,481	16,909	6,428	61.3
Northern Shan States ...	7,187	12,220	5,033	70.0
Southern Shan States ...	3,294	4,689	1,395	42.3

with 16.0 per cent during the preceding decade. In paragraph 66 of the 1921 Census Report the province is divided into "Near Districts" and "Distant Districts." The Near Districts are Akyab, Kyaukpau and Sandoway (Arakan portion of the Coast subdivision), the Arakan Hill Tracts and the Chin Hills district (Chin Division) and the Upper Chindwin district. These districts are separated from India by a land boundary and Indians can and do filter in across this boundary. The Distant

Districts make up the rest of the province and represent the portion of Burma which can only be reached by sea. Casual or very short term immigration into the distant districts is of small dimensions. It will be seen from marginal table 2 that there were fewer immigrants from India in the Arakan portion of the Coast subdivision and in the Chin division in 1931 than in 1921. On the other hand the number of immigrants from India in the Upper Chindwin district increased from 3,435 in 1921 to 5,405 in 1931. There was therefore very little change in the number of immigrants from India in the Near Districts taken together, the number in 1931 being 56,013, compared with 55,715 in 1921. The only district among the Near Districts which needs special consideration is Akyab district. The migration between India and Akyab district constitutes the only appreciable overland migration between India and



Burma. It has already been referred to in paragraph 16 of Chapter I, where an estimate is given of the increase in population due to this migration. Every year there is a seasonal migration of coolies from Chittagong to assist in the agricultural operations in Akyab. The amount of migration varies considerably from year to year, falling to very small dimensions after a good season in Chittagong and rising considerably after a bad season. Only a comparatively small number of these immigrants stay behind in Akyab, the majority returning to Chittagong during February and March. The immigrants usually come by land, not having sufficient means to pay for a steamer passage to Akyab, but on the return journey they usually return by steamer, because they then have the means to pay for a passage. The number of immigrants enumerated depends largely on the date of the census. The immigrants return to Chittagong in large numbers during the first half of March and a much larger proportion must have been enumerated in 1931 when the census was taken on the 24th February, than in 1921 when the census was taken on the 18th March. But in spite of this, only 45,876 immigrants were enumerated in 1931 compared with 48,121 in 1921.

The increase in the number of immigrants from India was practically confined to the Distant Districts, there being 561,508 in 1931 compared with 516,815 in 1921, an increase of 44,693 or 8·6 per cent. Practically all the immigrants from India to the Distant Districts pass through Rangoon. Figures for the traffic through Rangoon have been given in paragraph 14 of Chapter I, and an estimate of the increase in population due to migration through Rangoon has also been given in that paragraph. A very large proportion of this traffic is between Rangoon and Indian ports. For immigration from India there is a high season from October or November to February, and for emigration from Rangoon to India the high season is from March to June; the three months July, August and September are dull months for both immigration and emigration. The majority of Indian immigrants are unskilled labourers and they come to Burma because of economic pressure in India, a bad harvest in Madras being usually followed by a heavy influx of immigrants. But the labourers who come in, say, November and December do not ordinarily go back in the ensuing April and May. Their object in coming to Burma is to save as much as possible and as a rule they stay for two or three years or even longer periods before going back. Most of the married Indian labourers who come to Burma leave their wives and families in India. They naturally do not want to be encumbered with their wives and children in a new country where they are not certain of obtaining work and where they do not intend to reside permanently. There is also the caste prejudice against travelling by sea which is particularly strong with Oriyas. Tamils, on the other hand, do not appear to be so strict in this matter and this largely accounts for the bigger proportion of females among Tamils. The absence of any family life among the majority of the Indian labourers is largely responsible for many of their vices, particularly in towns.

It will be noticed from marginal table 2 that more than two-thirds of the Indian immigrants in the whole province were enumerated in the Delta subdivision. The actual increases were greatest in the Delta and Centre subdivisions and in the Shan division; the very large percentage increase in the Shan division appears to be mainly due to the increased employment of Indians at the works of the Burma Corporation in the Northern Shan States.

**33. Indian Immigrants by Race and Religion.**—In the previous paragraph figures have been given for immigrants from India. Most of these immigrants are Indians but a few belong to other races. In marginal table 3 the Indian population of Burma is classified by birth-place and it will be seen that 605,299 Indians were born in India. Since the total number of immigrants from India is 617,521 (see the previous paragraph) this leaves 12,222 as the number of persons other than Indians who were born in India. Many of them would probably be Anglo-Indians.

3. Classification of the Indian population of Burma by birth-place.*			
Birth-place.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Burma ...	387,735	204,868	182,867
India ...	605,299	510,207	95,092
Nepal ...	23,871	18,125	5,746
Elsewhere ...	920	711	209
Total ...	1,017,825	733,911	283,914

\* The figures given in this table for India, Nepal and Elsewhere were obtained from the Sorters' Tickets and are not given in any of the published tables. This also applies to some of the other marginal tables in this Chapter.



According to marginal table 3 there were 23,871 Indians born in Nepal and it is necessary to explain here that in the racial classification Gurkhas are treated as Indians, whereas in the birth-place statistics Nepal is not regarded as part of India. In Imperial Table VI—Birth-place figures for Nepal are given under B.—Other Asiatic Countries.

4. Classification of Indian immigrants by religion.

Religion.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Females per 100 males.
Hindu ...	424,420	349,100	75,320	22
Muslim ...	172,833	155,274	17,559	11
Others ...	32,837	24,669	8,168	33
Total ...	630,090	529,043	101,047	19

5. Classification of Indian immigrants by race.

Race.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Females per 100 males.
Bengali ...	39,808	35,126	4,682	13
Chittagonian	83,511	76,377	7,134	9
Hindustani	125,054	105,840	19,214	18
Oriya ...	57,906	55,986	1,920	3
Tamil ...	84,327	58,823	25,504	43
Telugu ...	131,727	108,701	23,026	21
Others ...	107,757	88,190	19,567	22
Total ...	630,090	529,043	101,047	19

born outside Burma, the percentages for males and females being 72 and 36, respectively. In Part B of Subsidiary Table VII percentages are given for the various Indian races and for different parts of the province and it will be seen

6. Percentage of Indians born outside Burma.

Area of enumeration.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Whole Province ...	62	72	36
Akyab District ...	21	30	7
Whole Province, less Akyab District ...	73	81	48

Since some of the immigrants from India are not Indians it is more satisfactory to give figures for Indian immigrants, *i.e.*, Indians born outside Burma. In marginal table 4 Indian immigrants are classified by religion, and the sex-ratio is also given. It will be noticed that about two-thirds of the Indian immigrants are Hindus and the remainder mostly Muslims. The sex-ratio for Muslims is very low, being only half the figure for Hindus, but it would be still smaller if Akyab district were excluded. Among the Indian Muslim immigrants of Akyab district there are 23 females per 100 males, which compares with only 9 in the remainder of the province.

Indian immigrants are classified by race in marginal table 5 and the sex-ratio is also given. The sex-ratio among the different races varies considerably, being very low for Oriyas and Chittagonians and comparatively high for Tamils. The sex-ratio for Chittagonians is largely influenced by the figures for Akyab district. Among the Chittagonian immigrants in Akyab district there are 22 females per 100 males whereas in the remainder of the province there are only 3 females per 100 males.

Indians born in Burma and Indians born outside Burma (Indian immigrants) are classified by race and religion in Provincial Table V and figures are given there for districts where they are specially numerous. Some figures for Indian immigrants are also given in Subsidiary Table VII. According to marginal table 6, 62 per cent of the Indians enumerated in the province were that the percentages for Bengalis and Chittagonians for Akyab district are very different from those for the rest of the province. The effect of excluding Akyab district is shown by the figures in marginal table 6, which gives the percentage of Indians born outside Burma for the whole province, Akyab district, and the whole province, less Akyab district. The effect is particularly striking in the case of the females. By excluding Akyab district the percentage of females born outside Burma is increased from 36 to 48.



**34. Immigrants from China.**—The distribution of the immigrants from China is given in marginal table 7. It will be noticed that a very large proportion of the immigrants were enumerated in the Delta and North subdivisions and in the Shan division. The actual increases have been greatest in the Delta and Centre subdivisions. Most of the immigrants from China are Chinese. In paragraph 82 of the 1911 Census Report it was assumed that practically all the immigrants from China were Chinese. This may have been true in 1911 but it was not true in 1931. In table 8 below the Chinese population of Burma has been classified by birth-place and it will be seen that only 89,539 Chinese were born in China. Since the total number of immigrants from China is 114,270, (see marginal table 7) the remainder, 24,731, represents immigrants of

7. Immigrants from China.				
Natural Division in which enumerated.	1921.	1931.	Increase.	
			Actual.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4	5
Province ...	102,344	114,270	11,926	11.7
Burman ...	74,282	86,249	11,967	16.1
Delta ...	40,785	49,181	8,396	20.6
Coast (Arakan) ...	585	622	37	6.3
Coast (Tenasserim) ...	7,527	7,626	99	1.3
Centre ...	5,902	8,267	2,365	40.1
North ...	19,483	20,553	1,070	5.5
Chin ...	23	53	30	130.4
Salween ...	430	377	- 53	-12.3
Shan ...	27,609	27,591	- 18	- 0.1

8. Classification of the Chinese population of Burma by birth-place.

Natural Division in which enumerated.	Total Population.			Born in								
				Burma.			China.			Elsewhere.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Province ...	193,594	127,049	66,545	103,518	55,775	47,743	89,539	70,904	18,635	537	370	167
Burman ...	128,645	88,120	40,525	55,643	30,974	24,669	72,488	56,791	15,697	514	355	159
Delta ...	86,144	58,708	27,436	36,589	20,613	15,976	49,129	37,809	11,320	426	286	140
Coast (Arakan) ...	978	723	255	355	204	151	622	519	103	1	...	1
Coast (Tenasserim) ...	18,863	12,362	6,501	11,195	6,002	5,193	7,607	6,311	1,296	61	49	12
Centre ...	13,052	9,316	3,736	4,797	2,724	2,073	8,235	6,575	1,660	20	17	3
North ...	9,608	7,011	2,597	2,707	1,431	1,276	6,895	5,577	1,318	6	3	3
Chin ...	80	45	35	27	1	26	53	44	9	...	...	...
Salween ...	420	328	92	110	60	50	310	268	42	...	...	...
Shan ...	64,449	38,556	25,893	47,738	24,740	22,998	16,688	13,801	2,887	23	15	8

races other than Chinese. Practically all these immigrants come overland from China and are mainly Shan-Tayoks and Shans but a few Maingthas are also included. Many of them would be caravan traders who would return to China after the census. They are distributed as follows :—

Bhamo district	...	8,638
Myitkyina district	...	4,292
Katha district	...	728
Northern Shan States	...	8,922
Southern Shan States	...	1,981
Karenni	...	66
Remainder of the province	...	104

In Bhamo district, out of 10,161 immigrants from China, only 1,523 were Chinese, the remainder being mainly Shan-Tayoks.



According to table 8 above practically all the Chinese in the province were born in Burma or China; most of the remainder were born in the Straits Settlements. About 74 per cent of the Chinese in the Shan States were born in Burma, which compares with 43 per cent for the Burman natural division.

There are slightly more than 2 males to every female among the Chinese in the Burman natural division and this leads to a considerable amount of inter-marriage between the surplus Chinese men and the women of indigenous races, particularly Burmese. This mixture is generally considered to be an advantageous racial combination. It has been the custom for many years for the male offspring of such unions to assume the race of the father and the female offspring that of the mother. This would account for the number of Chinese males born in Burma, namely 55,775, being greater than the females, namely 47,743. There is also a tendency for the Chinaman born in Burma to give his birth-place as China: according to the 1921 Census Report (paragraph 65) he considers no other birth-place so respectable as one in China. A Chinaman invariably refers to China as မြန်မာ (the big country). It is impossible to estimate the error produced in the statistics by this tendency but it is probably not large.

**35. Immigrants from Nepal.**—In marginal table 9 figures for immigrants from Nepal have been given for all districts in which there were more than 100 immigrants in 1931. Figures for previous censuses in this table and in marginal table 10 are for the districts as they existed at those censuses. All but 18 of the 23,889 immigrants were Indians and practically all of these would be Gurkhas. It will be noticed that there has been a considerable increase during the last twenty years. The increase is partly due to the employment of more Gurkha soldiers and partly to Gurkhas having settled in the Myitkyina district, in the Mandalay district (near Maymyo) and in the Northern and Southern Shan States. There has been considerable immigration into the Shan States and Karenni, the number of immigrants being practically three times as large as in 1921. The increase in Tavoy and Mergui is probably connected with the tin-mining in those districts, while the increase in Karenni may be due to the activity at the Mawchi mines.

District in which enumerated.	1911	1921	1931
Akyab ...	16	35	132
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	190	241	108
Rangoon ...	122	545	647
Tavoy ...	26	271	506
Mergui ...	13	106	659
Toungoo ...	39	77	208
Chin Hills ...	521	262	484
Mandalay ...	878	1,140	1,741
Meiktila ...	76	114	159
Yamethin ...	41	247	197
Bhamo ...	28	251	252
Myitkyina ...	2,047	4,285	5,380
Katha ...	553	958	1,333
Upper Chindwin ...	142	1,074	911
Northern Shan States ...	529	1,865	6,322
Southern Shan States ...	710	1,465	2,943
Karenni ...	...	106	1,189
Other districts ...	66	670	718
Total ...	5,997	13,712	23,889

**36. Immigrants from Siam.**—Figures for immigrants from Siam are given in marginal table 10. The biggest increases since 1921 have been in the Southern Shan States and the Amherst district but there has been a reduction in Karenni. The bulk of the immigrants—about 94 per cent—were enumerated in the Southern Shan States, Karenni and the Salween, Amherst and Mergui districts. It was pointed out in the 1921 Census Report that although there were considerable numbers of immigrants from Siam in the Amherst and Mergui districts, there were very few in Tavoy. It will be noticed that there were only 40 immigrants in Tavoy in 1921, but this number has now been reduced to 28. The reason why Tavoy has no attraction for the Siamese is not apparent.

District in which enumerated.	1911	1921	1931
Rangoon ...	36	45	46
Pegu ...	76	45	62
Salween ...	59	953	839
Thaton ...	557	87	97
Amherst ...	1,636	1,899	2,565
Tavoy ...	15	40	28
Mergui ...	187	1,008	1,168
Toungoo ...	245	168	148
Northern Shan States ...	...	13	23
Southern Shan States ...	1,157	2,226	3,940
Karenni ...	...	1,080	565
Other districts ...	27	81	138
Total ...	3,995	7,645	9,619



**37. Immigrants from Europe.**—Figures for immigrants from Europe are given in marginal table 11. There has been an increase in the number of immigrants from England and Wales and a drop in the number from Scotland and Ireland. The figures for these countries depend largely on whether English, Scottish or Irish regiments happen to be stationed in Burma at the time of the census. There has been a considerable increase in the number of immigrants from Continental Europe, particularly Germany, but the figures for these Continental countries depend to a large extent on the nationality of the ships that happen to be in ports in Burma on the night of the census, or reach such ports from ports in India within fifteen days of the census date. There is a noticeable drop in the number of immigrants from France.

11. Immigrants from Europe.		
Birth-place.	1921	1931
<i>Great Britain and Ireland ...</i>	6,097	6,426
England and Wales ...	4,210	4,968
Scotland ...	1,531	1,156
Channel Islands ...	1	1
Northern Ireland ...	...	62
Irish Free State ...	355	239
<i>Malta ...</i>	7	14
<i>Continental Europe ...</i>	449	658
France ...	204	135
Germany ...	13	97
Holland ...	30	51
Italy ...	71	127
Elsewhere ...	131	248
Total ...	6,553	7,098

**38. Emigrants.**—The number of persons born in Burma and enumerated in India was 9,460 at the census in 1901, 13,353 in 1911, 19,086 in 1921 and 24,397 in 1931. These figures include convicts from Burma enumerated in the Andamans. If figures for the Andamans and Nicobars are excluded the numbers for 1921 and 1931 are 17,026 and 21,444, respectively, and the increase is 4,418 or 26 per cent. Very few persons of indigenous races ever migrate to India and those enumerated in India, excluding the Andamans, are mainly Indians born in Burma when their parents happened to be resident there. The migration between Burma and the other Indian provinces and states is discussed in the next paragraph.

At the last census the number of emigrants to places beyond India and Burma was 1,230 (see paragraph 62 of the 1921 Census Report). Most of these emigrants were enumerated in the Straits Settlements and Malaya. For this census most of the colonies, and in particular British Malaya, have merely given figures for the whole of India, and not separate figures for each province. The figures received for Burma are as follows :—

Ceylon ...	1
Hong Kong ...	2
North Borneo ...	1

For this reason figures for emigrants to places beyond India have been excluded from all the figures for emigrants in Subsidiary Table IV of Chapter I.

**39. Migration between Burma and Indian provinces.**—The provinces and states in India from which the immigrants come to Burma are given in Subsidiary Tables IV and V. Madras, Bengal and the United Provinces supply the bulk of the immigrants and the 1931 figures for these three provinces are all appreciably larger than those for 1921. The decrease for Bombay province and the increase for Bombay States (including the Western India Agency) are probably largely due to differences in classification at the two censuses. The immigrants exceed the emigrants for all provinces except Assam, the Andamans and Nicobars and Ajmer-Merwara. The figures for Assam are probably due to the emigration from the Chin Hills district during the preceding decade, when there was a rebellion in that district, while the emigrants enumerated in the Andamans represent convicts. The figures for Ajmer-Merwara are small and of no consequence. The excess of immigrants over emigrants has increased from 553,444 in 1921 to 593,124 in 1931. The bulk of the increase is due to increased immigration from Madras, Bengal, the United Provinces and the Punjab.

**40. Internal Migration.**—Migration, both internal and external, has already been considered in paragraph 16 of Chapter I in connection with the variation of the population. Statistics of internal migration are given for each district and natural division in Subsidiary Tables I and II of this Chapter but, as explained in paragraph 30 of this Chapter, the figures for the migration between natural divisions, which are given in Subsidiary Table III, are much more reliable than those for districts. The figures in Subsidiary Table III



relate only to persons born within the province and it should be noted that this table can be read in two ways. Thus the figures in the columns give, for those enumerated in each natural division, the number born in each natural division, while the figures in the horizontal rows give, for those born in each natural division, the number enumerated in each natural division. It will be noted that the number enumerated in the Delta and born in the Centre subdivision has fallen from 239 thousands to 155 thousands, while the number enumerated in the Centre and born in the Delta subdivision has increased from 26 thousands to 29 thousands. It is impossible to say from these figures whether the balance of migration has been from the Delta to the Centre or from the Centre to the Delta. It is pointed out in paragraph 71 of the 1921 Census Report that a large proportion of the immigrants in the Delta from the Centre would then be aged 50 or more and that their numbers would therefore diminish rapidly during the decade 1921-31. It is possible, perhaps probable, that at least half of the 239 thousand immigrants enumerated in 1921 have since died, but it is impossible to estimate the number of deaths at all accurately. Since the Arakan and Tenasserim portions of the Coast subdivision are two separate parts of the province, separate figures have been given for them in all the subsidiary tables of this Chapter. It will be noticed from Subsidiary Table III that immigrants from the Delta to the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision have increased from 8 to 12 thousands while the immigrants from the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision to the Delta have fallen from 21 to 20 thousands. These figures suggest that the balance of migration between the Delta and the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision has been a matter of only a few thousands, and they corroborate the opinion expressed in paragraph 16 of Chapter I that the large increase in the population of the Amherst district during 1921-31 is to a great extent due to under-enumeration in 1921, particularly in the non-synchronous areas. The small increase from 9 to 10 thousands in the number of persons enumerated in the Delta and born in the Arakan portion of the Coast subdivision represents the movement of a few thousands from Arakan to the Delta.

In marginal table 12 figures have been given for the percentage of the

Natural Division in which enumerated.	Percentage of the population born in			
	District of enum- eration.	Other parts of Burma.	India outside Burma.	Places outside India.
1	2	3	4	5
Province ...	89.3	5.4	4.2	1.1
Burman ...	88.6	5.8	4.7	0.9
Delta ...	82.9	8.4	7.7	1.1
Coast (Arakan) ...	94.0	0.8	5.0	0.1
Coast (Tenasserim) ...	92.0	2.5	4.0	1.5
Centre ...	93.9	4.2	1.7	0.3
North ...	86.2	7.9	2.1	3.8
Chin ...	99.0	0.3	0.4	0.3
Salween ...	89.8	6.6	0.8	2.7
Shan ...	94.0	2.1	1.1	2.7

population born (a) in the district of enumeration, (b) in other parts of the province, (c) in India outside Burma, and (d) in places outside India. Persons enumerated in the district of their birth amounted to 89.3 per cent of the total population. This compares with 88.3 per cent at the 1911 census (see paragraph 72 of the 1911 Census Report). The percentages vary from 82.9 per cent in the Delta subdivision to 99.0 per cent in the Chin division. About 94.7 per cent of the total population was born within the province, which compares with 95.1 per cent in 1911. In the Delta subdivision only 91.3 per cent of the total population was born within the province. Except in the North subdivision and in the Shan and Salween divisions most of the immigrants from outside the province come from India.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Immigrants of each District or Natural Division classified by Birth-place.

(All figures represent the nearest thousand.)

District or Natural Division in which enumerated.	Born in																	
	The area shown in column 1.			Districts of Burma contiguous to the area shown in column 1.			Other parts of Burma not shown in columns 2 to 7.			Assam, Bengal, Madras or associated States.			Other parts of India not shown in columns 2—13.			Places outside India.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	13,891	6,857	7,034	...	...	...	...	...	...	461	385	76	156	133	23	158	116	43
<b>Burman</b> ...	12,120	5,967	6,153	24	14	10	...	...	...	453	377	76	146	124	21	113	83	31
<i>Della</i> ...	4,764	2,361	2,404	70	37	32	127	76	50	326	271	55	91	78	13	57	44	13
Rangoon ...	141	69	72	12	6	6	44	25	19	138	116	21	44	39	5	22	16	6
Insein ...	260	128	132	23	12	11	15	9	6	20	15	5	9	6	2	4	3	1
Hanthawaddy ...	343	170	173	11	7	4	10	7	4	37	29	8	5	4	1	3	3	1
Tharrawaddy ...	468	228	241	19	10	9	10	5	4	7	6	1	4	3	1	2	1	...
Pegu ...	386	190	196	39	20	19	30	17	13	26	20	6	5	4	1	5	3	1
Bassein ...	517	254	263	20	11	9	10	6	4	16	15	1	4	3	...	4	3	1
Henzada ...	588	287	301	8	4	4	7	4	3	7	6	1	2	2	...	2	1	...
Myaungmya ...	361	179	181	30	16	14	29	17	12	17	16	1	4	3	...	5	4	1
Maubin ...	336	164	172	13	7	6	9	6	3	9	8	1	2	1	...	2	2	...
Pyapon ...	252	128	124	21	11	10	32	17	15	23	19	4	2	2	...	4	3	1
Toungoo ...	355	177	178	29	15	15	24	13	11	10	8	2	9	6	2	3	2	1
Thaton ...	498	250	248	9	5	4	6	4	2	15	12	3	3	3	...	2	2	1
<i>Coast (Arakan)</i> ...	935	467	467	1	1	...	1	1	...	47	40	7	3	3	...	1	1	...
Akyab ...	588	298	290	2	1	1	...	...	...	43	36	7	3	3	...	1	1	...
Kyaukpyu ...	215	104	111	3	2	1	...	...	...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Sandoway ...	125	61	64	2	1	1	1	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<i>Coast (Tenasserim)</i> ...	795	400	396	7	4	3	8	5	3	28	24	4	7	6	1	13	10	3
Amherst ...	474	238	236	8	5	3	6	4	2	19	16	2	4	4	...	6	4	2
Tavoy ...	169	84	85	2	1	1	2	1	1	2	2	...	2	1	...	3	3	...
Mergui ...	146	73	73	2	1	1	2	1	1	7	5	2	1	1	...	5	4	1
<i>Centre</i> ...	4,688	2,255	2,433	21	12	9	20	12	9	44	36	8	37	31	6	13	10	3
Prome ...	387	187	200	8	4	4	4	3	2	7	6	1	3	2	...	2	1	...
Thayetmyo ...	267	130	137	3	2	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Pakokku ...	488	234	254	7	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Minbu ...	263	128	135	9	5	4	2	1	1	1	1	...	2	1	...	...	...	...
Magwe ...	455	221	234	23	12	10	6	4	3	8	8	1	6	5	1	1	1	...
Mandalay ...	309	148	161	14	8	6	18	12	6	12	9	3	14	11	2	5	4	1
Kyaukse ...	132	64	68	15	8	7	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Meiktila ...	300	141	159	3	1	2	3	1	1	1	1	...	2	2	1	...	...	...
Yamethin ...	353	172	181	20	11	10	8	4	4	5	4	1	3	3	1	1	1	...
Myingyan ...	463	222	241	5	3	2	2	2	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Shwebo ...	423	200	223	15	8	7	4	2	2	2	2	...	2	2	...	1	...	...
Sagaing ...	323	152	171	8	4	4	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
Lower Chindwin ...	366	169	197	14	7	7	2	1	1	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...
<i>North</i> ...	674	331	343	26	16	10	6	4	3	8	6	2	8	7	1	29	18	11
Bhamo ...	102	49	54	5	3	2	2	1	1	1	...	...	2	2	...	10	5	5
Myitkyina ...	123	61	62	22	12	10	8	5	3	2	2	...	3	3	1	13	9	4
Katha ...	236	114	122	8	5	3	3	2	1	2	2	...	1	1	...	4	3	1
Upper Chindwin ...	186	93	94	10	6	4	2	1	1	4	3	1	1	1	...	1	1	...
<b>Chin</b> ...	191	93	98	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	21	10	10	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chin Hills ...	170	83	87	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
<b>Salween</b> ...	101	50	51	6	4	3	1	1	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	3	3	1
Salween ...	49	25	24	2	1	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	...
Karenni ...	52	25	27	4	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	2	...
<b>Shan</b> ...	1,430	718	712	12	7	5	5	3	2	7	6	1	10	9	1	41	30	11
N. Shan States ...	576	288	289	14	7	6	4	3	2	5	5	...	7	6	1	30	22	7
S. Shan States ...	840	423	417	11	6	5	3	1	1	2	1	...	3	3	1	12	8	4



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Emigrants from each District or Natural Division to other parts of Burma.*

(All figures represent the nearest thousand.)

District or Natural Division in which Born.	Enumerated in								
	Area shown in column 1.			Districts of Burma contiguous to the area shown in column 1.			Other parts of Burma not shown in columns 2 to 7.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	13,691	6,857	7,034	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Burman</b> ...	12,120	5,967	6,153	21	12	8	...	...	...
<i>Delta</i> ...	4,764	2,361	2,404	24	14	10	25	15	11
Rangoon ...	141	69	72	11	7	5	25	13	11
Insein ...	260	128	132	14	7	7	4	2	2
Hanthawaddy ...	343	170	173	29	15	14	4	2	2
Tharrawaddy ...	468	228	241	19	10	9	10	4	6
Pegu ...	386	190	196	14	7	7	8	5	3
Bassein ...	517	254	263	17	9	8	7	4	3
Henzada ...	588	287	301	26	14	13	17	9	8
Myaungmya ...	361	179	181	8	4	4	3	2	1
Maubin ...	336	164	172	25	13	12	6	3	3
Pyapön ...	252	128	124	11	6	5	5	3	2
Toungoo ...	355	177	178	11	6	5	6	3	2
Thatön ...	498	250	248	25	14	11	4	2	2
<i>Coast (Arakan)</i> ...	935	467	467	8	5	3	4	3	1
Akyab ...	588	298	290	2	2	1	2	2	1
Kyaukpyu ...	215	104	111	4	2	1	4	3	2
Sandoway ...	125	61	64	5	2	3	2	1	...
<i>Coast (Tenasserim)</i> ...	795	400	396	6	3	3	17	9	8
Amherst ...	474	238	236	8	4	4	13	7	6
Tavoy ...	169	84	85	3	2	1	3	2	1
Mergui ...	146	73	73	...	...	...	2	1	1
<i>Centre</i> ...	4,688	2,255	2,433	82	46	36	108	66	42
Prome ...	387	187	200	14	8	7	14	8	6
Thayetmyo ...	267	130	137	12	6	6	8	5	3
Pakökkü ...	488	234	254	9	5	4	27	16	11
Minbu ...	263	128	135	6	3	2	10	5	4
Magwe ...	455	221	234	12	6	5	14	8	5
Mandalay ...	309	148	161	14	8	7	21	12	9
Kyaukse ...	132	64	68	3	2	1	2	1	1
Meiktila ...	300	141	159	17	9	8	22	12	9
Yaméthin ...	353	172	181	13	6	6	5	3	2
Myingyan ...	463	222	241	17	9	8	22	13	9
Shwebo ...	423	200	223	18	10	8	14	9	5
Sagaing ...	323	152	171	21	11	10	10	6	4
Lower Chindwin ...	366	169	197	12	7	5	13	9	5
<i>North</i> ...	674	331	343	7	4	3	3	2	1
Bhamo ...	102	49	54	3	2	1	1	1	1
Myitkyina ...	123	61	62	1	1	1	1	1	...
Katha ...	236	114	122	25	13	11	1	1	...
Upper Chindwin ...	186	93	94	2	2	1	1	1	...
<b>Chin</b> ...	191	93	98	3	1	2	1	1	...
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	21	10	10	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chin Hills ...	170	83	87	3	1	2	1	1	...
<b>Salween</b> ...	101	50	51	1	...	...	1	...	...
Salween ...	49	25	24	...	...	...	...	...	...
Karenni ...	52	25	27	1	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Shan</b> ...	1,430	718	712	11	6	4	13	7	6
Northern Shan States ...	576	288	289	13	8	6	7	4	3
Southern Shan States ...	840	423	417	13	7	6	4	3	2



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Migration between Natural Divisions—Comparison between Censuses of 1931 and 1921.*

(All figures represent the nearest thousand.)

Natural Division in which born.	Natural Division in which enumerated.										
	Year.	Whole Province.	Burman.	Chin.	Salween.	Shan.	Details for subdivisions of Burman Division.				
							Delta.	Coast (Arakan).	Coast (Tenasserim).	Centre.	North.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<b>WHOLE PROVINCE</b>	1931	13,891	12,144	191	108	1,448	4,961	936	810	4,730	707
	1921	12,505	10,848	158	111	1,389	4,380	836	663	4,329	640
<b>Burman</b>	1931	12,141	12,120	1	3	17	4,952	936	810	4,724	699
	1921	10,858	10,819	1	3	16	4,366	836	662	4,323	632
Delta	1931	4,814	4,808	...	2	3	4,764	1	12	29	2
	1921	4,136	4,132	...	2	2	4,094	1	8	26	2
Coast (Arakan)	1931	947	946	...	...	...	10	935	...	1	...
	1921	844	844	...	...	...	9	834	...	1	...
Coast (Tenasserim)	1931	818	818	...	...	...	20	...	795	2	...
	1921	676	675	...	...	...	21	...	651	2	...
Centre	1931	4,878	4,867	...	...	10	155	...	2	4,688	21
	1921	4,568	4,557	...	...	10	239	1	2	4,291	24
North	1931	684	680	...	...	4	2	...	...	4	674
	1921	614	610	...	...	4	2	...	...	3	605
<b>Chin</b>	1931	194	4	191	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
	1921	163	6	157	...	...	...	...	...	3	2
<b>Salween</b>	1931	102	1	...	101	...	1	...	...	...	...
	1921	109	2	...	107	...	1	...	...	...	...
<b>Shan</b>	1931	1,454	19	...	4	1,430	8	...	1	3	8
	1921	1,396	22	...	1	1,373	12	...	1	4	6

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Migration between Burma and other parts of India 1931.*

			Immigrants from India to Burma.		Emigrants from Burma to India.		Net gain by immigration and emigration.		
			Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Excess males above females.
1			2	3	4	5	6	7	8
GRAND TOTAL	...	...	518,023	99,498	13,992	10,405	504,031	89,093	414,939
British Territory	...	...	501,094	94,516	12,048	8,818	489,046	85,698	403,348
Ajmer-Merwara	...	...	11	13	19	14	8	1	7
Andamans and Nicobars	...	...	43	39	2,439	514	2,396	475	1,921
Assam	...	...	825	288	3,153	3,132	2,328	2,844	516
Baluchistan	...	...	98	12	36	24	62	12	74
Bengal	...	...	139,366	18,689	2,375	1,402	136,991	17,287	119,704
Bihar and Orissa	...	...	16,295	2,049	92	161	16,203	1,888	14,315
Bombay (including Aden)	...	...	6,442	1,994	452	349	5,990	1,645	4,345
Central Provinces and Berar	...	...	683	92	84	63	599	29	570
Coorg	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	2	2
Delhi	...	...	437	66	52	32	385	34	351
Madras	...	...	241,412	56,131	1,509	1,649	239,903	54,482	185,421
North-West Frontier Province	...	...	723	184	39	37	684	147	537
Punjab	...	...	19,245	4,305	1,039	813	18,206	3,492	14,714
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	...	...	75,514	10,652	759	628	74,755	10,024	64,731
States and Agencies	...	...	16,175	4,815	1,944	1,587	14,231	3,228	11,003
Manipur	...	...	2,034	1,328	786	716	1,248	612	636
Baluchistan States	...	...	5	...	...	...	5	...	5
Baroda State	...	...	266	76	138	127	128	51	179
Bengal States	...	...	31	12	6	8	25	4	21
Bihar and Orissa States	...	...	334	54	24	21	310	33	277
Bombay States	...	...	266	27	5	4	261	23	238
Western India Agency	...	...	7,459	1,430	256	206	7,203	1,224	5,979
Central India Agency	...	...	107	46	24	26	83	20	63
Central Provinces States	...	...	227	31	6	3	221	28	193
Gwalior State	...	...	74	16	4	...	70	16	54
Hyderabad State	...	...	690	249	36	69	654	180	474
Kashmir State	...	...	121	6	14	15	107	9	116
Cochin State	...	...	191	48	15	16	176	32	144
Travancore State	...	...	723	93	14	16	709	77	632
Other Madras States	...	...	77	13	18	5	59	8	51
Mysore State	...	...	915	494	163	219	752	275	477
Punjab States	...	...	1,132	228	128	67	1,004	161	843
Rajputana Agency	...	...	1,355	554	18	52	1,337	502	835
Sikkim State	...	...	16	1	288	17	272	16	256
United Provinces States	...	...	152	109	1	...	151	109	42
French and Portuguese Settlements			735	158	...	...	735	158	577
India, Unspecified	...	...	19	9	...	...	19	9	10



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*Migration between Burma and other parts of India compared for 1931 and 1921.*

1	Immigrants to Burma.			Emigrants from Burma.			Excess (+) or Deficiency (–) of immigration.	
	1931.	1921.	Variation.	1931.	1921.	Variation.	1931.	1921.
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b> ...	617,521	572,530	44,991	24,397	19,086	5,311	593,124	553,444
<b>British Territory</b> ...	595,610	546,695	48,915	20,866	16,721	4,145	574,744	529,974
Ajmer-Merwara ...	24	40	– 16	33	48	– 15	– 9	– 8
Andamans and Nicobars ...	82	128	– 46	2,953	2,060	893	– 2,871	– 1,932
Assam ...	1,113	1,531	– 400	6,285	6,315	– 30	– 5,172	– 4,802
Baluchistan ...	110	29	81	60	208	– 148	50	– 179
Bengal ...	158,055	146,058	11,997	3,777	2,352	1,425	154,278	143,706
Bihar and Orissa ...	18,344	20,189	– 1,845	253	146	107	18,091	20,043
Bombay (including Aden) ...	8,436	12,816	– 4,380	801	668	133	7,635	12,148
Central Provinces and Berar ...	775	1,065	– 290	147	68	79	628	997
Coorg ...	2	3	– 1	...	1	– 1	2	2
Delhi ...	503	727	– 224	84	77	7	419	650
Madras ...	297,543	272,511	25,032	3,158	1,895	1,263	294,385	270,616
North-West Frontier Province ...	907	1,045	– 138	76	71	5	831	974
Punjab ...	23,550	19,804	3,746	1,852	1,451	401	21,698	18,353
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh ...	86,166	70,767	15,399	1,387	1,361	26	84,779	69,406
<b>States and Agencies</b> ...	20,990	16,765	4,225	3,531	2,365	1,166	17,459	14,400
Manipur ...	3,362	1,505	1,857	1,502	1,098	404	1,860	407
Baluchistan States ...	5	2	3	...	...	...	5	2
Baroda State ...	342	662	– 320	265	88	177	77	574
Bengal States ...	43	29	14	14	9	5	29	20
Bihar and Orissa States ...	388	427	– 39	45	71	– 26	343	356
Bombay States ...	293	5,655	3,527	9	187	284	284	5,468
Western India Agency ...	8,889			462			8,427	
Central India Agency ...	153	505	– 352	50	66	– 16	103	439
Central Provinces States ...	258	360	– 102	9	12	– 3	249	348
Gwalior State ...	90	129	– 39	4	4	...	86	125
Hyderabad State ...	939	494	445	105	213	– 108	834	281
Kashmir State ...	127	149	– 22	29	8	21	98	141
Cochin State ...	239	155	84	31	8	23	208	147
Travancore State ...	816	319	497	30	19	11	786	300
Other Madras States ...	90	54	36	23	20	3	67	34
Mysore State ...	1,409	1,640	– 231	382	322	60	1,027	1,318
Punjab States ...	1,360	1,134	226	195	166	29	1,165	968
Rajputana Agency ...	1,909	3,418	– 1,509	70	27	43	1,839	3,391
Sikkim State ...	17	15	2	305	4	301	– 288	11
United Provinces States ...	261	101	160	1	19	– 18	260	82
North-West Frontier Province (Agency and Tribal Area) ...	...	12	– 12	...	24	– 24	...	– 12
<b>French and Portuguese Settlements.</b> ...	893	651	242	...	...	...	893	651
<b>India, Unspecified</b> ...	28	8,419	– 8,391	...	...	...	28	8,419



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—*Proportions of migrants to the actual population of each district and the ratio of the sexes amongst them.*

District and Natural Division.	Number per 1,000 of actual population.						Number of females to 1,000 males amongst			
	Immigrants.			Emigrants.			Immigrants.		Emigrants.	
	Total.	From contiguous Districts of Burma.	From other places.	Total.	To contiguous Districts of Burma.	To other places.	From contiguous Districts of Burma.	From other places.	To contiguous Districts of Burma.	To other places.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	53	...	53	2	...	2	...	224	...	744
<b>Burman</b> ...	57	2	55	2	2	...	732	218	669	...
<i>Della</i> ...	123	13	111	9	4	5	861	280	762	733
Rangoon ...	649	29	619	91	29	62	1,004	263	667	851
Insein ...	216	69	146	53	41	13	854	389	930	966
Hanthawaddy ...	162	26	135	83	72	11	650	309	929	786
Tharrawaddy ...	79	37	42	56	36	19	940	408	908	1,286
Pegu ...	212	79	134	45	28	16	933	475	884	758
Bassein ...	95	35	60	43	30	13	984	242	915	718
Henzada ...	42	12	30	71	43	28	964	374	913	817
Myaungmya ...	189	67	122	26	19	7	876	347	896	684
Maubin ...	95	36	59	83	67	16	882	872	923	854
Pyapön ...	246	64	183	50	34	16	954	489	897	707
Toungoo ...	172	68	104	38	25	14	993	556	931	657
Thatön ...	66	16	50	54	47	7	875	272	831	694
<i>Coast (Arakan)</i> ...	53	1	52	12	8	4	412	181	767	394
Akyab ...	77	3	74	7	4	4	490	182	338	338
Kyaukpyu ...	26	14	13	36	16	20	732	229	675	677
Sandoway ...	33	15	18	48	37	12	772	148	1,183	417
<i>Coast (Tenasserim)</i> ...	73	8	65	27	7	20	692	247	917	839
Amherst ...	82	15	67	41	15	26	684	245	893	836
Tavoy ...	58	11	47	35	17	17	760	197	553	802
Mergui ...	100	13	87	12	3	9	522	310	826	819
<i>Centre</i> ...	28	4	24	39	17	22	753	285	788	643
Prome ...	57	19	38	70	35	35	846	326	868	816
Thayetmyo ...	26	11	15	74	43	31	707	264	918	695
Pakökku ...	23	13	9	72	18	54	774	290	803	671
Minbu ...	53	32	21	56	20	36	885	357	801	825
Magwe ...	89	46	44	51	23	28	847	255	827	633
Mandalay ...	169	38	131	95	39	56	781	356	852	725
Kyaukse ...	128	102	26	34	20	14	933	401	799	730
Meiktila ...	31	10	22	125	55	70	1,041	551	871	764
Yaméthin ...	98	52	46	47	33	14	925	474	1,016	685
Myingyan ...	21	10	11	82	35	47	707	324	852	703
Shwebo ...	53	34	19	71	40	31	874	395	790	540
Sagaing ...	38	23	15	92	63	29	876	467	863	624
Lower Chindwin ...	46	36	11	65	31	34	966	417	725	528
<i>North</i> ...	103	35	68	13	9	4	625	487	701	718
Bhamo ...	157	38	120	37	26	11	580	701	867	723
Myitkyina ...	283	127	156	15	8	8	888	475	774	536
Katha ...	71	32	39	101	97	4	541	355	854	700
Upper Chindwin ...	90	51	40	16	11	5	749	473	518	842
<b>Chin</b> ...	10	3	8	20	15	4	659	305	1,134	190
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	42	19	23	13	8	7	649	221	512	480
Chin Hills ...	6	1	6	21	17	4	741	352	1,171	144
<b>Salween</b> ...	101	55	46	12	7	5	742	244	731	284
Salween ...	85	35	50	11	5	6	620	301	433	445
Karenni ...	117	69	43	14	10	4	826	215	933	133
<b>Shan</b> ...	50	8	42	16	7	9	728	326	707	777
Northern Shan States ...	94	21	72	32	21	11	804	282	726	745
Southern Shan States ...	35	13	22	20	15	5	767	487	907	690



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—*Statistics of Indians born outside Burma.*

(All numbers not percentages represent the nearest thousand.)

Sex. Race.	1	All Burma.	Ran- goon.	Ran- goon, Hanthawaddy, Insein.	Akyab.	All Burma less			Upper Burma.	Upper Burma and Eastern States.
						Akyab.	Ran- goon, Hanthawaddy, Insein, Akyab.	Port * districts.		
		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
PART A.—INDIANS BORN OUTSIDE BURMA BY RACE										
<b>Males</b>										
All Races	...	529	154	210	38	491	282	244	78	101
Bengali	...	35	10	11	6	29	18	14	3	4
Chittagonian	...	76	16	22	24	52	31	25	5	6
Hindustani	...	106	28	41	3	103	62	56	25	27
Oriya	...	56	7	13	4	52	39	36	8	11
Tamil	...	59	17	32	...	59	27	24	5	5
Telugu	...	109	54	64	...	108	44	32	7	7
Others	...	88	23	27	1	87	60	56	25	40
<b>Females</b>										
All Races	...	101	26	41	6	95	54	49	17	21
Bengali	...	5	2	2	...	4	2	2	1	1
Chittagonian	...	7	...	...	5	2	1	1	...	...
Hindustani	...	19	2	5	...	19	14	13	5	5
Oriya	...	2	...	1	...	2	1	1	...	...
Tamil	...	26	9	16	...	25	10	9	2	2
Telugu	...	23	8	11	...	23	12	10	2	2
Others	...	20	4	6	...	19	14	13	8	11
<b>Females per 100 males.</b>										
All Races	...	19	17	19	16	19	19	20	22	21
Bengali	...	13	16	18	5	15	13	14	24	22
Chittagonian	...	9	1	2	22	3	4	4	3	3
Hindustani	...	18	8	13	10	18	22	23	19	19
Oriya	...	3	4	6	...	4	3	3	2	2
Tamil	...	43	53	50	4	44	35	37	39	39
Telugu	...	21	15	17	1	21	28	31	30	29
Others	...	22	20	20	17	22	23	24	30	26
PART B.—PERCENTAGE BORN OUTSIDE BURMA FOR EACH RACE.										
<b>Males</b>										
All Races	...	72	90	84	30	81	78	78	78	80
Bengali	...	72	90	86	52	78	74	77	77	80
Chittagonian	...	47	99	95	23	88	84	84	91	91
Hindustani	...	80	95	88	89	79	75	74	78	78
Oriya	...	95	97	94	100	95	95	95	95	96
Tamil	...	63	71	65	92	63	61	63	64	64
Telugu	...	88	94	91	99	88	83	82	86	86
Others	...	79	85	82	93	78	77	78	74	78
<b>Females</b>										
All Races	...	36	62	55	7	48	44	46	49	50
Bengali	...	28	64	57	7	37	28	34	52	54
Chittagonian	...	8	52	32	7	26	24	29	35	32
Hindustani	...	46	64	51	42	46	44	44	47	47
Oriya	...	52	53	53	60	52	51	52	50	50
Tamil	...	45	58	51	48	45	38	41	43	43
Telugu	...	64	73	69	80	64	60	63	67	67
Others	...	48	54	51	82	48	46	48	49	50

\* Rangoon, Hanthawaddy, Insein, Akyab, Bassein and Amherst.



## CHAPTER IV.

### Age.

**41. Enumeration.**—The age recorded in the enumeration schedules was the age on the birthday nearest to the date of the census. Thus the proper entry for all persons who had completed  $35\frac{1}{2}$  years but had not quite completed  $36\frac{1}{2}$  years on the date of the census was 36. At the 1921 census the age recorded was the number of years which had been completed on the date of the census. Among the indigenous races of the province, and perhaps among Indians also, the recognised number for a person's age appears to be the ordinal year of life, *i.e.*, the age at the next birthday. Enumerators were therefore instructed to make careful enquiries before recording the age. It seems probable, however, that in many cases the instructions were either misunderstood or disregarded. For a large proportion of the population the age is not known and the ages entered in the enumeration schedules are estimates made by the enumerators according to appearances. In these circumstances the same age would probably have been returned whether the age asked for was the age at the last, nearest or next birthday. The Actuary to the Government of India was of the opinion that in the majority of cases the age recorded was more likely to be the age at the nearest birthday and it was on account of his strong recommendation that a change was made.

**42. Statistical References.**—The method of compilation of the figures for the five-yearly age-groups was different from that adopted at the last census. Figures were first compiled for the following age-groups :—

0, 1, 2, 3, 4—6, 7—13, 14—16 . . . . . (alternate groups of 3 and 7). . . . .  
67—73, 74 and over.

Since the age recorded in the enumeration schedules was the age at the nearest birthday the age-group 14—16 would include all persons who had completed  $13\frac{1}{2}$  years but had not quite completed  $16\frac{1}{2}$  years. If the figures for the above age-groups are represented by the letters A, B, C, . . . . . R, S, respectively, the method of obtaining the figures for the age-groups in Imperial Table VII is given by the following formulæ :—

$$\begin{aligned} 0-1 &= A + \frac{1}{2}B \\ 1-2 &= \frac{1}{2}B + \frac{1}{2}C \\ 2-3 &= \frac{1}{2}C + \frac{1}{2}D \\ 3-4 &= \frac{1}{2}D + \frac{1}{2}E \\ 4-5 &= \frac{1}{2}E \\ 5-10 &= \frac{1}{2}E + \frac{1}{2}F \\ 10-15 &= \frac{1}{2}F + \frac{1}{2}G \\ &\text{etc., etc.,} \\ 65-70 &= \frac{1}{2}Q + \frac{1}{2}R \\ 70 \text{ and over} &= \frac{1}{2}R + S \end{aligned}$$

This method of obtaining figures for the five-yearly groups was adopted on the advice of the Actuary to the Government of India, who was of the opinion that more accurate figures would be obtained in this way. The age-groups on the left-hand sides of the above equations have the usual meanings, *e.g.*, the age-group 10—15 means "completed 10 years but not quite completed 15 years".

The most important age table is Imperial Table VII. In this table figures are given for age, sex and civil condition for the total population and for certain racial classes. Figures for the whole province, Divisional Burma and the Eastern States are given in Parts 1A, 1B and 1C, respectively, figures for districts in Part II and figures for towns in Part III. In the interests of economy separate figures for unmarried, married and widowed have been omitted from Part III. In each part of the table figures have been given for each year of age up to 5 and thereafter by five-yearly groups up to 70, the last group being "70 and over". It should be noted that in the corresponding table for 1921 figures were given for religions instead of racial classes. In Imperial Table VIII age, sex and civil condition figures are given for selected races or racial groups in districts and states where they are specially numerous,



All the races in this table are indigenous with the exception of Telugu and the age-groups are the unadjusted age-groups, *e.g.*, the figures for the age-group 17—23 include persons who had completed  $16\frac{1}{2}$  years but had not quite completed  $23\frac{1}{2}$  years. In Imperial Table VII the racial class "Others" includes races in groups Y and Z (see Part I of Imperial Table XVII) and is largely composed of Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Separate figures for age (but not for civil condition) are given for Europeans and Anglo-Indians in Imperial Table XIX, in which the age-groups are the unadjusted age-groups, *i.e.*, the ages are those recorded in the enumeration schedules. In addition, the following subsidiary tables (appended to this Chapter) have been compiled:—

- I.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in the Province and each Natural Division.
- II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex for the Indigenous population of the province.
- III.—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain races.
- IV.—Proportion of children under 14 and of persons over 43 to those aged 14—43 in certain races; also of married females aged 14—43 per 100 females.
- V.—Proportion of children under 10 and of persons over 60 to those aged 15—40; also of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.
- VI.—Variation in population at certain age-periods.
- VII.—Reported birth rate by sex and Natural Division.
- VIII.—Reported death rate by sex and Natural Division.
- IX.—Reported death rate by sex and age in decade and in selected years per *mille* living at same age according to the Census of 1921.
- X.—Reported deaths from certain diseases per *mille* of each sex.

Subsidiary Tables V and VI of the next Chapter give the actual numbers of births and deaths at various ages corresponding to the ratios of Subsidiary Tables VII, VIII and IX of this Chapter.

In some of the Imperial tables figures have been given for five-yearly age-groups. These figures were obtained by means of the formulæ given at the beginning of this paragraph. But for some purposes figures for the unadjusted age-groups might be more useful. These can be obtained from the figures for the adjusted age-groups by means of the formulæ given below. According to the notation given previously in this paragraph—

$$E = 3 (4-5)$$

This gives E and values of D, C, B and A can then be obtained successively from the equations

$$D = 2 (3-4) - \frac{1}{2}E$$

$$C = 2 (2-3) - D$$

$$B = 2 (1-2) - C$$

$$A = (0-1) - \frac{1}{2}B$$

Similarly, F, G, H, . . . . R, S can be obtained successively from the equations

$$F = 2 (5-10) - E$$

$$G = 2 (10-15) - F$$

*etc., etc.,*

$$R = 2 (65-70) - Q$$

$$S = (70 \text{ and over}) - \frac{1}{2}R$$

The figures thus obtained for A, B, C, . . . . R, S will probably differ very slightly from those that would be obtained if a special compilation was made from the Sorters' Tickets, owing to the fact that the actual figures obtained for the five-yearly age-groups from the formulæ given at the beginning of this paragraph are not always whole numbers. It will be noticed that if E is an even number A and S may be odd or even but B, C, D, . . . . R will be even. On the other hand, if E is odd, B, C, D, . . . . R will be odd; 2A and 2S will also be odd, so that if the nearest whole number *above* the half is taken for A, the nearest whole number *below* the half should be taken for S and *vice versa*, otherwise the sum of A, B, C, D, . . . . R, S will not be correct. Further, if E is odd for both males and females, then if the nearest whole number *above* the half is taken for A for males the nearest whole number *below* the half must be taken for A for females, and *vice versa*; by adding together the figures of A and S for males and females the correct figures for A and S for the total population (for which E will be positive) will then be obtained.

**43. Accuracy of the Age Statistics.**—It has been mentioned in the previous paragraph that the age recorded in the enumeration schedules is in many cases a mere guess on the part of the enumerator. In making these guesses enumerators show a decided preference for numbers ending with certain digits. By far the most popular digits in most countries are 0 and 5.



The order of popularity of the remaining digits varies to a certain extent in different countries, but as a rule even digits are preferred to odd ones. The usual method of dealing with the concentration on particular ages is to group together the figures for certain adjacent ages so that the total of each group may be assumed to be approximately correct, and these group totals are then used as the basic data. In order that these group totals should be approximately correct it is necessary, however, that the age at which the concentration occurs should be in the same group as the ages from which the concentration is drawn. The selection of the most satisfactory method of grouping for India was discussed by the Actuary to the Government of India in his report on the 1921 Census age returns. The method of grouping adopted at previous censuses was that in which the first number in each five-yearly group was a multiple of five and the age was the age at the *last* birthday, but the Government Actuary in his report expressed the opinion that this method of grouping produced less accurate results than would be obtained by any other method for which the smallest semblance of justification could be advanced. He recommended that at the 1931 census the age at the *nearest* birthday should be recorded and that figures should be compiled for groups of 3 and 7 years, in which multiples of 0 and 5 are the mid points. The method of compilation is explained in the previous paragraph. More accurate figures for the five-yearly groups, particularly for the age-group 0—5, have probably been obtained in this way but unfortunately the figures are not strictly comparable with those of previous censuses. At the last census figures for individual years, taken from a sample of 100,000 Burmese Buddhists of each sex, were compiled and are given in Subsidiary Table I of Chapter V of the 1921 Census Report. The preference for certain digits is clearly shown in that table and the method of smoothing the figures is described in Appendix A of that Report. Figures for individual years have not been compiled at this census: it was not considered necessary as the errors due to the preference for certain digits are supposed to have been eliminated by the method of compilation used.

In addition to the errors due to the tendency to select particular digits there are errors due to deliberate misstatements. The precise measurement of these errors is usually a very difficult matter. An irregularity in the age distribution may be the result of migration, as in the case of the Indian and Chinese races in this province, or it may have been caused by wars, famines or epidemics which resulted in a large loss of life. Graphs representing the age-distribution of a few racial classes have been drawn in the diagram facing page 77. In a normal distribution the percentage is greatest in the lowest age-group 0—5 and there is a gradual reduction as one proceeds to the higher age-groups. It will be noticed that the distributions for Indian and Chinese males are very abnormal, the irregularities being mainly due, of course, to migration. According to the graph for females of indigenous races there is a large proportion in the age-groups 20—25 and 25—30. This irregularity cannot be put down to migration since the figures for indigenous races are not appreciably affected by migration. It may be due to over-statement of age by persons in the lower age-groups, or possibly—but only to a small extent—to the method of compilation. It will be noticed that in the diagram facing page 77 the graph for females of indigenous races in 1931 is smoother than that for Buddhist females in 1921, especially in the higher age-groups. This is due to the method of compilation. The examination of the errors in the returns of the indigenous races will, however, be carried out by the Actuary to the Government of India and this being the case there does not appear to be any need to say more about it here.

**44. Age distribution of Indigenous Races.**—The age distribution of 10,000 persons of each sex has been given for indigenous races (*i.e.*, those in groups A to O in Part I of Imperial Table XVII) in columns 2 and 7 of Subsidiary Table II at the end of this Chapter. These figures have been calculated from those given in Imperial Table VII and it has already been explained in paragraph 42 that at previous censuses figures were given in Imperial Table VII for religions, not racial classes. At the 1931 census there were 13,220,022 persons belonging to indigenous races, and of these 12,285,586, or 93 per cent, were Buddhists; the total number of Buddhists was 12,348,037 and therefore 99½ per cent of the Buddhists belonged to indigenous races. In the remaining columns of Subsidiary Table II figures for Buddhists have been given for previous censuses and they may be taken to be roughly comparable with those for indigenous races given in columns 2 and 7. The



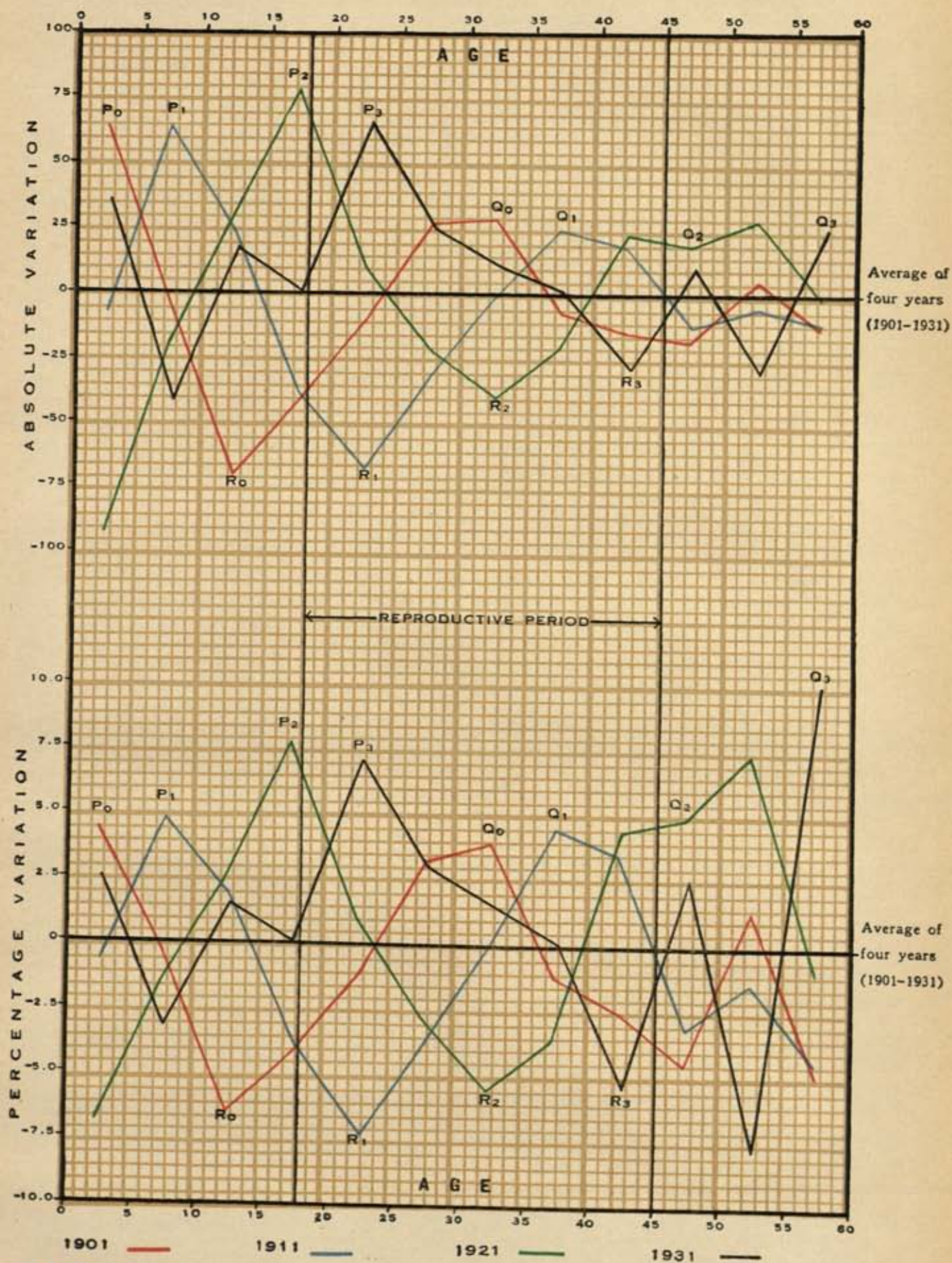
figures for the different censuses do not cover the same area but, as pointed out in paragraph 89 of the 1921 Census Report, this is not a serious matter, except perhaps in the case of the figures for 1891, which do not include figures for the large number of Buddhists in the Shan States. It might perhaps have been better, for the sake of comparability with the figures of previous censuses, to exclude the figures for the Chin Hills and the Arakan Hill Tracts from the 1931 figures, since they are almost entirely composed of Animists, but they have been included since the proportions were not appreciably affected by doing so. It will be noticed from Subsidiary Table II that the proportions in each age-group vary considerably from one census to another. It will also be realised that since the figures for indigenous races are not appreciably affected by migration the persons in, say, the age-group 40—45 in 1931 are the survivors of those who were in the age-group 30—35 in 1921 and of those in the age-group 20—25 in 1911, etc. Thus the high proportion of males in the age-group 0—5 in 1911 was followed by a high proportion in the age-group 10—15 in 1921, and in the age-group 20—25 in 1931. Also since the number of births is dependent on the number of women in the child-bearing ages one would expect a large proportion of women in these ages at one census to be followed at the next census by a proportionately large number of children aged 0—10. To take only one example, in 1911 there was a small proportion of females in the age-groups 20—25 and 25—30—which are the years when the reproductive activity is greatest—and this was followed at the next census by a small proportion of children (both males and females) in the age-groups 0—5 and 5—10.

The variations from one census to another in the proportions of the population at different ages can, however, be studied more effectively by means of a diagram. The diagram facing this page has been drawn on the same lines as that shown on page 126 of the 1921 Census Report. The averages of the figures for each group for the four years 1901 to 1931 were first calculated and then the variations from the averages. The absolute variations from these averages have been plotted in the upper part of the diagram and the percentage variations in the lower part. The diagrams for males and females are very similar but the one for females is reproduced in this Report since variations in the birth-rate are more closely connected with the numbers of females. A graph has not been shown for the year 1891 partly because the figures for that census are not very reliable and partly because they cover a much smaller area. In the upper part of the diagram the variations are the absolute or actual variations and are therefore smaller in the higher age-groups owing to the natural reduction by deaths; in the lower part of the diagram an allowance is made for the reduction by deaths. The upper part of the diagram is useful as it is a much better guide than the lower in estimating the effect of the particular age distribution of any year on the actual numbers of births and deaths. The reproductive ages have been taken to be 18 to 45 and are marked by vertical lines. To take only a few examples, it will be noticed in the graph for 1911 that there is a high point at P1 and that this is followed by high points at P2 and P3 in the graphs for 1921 and 1931, respectively; also the hump at Q0 is followed by humps or high points at Q1, Q2 and Q3; again the low proportion of females in 1901 in the age-group 10—15, represented by R0, is followed by the low points at R1, R2, and R3 in the graphs for 1911, 1921 and 1931, respectively. In 1921 there was a low proportion of females between 25 and 40 and one would expect a low proportion of children between 0 and 10 in 1931. The proportion of children between 5 and 10 in 1931 is below the average but for children between 0 and 5 it is above the average. The high proportion between 0—5 may possibly be due to the fact that in the second half of the decade 1921-31 there was a large proportion of females between the ages of 20 and 25, when the reproductive activity is very great. On the other hand it is probable that the difference in the methods of compiling the figures for age-groups is largely responsible. The 1931 figures for the age-group 0—5 appear to be much more accurate than the figures for the same age-group at previous censuses (see paragraph 43). It will be noticed that the variations for the 1931 graph are more irregular than those for the other years but when one considers the difference in the methods of compilation it is surprising that the high and low points show up as well as they do. The peak P3 has passed well into the reproductive period and, other things being equal, a corresponding increase in the crude birth rate may therefore be expected during the next decade.



# AGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIGENOUS FEMALES SINCE 1901.

(See paragraph 44)





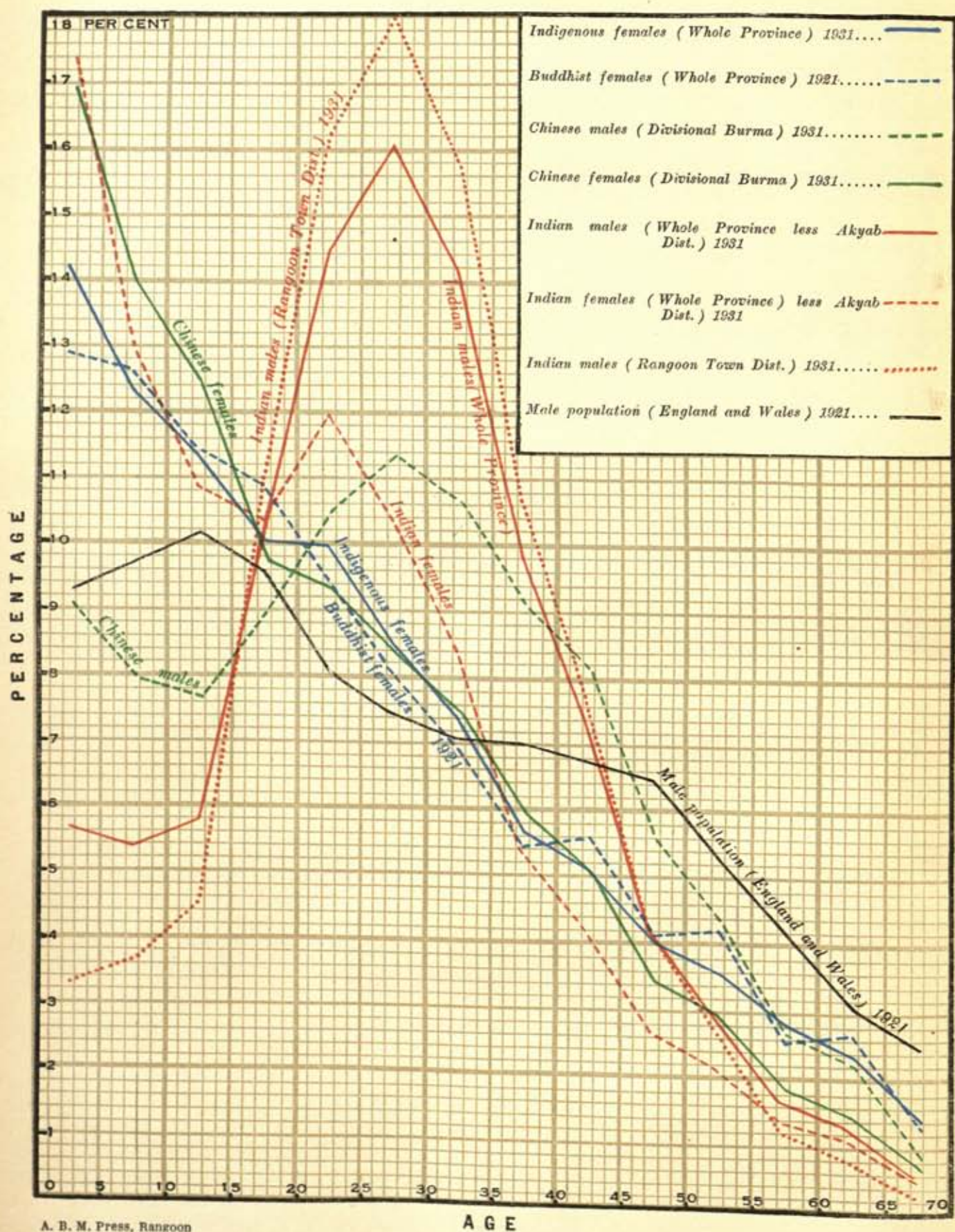








# PERCENTAGE AGE DISTRIBUTION BY FIVE-YEARLY GROUPS OF SELECTED RACIAL CLASSES BY SEX.





The effect of the age distribution on the death rate is not so easy to estimate. The upper part of the diagram is the best for this purpose and it will be noticed that for each graph some parts are below the line representing the average and some parts above it. The death-rate is, however, very high during the first few years of life and the number of deaths depends largely on the number of children in the age-group 0—5. In 1921 there was a comparatively small proportion of children in the age-group 0—5 and the number of deaths would be reduced accordingly. The effect of the age distribution on the birth and death rates is also discussed in paragraph 48.

The diagram facing page 76 represents the variation in the age distribution of females but it has already been mentioned that the diagram for males is very similar. As a matter of fact the graph for males for 1931 is much more regular than that for females. In particular, there is a high point in the age-group 20—25, and also—but not quite so high—in 25—30. The economic depression caused by the slump in prices has caused a great deal of unemployment and this has apparently been aggravated by the unusually large proportion of males between 20 and 30.

It is of interest to note that the interval between two successive high (or low) points in the graph for any census year, *i.e.*, the period of the cycle, is roughly 30 years, or the duration of a generation. The origin of these waves is not known. It is pointed out in paragraph 96 of the 1921 Census Report that they probably existed before the annexation of Upper Burma and may possibly go back to the wars of a century before. Epidemics which caused a large loss of life might also have played some part in causing these variations. The effect of the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 on the age distribution of the population is discussed at some length in paragraph 117 of the 1921 Census Report, but according to paragraph 89 of the same Report the net effect was not appreciable. The effect of the Great War upon the age distribution of the male population of England and Wales in 1921 is clearly shown on the diagram facing this page. The irregularities due to the small proportion of children and of persons between the ages of 20 and 40 will be reproduced at future censuses in higher age-groups and it will be many years before these irregularities have entirely disappeared.

**45. Age distribution of Indians.**—The age distribution of Indians in Akyab district, where a large number have permanently settled down, is very different from the distribution in

other parts of the province, where Indians are usually only temporarily resident. In marginal table 1 figures have therefore been given for the Indian population of the province, less Akyab district, since figures for the whole province would be representative neither of the Akyab district nor of the remainder of the province. Figures have also been given for Indian males and females in Rangoon. Figures for previous censuses cannot be given since age distribution figures for Indians were not compiled at those censuses. The abnormal age distribution of Indian

males is clearly brought out by the diagram facing this page, where graphs have been drawn for Indians and other racial classes. It will be noticed that in the whole province less Akyab district 72 per cent of the Indian males were between the ages of 15 and 45, only 17 per cent being under 15 and 11 per cent over 45. For Rangoon the figures are still more striking, as many as 79 per cent of the Indian males being between 15 and 45. The age distribution of Indian females in the whole province less Akyab district is very different from that of the males. There is a comparatively large percentage of females in the age-group 0—5. The percentage in the age-group 0—5 is much higher for Indian females than for Indian males because the total number of females is very much less than the total number of males. The high proportion of Indian females in the age-group 20—25 and the comparatively small proportion in the age-group 15—20 is probably partly due to the tendencies for Indian females between the ages of 15 and 20 to state higher ages.

1. Age distribution of Indians.				
Age group.	Whole province less Akyab district.		Rangoon.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
0—5 ...	565	1,732	329	1,404
5—10 ...	535	1,292	362	1,128
10—15 ...	576	1,085	448	1,000
15—20 ...	1,023	1,030	1,092	1,083
20—30 ...	3,051	2,227	3,410	2,489
30—40 ...	2,389	1,363	2,638	1,564
40 and over	1,861	1,269	1,721	1,333
Total ...	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000



The percentage of the population between different ages can be obtained very easily from the curves in the diagram facing this page. Curves have been drawn for the same racial classes as appear in the diagram facing page 77. The percentage between, say, the ages of 18 and 45, is obtained by subtracting the ordinate at age 18 from that at age 45. Curves of this type are often quite smooth even when the figures for the separate class-intervals (in this case age-groups) are markedly irregular.

**46. Age distribution of Chinese.**—In parts of the Northern Shan States, *e.g.*, Kokang, the Chinese are permanently resident and the age

2. Age distribution of Chinese in Divisional Burma.			
Age group.		Males.	Females.
0—5	...	909	1,689
5—10	...	798	1,395
10—15	...	769	1,243
15—20	...	894	972
20—30	...	2,191	1,764
30—40	...	1,970	1,338
40 and over	...	2,469	1,599
Total	...	10,000	10,000

distribution is therefore different from that of Chinese in other parts of the province. In marginal table 2 figures have been given for Divisional Burma, *i.e.*, the Shan States and Karenni have been excluded. Unfortunately, comparable figures for previous censuses are not available. The graphs for Chinese males and females have been drawn on the diagram facing page 77 and it will be noticed that the one for males resembles the two for Indian males. The distribution is, however, not so abnormal, as there is a larger proportion of children and of persons over 45 years of age and a smaller proportion between 15 and 45. The graph for Chinese females resembles that for Indian females and is not very different from that for indigenous females. The percentage of females in the age-group 0—5 is appreciably larger than the percentage for indigenous females but there is a smaller percentage in the higher age-groups. The percentage in the age-group 15—20 appears to be low but there is no appreciable increase in the percentage for 20—25, as in the case of Indian females.

**47. Mean Age.**—Figures for the mean age at the 1891 and subsequent censuses are given in marginal table 3.

3. Mean Age.				
Year of Census.	Total Population.		Indigenous Races.*	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1891	25'00	24'91	24'75	24'98
1901	25'28	25'06	24'97	25'10
1911	25'32	24'98	25'02	25'11
1921	25'70	25'14	25'37	25'31
1931	25'02	24'40	24'74	24'61

\* Buddhists for the 1921 and previous censuses.

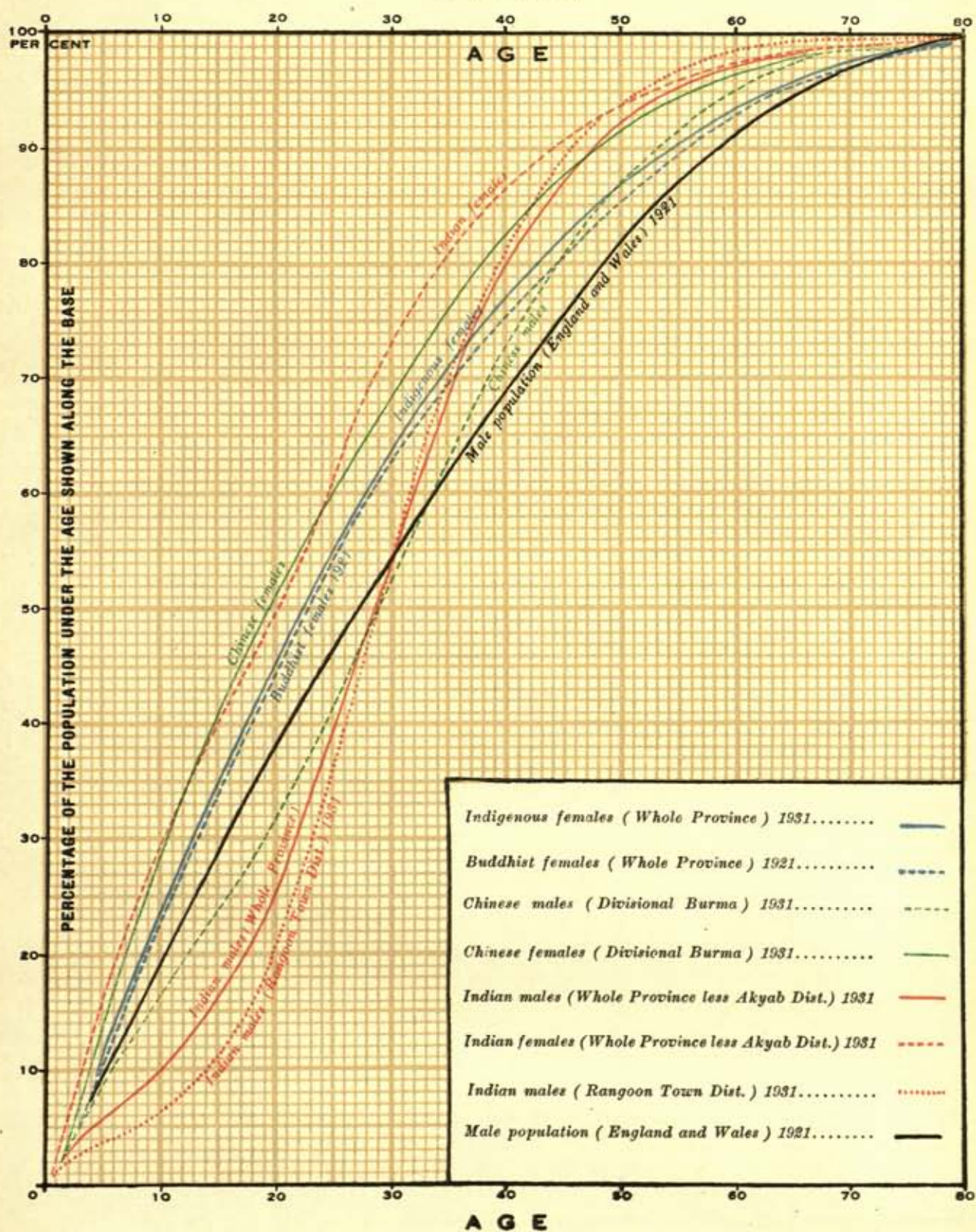
It will be noticed that there was an increase from 1891 to 1921 for both males and females. During the last decade there has been a decrease. It has, however, been pointed out in previous Census Reports that no conclusions can be drawn from the fact that there has been an increase or decrease in the mean age, without an examination of many accompanying circumstances. The decrease in the mean age during the last decade does not necessarily indicate a decrease in longevity; it may have been due to an increase in the birth-rate or a reduction in the infantile mortality, both of which would increase the proportion of children in the total population. It is also possible that the reduction may be partly due to the change in the method of compiling the figures for age-groups.

**48. Vital Statistics.**—The vital statistics have already been discussed in paragraph 13 of Chapter I. The birth and death rates quoted in marginal table 16 of that paragraph were calculated on the 1921 population. In most countries where the vital statistics are approximately correct it is usual to make an allowance for the variation in the population between two census dates. In calculating the figures for Subsidiary Tables VII and VIII at the end of this Chapter the population of the Registration Area and of each natural division has been assumed to increase at a uniform rate between 1921 and 1931. The rates in these two subsidiary tables are appreciably less than those in the corresponding tables in the 1921 Census Report, but, as pointed out in paragraph 13 of Chapter I, the decreases are largely, if not entirely, due to a change in the method of collecting counterfoils. As far as can be gathered from the figures for the increase in the population, the birth and death rates



# PERCENTAGE OF THE POPULATION OF SELECTED RACIAL CLASSES UNDER DIFFERENT AGES BY SEX.

(See paragraph 45)









during 1921—31 were probably not appreciably different from those in the previous decade, if the deaths due to the influenza epidemic of 1918-19 are ignored.

The figures in Subsidiary Tables VII and VIII are the crude birth and death rates, *i.e.*, the rates obtained by dividing the numbers of births and deaths by the total population. But it has already been pointed out in paragraph 44 of this Chapter that these crude rates depend largely on the age distribution. As far as the death-rates are concerned it is usual, in making a comparison between the rates at different times or places or for different communities, to calculate the specific death rates at different ages, or the standardised death rates. For the calculation of the standardised death rate a standard age distribution is adopted and the crude death rates are modified to show what they would have been if the population had been constituted as to age and sex like the standard population. A standard age distribution has not yet been adopted in this province and standardised death rates have therefore not been calculated. Specific death rates for different age-groups are given in Subsidiary Table IX. The figures in this table have been calculated on the 1921 population, no allowance having been made for any increase or decrease of population since 1921. According to Subsidiary Table VI there is a considerable difference between the rates of variation of the populations of the different age-groups and it would be rather a tedious process to calculate the populations for the intermediate years. It should also be borne in mind that the rates of variation would probably not be uniform throughout the decade. In view also of the fact that the figures for births and deaths are not reliable it was considered a waste of time to make any adjustments of population for intermediate years. The Public Health Department publishes specific death rates at different ages only for the total population and not for any religions or racial classes. It might be mentioned that if standardised death rates for Indians and Chinese were calculated they would differ considerably from the crude death rates, since the age distributions for these races are so abnormal.

In calculating the figures in Subsidiary Table X for the average number of reported deaths from certain diseases the population has been assumed to increase at a uniform rate between 1921 and 1931. These figures are not reliable but they perhaps serve to show that the deaths from the epidemic diseases of plague, cholera and small-pox are comparatively small.

According to the figures published by the Public Health Department there has been an increase since the last census in the infantile mortality rate (the number of deaths under one year per 1,000 live births). The average for the years 1926—30 was 207 compared with 186 for 1921—25. The increase is probably due to the change in the method of collecting counterfoils. The infantile mortality rate is a ratio of deaths to births and birth registration appears to have deteriorated more than death registration. The infant mortality is still terribly high: more than one quarter of the total number of deaths recorded during 1921—30 were of infants under one year. This compares with  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent in England and Wales for the year 1930.

The birth rates published by the Public Health Department are the crude birth rates. But the number of births depends mainly on the number of married women at the reproductive ages and the variation in their numbers may be very different from that of the total population, in which case the crude birth rates would not be reliable measures of the changes in fertility. In most countries where accurate figures for births are available it is usual to calculate, in addition to the crude birth rate, the ratio of births to the total number of women of child-bearing ages or to the number of married women of these ages. In England and Wales standard birth rates have been adopted for different ages and an index of fertility is obtained by comparing the actual number of births with those that would have been obtained if the standard rates had been operating at those ages; this index of fertility measures the rate of reproduction in proportion to the opportunity of reproduction, and it is of interest to note that, for England and Wales, if the figure for 1921 is taken to be 1,000 then the figure for 1930 is only 706, which represents a decrease of nearly 30 per cent. This reduction is mainly due to the adoption of methods of birth control. Figures are not available for measuring the variation in the fertility of women in Burma but there would appear to have been very little change since 1921. There is no evidence of the practice of western methods of birth control among the indigenous races.



It has been mentioned in paragraph 41 of this Chapter that among the indigenous races of the province the recognised number for a person's age appears to be the ordinal year of life, *i.e.*, the age at the next birthday. In the death returns compiled by the Public Health Department a person whose age has been returned as (say) 35 is assumed to have completed 35 years of life. But the age recorded is, in the majority of cases, only a guess and the same age would probably be recorded whether the age asked for was the age at the last, nearest, or next birthday. In these circumstances it might be argued that the age recorded is more likely to be the age at the nearest birthday. It is for consideration therefore whether it would not be advisable to record the age at the nearest birthday and to compile the returns of deaths for the different age-groups in the same way as the population figures were compiled at the 1931 census. But it is probably not worth while making any attempt to improve the vital statistics either by improving the records of age or by making estimates of population for post-censal years, so long as the registration of births and deaths is so defective. But improvement of registration will cost money and it seems improbable, in view of the financial stringency, that Burma will be able to afford reliable vital statistics in the near future.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex in the Province and each Natural Division.

Natural Division.	Age Group.	1931.		1921.		1911.		1901.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Province	0—1	257	283	234	256	218	241	228	252
	1—2	267	294	210	228	217	236	248	266
	2—3	271	293	232	256	266	289	293	315
	3—4	269	287	270	289	302	323	309	326
	4—5	260	278	248	269	269	291	272	287
	0—5	1,324	1,435	1,194	1,298	1,272	1,380	1,350	1,446
	5—10	1,214	1,245	1,205	1,273	1,276	1,341	1,232	1,282
	10—15	1,130	1,138	1,152	1,132	1,163	1,126	1,088	1,042
	15—20	927	1,004	977	1,071	893	967	874	961
	20—25	938	1,004	910	948	857	884	888	929
	25—30	910	852	866	819	860	810	909	857
	30—35	836	737	813	710	846	737	877	766
	35—40	637	556	639	538	677	578	648	547
	40—45	550	499	603	561	594	557	567	523
	45—50	413	390	435	393	399	365	396	361
	50—55	353	351	410	413	370	384	381	393
	55—60	271	271	234	239	223	231	231	236
	60—65	227	222	262	259	263	272	559	657
	65—70	122	125	122	119	124	122		
	70 & over.	148	171	178	227	183	246		
Burman ...	0—5	1,314	1,428	1,195	1,305	1,272	1,386	1,354	1,461
	5—10	1,217	1,249	1,197	1,274	1,257	1,340	1,230	1,286
	10—15	1,137	1,144	1,163	1,152	1,174	1,145	1,114	1,075
	15—20	931	1,004	978	1,073	898	972	886	975
	20—40	3,308	3,132	3,239	2,999	3,278	3,002	3,328	3,065
	40—60	1,590	1,523	1,666	1,604	1,561	1,525	1,547	1,495
	60 & over.	503	520	561	593	560	680	541	643
Delta ...	0—5	1,245	1,450	1,154	1,351	1,200	1,426	1,290	1,522
	5—10	1,174	1,280	1,147	1,312	1,199	1,382	1,188	1,355
	10—15	1,117	1,168	1,141	1,180	1,167	1,191	1,118	1,146
	15—20	938	1,019	963	1,094	911	1,018	914	1,041
	20—40	3,459	3,184	3,459	3,102	3,548	3,123	3,582	3,143
	40—60	1,598	1,471	1,630	1,508	1,478	1,387	1,443	1,314
	60 & over.	469	428	506	453	497	473	465	479
Coast ...	0—5	1,436	1,559	1,256	1,388	1,266	1,416	1,262	1,443
	5—10	1,281	1,324	1,310	1,426	1,270	1,407	1,271	1,384
	10—15	1,179	1,187	1,182	1,171	1,148	1,132	1,151	1,168
	15—20	927	1,023	959	1,048	902	996	932	1,049
	20—40	3,161	3,013	3,195	2,974	3,353	3,065	3,374	3,033
	40—60	1,541	1,423	1,562	1,466	1,566	1,465	1,531	1,434
	60 & over.	475	471	536	527	495	519	479	489
Centre ...	0—5	1,345	1,358	1,234	1,241	1,362	1,341	1,473	1,416
	5—10	1,253	1,203	1,219	1,191	1,336	1,290	1,283	1,204
	10—15	1,153	1,112	1,197	1,126	1,213	1,113	1,120	1,000
	15—20	918	977	1,008	1,065	888	926	840	899
	20—40	3,173	3,105	2,974	2,892	2,910	2,851	2,979	2,983
	40—60	1,591	1,611	1,721	1,732	1,618	1,657	1,639	1,655
	60 & over.	567	634	647	753	673	822	666	843
North ...	0—5	1,350	1,422	1,111	1,232	1,241	1,377	1,287	1,377
	5—10	1,156	1,172	1,156	1,226	1,167	1,258	1,095	1,258
	10—15	1,081	1,084	1,078	1,099	1,039	1,084	937	1,084
	15—20	956	1,033	954	1,036	853	925	858	925
	20—40	3,378	3,237	3,359	3,099	3,437	3,110	3,592	3,110
	40—60	1,636	1,536	1,850	1,699	1,802	1,665	1,786	1,665
	60 & over.	443	516	492	609	461	581	445	581
Chin ...	0—5	1,719	1,744	1,268	1,293	1,436	1,504	1,243	1,296
	5—10	1,290	1,187	1,383	1,340	1,340	1,280	1,225	1,266
	10—15	1,120	1,003	1,146	1,024	1,049	942	1,116	1,046
	15—20	848	912	961	977	897	938	798	749
	20—40	3,051	3,262	3,121	3,362	3,235	3,376	2,834	2,826
	40—60	1,567	1,488	1,629	1,562	1,585	1,491	2,065	2,014
	60 & over.	405	404	492	442	458	469	719	803
Salween ...	0—5	1,474	1,529	1,374	1,418	1,487	1,593	1,523	1,667
	5—10	1,224	1,212	1,311	1,250	1,342	1,338	1,188	1,192
	10—15	1,090	1,101	1,069	981	958	915	894	825
	15—20	846	998	840	997	749	917	740	968
	20—40	3,465	3,412	3,284	3,380	3,471	3,668	3,651	3,651
	40—60	1,544	1,397	1,708	1,564	1,634	1,265	1,624	1,324
	60 & over.	357	351	414	410	359	304	380	373
Shan ...	0—5	1,341	1,445	1,160	1,233	1,254	1,314	1,319	1,334
	5—10	1,185	1,220	1,240	1,260	1,412	1,348	1,250	1,249
	10—15	1,079	1,104	1,066	992	1,091	1,004	876	782
	15—20	911	1,010	983	1,073	861	926	790	866
	20—40	3,456	3,265	3,143	3,073	2,937	3,057	3,304	3,385
	40—60	1,561	1,420	1,814	1,636	1,780	1,614	1,757	1,614
	60 & over.	467	536	594	733	665	737	704	770
Mean Age	...	25.02	24.40	25.70	25.14	25.32	24.98	25.28	25.06



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Age distribution of 10,000 of each sex for the  
Indigenous population of the province.**

NOTE :—The 1931 figures have been calculated from the figures for indigenous races (groups A to O of Imperial Table XVII) ; for previous censuses figures have been given for the Buddhist population of the province.

Age-group. 1	Males.					Females.				
	1931 2	1921 3	1911 4	1901 5	1891 6	1931 7	1921 8	1911 9	1901 10	1891 11
0—1	272	255	234	245	298	280	259	243	255	312
1—2	282	224	233	265	221	289	227	235	266	224
2—3	286	243	280	310	282	288	251	284	313	283
3—4	283	283	321	325	327	283	284	320	323	324
4—5	274	260	286	288	265	274	265	290	285	264
0—5	1,397	1,265	1,354	1,433	1,393	1,414	1,286	1,372	1,442	1,407
5—10	1,282	1,271	1,355	1,301	1,309	1,236	1,260	1,344	1,277	1,286
10—15	1,186	1,223	1,236	1,143	1,255	1,134	1,146	1,140	1,046	1,155
15—20	916	1,002	899	877	923	1,002	1,082	966	961	1,023
20—25	886	862	775	828	838	997	941	864	917	901
25—30	838	777	760	828	791	848	801	792	850	795
30—35	776	722	767	799	728	737	687	727	756	676
35—40	604	600	656	626	622	560	539	584	552	544
40—45	532	571	566	539	537	504	558	552	521	514
45—50	412	446	409	407	400	397	406	374	369	363
50—55	361	410	373	383	370	358	418	384	395	396
55—60	283	252	241	244	234	278	251	242	241	237
60—65	239	274	278	...	...	229	264	278	...	...
65—70	130	133	133	592	600	130	126	128	673	703
70 and over	158	192	198	...	...	176	235	253	...	...
Mean age ...	24.74	25.37	25.02	24.97	24.75	24.61	25.31	25.11	25.10	24.98

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Age distribution of 1,000 of each sex in certain races.**

(The figures in this table have been compiled from Imperial Table VIII ; the ages are given to the nearest birthday.)

Race,  1	Males.						Females.					
	0—6 2	7—13 3	14—16 4	17—23 5	24—43 6	44 and over. 7	0—6 8	7—13 9	14—16 10	17—23 11	24—43 12	44 and over 13
Arakanese and Yanbye	168	173	64	117	293	185	166	161	63	133	278	199
Tavoyan	196	183	72	123	257	169	193	176	61	148	258	164
Mergese	206	191	64	119	267	153	206	186	63	139	268	138
Chin Group	227	164	63	108	286	152	228	142	58	122	303	147
Kachin	152	168	85	128	329	138	140	142	66	142	343	167
Shan	180	158	56	116	318	172	184	157	63	142	291	163
Mon (Talaing)	214	190	68	120	251	157	220	175	66	141	253	145
Palaung	190	173	68	125	295	149	199	164	69	140	278	150
Sgaw Karen	195	172	64	114	295	160	199	168	62	136	288	147
Pwo Karen	195	178	66	117	284	160	200	173	62	143	274	148
Taungthu	193	172	67	116	281	171	198	165	64	137	275	161
Arakan Mahomedan	241	189	71	99	268	132	260	198	67	134	238	103
Telugu	31	43	33	169	622	102	157	122	41	166	445	69

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Proportion of children under 14 and of persons over 43 to those aged 14—43 in certain races ; also of married females aged 14—43 per 100 females.**

(The figures in this table have been compiled from Imperial Table VIII ; the ages are given to the nearest birthday.)

Race.	Proportion of children both sexes, per 100		Proportion of persons over 43 per 100 aged 14—43.		Number of married females aged 14—43 per 100 females of all ages.
	Persons aged 14—43	Married females aged 14—43.	Males.	Females.	
Arakanese and Yanbye	...	70	211	39	42
Tavoyan	...	81	285	38	35
Merguese	...	86	281	34	29
Chin Group	...	81	249	33	30
Kachin	...	55	176	26	30
Shan	...	69	210	35	33
Mon (Talaing)	...	89	295	36	32
Palaung	...	74	255	31	31
Sgaw Karen	...	77	286	34	30
Pwo Karen	...	79	273	34	31
Taungthu	...	77	253	37	34
Arakan Mahomedan	...	101	264	30	23
Telugu	...	13	117	12	11



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*Proportion of children under 10 and of persons over 60 to those aged 15—40 ; also of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.*

District and Natural Division.	Proportion of children under 10 (both sexes) per 100						Proportion of persons over 60 per 100 aged 15—40.						Proportion of married females aged 15—40 per 100 females of all ages.		
	Persons aged 15—40.			Married females aged 15—40.			1931.		1921.		1911.				
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<b>Province</b> ...	62	60	65	205	201	211	12	12	13	15	14	16	26	25	26
<b>Burman</b> ...	62	60	64	207	203	212	12	13	13	15	13	11	26	25	25
<i>Della</i> ...	60	57	60	212	206	209	11	10	11	11	11	11	26	26	27
Rangoon ...	26	23	21	146	133	135	3	8	4	9	4	9	32	33	33
Insein ...	60	59	57	232	217	211	11	11	13	11	11	11	24	25	26
Hanthawaddy ...	63	58	57	229	219	211	13	11	13	11	13	12	25	25	26
Tharrawaddy ...	63	64	68	196	200	205	12	11	12	11	13	12	26	26	27
Pegu ...	62	60	61	211	206	208	12	10	12	10	11	10	26	26	27
Bassein ...	63	58	63	205	198	207	11	10	11	10	12	11	26	26	26
Henzada ...	65	62	66	226	213	213	13	11	13	11	14	13	23	24	25
Myaungmya ...	61	60	65	204	205	209	10	9	11	10	12	11	27	26	28
Maubin ...	64	64	66	224	229	220	14	12	15	12	14	13	24	23	25
Pyapön ...	64	60	61	228	205	212	12	10	12	11	11	11	26	27	27
Toungoo ...	60	59	66	189	192	200	11	10	14	12	13	12	28	26	28
Thatön ...	71	67	73	248	239	244	11	9	14	10	13	11	24	24	25
<b>Coast</b> ...	69	66	64	213	210	208	12	12	13	13	12	13	27	27	28
Akyab ...	67	65	60	199	199	183	10	10	12	13	10	12	30	29	31
Kyaukpyu ...	66	65	62	180	176	168	14	18	16	18	14	17	28	28	29
Sandoway ...	67	67	68	186	188	190	13	14	14	13	13	13	28	28	29
Amherst ...	74	68	68	248	243	241	12	11	13	11	12	11	25	25	26
Tavoy ...	68	66	71	237	285	258	13	12	15	14	15	17	24	23	22
Mergui ...	68	61	65	218	220	223	11	9	11	11	12	11	28	26	26
<b>Centre</b> ...	63	62	70	204	201	213	14	16	16	19	18	22	25	24	24
Prome ...	59	56	63	179	188	198	13	12	12	11	15	15	28	25	26
Thayetmyo ...	63	62	68	197	195	198	13	12	14	14	17	17	26	25	27
Pakokla ...	69	70	74	217	216	223	14	16	16	20	17	23	24	24	24
Minbu ...	59	58	70	186	185	210	12	15	15	18	18	22	26	25	25
Magwe ...	62	61	72	221	211	245	13	16	15	18	16	21	23	23	31
Mandalay ...	51	46	56	177	167	188	10	14	12	17	14	21	27	25	25
Kyaukse ...	60	55	64	174	167	186	13	15	18	19	18	23	28	26	25
Meiktila ...	66	60	73	224	205	244	16	19	19	22	18	22	22	22	21
Yamethin ...	65	63	71	204	197	208	13	14	16	18	16	19	26	25	26
Myingyan ...	63	63	76	217	215	240	15	15	18	20	19	22	23	22	22
Shwebo ...	65	64	75	200	201	218	15	16	20	22	20	24	25	23	23
Sagaing ...	66	68	73	223	226	244	15	17	19	21	21	26	23	22	21
Lower Chindwin ...	70	69	78	211	209	236	17	20	22	26	25	31	24	22	21
<b>North</b> ...	59	56	60	187	183	190	10	12	11	15	11	14	28	26	27
Bhamo ...	56	50	53	172	169	178	10	14	11	17	10	15	28	26	27
Myitkyina ...	52	45	45	174	158	172	8	10	9	12	7	12	29	29	28
Katha ...	65	62	67	203	188	196	11	12	13	15	12	15	26	27	27
Upper Chindwin ...	61	60	65	188	202	196	11	12	11	14	12	14	28	25	27
<b>Chin</b> ...	74	63	66	210	192	197	10	10	12	10	11	11	28	27	28
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	56	50	51	132	126	133	11	9	14	12	15	13	38	36	35
Chin Hills ...	76	65	69	223	205	212	10	10	12	10	10	10	28	26	27
<b>Salween</b> ...	62	63	...	212	207	...	8	8	10	9	...	...	26	26	...
Salween ...	61	62	65	232	228	210	8	8	9	8	8	7	25	25	29
Karenni ...	64	64	...	196	192	...	8	8	11	11	...	...	28	27	...
<b>Shan</b> ...	60	59	68	184	188	213	11	13	14	18	18	19	29	26	25
Northern Shan States ...	59	60	68	196	194	215	10	13	14	20	16	21	28	26	26
Southern Shan States ...	61	58	69	176	184	212	11	12	15	16	18	17	30	26	25



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—*Variation in population at certain age-periods.*

NOTE :—In calculating these variations, increases of population due to extensions of the census limits have been excluded.

Natural Division, 1	Period, 2	Variation per cent in population. (— for decrease).					
		All ages 3	0—10 4	10—15 5	15—40 6	40—60 7	60 and over. 8
Province	1901—1911	15.0	14.1	23.7	12.9	16.1	14.2
	1911—1921	8.5	2.3	8.4	10.9	14.4	4.8
	1921—1931	10.9	16.5	10.2	12.4	4.5	3.3
Burman	1901—1911	14.7	13.1	21.6	13.1	16.3	15.4
	1911—1921	9.3	3.5	9.2	11.2	15.9	16.1
	1921—1931	11.7	17.1	10.1	12.9	6.4	0.8
Delta	1901—1911	15.8	12.6	20.7	14.7	20.2	19.3
	1911—1921	11.3	6.2	9.4	11.4	22.0	10.2
	1921—1931	12.7	17.1	11.0	12.5	10.2	5.3
Coast	1901—1911	15.5	15.5	13.6	14.4	18.0	21.0
	1911—1921	11.6	12.1	15.2	9.7	11.5	17.1
	1921—1931	15.4	20.3	16.0	14.7	13.0	2.7
Centre	1901—1911	12.8	11.9	23.9	10.9	12.2	11.6
	1911—1921	7.1	1.8	7.0	12.2	12.8	...
	1921—1931	9.5	15.6	6.8	12.7	1.6	6.1
North	1901—1911	17.2	19.0	33.9	12.3	18.3	16.8
	1911—1921	5.5	0.6	8.6	6.5	8.1	12.2
	1921—1931	10.6	19.4	10.0	12.7	1.2	3.5
Chin	1901—1911	31.4	45.3	21.1	54.1	0.9	20.0
	1911—1921	7.6	14.5	2.5	8.0	1.6	4.3
	1921—1931	9.1	21.2	7.3	4.7	5.6	4.3
Salween	1901—1911	...	...	Data not available.	...	...	...
	1911—1921	3.6	0.7	5.9	7.4	5.8	20.8
	1921—1931	2.0	...	4.7	0.5	11.9	15.7
Shan	1901—1911	15.6	19.4	46.7	7.8	16.5	9.6
	1911—1921	4.3	4.3	2.6	10.9	6.2	1.7
	1921—1931	5.7	12.1	12.0	10.4	8.6	20.1

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—*Reported birth rate by sex and Natural Division.*

NOTE :—See the note above Subsidiary Table VIII.

Year, 1	Number of births per 1,000 of total population.							
	Registration Area.		Delta.		Coast.		Centre.	
	Males. 2	Females. 3	Males. 4	Females. 5	Males. 6	Females. 7	Males. 8	Females. 9
Average for the decade.	13.5	12.8	11.7	11.0	14.1	13.2	15.2	14.6
1921	15.3	14.5	13.2	12.6	15.4	14.1	17.5	16.8
1922	15.0	14.3	13.3	12.7	14.7	13.8	17.1	16.3
1923	14.8	14.0	13.9	13.0	13.9	12.8	16.2	15.6
1924	13.7	12.8	12.8	12.0	13.4	12.2	14.7	14.0
1925	12.5	11.8	10.4	9.9	14.7	13.3	14.0	13.3
1926	13.3	12.8	11.7	11.1	13.7	12.9	15.0	14.6
1927	12.0	11.4	9.9	9.2	12.6	12.0	14.2	13.7
1928	12.3	11.7	10.2	9.6	13.5	12.7	14.1	13.6
1929	12.4	11.8	10.6	10.0	14.2	13.3	13.8	13.1
1930	13.4	12.7	10.8	10.1	15.3	14.4	15.6	15.0

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII.—*Reported death rate by sex and Natural Division.*

NOTE :—The Registration Area covers practically the whole of the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions of the Burman natural division. In calculating the birth and death rates for this and the preceding table for 1922 and subsequent years the population of the Registration Area and of each subdivision was assumed to increase at a uniform rate between 1921 and 1931.

Year, 1	Number of deaths of each sex per 1,000 of population of the same sex.							
	Registration Area.		Delta.		Coast.		Centre.	
	Males. 2	Females. 3	Males. 4	Females. 5	Males. 6	Females. 7	Males. 8	Females. 9
Average for the decade.	20.6	19.3	18.8	17.4	18.1	17.5	23.6	21.9
1921	22.2	20.7	23.0	21.5	21.2	20.6	21.6	19.8
1922	22.8	21.1	22.8	21.2	21.6	20.6	23.3	21.1
1923	21.1	19.7	20.0	18.5	17.5	16.9	23.8	21.9
1924	21.5	20.2	19.3	18.1	16.2	15.6	26.2	23.8
1925	18.5	17.4	17.0	15.7	16.8	16.5	20.9	19.4
1926	20.3	19.2	19.3	18.2	17.7	17.5	22.5	20.9
1927	19.0	17.5	17.6	15.9	17.0	16.8	21.5	19.5
1928	20.3	19.0	17.4	15.7	18.8	17.8	24.5	22.9
1929	20.7	19.6	17.1	15.4	18.0	17.1	26.3	24.8
1930	19.1	18.6	14.6	13.8	16.1	16.0	25.7	24.5



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—*Reported death rate by sex and age in decade and in selected years per mille living at same age according to the Census of 1921.*

NOTE:—These figures refer only to the Registration Area.

Age.	Average 1921—1930.		1922.		1924.		1925.		1929.		1930.	
	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
All ages ...	21·56	20·31	23·09	21·32	22·17	20·88	19·29	18·18	22·62	21·46	21·02	20·61
0—5 ...	69·36	59·78	71·05	60·60	71·48	61·57	61·83	53·12	75·36	65·34	72·43	63·73
5—10 ...	8·95	8·85	9·63	9·58	9·42	9·27	7·75	7·71	9·40	9·03	8·31	8·22
10—15 ...	6·08	5·84	7·22	6·79	6·99	6·66	5·58	5·31	5·50	5·34	4·90	4·73
15—20 ...	8·93	8·02	10·42	9·16	9·58	8·89	7·90	7·35	8·49	7·30	7·27	6·79
20—40 ...	12·09	12·40	13·36	13·39	12·55	12·82	10·99	11·17	12·27	12·80	10·51	11·78
40—60 ...	20·33	17·01	22·52	18·29	20·70	17·09	17·87	15·07	21·13	17·53	18·88	17·02
60 and over ...	58·47	57·29	61·97	58·52	57·09	56·46	53·23	52·10	62·16	62·81	62·39	62·31

SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—*Reported deaths from certain diseases per mille of each sex.*

NOTE.—The total numbers refer only to the Registration Area. The ratios per 1,000 of each sex are given in italics below the absolute figures and in calculating these ratios the population of the Registration Area has been assumed to increase at a uniform rate between 1921 and 1931.

Diseases.	Sex.	Actual number of deaths in										Average for the decade.
		1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All Causes	Male ...	122,480 <i>22·19</i>	127,449 <i>22·84</i>	119,505 <i>21·09</i>	122,951 <i>21·46</i>	106,984 <i>18·47</i>	118,943 <i>20·32</i>	112,498 <i>19·01</i>	121,436 <i>20·30</i>	125,436 <i>20·74</i>	116,565 <i>19·06</i>	119,425 <i>20·52</i>
	Female ...	108,564 <i>20·67</i>	111,999 <i>21·08</i>	106,378 <i>19·70</i>	110,215 <i>20·18</i>	95,949 <i>17·37</i>	107,516 <i>19·24</i>	99,045 <i>17·52</i>	108,886 <i>19·04</i>	113,276 <i>19·59</i>	108,763 <i>18·59</i>	107,059 <i>19·27</i>
Cholera ...	Male ...	2,310 <i>0·42</i>	3,193 <i>0·57</i>	953 <i>0·17</i>	4,748 <i>0·83</i>	1,106 <i>0·19</i>	3,719 <i>0·64</i>	2,710 <i>0·46</i>	4,165 <i>0·70</i>	4,713 <i>0·78</i>	423 <i>0·07</i>	2,804 <i>0·48</i>
	Female ...	1,481 <i>0·28</i>	1,854 <i>0·35</i>	535 <i>0·10</i>	3,335 <i>0·61</i>	826 <i>0·15</i>	2,463 <i>0·44</i>	1,818 <i>0·32</i>	3,044 <i>0·53</i>	3,257 <i>0·56</i>	238 <i>0·04</i>	1,885 <i>0·34</i>
Dysentery and Diarrhoea.	Male ...	5,720 <i>1·04</i>	5,263 <i>0·94</i>	3,895 <i>0·69</i>	4,923 <i>0·86</i>	3,958 <i>0·68</i>	6,036 <i>1·03</i>	4,899 <i>0·83</i>	5,395 <i>0·90</i>	4,802 <i>0·79</i>	3,582 <i>0·59</i>	4,847 <i>0·83</i>
	Female ...	4,008 <i>0·76</i>	3,677 <i>0·69</i>	2,790 <i>0·52</i>	3,662 <i>0·67</i>	2,843 <i>0·51</i>	4,392 <i>0·79</i>	3,380 <i>0·60</i>	3,966 <i>0·69</i>	3,679 <i>0·64</i>	2,829 <i>0·48</i>	3,523 <i>0·63</i>
Fever ...	Male ...	44,524 <i>8·07</i>	44,905 <i>8·05</i>	42,295 <i>7·46</i>	40,511 <i>7·07</i>	36,942 <i>6·38</i>	38,933 <i>6·65</i>	40,535 <i>6·85</i>	40,911 <i>6·84</i>	42,259 <i>6·99</i>	43,727 <i>7·15</i>	41,554 <i>7·14</i>
	Female ...	38,217 <i>7·28</i>	37,979 <i>7·15</i>	36,334 <i>6·73</i>	34,777 <i>6·37</i>	31,743 <i>5·75</i>	33,857 <i>6·06</i>	34,786 <i>6·15</i>	35,904 <i>6·28</i>	36,287 <i>6·27</i>	40,223 <i>6·88</i>	36,011 <i>6·48</i>
Plague ...	Male ...	2,572 <i>0·47</i>	4,139 <i>0·74</i>	4,212 <i>0·74</i>	3,031 <i>0·53</i>	2,297 <i>0·40</i>	1,584 <i>0·27</i>	1,938 <i>0·33</i>	2,634 <i>0·44</i>	1,045 <i>0·17</i>	1,028 <i>0·17</i>	2,448 <i>0·42</i>
	Female ...	1,831 <i>0·35</i>	3,148 <i>0·59</i>	3,394 <i>0·63</i>	2,460 <i>0·45</i>	1,767 <i>0·32</i>	1,322 <i>0·24</i>	1,570 <i>0·28</i>	2,299 <i>0·40</i>	822 <i>0·14</i>	934 <i>0·16</i>	1,954 <i>0·35</i>
Small-pox.	Male ...	589 <i>0·11</i>	827 <i>0·15</i>	1,736 <i>0·31</i>	1,415 <i>0·25</i>	2,206 <i>0·38</i>	1,301 <i>0·22</i>	1,032 <i>0·17</i>	1,651 <i>0·28</i>	1,032 <i>0·17</i>	512 <i>0·08</i>	1,230 <i>0·21</i>
	Female ...	398 <i>0·08</i>	612 <i>0·12</i>	1,110 <i>0·21</i>	1,086 <i>0·20</i>	1,646 <i>0·30</i>	1,038 <i>0·19</i>	672 <i>0·12</i>	1,174 <i>0·21</i>	809 <i>0·14</i>	409 <i>0·07</i>	895 <i>0·16</i>
Respiratory Diseases.	Male ...	6,914 <i>1·25</i>	7,016 <i>1·26</i>	6,434 <i>1·14</i>	6,486 <i>1·13</i>	6,259 <i>1·08</i>	6,861 <i>1·17</i>	6,793 <i>1·15</i>	7,317 <i>1·22</i>	7,150 <i>1·18</i>	6,075 <i>0·99</i>	6,730 <i>1·16</i>
	Female ...	4,551 <i>0·87</i>	4,932 <i>0·93</i>	4,420 <i>0·82</i>	4,612 <i>0·84</i>	4,321 <i>0·78</i>	4,777 <i>0·85</i>	4,311 <i>0·76</i>	4,925 <i>0·86</i>	5,157 <i>0·89</i>	4,110 <i>0·70</i>	4,612 <i>0·83</i>



## CHAPTER V.

### Sex.

**49. Statistical References.**—There are no special tables for sex among the Imperial Tables ; the distinction is so important that separate figures for each sex are given in all of them. The following six subsidiary tables, appended to this Chapter, have been compiled to illustrate special aspects of sex distribution :—

- I.—Number of females per 1,000 males in 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931 for Districts and Natural Divisions.
- II.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by race at each of the last three Censuses.
- III.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by Race and Natural Division.
- IV.—Number of females per 1,000 males for selected races.
- V.—Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex during the decades 1911—1920 and 1921—1930.
- VI.—Actual number of deaths reported for each sex at different ages for the decade 1921—30 and selected years thereof.

Reference might also be made to Subsidiary Tables VII to X of Chapter IV which give the birth and death rates instead of the actual numbers of births and deaths, given in Subsidiary Tables V and VI of this Chapter. Sex-ratios for Indian immigrants (and for the numerically important Indian races) are given for selected areas in Subsidiary Table VII of Chapter III.

As far as is known there are no serious inaccuracies in the sex statistics. The sex-ratios may however be taken to be correct only when they are based on the *total* populations. The ratios for the different age-groups are subject to considerable errors owing to inaccuracies in the returns for age. This is discussed in paragraph 53.

**50. Definition of Sex-ratio.**—The sex-ratio is usually expressed as the number of males per 100 females, but in Indian Census Reports it appears to be expressed as the number of females per 100 or 1,000 males and it is accordingly used in this sense in this Report. The words "low ratio" and "high ratio" have been used to denote an excess of males and females, respectively, and "an increase in the sex-ratio" means "an increase in the ratio of females to males".

**51. Comparison with Other Countries.**—The sex-ratio is determined by the numbers of births and deaths and the amount of migration and it is important to separate as far as possible the effects of mortality and migration. This is usually done by calculating the sex-ratio for the natural population (see Subsidiary Table IV of Chapter I) as well as for the actual population. Figures for the actual and natural populations in India and Burma for the last three censuses are given in marginal table 1.

Census.	India (including Burma).		Burma.	
	Actual Population.	Natural Population.	Actual Population.	Natural Population.
1901	963	963	964	1,027
1911	954	953	959	1,028
1921	945	944	955	1,026
1931	940	...	958	1,025

It will be noticed that in India as a whole migration does not greatly affect the sex-proportions, that there has been an appreciable reduction in the sex-ratio since 1901, and that the sex-ratio for the natural population is much smaller than in Burma. The low sex-ratio in India is due to the relatively high female mortality. The reasons for this high mortality have been given in paragraph 275 of the India Census Report for 1911. It will also be noticed that there is a very big difference between the sex-ratio in Burma for the actual and natural populations. This is caused by the large immigrant population in Burma, a very large proportion of



whom are males. In 1931 the number of immigrants was 775,963, the number of males being 633,745 and the females 142,218, giving a sex-ratio of only 224 females per 1,000 males. Indian immigrants amounted to 630,090 and had a sex-ratio of 191 while Chinese immigrants numbered 90,076, with a sex-ratio of 264. According to marginal table 1 there has been very little change in the sex-ratio of the natural population of Burma since 1901. During the last decade there has been a small increase in the sex-ratio of the actual population; during the two previous decades there were small decreases. As regards the other Indian provinces the differences between the sex-ratios for the actual and natural populations are determined by the direction of migration. At the 1921 census in Assam, Bengal and Bombay the proportion of females was higher in the natural population than in the actual population; in Bihar and Orissa, Madras, the Punjab and the United Provinces the reverse was the case. The figures are given in marginal table 2. It will be noticed that there are considerable differences between the sex-ratios for the natural populations in the different provinces. The Central Provinces and Madras are the only ones that have an excess of females; Bihar and Orissa is on the border line.

2. Females per 1,000 males (1921 census).		
Province.	Actual Popula- tion.	Natural Popula- tion.
Assam ...	926	951
Bengal ...	932	954
Bihar and Orissa ...	1,029	999
Bombay ...	919	931
Central Provinces and Berar. ...	1,002	1,006
Madras ...	1,028	1,004
Punjab ...	828	819
United Provinces ...	909	896

Sex-ratios for a few countries outside India are given in marginal table 3. The year of the census is given in brackets after the name of the country. The high ratios in the European countries are partly due to migration and this also accounts for the low ratios in the United States, Canada and Australia. Figures for sex-ratio of the natural population of the countries given in marginal table 3 are not available but generally it may be said that there is a tendency in most countries for the females to be in excess. Burma is therefore no exception in having more females than males in its natural population. As already mentioned the low rates for most of the other provinces in India are due to the high female mortality. The high ratio in Burma is due to the large percentage of females among the Burmese, for whom the sex-ratio is 1,046, the ratio for other indigenous races being only 1,004.

3. Sex-ratio in countries outside India.	
Country.	Females per 1,000 males (Actual Popula- tion).
England and Wales (1931)	1,087
France (1926) ...	1,083
Germany (1925) ...	1,067
Egypt (1927) ...	1,009
United States (1930) ...	976
Canada (1921) ...	940
Australia (1921) ...	967
Japan (1925) ...	990

**52. Sex-ratios by Natural Divisions.**—Sex-ratios for the actual and natural populations are given for the whole province, natural divisions and districts at each of the last four censuses in Subsidiary Table I. Figures for the natural divisions have been extracted and are given in table 4 below. It

4. Females per 1,000 males.										
Natural Division.			Actual Population.				Natural Population.			
			1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
Province	...	...	958	955	959	964	1,025	1,026	1,028	1,027
Burman	...	...	958	952	953	957	1,030	1,029	1,031	1,029
Delta	...	...	896	877	874	865	1,015	1,008	1,010	993
Coast	...	...	922	906	892	880	991	990	976	983
Centre	...	...	1,047	1,059	1,072	1,093	1,061	1,064	1,077	1,070
North	...	...	968	957	936	949	1,029	1,024	1,012	1,037
Chin	...	...	1,039	1,024	1,026	1,007	1,044	1,030	1,045	1,034
Salween	...	...	956	972	961	963	1,022	1,028	...	...
Shan	...	...	948	974	998	1,018	988	1,002	1,014	1,014



will be noticed that in 1901 the sex-ratios of the actual population of the Burman division varied from 865 in the Delta to 1,093 in the Centre subdivision. These extreme ratios were largely due to the immigration (mostly males) into the Delta from the Centre subdivision and outside the province. Since 1901 this immigration has decreased in volume and the proportion of females in the Delta has steadily increased while there has been a corresponding decrease in the proportion of females in the Centre subdivision. Henzada is the only district in the Delta which has had an excess of females at the last four censuses; Tharrawaddy had an excess of females in 1911 and 1931 and an excess of males in 1901 and 1921 while in the other districts of the Delta there has been an excess of males at the last four censuses. Apparently Tharrawaddy and Henzada are affected less by immigration than the other districts in the Delta. The steady increase in the sex-ratio in the Coast subdivision has been similar to that of the Delta and for a similar reason. In the Shan division the percentage of females has decreased during each decade since 1901; this appears to be partly due to recent immigration and partly to a decrease (since 1911) in the percentage of females among the indigenous races. Taking the province as a whole there has been an increase in the sex-ratio of the actual population during the last decade compared with a decrease during the two previous decades.

As regards the natural population the sex-ratios for the districts are not so reliable as those for natural divisions and the province since there is a greater probability of a person giving the wrong district of birth than of his giving a district in the wrong natural division. In very few districts is there an excess of males in the natural population. The districts with such an excess include Akyab and the Arakan Hills Tracts on the west, the Northern and Southern Shan States, Salween, Thatôn, Amherst, Tavoy and Mergui on the east and Rangoon and Pyapôn. Myitkyina and Upper Chindwin are on the border line with 998 and 999, respectively. The reason for these low sex-ratios is not apparent. In the Northern and Southern Shan States there has been a decrease in the sex-ratio for the last two decades and there are now more males than females. The racial constitution of the population may have something to do with it. There has been a decrease from 973 to 965 in the sex-ratio of Akyab district but in spite of this the ratio for the Coast subdivision has increased slightly from 990 to 991. There has been a decrease in the ratio for the Centre subdivision but it is still much higher than the ratio for any other subdivision.

### 53. The Sex-ratio at different ages.—The sex-ratio referred to in

5. Sex-ratio at Birth in Burma.		
Period.		Females per 1,000 males.
1901—5	...	935
1906—10	...	939
1911—15	...	943
1916—20	...	947
1921—25	...	947
1926—30	...	952

6. Sex-ratio at birth in Indian provinces during 1911-20.		
Province.		Females per 1,000 males.
Bengal	...	933
Bihar and Orissa	...	950
Bombay	...	925
Central Provinces	...	955
Madras	...	956
Punjab	...	906
United Provinces	...	919

the previous paragraphs has been the ratio between the total number of females and the total number of males. But there are other ratios, namely, the primary or conception ratio, which is that obtained at fertilization (see the following sub-paragraph), the secondary sex-ratio which is that obtained at birth and the tertiary sex-ratio which is that obtained among adults. Among all, or practically all, races, the male births exceed the female. In marginal table 5 figures are given for the sex-ratio at birth in Burma during the last 30 years. These figures apply to the population of the Registration Area. It will be noticed that there has been a steady increase since 1901. The reason for this is not apparent. The figures for births are defective and it is impossible to say whether this increase represents the facts or not: it may be due to a change in the quality of the records. Figures for some of the other provinces in India for the decade 1911—20 are given in marginal table 6. The small proportion of female births in the Punjab and the United Provinces is probably due to defective registration or enumeration. Figures for European countries and other countries for which accurate returns are available show a similar excess of males at birth. Thus in England and Wales during 1930 there were 957 female births per 1,000 male births.



The sex-ratio at conception cannot be estimated at all accurately since complete statistics of the sex-ratios for still-births are not available. It is known, however, that miscarriages are common—one in every five or six conceptions is said to end in abortion, the proportion in some countries being probably much higher than this—and that the proportion of males among still-births is distinctly higher than among newly born. According to Dr. Crew\* it would appear that the primary sex-ratio, *i.e.*, the ratio at conception, cannot be much less than about 170 males per 100 females. Thus the approximate equality of male and female births would appear to be due to the large amount of abortion. This question is further discussed in paragraph 56.

After birth the sex-ratio undergoes considerable changes owing to the difference in the mortality of the two sexes at different ages. The mortality is very heavy during the first years of life, particularly for males. In marginal table 7 the recorded infantile mortality rate

(number of deaths under one year per 1,000 live births) is given for males and females. These figures are not reliable but they serve to show how high the infant mortality is and the fact that the rate is higher for males than females. This is the case in all, or practically all, countries. It might also be mentioned that throughout the first year of life the excess of male over female deaths steadily decreases as the end of the year is approached. This inequality in the sex incidence of mortality is, however, not confined to the first year of life and sooner or later the high male infant mortality equalizes the proportion of males and females in the population. The age at which this occurs varies considerably

7. Infantile Mortality Rate in Burma.		
Year.	Males.	Females.
1921 ...	184	160
1922 ...	196	174
1923 ...	195	172
1924 ...	208	187
1925 ...	199	179
1926 ...	211	191
1927 ...	210	186
1928 ...	220	199
1929 ...	237	214
1930 ...	212	192
Average ...	207	185

in different countries. In most European countries this age would appear to be in the neighbourhood of 20. In England and Wales (1921 census) it is about 15, in France (1926 census), Germany (1925) and Norway (1920) about 20 and in Sweden (1920) about 25. In Japan, on the other hand, it would appear to be about 50. These figures may be affected by migration. In Burma the infant mortality is high, particularly for males, and the result is that the females exceed the males after the first year or two of life. In Subsidiary Table II the sex-ratio in five-yearly groups is given for all races and for indigenous races. The indigenous races include races in groups A to O (see Part I of Imperial Table XVII); for 1921 and 1911 figures have been given for Buddhists since figures for racial classes are not available. It will be noticed that in the age-group 0—1 there were 1,058 females per 1,000 males among the indigenous races in 1931. If these figures are correct then the excess of males at birth is changed to an excess of females during the first year of life. After the first few years of life it is very difficult to say what happens. The figures for indigenous races in Subsidiary Table II may be taken to be free from the disturbances due to migration but they are unfortunately affected by the inaccuracies in the age returns. The variations shown in the sex-ratio as one proceeds to the higher age-groups are mainly due to misstatements of age. Unfortunately the errors are not the same for the two sexes at the same ages. It is probable that the figures for the age-groups 5—10 and 10—15 are too low while those for 15—25, 20—25 and 25—30 are too high. The sex-ratio appears to reach a maximum after the first few years of life after which there is very little change until the onset of puberty when the risks of child-bearing cause a decrease in the ratio. After the child-bearing period is passed the ratio increases once more. Separate figures for Burmese and "Other Indigenous Races" for larger age-groups are given in Subsidiary Table III.

**54. Sex-ratios for Races.**—The sex-ratios for the more important race-groups are given in marginal table 8. Figures for individual races are given in Subsidiary Table IV. The high ratio for the Burma race-group is due to the high ratio for Burmese, namely 1,046, which is exactly the same as the ratio at the 1921 census. It should be noted, however, that in 1931

\* See his paper presented to the World Population Conference held at Geneva in August and September 1927 (pages 213 to 249 of the Proceedings), from which the above statements have been taken.



more than 95,000 persons were returned as Merguese (practically all in Mergui district), whereas in 1921 there were less than 200, and all but two of these were enumerated in Tavoy. The persons in Mergui district who returned them-

8. Sex-ratio for race-groups.

Race-group.	Females per 1,000 males.
Burma ...	1,042
Lolo-Muhso ...	940
Kuki Chin ...	1,023
Kachin ...	1,078
Sak (Lui) ...	1,071
Tai (Shan) ...	991
Mon (Talaing) ...	979
Palaung-Wa ...	991
Karen ...	1,005
Indians ...	387
Chinese ...	524

described themselves as such or because some enumerators used the term Arakanese to include all races of the Burma group who have their home in Arakan. The figure for Arakanese and Yanbye in 1931, namely 1,021, compares with 1,026 in 1921.

The sex-ratio for races in the Karen group is 1,005. In 1921 the ratio was only 994, but according to paragraph 105 of the 1921 Census Report there is reason to believe that some Pwo-Karen females in Maubin District were wrongly tabulated as Burmese at that census. This would appear to be the case since the ratio in 1911 was 1,007.

There has been a reduction in the percentage of females in the Tai (Shan) group since the 1921 census. There was also a reduction during the previous decade. In the discussion on the paper presented by Dr. Crew to the World Population Conference (see the foot-note on page 89) Capt. G. H. Pitt-Rivers said that "in decreasing populations males appear to show a post-natal survival rate superior to that of females, reversing the more familiar tendency in stabilized populations where the female exhibits an inherently superior resistance to the stresses of the act of living." He is of the opinion that "when a human population thrives and increases it tends to produce an excess of mature women of reproductive capacity over men, and when populations dwindle and die out the men tend to increase over the women." The ratio of reproductive females at the nuptial age to the ratio of reproductive males at the nuptial age he terms the *effective mating sex-ratio*. In Burma there are many indigenous races which appear to be dying out and it would be interesting to know whether there has been any reduction in the proportion of females to males at the reproductive ages. There appears to have been very little increase in the population of the races of the Tai (Shan) group during the last twenty years and this may have some connection with the decrease in the proportion of females. Unfortunately, as has often been pointed out, racial distinctions in Burma are extremely unstable and the sex-ratios may be affected by race absorption. This applies particularly to the ratios for races which have only small numbers. Migration may also have an appreciable effect on the ratios for some races or race-groups. Thus the low ratio for the Lolo-Muhso group is probably partly due to this cause. The high ratio of 1,078 for the Kachin group compares with 1,080 in 1921. The high ratio of 1,107 for the Shan States and Bhamo the sex-ratios for Kachins are 1,107 and 1,161, respectively. The reason for these high ratios is not apparent. The low ratio for Mon (Talaing), namely 979, may perhaps be due to absorption by the Burmese. The ratios for the Sak (Lui) and Palaung-Wa groups are probably affected by race absorption, while the ratio for the latter group may also be affected by migration.

According to Subsidiary Table III the sex-ratio for all indigenous races other than Burmese is 1,004. Since these races had a population in 1931 of 4,623,991 this ratio may be taken to be approximately correct as it would not be materially affected by migration or race absorption. For similar reasons paragraph 105 of the 1921 Census Report this high ratio is a special quality of the Burmese.



The sex-ratio of the Arakan Mahomedans has increased from 866 to 974. Their numbers have increased from 23,775 in 1921 to 51,615 in 1931 and this large increase is apparently due to the fact that in Akyab District some Arakan Mahomedans—and women in particular—returned themselves as Indians at the last census (see paragraph 16 of Chapter I). In paragraph 105 of the 1921 Census Report it is stated that Arakan Mahomedan women who had married Indian Muslims might have returned themselves as of the same race as their husbands. Since there has been a large increase in the sex-ratio this would appear to have been the case. The sex-ratio for Zerbadis has fallen from 1,066 to 1,031. The offspring of Indian Muslims and women of indigenous races are sometimes returned as belonging to the race of the father and sometimes to that of the mother. This may have something to do with the decrease in the sex-ratio.

The sex-ratio for Indians has increased from 358 to 387. For Indian immigrants the ratio in 1931 was 191 or less than one female for every five males, while for Indians born in Burma the ratio was 893. Sex-ratios for Indian immigrants (and for certain Indian races) are given for selected areas in Subsidiary Table VII of Chapter III.

The sex-ratio for Chinese has increased from 463 to 524 since 1921. For Chinese immigrants the ratio in 1931 was 264 while for Chinese born in Burma the ratio was 856.

**55. Sex-ratios in Towns.**—The sex-ratio in towns has been discussed in paragraph 26 of Chapter II. In marginal table 12 of that paragraph figures are given for the more important towns for the total population and for selected racial classes. As a rule the larger the town the larger is the proportion of immigrants and the greater is the sex disparity of the population. Thus the sex-ratio is 701 in the 11 towns with a population between 20 and 50 thousands, 743 in the 17 towns between 10 and 20 thousands and 815 in the 46 towns between 5 and 10 thousands. Mandalay is an important exception to this rule.

The sex-ratio in Rangoon City is discussed in paragraph 27 of Chapter II and in marginal table 15 of that paragraph ratios are given for the total population and for selected racial classes. The low sex-ratio of 477 is due to the large numbers of Indians and Chinese, for whom the sex-ratios are 240 and 538, respectively.

In marginal table 9 the population is classified by birth-place and in the last column the sex-ratios are given for each class. It is interesting to compare this table with the corresponding figures for 1911 which are given in paragraph 125 of the 1911 Census Report. The sex-ratio for persons born in Rangoon is 1,041 which compares with 1,063 in 1911. For persons born in Burma outside Rangoon there is an

9. Sex-ratios of the immigrants enumerated in Rangoon City.				
Birth-place.	Males.	Females	Excess males.	Females per 1,000 males.
Rangoon ...	68,900	71,757	- 2,857	1,041
Burma outside Rangoon ...	30,524	25,248	5,276	827
India proper ...	155,177	26,530	128,647	171
China ...	12,528	4,337	8,191	346
Elsewhere ...	3,934	1,480	2,454	376
Total ...	271,063	129,352	141,711	477

excess of males, the ratio being 827 compared with 666 in 1911. The bulk of the excess of males is provided by immigrants from India who are responsible for a surplus of 128,647 males. The sex-ratio for immigrants from India is 171 and is practically the same as the ratio in 1911, namely 174. Immigrants from China furnish a surplus of 8,191 males but the sex disparity is not so great as in the case of the immigrants from India.

The sex-ratio in Mandalay City is 905, the ratios for the municipality and cantonment being 932 and 661, respectively. The sex-ratios for some



of the racial classes in the municipality are given in marginal

Race.	Males.	Females.	Excess males.	Females per 1,000 males.
Burmese ...	50,295	52,586	- 2,291	1,046
Other Indigenous Races ...	1,670	1,863	- 193	1,116
Chinese ...	1,388	706	682	509
Indians ...	10,533	3,321	7,212	315
Indo-Burman Races ...	5,076	5,898	- 822	1,162
Others ...	887	727	160	820
Total ...	69,849	65,101	4,748	932

table 10. It will be seen that among the indigenous races there is an excess of females, the excess of males in the total population being entirely due to the presence of immigrant races, particularly Indians. The sex-ratio for Burmese, namely 1,046 is the same as in the rest of the province. It is pointed out in paragraph 110 of the 1921 Census Report that one might have expected an excess of males among the

Buddhists owing to the large number of Buddhist monasteries. This probably accounts for the small percentage of females in the age-group 15—35 for Burmese shown in marginal table 11. Among those aged 35 and over there is a large excess of females, the sex ratio being 1,192, while for those aged 45 and over the sex-ratio is 1,287, *i.e.*, 9 females to 7 males. The fact that there is not an excess of males for all ages would appear therefore to be due to the large percentage of females in the higher age-groups. This has been a feature of the Burmese or Buddhists of Mandalay for the last few censuses and the reason for it is not apparent.

Age-group.	Females per 1,000 males.
All ages ...	1,046
0—15 ...	1,025
15—35 ...	957
35 and over ...	1,192

**56. Fertility.**—This was a separate enquiry and not connected with the census in any way. The form of the schedule in which the information was collected is given below.

- NAME OF CENTRE.....
1. Serial Number.....
  2. Wife's age \*.....
  3. Husband's age \*.....
  4. Husband's occupation.....
  5. Husband's race.....
  6. Duration of married life \*.....
  7. Sex of first child and whether  
born alive or still-born.....
  8. Number of children born alive.....
  9. Number of children still living.....
  10. Ages of children still living \*.....

\* In completed years.

The form of the schedule and the agency for the collection of the information was discussed with the Director of Public Health (Lt.-Col. G. G. Jolly, I.M.S.). It was decided to get the schedules filled in by the visitors attached to the infant welfare centres at Rangoon, Mandalay, Maymyo and Thayetmyo and this was arranged through the Public Health Department. Figures have been compiled only for families in which the husband was Burmese since the number of families in which the husband belonged to other races was too small to give satisfactory averages. Altogether 1,469 schedules were collected and of these 1,153 were accepted, the remainder being rejected owing to errors of various kinds or because the husband was not Burmese. This is a small number and the results are therefore subject to errors due to the smallness of the sample. In practically all the families the wife had recently had a child and very few of the returns represent completed fertility cases.



Marginal table 12 deals with the sex-ratio of the first born. There is apparently a higher percentage of males among the first born than among those born subsequently. This is in accordance with the results of similar investigations elsewhere. The problem of sex-determination has not yet been solved. According to Dr. Crew\* the male elaborates two forms of sperm in equal numbers in the majority of cases and these two forms do not appear to be equally functional, the male determining spermatozoon being more efficient in the act of fertilization than the female determining. Thus far more males are conceived—estimated at 170 males per 100 females (see paragraph 53)—but far more males than females perish during the period between conception and parturition, and it is this selective elimination of the males which leads to the establishment of a sex-ratio of approximate equality at birth. The activities of ante-natal clinics, in so far as they reduce the number of miscarriages, are therefore likely to cause an increase in the percentage of males born. According to some investigators the ovum may also play an important part in determining the sex, while it is commonly held that in times of war and stress a bigger proportion of males is born than in times of peace.

It will be noticed that the proportion of females born is much smaller for Thayetmyo than for the other three centres. The reason is not apparent. It may be partly due to the smallness of the sample or to errors in the schedules but it seems unlikely that there could be any mistake about the sex of the first born. The recent rebellion in that district may perhaps have had something to do with it.

The results of similar enquiries in Baroda State at the 1921 and 1931 censuses showed that the sex of the first child influences the sex of the subsequent children; at the 1931 enquiry 61 per cent of the families in which the first born was a girl showed a predominance of females and 75 per cent of the families in which the first born was a boy showed a predominance of males. In the schedule used in this province the sex of all the children was not entered as it was necessary to make the filling in of the schedules as easy as possible. At future enquiries of this nature in the province it is suggested that this information should, if possible, be obtained.

In marginal table 13 the families have been classified according to the occupation of the husband.

Owing to the small number of schedules the occupations have been classified into skilled, unskilled, clerical, petty traders and others. The size of the families cannot be said to be representative of Burmese families in towns. There seems to have been a tendency for the younger married women to have asked for the advice of the welfare societies, the average duration of marriage for the 1,153 families being only 8·8 years.

The ease with which Burmese women switch over from one husband to another should also be borne in mind, the particulars in the schedules referring only to the present marriage and not to any previous union. The proportion

Name of Centre.	Number of females first born.	Number of males first born.	Number of females first born per thousand males first born.	Number of slips examined.
Rangoon ...	111	132	841	243
Maymyo ...	66	80	825	146
Mandalay ...	264	327	807	591
Thayetmyo ...	59	114	518	173
Total ...	500	653	766	1,153

Occupation of Husband.	Number of families examined.	Total number of children born alive.	Average per family.	Number of children surviving.	Proportion of surviving to total thousand born.
Skilled ...	236	859	3·64	540	629
Unskilled ...	417	1,540	3·69	849	551
Clerical ...	246	826	3·36	573	694
Petty traders ...	170	760	4·47	426	561
Others ...	84	324	3·86	161	497
Total ...	1,153	4,309	3·74	2,549	592

\* See his paper referred to in the foot-note on page 89.



surviving appears to be least in the largest families. This is in accordance with general experience. The proportion is least for "Others" who were mostly unemployed. The clerical classes have perhaps the highest standard of living and for them the number of children born was least and the proportion surviving greatest.

The age of wife at marriage was obtained by subtracting the figure for the

14. Average size of family correlated with age of wife at marriage.					
Age of wife at marriage.	Number of families.	Number of children born alive.	Average observed	Number of children surviving.	Average observed
Under 13 ...	4	16	4.00	7	1.75
13—14 ...	60	222	3.70	126	2.10
15—19 ...	699	2,765	3.96	1,588	2.27
20—29 ...	366	1,232	3.37	774	2.11
30 and over ...	24	74	3.08	54	2.25
Total ...	1,153	4,309	3.74	2,549	2.21

duration of marriage in line 6 of the schedule from the age of the wife in line 2. Both these figures are subject to considerable errors. In future enquiries of this kind in Burma it might be better to ask for the age of the wife at marriage rather than the duration of marriage since married women have probably a better idea of the age at which they were married than of the time they have been married. It will be seen from marginal table 14

that about two-thirds of the women were married before they were 20; 90 per cent of them were married before they were 25 (not shown in the table).

15. Size of family by duration of marriage.			
Duration of marriage.	Number of families.	Number of children born alive.	Average number of children.
Under 10 years ...	720	1,680	2.33
10 ...	75	328	4.37
11—19 ...	269	1,575	5.86
20—31 ...	80	681	8.51
32 ...	1	3	3.00
33 and over ...	8	42	5.25

In marginal table 15 the size of the family is correlated with the duration of marriage. The fertility appears to be greatest during the first ten years of married life, when the average appears to be one child every two years. During the next ten years the average is one child every three or four years and during the following ten years one every four years. For marriages of 32 years duration or more the number of families is too small for the average to be of any use.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Number of females per 1,000 males in 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931 for districts and natural divisions.*

NOTE.—In each year the ratios given for each district are for the district as it was constituted in that year.

District and Natural Division.	1931.		1921.		1911.		1901.	
	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.	Actual population.	Natural population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	958	1,025	955	1,026	959	1,028	964	1,027
<b>Burman</b> ...	958	1,030	952	1,029	953	1,031	957	1,029
<i>Della</i> ...	896	1,015	877	1,008	874	1,010	865	993
Rangoon ...	477	984	445	976	409	963	418	982
Insein ...	888	1,022	869	1,003	877	1,005	874	985
Hanthawaddy ...	867	1,005	814	985	794	1,005	823	985
Tharrawaddy ...	1,013	1,055	1,000	1,051	1,001	1,035	967	1,010
Pegu ...	929	1,023	894	998	865	1,009	848	982
Bassein ...	955	1,026	935	1,016	944	1,003	919	999
Henzada ...	1,019	1,036	1,015	1,034	1,014	1,032	1,005	1,016
Myaungmya ...	887	1,004	883	1,010	897	1,002	907	988
Maubin ...	968	1,033	959	1,008	952	1,020	853	993
Pyapon ...	861	963	844	997	834	1,027	943	979
Toungoo ...	949	1,001	934	1,004	964	986	943	979
Thaton ...	937	983	916	975	915	989	906	978
<i>Coast</i> ...	922	991	906	990	892	976	880	983
Akyab ...	877	965	862	973	830	944	797	950
Kyaukpyn ...	1,045	1,051	1,070	1,055	1,064	1,070	1,082	1,062
Sandoway ...	1,013	1,040	1,026	1,045	997	1,009	955	994
Amherst ...	907	982	871	964	854	963	831	968
Tavoy ...	943	994	936	995	970	984	1,015	1,008
Mergui ...	900	991	859	988	871	954	917	984
<i>Centre</i> ...	1,047	1,061	1,059	1,064	1,072	1,077	1,093	1,070
Prome ...	1,021	1,051	1,033	1,046	1,034	1,046	1,049	1,043
Thayetmyo ...	1,022	1,028	1,039	1,032	1,031	1,029	1,015	1,023
Pakokku ...	1,070	1,055	1,080	1,059	1,090	1,061	1,124	1,092
Minbu ...	1,033	1,046	1,039	1,039	1,048	1,052	1,088	1,045
Magwe ...	992	1,037	999	1,034	1,037	1,047	1,076	1,042
Mandalay ...	938	1,051	949	1,033	990	1,028	998	1,023
Kyaukse ...	1,021	1,046	1,025	1,044	1,054	1,054	1,037	1,049
Meiktila ...	1,106	1,083	1,107	1,091	1,082	1,080	1,116	1,087
Yamethin ...	1,011	1,047	1,008	1,046	1,009	1,035	1,023	1,041
Myingyan ...	1,066	1,054	1,072	1,056	1,091	1,070	1,145	1,080
Shwebo ...	1,086	1,077	1,118	1,103	1,120	1,096	1,140	1,086
Sagaing ...	1,101	1,087	1,108	1,090	1,111	1,086	1,138	1,104
Lower Chindwin ...	1,148	1,121	1,188	1,147	1,238	1,204	1,266	1,108
<i>North</i> ...	968	1,029	957	1,024	936	1,012	949	1,037
Bhamo ...	1,020	1,089	986	1,059	941	1,050	914	1,036
Myitkyina ...	887	998	867	1,026	787	979	854	980
Katha ...	1,003	1,042	975	1,017	959	1,035	991	1,055
Upper Chindwin ...	965	999	979	1,014	987	984	1,003	1,034
<b>Chin</b> ...	1,039	1,044	1,024	1,030	1,026	1,045	1,007	1,034
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	942	969	938	965	949	987	959	999
Chin Hills ...	1,052	1,053	1,034	1,036	1,041	1,057	1,002	1,043
<b>Salween</b> ...	956	1,022	972	1,028	961	...	963	...
Salween ...	900	954	879	951	883	915	943	998
Karenni ...	1,009	1,090	1,051	1,089	1,022	...	1,020	...
<b>Shan</b> ...	948	988	974	1,002	998	1,014	1,018	1,014
Northern Shan States ...	921	993	958	1,014	987	1,016	981	1,012
Southern Shan States ...	969	984	985	994	1,005	1,011	1,023	...



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by race at each of the last three censuses.**

NOTE.—Races in groups A to O (see Imperial Table XVII) have been regarded as indigenous for the purpose of calculating the ratios in column 5; the ratios in columns 6 and 7 have been calculated from the figures for Buddhists.

Age.	All Races.			Indigenous Races.		
1	1931	1921	1911	1931	1921	1911
2	3	4	5	6	7	
0—1	1,054	1,042	1,059	1,058	1,047	1,067
1—2	1,053	1,036	1,041	1,058	1,040	1,041
2—3	1,037	1,055	1,041	1,042	1,064	1,045
3—4	1,023	1,023	1,026	1,028	1,029	1,027
4—5	1,025	1,037	1,041	1,032	1,045	1,046
0—5	1,038	1,038	1,040	1,044	1,045	1,044
5—10	983	1,009	1,007	994	1,018	1,021
10—15	964	938	928	986	963	950
15—20	1,037	1,047	1,037	1,128	1,110	1,108
20—25	1,025	996	988	1,161	1,122	1,149
25—30	896	903	902	1,042	1,059	1,073
0—30	993	991	987	1,051	1,046	1,046
30—40	842	821	833	969	954	923
40—50	885	878	889	984	973	981
50—60	955	968	993	1,018	1,037	1,051
60 and over	999	1,028	1,076	1,045	1,072	1,116
Total 30 and over	895	894	915	994	994	1,003
Total all ages, Actual population	958	955	959	1,031	1,027	1,031
Total all ages, Natural population	1,025	1,026	1,028	...	...	...

**SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Number of females per 1,000 males at different age-periods by race and natural division.**

Natural Division.	Detailed age-groups.							Larger age-groups.			All ages.	
1	0—5	5—10	10—15	15—20	20—40	40—60	60 and over	0—20	20—40	40 and over	Actual population.	Natural population.
2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	
<b>ALL RACES.</b>												
<b>PROVINCE</b>	1,038	983	964	1,037	908	913	999	1,005	908	933	958	1,025
<b>Burman</b>	1,041	984	964	1,034	907	918	989	1,006	907	935	958	1,030
Delta	1,044	977	937	973	824	825	818	985	824	823	896	1,015
Coast	1,001	953	928	1,016	879	851	914	974	879	866	922	991
Centre	1,057	1,005	1,010	1,114	1,024	1,060	1,170	1,043	1,024	1,089	1,047	1,061
North	1,020	982	970	1,045	927	909	1,129	1,004	927	956	968	1,029
<b>Chin</b>	1,054	956	931	1,118	1,111	986	1,037	1,012	1,111	996	1,039	1,044
<b>Salween</b>	991	946	966	1,127	941	865	938	998	941	879	956	1,022
<b>Shan</b>	1,021	976	970	1,052	896	862	1,087	1,003	896	914	948	988
<b>BURMESE.</b>												
<b>PROVINCE</b>	1,055	1,001	994	1,135	1,062	1,027	1,052	1,041	1,062	1,033	1,046	...
<b>Burman</b>	1,056	1,001	994	1,135	1,064	1,029	1,053	1,041	1,064	1,035	1,047	...
Delta	1,053	994	970	1,120	1,045	956	872	1,029	1,045	936	1,014	...
Coast	1,018	990	975	1,091	1,005	935	966	1,014	1,005	942	996	...
Centre	1,061	1,008	1,016	1,151	1,088	1,101	1,188	1,053	1,088	1,125	1,079	...
North	1,026	976	980	1,117	962	902	1,020	1,020	962	929	981	...
<b>Chin</b>	1,364	1,000	778	1,167	520	333	1,000	1,083	520	375	753	...
<b>Salween</b>	962	886	873	1,048	628	411	326	936	628	393	684	...
<b>Shan</b>	1,010	993	1,016	1,049	747	631	754	1,015	747	656	826	...
<b>OTHER INDIGENOUS RACES.</b>												
<b>PROVINCE</b>	1,023	981	970	1,114	1,010	944	1,032	1,016	1,010	965	1,004	...
<b>Burman</b>	1,021	983	969	1,110	1,018	958	1,002	1,015	1,018	969	1,006	...
Delta	1,049	1,000	976	1,129	1,019	945	886	1,033	1,019	930	1,007	...
Coast	997	965	957	1,111	1,016	949	1,018	1,000	1,016	965	997	...
Centre	1,043	991	1,015	1,026	944	985	1,083	1,020	944	1,008	992	...
North	1,019	996	977	1,083	1,041	1,017	1,270	1,016	1,041	1,072	1,035	...
<b>Chin</b>	1,055	958	931	1,125	1,129	1,000	1,047	1,014	1,129	1,009	1,048	...
<b>Salween</b>	993	948	972	1,186	1,019	920	980	1,010	1,019	931	998	...
<b>Shan</b>	1,026	982	979	1,117	979	905	1,098	1,021	979	952	993	...



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Number of females per 1,000 males for selected races.*

NOTE.—The ratios in this table have been calculated from the figures in Imperial Table VIII and refer to the total of the areas mentioned in column 2 of that table for the race in question. The ages are the ages at the nearest birthday.

Race.	All ages.	0—6	7—13	14—16	17—23	24—43	44 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Arakanese and Yanbye ...	1,021	1,009	952	1,003	1,157	966	1,102
Tavoyan ...	1,013	990	973	860	1,228	1,018	979
Merguese ...	1,001	1,001	973	984	1,172	1,005	906
Chin Group ...	1,059	1,063	921	972	1,198	1,121	1,022
Kachin ...	1,092	1,007	924	846	1,216	1,138	1,320
Shan ...	989	1,013	985	1,092	1,205	906	940
Mon (Talaing) ...	982	1,012	906	936	1,157	988	907
Palaung ...	1,000	1,052	953	1,003	1,125	940	1,003
Sgaw Karen ...	992	1,009	971	968	1,180	969	912
Pwo Karen ...	1,018	1,026	988	963	1,245	981	942
Taungthu ...	1,006	1,032	964	963	1,186	984	947
Arakan Mahomedan ...	977	1,056	1,024	924	1,312	869	761
Telugu ...	195	998	552	243	193	139	131

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*Actual number of births and deaths reported for each sex during the decades 1911—1920 and 1921—1930.*

NOTE.—The figures in this table refer to the Registration Area, which covers practically the whole of the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions of the Burman natural division.

Year.	Number of Births.		Number of Deaths.		Excess of Births over Deaths.	Excess of male over female births.	Excess of male over female deaths.	Number of female births per 1,000 male births.	Number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Total 1911—1920	1,693,643	1,600,171	1,427,363	1,285,791	580,660	93,472	141,572	945	901
1911 ...	165,508	156,948	132,286	115,396	74,774	8,560	16,890	948	872
1912 ...	163,516	153,138	141,975	124,514	50,165	10,378	17,461	937	877
1913 ...	165,626	155,770	130,731	115,597	75,068	9,856	15,134	940	884
1914 ...	179,837	169,046	125,655	112,173	111,055	10,791	13,482	940	893
1915 ...	177,575	168,675	144,674	131,175	70,401	8,900	13,499	950	907
1916 ...	171,133	161,094	124,853	111,381	95,993	10,039	13,472	941	892
1917 ...	183,217	172,919	131,117	117,484	107,535	10,298	13,633	944	896
1918 ...	166,426	157,882	197,273	191,633	-64,598	8,544	5,640	949	971
1919 ...	150,618	143,054	161,967	143,494	-11,789	7,564	18,473	950	886
1920 ...	170,187	161,645	136,832	122,944	72,056	8,542	13,888	950	809
Total 1921—1930	1,528,768	1,451,528	1,194,247	1,070,591	715,458	77,240	123,656	949	896
1921 ...	164,977	156,569	122,480	108,564	90,502	8,408	13,916	949	886
1922 ...	163,686	156,088	127,449	111,999	80,326	7,598	15,450	954	879
1923 ...	164,081	155,328	119,505	106,378	93,526	8,753	13,127	947	890
1924 ...	152,861	143,724	122,951	110,215	63,419	9,137	12,736	940	896
1925 ...	141,302	133,342	106,984	95,949	71,711	7,960	11,035	944	897
1926 ...	152,490	146,064	118,943	107,516	72,095	6,426	11,427	958	904
1927 ...	138,976	132,426	112,498	99,045	59,859	6,550	13,453	953	880
1928 ...	143,426	136,488	121,436	108,886	49,592	6,938	12,550	952	897
1929 ...	146,787	139,215	125,436	113,276	47,290	7,572	12,160	948	903
1930 ...	160,182	152,284	116,565	108,763	87,138	7,898	7,802	951	933

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—*Actual number of deaths reported for each sex at different ages for the decade 1921—30 and selected years thereof.*

NOTE.—The figures in this table cover the same area as Subsidiary Table V.

Age.	1922.		1925.		1930.		Total deaths, 1921—1930.		Average number of female deaths per 1,000 male deaths.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	1921—1930.	1911—1920.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Under one year	32,094	27,161	28,086	23,820	33,906	29,292	315,893	268,430	850	825
1—5 ...	14,986	14,512	13,074	12,878	14,309	14,739	145,369	144,237	992	982
5—10 ...	6,374	6,425	5,155	5,194	5,531	5,541	59,459	59,026	993	958
10—15 ...	4,659	4,119	3,620	3,240	3,179	2,885	39,384	35,587	904	901
15—20 ...	5,635	5,160	4,289	4,163	3,950	3,845	48,451	45,358	936	956
20—30 ...	11,720	10,920	9,777	9,383	9,122	9,701	106,856	103,569	969	980
30—40 ...	12,106	10,126	9,917	8,266	9,708	8,916	109,598	92,045	840	850
40—50 ...	10,945	7,887	8,664	6,436	8,713	7,115	97,826	72,114	737	768
50—60 ...	9,618	7,486	7,729	6,286	8,606	7,255	88,483	71,340	806	845
60 and over ...	19,312	18,203	16,673	16,283	19,541	19,474	182,928	178,885	973	1,027
All Ages ...	127,449	111,999	106,984	95,949	116,565	108,763	1,194,247	1,070,591	896	901



## CHAPTER VI.

### Civil Condition.

**57. Statistical References.**—Next to sex the most important classification of the inhabitants of a country is according to civil condition, *i.e.*, whether they are unmarried, married, widowed or divorced. In some countries, *e.g.*, England and Wales, separate figures are compiled for divorced persons but for the census of India divorced persons who have not re-married are regarded as widowed. Instructions were issued to enumerators that persons who were recognised as married should be recorded as married and that prostitutes who were not recognised as married should be recorded as unmarried.

The statistics of civil condition are given in Imperial Tables VII and VIII. It has already been mentioned in paragraph 42 of Chapter IV that figures have been given in Imperial Table VII for racial classes, and not for religions, as at the last census; figures for civil condition have been omitted from Part III of the table (in which figures are given for towns), in the interests of economy. The following subsidiary tables appended to this Chapter have also been compiled :—

- I.—Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 of each sex and main age-period for (1) All Races and (2) Indigenous Races at each of the last five censuses.
- II.—Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages for each Natural Division for (1) All Races and (2) Burmese.
- III.—Distribution by main age-periods and Civil Condition of 10,000 of each sex for selected Race-Groups.
- IV.—Ratio of females per 1,000 males in each Civil Condition and in certain age-periods for selected Race-Groups in the whole province and for Burmese and Other Indigenous Races in each natural division.
- V.—Distribution by Civil Condition of 10,000 of each sex at certain age-periods for selected Races in selected areas.

**58. Accuracy of the Statistics.**—The method of compilation of the figures for Imperial Table VII has already been explained in paragraph 42 of Chapter IV. Although this method of compilation may be satisfactory for the figures for the total population it is very unsatisfactory for the figures for each civil condition. For instance, in compiling the figures for the five-yearly groups half the number of persons in the (unadjusted) age-group 14—16 (between 13½ and 16½ completed years) were taken to have completed 15 years and included in the age-group 15—20, and the other half were included in the age-group 10—15. This may be approximately correct in the case of the figures for the total population but it is very far from correct in the case of the figures for married persons since the majority of married persons in the unadjusted age-group 14—16 will have completed 15 years. Thus a comparison with the figures for previous censuses is vitiated unless figures are taken for very large groups. In Imperial Table VIII and in Subsidiary Table V of this Chapter figures have been given for the unadjusted age-groups. Attention is also invited to paragraph 42 of Chapter IV in which formulæ are given for obtaining figures for the unadjusted age-groups from those for the five-yearly groups.

**59. Proportion of Population Married.**—Marginal table 1 shows the proportion in each civil condition for each sex in England and Wales, in India and amongst the indigenous races and Buddhists in Burma. The indigenous races of Burma include races in groups A to O (see Imperial Table XVII). It will be noticed that there is a small proportion of married persons in Burma as compared with India. In the words of the 1911 Census Report for Burma "marriage is a religious sacrament amongst the Hindus,



the neglect of which is followed by evil consequences. A Hindu must marry and beget children to perform his funeral rites lest his spirit wander uneasily in the waste places of the earth. If a Hindu maiden is unmarried at puberty, she is a source of social obloquy to her family and of damnation to her ancestors. In the case of Mahomedans and

1. Civil Condition of 1,000 of each sex.				
Country.	Sex.	Un-married.	Married.	Widowed.
Indigenous Races in Burma, 1931.	Males ...	570	382	48
	Females	522	372	106
Buddhists in Burma, 1921 ...	Males ...	568	379	53
	Females	512	373	115
India proper, 1931 ...	Males ...	476	471	54
	Females	345	498	157
England and Wales, 1921 ...	Males ...	550	414	36
	Females	535	383	82
England and Wales, 1911 ...	Males ...	592	372	35
	Females	571	356	73

Animists in India, though the religious sanction is wanting, the marriage state is equally common, partly owing to Hindu example and partly to the conditions of life in primitive society where a wife is almost a necessity, both as a domestic drudge and as a helpmate in field work." Conditions are very different among the indigenous races in Burma and this accounts for the fact that for every 1,000 males 570 are unmarried in Burma compared with 476 in India proper; for females the difference is more striking as there are only 345 unmarried females per thousand in India proper compared with 522 in Burma. There are similar differences among the married; 382 males per 1,000 among the indigenous races in Burma are married compared with 471 in India proper, the proportions for females being 372 and 498, respectively. There is a big difference between the proportions of widows, the figures for India and Burma being 157 and 106, respectively. The large number of widows in India is partly due to the early age at which Indians are married, partly to the disparity between the ages of husbands and wives and partly to the prejudice against the re-marriage of widows. Among the indigenous races of Burma there does not appear to be any such restriction.

It will be noticed that the figures for the proportions of unmarried, married and widowed among the indigenous races of Burma in 1931 are not appreciably different from those for Buddhists in 1921; such changes as there are may be due to changes in the age-distribution of the population.

The proportions for the indigenous races in Burma are very similar to those in England and Wales, the proportions for married being greater than those in England and Wales in 1911 but less than those in 1921. The abnormally large proportion of married persons in England and Wales in 1921 was due to the sudden increase in the marriage rates which took place after the war.

**60. Marriage and Age.**—Figures showing the proportions of the population that were unmarried, married and widowed at the last five censuses are given in Subsidiary Table I. Figures have been given in that table for All Races and for Indigenous Races. Races in groups A to O (see Imperial Table XVII) have been taken to be indigenous for the purpose of calculating the figures for 1931; for previous censuses the figures for indigenous races have been calculated from the figures for Buddhists. The figures for 1931 cannot, however, be compared with those for previous censuses owing to the difference in the method of compiling the figures for the various age-groups (see paragraph 58 of this Chapter). For instance, the number of males per 1,000 in the age-group 15—20 who were married was 63 in 1891, 75 in 1901, 78 in 1911 and 69 in 1921 but for 1931 the figure is 184. Similarly, at previous censuses the number of females per 1,000 in the age-group 15—20 who were married was roundabout 250 or 260 but for 1931 the number is 366. It is impossible therefore to say whether there has been any change in the tendency to marry during the last decade. Figures could be given for the unadjusted age-groups in 1931 but comparable figures are not available for previous censuses.

A comparison can, however, be made between the proportions of the population married at different ages in India and Burma. The figures in marginal table 2 have been compiled from the figures for the five-yearly groups by means of the formulæ given in paragraph 42 of Chapter IV. The



age-group 14—16 includes persons who had completed 13½ years but had not completed 16½

2. Married persons per 1,000 of each sex in 1931.						
Race or Religion and Province.	Sex.	Age nearest birthday.				
		0—6.	7—13.	14—16.	17—23.	24—43.
Burmese in Burma ...	Males ...	...	...	9	267	773
	Females ...	...	...	47	471	754
Indian Hindus in Burma ...	Males ...	3	22	102	372	689
	Females ...	2	37	419	810	855
Indian Muslims in Burma ...	Males ...	...	7	154	305	692
	Females ...	...	18	410	775	823
Hindus in Bengal ...	Males ...	17	55	192	482	859
	Females ...	32	375	842	876	677
Muslims in Bengal ...	Males ...	25	113	333	646	928
	Females ...	74	441	895	948	795
Hindus in Bihar and Orissa ...	Males ...	39	226	459	671	876
	Females ...	64	380	773	919	806

years ; the other age-groups have a similar interpretation. According to this table about 38 per cent of the Hindu females in the age-group 7—13 in Bengal and Bihar and Orissa were returned as married, the proportion for Muslim

females in Bengal in the same age-group being still higher, namely 44 per cent. Even in the age-group 0—6 the proportion married is appreciable. The problem of infant or child marriage does not exist among the Burmese, the proportion married for females in the age-group 7—13 being less than one per thousand. In the age-group 14—16 about 84 per cent of the Hindu females in Bengal, 77 per cent of the Hindu females in Bihar and Orissa, and nearly 90 per cent of the Muslim females in Bengal were returned as married, compared with less than 5 per cent for Burmese females. Less than 1 per cent of Burmese males in the age-group 14—16 were recorded as married. In the age-group 17—23 the proportion married among Burmese males is slightly more than one quarter but for Burmese females the proportion is nearly one half. As pointed out in paragraph 117 of the 1921 Census Report, 17 or 18 is about the earliest age at which females marry in considerable numbers ; males generally wait two or three years longer.

It will be noticed from marginal table 2 that in the lower age-groups the proportion married for Indian Hindus and Muslims in Burma is much higher than for Burmese but much less than for Hindus and Muslims in India proper.

Figures for England and Wales are not available for the age-groups given in marginal table 2 but for the purposes of comparison it might be mentioned that among those aged 15 to 19 at the 1921 census only 4 per thousand of the males and 18 per thousand of the females were married. For those between 20 and 24 the proportions were 177 and 270, respectively.

**61. Widows and Widowers.**—There is no custom among the indigenous races of Burma preventing the re-marriage of widows. On the contrary, among some of the hill tribes, e.g., Chins and Kachins, there

3. Widowed per 1,000 of each sex in 1931.						
Race or Religion and Province.	Sex.	Age at nearest birthday.				
		7—13.	14—16.	17—23.	24—43.	44 and over.
Burmese in Burma ...	Males ...	...	...	10	44	178
	Females ...	...	3	29	95	413
Hindus in Bengal ...	Males ...	1	3	9	48	186
	Females ...	12	48	98	314	756
Muslims in Bengal ...	Males ...	1	4	10	29	93
	Females ...	7	22	35	199	718
Hindus in Bihar and Orissa ...	Males ...	6	13	22	60	200
	Females ...	11	24	42	185	630

is a custom for the widow to be compulsorily married to one of the husband's relations. There is, however, a marked difference between the proportions of widows and widowers at different ages. This can be

seen by glancing at Subsidiary Table V. In India the prohibition of re-marriage of widows is regarded by Hindus as a badge of respectability, particularly among the higher castes. The Muslims also share this prejudice to some



extent although the re-marriage of widows is permitted by their religion. This is largely responsible for the high proportion of widows shown for both Hindus and Muslims in marginal table 3. Another reason is the custom of marrying girls in India before they reach physical maturity, and often to men who are much older. This results in a large number of child widows. The effect of early marriage on the proportion of widows can also be seen in Subsidiary Table V; it will be noticed that the Arakanese and Yanbye, Kachins, Shans and Arakan Mahomedans who marry early—compared with other indigenous races—have also high proportions of widows.

**62. Marriage and Race.**—The proportions of the population who are unmarried, married and widowed are given for selected races in Subsidiary Table V. It is pointed out in paragraph 118 of the 1921 Census Report that differences in these proportions between one race and another may be due to differences in the age-distribution, while in paragraph 150 of the 1911 Census Report it is stated that intermarriage with other races and racial instability leading to nominal changes of race are disturbances which prevent reliable conclusions being drawn from the data collected. But there are a few differences which are probably too large to be due to any of the above causes. Figures for the proportion married at certain ages are given for a few races in marginal table 4. It will be noticed in the age-group 14—16 that 465 per 1,000 of the Arakan Mahomedan females and 141 per 1,000 of the Arakanese and Yanbye females are married, compared with only 47 per 1,000 for Burmese females. In India the proportion of females married in this age-group is probably between 800 and 900 per 1,000. In the age-group 17—23 the proportion married among females of the Arakan Mahomedans and Arakanese and Yanbye is much higher than among Burmese females. As pointed out in the 1921 Census Report, in this respect as in many others the conditions of Arakan correspond to its geographical position between India and Burma. According to the figures for the age-groups 14—16 and 17—23 Kachins and Shans appear to marry at an earlier age than the Burmese. The reason for the small proportion of Mon (Talaing) females in the age-group 14—16 is not apparent. Intermarriage with other races, particularly Burmese, and racial instability may be responsible. The low proportions for the Sgaw Karen and Pwo Karens may be due to their exclusiveness and to their restrictions of marriage to persons of their own race. This does not apply to the Taungthus for whom the proportions are appreciably large, particularly for the age-group 14—16.

The figures in marginal table 4 for Chinese refer only to Divisional Burma, so that most of the Yunnanese are excluded. The low proportion of married among Chinese males is presumably due to the scarcity of Chinese females; intermarriage with females of indigenous races prevents the proportion from being still lower. The proportion of Chinese females who are married does not differ appreciably from the proportion for Burmese females. Owing to the scarcity of Chinese females one would have expected a larger proportion. According to the 1921 Census Report the reason may be that Chinamen prefer the genuine article born in China and are ready to postpone marriage until they can return to China.

**63. Marriage Customs.**—A description of marriage customs in Burma is given in the beginning of Chapter VII of the 1911 Census Report, where

4. Married persons per 1,000 of each sex.

Race.	Sex.	Age at nearest birthday.		
		14—16.	17—23.	24—43.
Burmese ...	Males ...	9	267	773
	Females ...	47	471	754
Arakanese and Yanbye ...	Males ...	15	333	830
	Females ...	141	632	796
Arakan Mahomedan ...	Males ...	14	401	817
	Females ...	465	821	838
Kachin ...	Males ...	42	235	722
	Females ...	124	507	717
Shan ...	Males ...	16	242	720
	Females ...	181	610	782
Mon (Talaing) ...	Males ...	4	236	806
	Females ...	20	462	819
Sgaw Karen ...	Males ...	6	141	690
	Females ...	35	342	727
Pwo Karen ...	Males ...	8	206	749
	Females ...	27	379	785
Taungthu ...	Males ...	22	208	748
	Females ...	95	511	766
Chinese ...	Males ...	26	175	621
	Females ...	40	500	797

is given in the beginning of Chapter VII of the 1911 Census Report, where



reference is also made to the marital peculiarities of hill-tribes, who still lead a primitive existence due to the remoteness of the tracts occupied by them. There is a general similarity between the customs prevalent among the Burmese, Shans and Mons (Talaings). Broadly speaking, the young people of these races, particularly among the agricultural or labouring classes, have the liberty of choosing their future wives or husbands. The marriage ceremony consists essentially of a mutual agreement to be man and wife, sometimes not even performed in the presence of elders, which is considered more orthodox. Among the upper or wealthier classes, marriages are frequently arranged by parents and a *Ponna* (Manipuri astrologer) officiates. Both bride and bridegroom, after "shiko-ing" to the assembled guests, their parents and the *Ponna*, are blessed by the officiating *Ponna*, very much as in a Christian ceremony, and the "hand-clasping" (လက်ဆွဲ) is performed by the *Ponna* who afterwards sprinkles both bride and bridegroom with holy water (အိမ်နီရဲ). Fortune-tellers are usually consulted with a view to fixing an auspicious date for the ceremony. There is no such thing as a marriage ceremony being held in or at any religious edifice. There is a modern tendency among these wealthier classes, resembling the practice prevailing in Bengal, for the bride's parents to bargain for a husband possessing a satisfactory social status. The bridegroom's parents are reimbursed for the cost of his higher education by the other party who also often provide a dowry. Generally, however, there exists considerable freedom in marriage matters, which is in strong contrast with the conditions prevalent among the caste-ridden peoples of India.

Divorce is equally as simple as marriage among the Burmese, Shans and Mons and requires only the sanction of the village-headman or elders, who also supervise the proper distribution of the worldly goods of the couple, the wife possessing certain well-recognised rights. There are no external indications of a woman's civil condition, whether married, divorced or widowed. Her name undergoes no change at marriage and she wears no wedding ring or other outward symbol, though there is a modern tendency to adopt the wedding ring as a distinguishing badge.

Polygamy is practised among most of the races in Burma but among the Burmese it does not thrive, due perhaps to the independent character of the Burmese woman, though the influence of Buddhism has been ascribed as a reason. The economic factor undoubtedly exerts the same adverse influence as it does in other polygamous countries. The wealthier classes of Burmese sometimes have a second or "lesser" wife, but rarely more than two. The practice was certainly much more common in the times of the Burmese kings, when autocratic rule, even in the household, was the order of the day. Some of the Sawbwas and Chiefs, with whom tradition dies hard, have several wives. Among the Kachins it is not usual for a man to take more than two wives, but sometimes he cannot help it since successive brothers must take over a deceased elder brother's widows. Where, however, a man is saddled with more than he can support it is permissible for him to make an arrangement for a still younger brother or even a stranger to take the widow. In the case of childless marriages among the Kachins a second wife is encouraged. The reason is that the men require boy children to look after them in their old age and girl children to give in marriage so that they can recover what they had to pay for their own wives. The customs of the Chins are very similar to those of the Kachins. As far as is known polyandry is not practised by the indigenous races.

The practice of exogamy is found only among a few tribes in the north and west of the province. The following extract is taken from paragraph 137 of the 1911 Census Report :

"Beyond the customary restrictions imposed on persons of near blood relationship exogamy is unknown except among the Kachins, the Lisus, and, to a less degree, among the Chin tribes of the province. Even among the Chin tribes, the custom of intermarriage between neighbouring tribes is not true exogamy. It is not a prohibition of marriage within a tribe or group. It is a diplomatic arrangement for strengthening the power of the chiefs and consolidating the power of the class. A custom for the purpose of ensuring the friendship of rival villages by intermarriage can scarcely be termed exogamy in the prohibitive or restrictive sense of the term. Moreover the practice exists to a very slight degree. In the Northern portions of the Chin Hills such questions of intermarriage do not arise. Parents practically sell their daughters to be wives and they demand a certain price for them. The considerations determining marriage are purely commercial. The only question asked by the parents of the young man regarding the girl is as to how thoroughly and quickly she can clear a hill-side of weeds, or how long it takes her to plant a patch of millet. Even in the South where intermarriage with neighbouring tribes for political reasons is sometimes practised, it does not affect the whole of the population. It is principally concerned with the families of the tribal chiefs. The common



people are free to exercise their commercial instincts in their marriage arrangements, though they sometimes ape the diplomatic customs of their Chiefs."

It might also be mentioned that among the Chins child-bearing capacity and freedom from death in child-birth in the girl's family history are also important considerations.

The nature and extent of exogamy as practised by the Kachins is described in the following Note by the Rev. G. J. Geis which, although written twenty years ago, may be considered as true of conditions to-day :

"According to the Kachin folklore the five main tribes descended from their great ancestor called *Wahket Wa*. These are : Marips, Lahpai, Lahtawng, N'Hkum and Maran. From these main tribes sprang the various sub-tribes, usually some distinguished ancestor in folklore distinguished for his many wives and numerous children, so that his descendants look to him as their great ancestor rather than to the more remote ancestor who stands at the head of the main tribe. In this way the various sub-tribes originated, and so we have from the—

*Marips*—The Manam, Jasan Shadu, Hpaudaw, etc.

*Lahtawng*—N'Tau, Hpungkaw N Shu, Hkabra, Wala, Hpaujang, etc.

*Lahpai*—Hpunggan, Kadrawn, Tsumhpawng, Hkubum, Hkashang, Kara Weisau, Kumba Hkangkawng, etc.

*N'Hkum*—Share, Tsit, Sumdu, Lahtau, Ding Ga, etc.

*Maran*—Ningshan, Wayaw, Kuntung, Kumyang, etc.

"Aside from these five main tribes who trace their pedigree through *Wahket Wa* there are a few tribes who say they existed before him and do not claim *Wahket Wa* as their ancestor, such as the *Kareng* and *Hpauwe*. Originally none of these main tribes took daughters as their wives from within their own tribe, because they were considered brothers and sisters ; an exception was made with the Lahpai—they being the tribe from whom Chiefs were made were allowed to intermarry after seven generations.

"In time, however, these tribes became widely scattered, and as stated above some of the men within a tribe became renowned so that gradually these renowned families of the same tribe intermarried, so at the present time all the main tribes intermarry with the large sub-tribes or powerful families of the same tribe. A Hpungkaw Lahtawng may for instance marry a Hpaujang Lahtawng, etc. So that at present the most important question is not, is the girl whom the young man is about to marry of a marriageable tribe, but rather has her branch of the great family been far enough removed in point of time and have his parents been in the habit of taking women from that branch of the family or not. Of course the more respectable families are rather careful to observe these customs, but as no penalty follows a breach of this custom their observance has become rather lax, and many do not question much the time nor the relationship but marry whom they can secure either from sentiment or economic reasons. A sub-tribe of the Marips who live in the Hkahku country follow a rather strange custom for which they are called *Hkan Wang*. A certain number of families or even a whole village give their daughters around in a circle. A gives to B and B gives to C and C gives to D and D gives in turn to A. In each case a record is kept of the price paid for the wife, and so not more is given or asked than was asked or given when a marriage took place in the given family. In case an outsider, however, asks for a daughter from this circle or village a much higher price may be asked."

A peculiar custom may be mentioned here, countenanced by the Kachins in parts of the Myitkyina District and by the Khamis of the Arakan Hill Tracts. With the former the married girls are compelled to entertain at night visiting bachelors in a special room, called "*Nla dap*" or maidens' apartment, built in the forefront of the family home. The Kachin damsel requires much courting : innumerable songs and poems are recited and any amatory advance is considered improper until after the fire has died down to a dull glow, the girl pretending to keep it going as long as possible while the youth surreptitiously counteracts her efforts. The cave-man is her ideal very often and she surrenders with pleasure to a display of arrogant brute force, when she would be everlastingly coy in the face of polite or idealistic courtship. Among the latter tribe, the Khamis, the spinsters are segregated in a separate house or hut at nightfall, where they find mutual entertainment with the young men who call.

The following account of the marriage customs of Lahus and Kaws (Akhas) of the Lolo-Muhso group has been kindly furnished by the Reverend J. H. Telford of the American Baptist Mission, Loimwe :

"Formerly, it was customary for Lahu young people to do their 'courting' in the house and in the presence of their elders. The lovers would sit, one at either side of the fire-place, and would engage their time singing love songs to each other as follows :—The young man sings to the girl these lines ; for there is among the Lahus a standard language of courtship :—

While I was in my house  
Lying down on my bed,  
The light of you was so bright  
As it came in through my door.  
I thought it was the light of the moon  
I thought it was the light of the morning star  
I thought it was the light of the sun.



"The love poem is of great length, so long that it is only desirable here to give the substance of it in which we shall observe in the mutual fears expressed by the lovers, subtle allusions to animistic thought and beliefs. The lover goes on to say that—

He lifted his hand to his eyes  
To shade them from the light  
And whirling around three times on his heel  
He observed that the light was the light of his love.

"The poem represents the young man as saying that he has a village 'Hkasheh' or chief and he has obtained the permission of the 'Hkasheh' to visit his lady friend. He also has parents and they have given him permission to go on his journey of love. The song pictures the young man starting out and he passes through the lonely and dangerous jungle towards the village where the girl lives. He follows the rays of light and as he pursues his journey on the path before him he sees a pair of quail and upon seeing them his heart sinks; for he thinks the quail are the spirit of his lover who has suddenly died. Here the young woman speaks a word of encouragement and tells him that he should cause the quail to fly away; for the quail are not her spirit at all. She further says that he is not a cowardly man. Continuing his love adventure he comes up against other discouraging circumstances. He meets another pair of birds, a pig with a yellow tooth, a bear, a wild fowl, a crow, a big log of wood, a marble house and then seven big rivers and seven mountains. At one river there was a big and fearsome dragon that was shooting out its tongue at him. At the sight of all the different birds and animals his heart becomes fearful, for he interprets each in turn to be the spirit of the girl he loved. When he arrived at the big log he walked around it three times and felt it very difficult to separate himself from it. He wanted to take his axe and cut it up and from the wood build a house. When he saw the marble house, he said that if he were not permitted to live in it he would buy an axe from the blacksmith and with its aid he would build a house of marble. If his hands and feet should not be sufficiently strong to build a marble house, he would certainly build one of wood. Then the girl responds and says to the young man that the quail, the pair of birds, the pig with the yellow tooth, the bear, wild fowl and crow are not her spirit. Those birds and animals, she says, because they have no ground to cultivate and no stores of food are compelled to search for food wherever they can find it. You had better take your axe and from that log you saw prepare timbers and build the house. As regards the marble house, she says, if you do not live there I will not live there and her final word assures him of her acceptance of him, when she says, "Take the iron which God has created and cut down the trees and build a house and then come for me. The threatening dragons that you saw, if those made you afraid and caused your soul to flee from your body, I will take the cocks and the hens and call your soul back.

"Lahu marriages are arranged by mediators or 'go-betweens,' and the marriage ceremony is conducted by the village priest or by some responsible elder of the community. A large pig is killed and the whole village feasts on its flesh. The neck of the animal is always reserved for and eaten by the 'go-between.' The bride and bridegroom, with their faces covered with a sheet of thin white cloth, sit in the presence of the village elders and priests. The young couple are given candles and each of them lights two and sets them reverently before the elders. The priest fills a cup full to the brim of cold water and gives it to the groom to drink and when he has drunk all of it, the same cup is again filled to the brim with water from the same jug and this second cup is given to the bride to drink. Extreme care must be taken by both of them not to spill a drop of the water; for if on this occasion water is spilled, no children will be born to the young couple. When they have both finished drinking the water, the priest invokes a blessing upon them and it is significant that the request of the priest is addressed to 'G'uisha' or 'Awpa G'uisha' which means, 'Father God':

"Our Father, God, to-day these two children of thine are a pair like the sun and moon, like the stars and meteors. Let their children be plentiful as the fruit of a tree; make their life as unending as the river and rock; let the cattle under their house increase; prosper their fields and in their search for food let them discover the eternal food."

"The mating season of the Kaws is during the months of December, January and February. By the end of November their crops have been harvested and during the three months immediately following the harvest the young couple have much leisure time. The three months period, so far as weather is concerned, is the best time of the year, for there is no rain. It is the winter season, when the mornings and evenings are cold and crisp and in the daytime the heat of the sun is less fierce. Favourable weather conditions permit and encourage frequent visitation by the young people to all the Kaw villages in the district.

"The Kaws mate early in life and it is their custom to allow promiscuous sexual intercourse between the sexes before the establishment of the marriage relationship. There is a public courting place in every Kaw village which is called the 'Deh Hkawng.' There the young people of both sexes meet at night and play and sing love songs to each other. Little house sheds adjacent to the parents' houses are set apart as places in which the young people can meet privately and the young couples repair to those houses at the close of the more public meeting at the 'Deh Hkawng.' A Kaw man while visiting in a village other than his own particular village is not allowed to court as above mentioned; he may do so only within his own village group. In the daytime, outside the village, at work in the jungle or when going to or returning from market, the young folk meet and sing love songs to each other and when distance divides them they shout their love songs across the hills and the valleys.

"Kaws can marry without the consent and approval of their parents. Marriage by elopement is not by any means an uncommon thing among the Kaws. However there must be no compulsion of the girl; for if the girl does not of her own will freely consent to run off with the young man and should he by force carry her off, the marriage would not be recognised and the young man would be fined by his village chief. On the other hand, as sometimes



happens, a young Kaw couple are returning together from the Shan market place and they fall in love with each other. Should they decide to elope, the young man is quite free, according to Kaw custom to immediately take the girl to his own home and village. Friends of the young couple go to inform the girl's parents that their daughter has gone off to get married. Should the parents desire to prevent the marriage under such circumstances they may follow in hot pursuit of the elopers; but if the young couple have had time to cook and eat an egg together in his house, before the arrival of the girl's parents, they cannot prevent the marriage from taking place. Sometimes marriage by elopement is prevented by fond parents by their promising a big wedding feast, provided the marriage is consummated according to regular marriage custom.

"Kaw marriage ceremonies always take place in the village of the bridegroom and the bride is conducted to the village by her friends. She takes with her a hog's head which the Kaws look upon as the price of the bride. The rest of the pig is prepared and fed to the members of the village which she is about to leave. The bride receives no presents; the bridegroom and the elders are the only parties who receive gifts. The girl upon entering the groom's village does not go directly to the house of the groom but to the house of some elderly women, and while there the bride adorns herself in white clothing. Having so attired herself, she proceeds at once to the house of the groom. There her first duty is to carry through a ceremony of pretension during which she plays at drawing water and carrying wood. With water jugs in a basket slung over her back she makes a hurried trip down the ladder-steps of the house and goes through the motions of drawing water. While she is doing so and while making a hasty retreat inside the house, the young people standing at the foot of the steps fling lumps of cow manure at her. They do so again when she descends the step a second time on this occasion to pretend that she is chopping firewood. This besmirching of the bride with manure, the Kaws say, is to secure for her good luck and great blessing. After she has changed her clothes the bride is now ready for the marriage ceremony which is performed by the village elders. Meantime the marriage feast is being prepared by the younger members of the community, though before anyone partakes of the food, part of it is offered by the elders to the 'Myicha Ne' in the house of the groom's parents. The newly married couple are allowed to retire in peace and are left undisturbed in their own little house which is adjacent to the house of the groom's parents. A Kaw girl virtually becomes the slave of her husband, in the sense that the village law prescribes that she cannot visit the home of her own parents for more than three days in the entire year. All her time must be devoted to her husband and to the affairs of her own household. Frequently Kaw men are opium smokers and when such is the case the burden of the work falls upon the Kaw woman.

"Winning a girl by magic is sometimes accomplished by the Kaws. If a Kaw girl does not want to marry her suitor but he wants to marry her and her only, such a man may resort to magic in order to win her. A wax from two different kinds of bees which live in the same hollow of a tree is collected by the Kaws. This is taken and magically blown upon while a formula is recited. Part of this magically-treated wax is stealthily rubbed or concealed on a garment of the wanted girl. When this is done it is impossible for her to keep away from the young man. If she does not see him, she is restless and impatiently longs to see and meet him, and though she does not love him, she finds it impossible to resist his attentions. Such marriages when consummated, the Kaws say, are neither happy nor prosperous and if children result from the union of such people, they do not live. If a young unmarried Kaw woman becomes pregnant, the whole countryside is advertised to secure for her a husband. However, in such cases where the girl can point to the young man whom she claims as the one responsible for her pregnant condition he must marry the girl. Where responsibility cannot be located and there is no husband in sight for the girl soon to become a mother, everything is done to try to secure a husband for her; for it is considered a disgrace among the Kaws for a child to be born out of wedlock. Such unfortunate girls are compelled to take any kind of Kaw or man of another race who offers to become her husband. She has no say in the matter, if she knows not the person responsible for her condition.

"After years of married life if a Kaw wife has not borne any children, two means are resorted to in order to make her become a mother. The first of these two methods I have already mentioned. With regard to the second means, the Seer consults the spirits and afterwards announces to the barren wife that her sterility is occasioned by the river in the spirit-world becoming blocked with leaves and weeds which prevents the waters of the stream from flowing freely. Therefore to remove the cause of barrenness the soul of the Seer goes to the river in the spirit-world and takes away the obstructions and when this is done the sterile woman is able to bear children; but never more than two children can be borne by this supernatural or spiritual aid of the Seer. There are occasions when a Kaw husband must refrain from sexual intercourse with his wife. On all occasions when offerings are being made to the 'Myicha Ne' as, for example, at paddy planting time, during the growth of the crops, and at harvest time. When on these occasions the village priest sends forth his soul to the spirit-world to discover what spirit has been offended, he must stay separate from his wife. The successful hunter upon his return from a hunting expedition must not sleep with his wife for a period of seven days. The same rule pertains when villagers return from a fishing expedition. After a child is born in a Kaw family, the husband must refrain from sexual intercourse with his wife for ten cycles of time. One cycle is twelve days. If during that time the husband should disregard this-not-too-strictly-adhered-to law and if the wife were to report the case to a responsible village elder, the offending husband would be fined, one pig. This one hundred and twenty days' prohibitive period is largely because of physical reasons, namely, to prevent the wife from getting what the Kaws call 'Napaku,' which is a condition of health when the colour of the face is bad; the mother becomes thin and loses vitality. While many Kaw men have just one wife, it could not be said of the Kaws that they are a monogamous race; for many of them have two wives and others have three. The Lahus, their close neighbours, are a strictly monogamous race."



The practice of endogamy is found most frequently among the Karen hill tribes. It is carried to an extreme form among the Zayein or Gaungto Karens who are a small tribe living in the Southern Shan States (Loilong and Mong Pai). The following extract is taken from Sir J. G. Scott's recent book "Burma and Beyond," pages 110 to 113 :

"The Gaungto, if only because they are the most accessible, are the conspicuous type of endogamists in a restricted area, with all the variations which the idea suggests. When they reach the age of puberty all boys are sent to live in a building called a 'haw,' which stands just outside the village fence, and from the time of their internment there they may not enter the houses of their parents or talk to any of the young women. In this way they know all about one another, and they see to it that none of their companions infringe the rule which binds them.

"This is easy enough in a community of insignificant size on a hill-slope or in a small valley. The old rule was that if a Gaungto woman eloped with a Shan, a Taungthu or a Burman, the pair of them were put to death in a special way. A large hole was dug in the ground ; across this a log was placed with ropes hanging from it. The ends of these were noosed round the necks of the offending pair and they were then pushed over the edge, and so made to hang themselves in their own grave. Civilisation is apt to ruin most primitive races, but in a case such as this it has advantages. The disapproval of missionaries and the occasional visits of British officials have led to the substitution of excommunication for the condemned woman. The man was never so easy to catch, as he belonged to a different race.

"Nowadays runaway couples who have gone off without getting the permission of any one, are forbidden ever again to enter their native village or any Sawngtung village. There are two villages in the Nankwo Circle called Kaba, which are entirely inhabited by such eloping couples, and the envious and the spiteful see to it that they do not venture to come back, even on morning visits.

"As if these restrictions were not enough, there is a multiplying of limitations. People of certain villages may intermarry only with those of certain other villages. For instance, men from Pahlaing are not allowed to seek for wives anywhere but in Sawngawng. These rules are perfectly well known, and it might be supposed that the enterprising of both sexes might be prompted to stroll over from one to another. It must be irritating to those living in isolated independent villages to go searching into places which lie in larger areas, such as the Mongpai State, but it is a very bumpy country, and only emphatic resolution to go courting could carry a man so far afield.

"The result is that there are not a few bachelors in the haws ; some of these have reached the decrepit stage, and it is pitiable to see them sitting on the large stones with their cloaks around them warming their backs in the early morning sun. As the tribes are fairly equally divided as to sex there must be a corresponding number of spinsters, though they are not so clearly discriminated since they are not grouped all together as the men are, and have no clues in ornaments or dress. When a man has at last procured an unexceptionable bride the elders of the village have still to be consulted before there can be a wedding. The whole affair is, indeed, arranged by the parents of the young man, who choose for him an eligible, or, at any rate, a qualified girl, and then consult the village elders before they send along the requisite three brass rings to the selected damsel in the name of their son.

"The girl has the right to refuse, but one is told that she does not often do so. Assent is made patent by the fact of her wearing the brass rings sent as a proposal.

"The parents on both sides prepare a great feast—the *Hmaw-saya*, the chicken specialist, offers up some rice to propitiate the *nats*. Then he and the parents and the prospective pair gorge and guzzle for three successive nights. It is only on these occasions and at funerals that the unmarried men and spinsters meet, which is a practice very different from that of the Burmese. None but the totem kin and relatives on either side take any part, and the marriage service is simply a prolonged orgy. If there be any congratulations they are on the grounds of capacity. The censorious shake their heads over what goes on, and the few missionaries (who anyway are not admitted) say darkly that the proceedings are no better than the *Agapai* which the Council of Carthage denounced as being on a level with the *parentalia* of the heathen.

"It is not surprising that when there is such a limited field of choice there are unions where husband and wife are very unequal in age, the husband fifteen and the wife sixty, or the reverse. Polygamy, is, of course, not permitted, on the ground that it would be a waste of material. Widows and widowers may re-marry certainly, but only after the approval of the village elders has been obtained. A childless widow, on the death of her husband, is permitted to return to the house of her parents. But if she has children she remains in her husband's house or goes to live with his parents.

"Divorce is not permissible ; if there be flagrant cause for it the pair are forced to jump into the pit. That is, of course, the old theory, but since we have had anything to do with the Gaungto no case of the kind has been known."

Among the Karens generally, while endogamy in the strict sense of the term is confined to certain tribes in the more distant parts of the country there is often a very strong prejudice against intermarriage with all other races or clans, Karen or non-Karen. For example, even to-day it is exceptional to find Pwo and Sgaw Karens intermarrying, even though they belong to the same branch of the Christian Church. In the Delta districts villages are either exclusively Karen or exclusively Burmese. If there is a village composed of both races there is usually very little intercourse between the two sections. Much greater freedom in marriage is however permitted among other races of



the Karen group, such as the Taungthus and the Padaungs. The following description of the Padaung customs is also taken from pages 101 and 102 of Sir J. G. Scott's book mentioned above :

"There is perfect liberty of marriage among them. Both man and maiden are allowed to choose outside the tribe. Some of the girls are by no means bad-looking, but their formidable armour not unnaturally seems to deter suitors other than the men of their own race.

"Before a Padaung man begins courtship he goes to the parents of the chosen girl and asks permission to visit the house and pay attentions to their daughter with a view to marriage. This ceremonious procedure is unusual among the hill tribes, for, as a rule, the parents are left to find out for themselves what is happening, and there is no arrangement of marriage. But where mother and daughter have armour-clad forearms, perhaps the more ceremonious procedure is judicious. It is not a whirlwind affair ; on the contrary, the suitor's visits are carried on over a period which may be three months or may reach two years. Even then the young man chooses a friend with plausible and affable manners to get the consent first of the parents, then of the girl, and finally to ascertain what presents would be acceptable to the damsel's parents. These are—for substantial people—buffaloes, bullocks or gongs, and it is usual, as a matter of old-fashioned custom, for presents to be given in turn to the parents of the accepted suitor. That settles it, and the actual marriage ceremony is nothing better than an orgy, at which everyone eats pork and fowls and drinks on a Homeric scale.

"After this the girl remains in the house of her parents till her husband comes to take her away. This may be because there are wise doubts as to what the condition of the young man might be after the orgy ; at any rate, there is no Young Lochinvar ardour about it.

"Even when she has been taken, the bride remains away only a day or two, and then returns to her parents' house, and this curious visiting and coming back goes on at intervals for six months before the young couple finally settle down together. It may be that this cautionary process is due to the brass armature ; ordinary caressing in such circumstances must require practice, otherwise it might cause abrasions. It may be added that the average age of the bridegroom is fifteen or sixteen, and the bride two years or so younger ; thus probably she has only the beginning of a pyramid of coils around her neck."

Totemism does not appear to have been seriously investigated in Burma. The following extract is taken from paragraph 132 of the 1911 Census Report :

"Although in the *Upper Burma Gazetteer* it is stated that all the Indo-Chinese races have a predilection for totemistic birth stories, only the most superficial knowledge exists as to the real nature of the totemistic legends and the marriage and other taboos associated therewith. It is known that the Was claim to be descended from tadpoles, the Palaungs from one of three eggs laid by a Naga princess, the Chins from an egg of the king-crow, and the Kachins from a being who was made out of a pumpkin. It is also known that the rules for naming Shan and Kachin children and for limiting Karen and Kachin marriages are the outgrowth of totemistic belief. But no thorough investigation of the exact influence exerted by the legendary origin of the races of tribes of the province as a whole has been affected."



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 of each sex and main age-period for (1) All Races and (2) Indigenous Races at each of the last five censuses.*

NOTE.—Races in groups A to O (see Imperial Table XVII) have been regarded as indigenous for the purpose of calculating the figures for 1931; for previous censuses the figures for indigenous races have been calculated from the figures for Buddhists.

Race-group, sex and age-period. 1	Unmarried.					Married.					Widowed.				
	1931. 2	1921. 3	1911. 4	1901. 5	1891. 6	1931. 7	1921. 8	1911. 9	1901. 10	1891. 11	1931. 12	1921. 13	1911. 14	1901. 15	1891. 16
<b>ALL RACES</b> ...															
<b>Males</b> ...	561	559	569	565	558	392	389	389	393	394	47	52	42	42	48
0—5 ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—10 ...	999	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—15 ...	994	999	999	995	999	6	1	1	5	1	...	...	...	...	...
15—20 ...	807	927	919	922	932	184	69	78	75	63	9	4	3	3	5
20—40 ...	309	302	298	298	268	652	651	665	666	686	39	47	37	36	46
40—60 ...	85	72	89	88	49	797	809	817	814	843	118	119	94	98	108
60 and over ...	78	63	89	83	41	633	645	656	652	679	289	292	255	265	280
<b>Females</b> ...	521	509	519	510	506	374	377	376	381	378	105	114	105	109	116
0—5 ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—10 ...	999	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—15 ...	977	996	993	987	995	21	4	7	13	5	2	...	...	...	...
15—20 ...	608	733	726	720	732	366	248	259	265	246	26	19	15	15	22
20—40 ...	213	165	160	160	130	710	750	763	764	780	77	85	77	76	90
40—60 ...	70	52	70	68	35	633	661	665	653	686	297	287	265	279	279
60 and over ...	64	52	91	83	48	302	287	289	282	392	634	661	620	635	560
<b>INDIGENOUS RACES.</b>															
<b>Males</b> ...	570	568	575	571	568	382	379	382	386	383	48	53	43	43	49
0—5 ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—10 ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—15 ...	997	1,000	1,000	996	1,000	3	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
15—20 ...	819	936	927	931	940	171	60	70	66	55	10	4	3	3	5
20—40 ...	298	282	269	277	255	661	669	692	686	696	41	49	39	37	49
40—60 ...	77	64	78	79	48	802	815	827	823	867	121	121	95	98	85
60 and over ...	76	63	87	81	41	632	640	653	650	678	292	297	260	269	281
<b>Females</b> ...	522	512	521	511	507	372	373	373	379	376	106	115	106	110	117
0—5 ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
5—10 ...	999	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
10—15 ...	982	998	995	990	996	17	2	5	10	4	1	...	...	...	...
15—20 ...	623	748	737	731	744	352	233	248	254	234	25	19	15	15	22
20—40 ...	218	169	161	161	132	704	745	761	762	777	78	86	78	77	91
40—60 ...	70	52	71	69	35	635	666	670	656	689	295	282	259	275	276
60 and over ...	65	53	93	84	37	303	290	291	279	301	632	657	616	637	662



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Distribution by Civil Condition of 1,000 of each sex at certain ages for each Natural Division for (1) All Races and (2) Burmese.*

Natural Division. 1	All ages.			10—15.			15—20.			20—40.			40—60.			60 and over.		
	Unmarried. 2	Married. 3	Widowed. 4	Unmarried. 5	Married. 6	Widowed. 7	Unmarried. 8	Married. 9	Widowed. 10	Unmarried. 11	Married. 12	Widowed. 13	Unmarried. 14	Married. 15	Widowed. 16	Unmarried. 17	Married. 18	Widowed. 19
<b>ALL RACES.</b>																		
<b>MALES.</b>																		
Province ...	561	392	47	994	6	...	807	184	9	309	652	39	85	797	118	78	633	289
Burman ...	563	393	44	994	6	...	807	185	8	312	653	35	89	798	113	83	633	284
Delta ...	567	393	40	994	6	...	828	167	5	339	633	28	99	793	108	82	644	274
Coast ...	559	394	47	988	12	...	790	197	13	271	683	46	65	818	117	53	666	281
Centre ...	559	393	48	997	3	...	787	205	8	291	671	38	89	792	119	96	608	296
North ...	560	394	46	994	6	...	817	174	9	325	633	42	70	818	112	61	655	284
Chin ...	585	384	31	995	4	1	832	160	8	292	678	30	72	847	81	35	757	208
Salween ...	584	344	72	998	2	...	861	127	12	348	583	69	67	724	209	50	534	416
Shan ...	540	393	67	994	5	1	797	180	23	280	645	75	58	789	153	39	631	330
<b>FEMALES.</b>																		
Province ...	521	374	105	977	21	2	608	366	26	213	710	77	70	633	297	64	302	634
Burman ...	526	373	101	980	19	1	619	358	23	222	705	73	74	639	287	69	312	619
Delta ...	547	370	83	983	17	...	646	338	16	245	698	57	84	660	256	74	340	586
Coast ...	510	387	103	957	39	4	525	436	39	154	761	85	43	659	298	41	316	643
Centre ...	515	367	118	985	14	1	628	349	23	227	687	86	80	615	305	76	298	626
North ...	497	388	115	979	20	1	602	374	24	186	736	78	43	626	331	43	250	707
Chin ...	512	382	106	976	23	1	611	370	19	172	749	79	51	609	340	54	269	677
Salween ...	528	343	129	976	22	2	643	328	29	211	674	115	60	509	431	70	182	748
Shan ...	475	390	135	956	39	5	509	440	51	139	752	109	34	589	377	29	226	745
<b>BURMESE.</b>																		
<b>MALES.</b>																		
Province ...	571	384	45	997	3	...	814	179	7	299	667	34	87	799	114	90	623	287
Burman ...	571	384	45	997	3	...	814	179	7	299	667	34	87	799	114	90	623	287
Delta ...	582	377	41	998	2	...	842	153	5	316	655	29	87	805	108	81	644	275
Coast ...	577	380	43	998	2	...	798	192	10	271	695	34	150	747	103	70	639	291
Centre ...	563	388	49	998	2	...	790	201	9	285	677	38	86	795	119	97	608	295
North ...	559	394	47	995	5	...	829	163	8	319	642	39	69	815	116	77	636	287
Chin ...	597	390	13	1,000	...	...	833	167	...	440	520	40	...	1,000	...	...	1,000	...
Salween ...	561	351	88	1,000	...	...	886	114	...	374	542	84	180	614	206	202	528	270
Shan ...	488	438	74	998	2	...	834	145	21	283	645	72	71	772	157	71	624	305
<b>FEMALES.</b>																		
Province ...	528	369	103	986	13	1	639	340	21	235	692	73	81	636	283	76	313	611
Burman ...	528	369	103	986	13	1	639	340	21	235	691	74	82	636	282	76	313	611
Delta ...	547	369	84	987	13	...	649	334	17	248	694	58	87	660	253	77	342	581
Coast ...	523	391	86	983	17	...	596	382	22	190	749	61	68	691	241	65	363	572
Centre ...	515	366	119	987	12	1	633	343	24	230	684	86	81	615	304	77	300	623
North ...	504	391	105	987	12	1	630	350	20	194	741	65	41	665	294	48	257	695
Chin ...	638	345	17	1,000	...	...	571	429	...	77	923	...	...	800	200	...	1,000	...
Salween ...	547	372	81	984	16	...	546	436	18	170	760	70	46	654	300	35	310	655
Shan ...	463	426	111	973	23	4	509	451	40	135	789	76	32	643	325	23	269	708



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Distribution by main age-periods and Civil Condition of 10,000 of each sex for selected Race-groups.*

Race-group and Age.	Males.			Females.		
	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>All Races</b> ...	5,608	3,923	469	5,210	3,741	1,049
0—10 ...	2,537	...	...	2,679	1	...
10—15 ...	1,124	6	...	1,112	24	2
15—20 ...	748	171	9	610	368	26
20—40 ...	1,025	2,166	130	670	2,235	244
40 and over ...	174	1,580	330	139	1,113	777
<b>Burmese</b> ...	5,710	3,838	452	5,281	3,687	1,032
0—10 ...	2,657	...	...	2,615	...	...
10—15 ...	1,195	3	...	1,123	15	1
15—20 ...	749	165	6	638	340	21
20—40 ...	921	2,050	106	735	2,161	229
40 and over ...	188	1,620	340	170	1,171	781
<b>Other Indigenous Races</b> ...	5,676	3,784	540	5,094	3,782	1,124
0—10 ...	2,718	...	...	2,717	...	...
10—15 ...	1,159	4	...	1,095	27	3
15—20 ...	752	143	13	597	376	35
20—40 ...	931	2,050	172	593	2,304	276
40 and over ...	116	1,587	355	92	1,075	810
<b>Chinese</b> ...	5,468	4,085	447	5,460	3,690	850
0—10 ...	1,819	1	...	2,985	4	...
10—15 ...	830	7	...	1,221	21	...
15—20 ...	794	136	6	603	339	11
20—40 ...	1,747	2,253	142	559	2,379	163
40 and over ...	278	1,688	299	92	947	676
<b>Indian Hindus</b> ...	4,458	5,161	381	4,513	4,776	711
0—10 ...	1,093	10	...	2,933	33	1
10—15 ...	538	29	1	898	135	3
15—20 ...	679	320	8	722	722	19
20—40 ...	1,854	3,488	151	334	3,153	205
40 and over ...	294	1,314	221	75	733	483
<b>Indian Muslims</b> ...	5,077	4,575	348	5,144	3,962	894
0—10 ...	1,685	4	...	3,380	17	1
10—15 ...	776	44	1	1,102	150	11
15—20 ...	767	284	7	316	704	42
20—40 ...	1,650	2,863	133	287	2,480	254
40 and over ...	199	1,380	207	59	611	586
<b>Other Indians</b> ...	5,276	4,328	396	5,207	4,047	746
0—10 ...	1,635	1	...	3,092	4	...
10—15 ...	764	10	...	1,092	67	2
15—20 ...	792	173	6	443	599	18
20—40 ...	1,813	2,658	121	503	2,736	210
40 and over ...	272	1,486	269	77	641	516
<b>Indo-Burman Races</b> ...	6,282	3,357	361	5,604	3,433	963
0—10 ...	3,223	1	...	3,173	2	...
10—15 ...	1,326	6	...	1,230	65	4
15—20 ...	747	172	8	535	494	33
20—40 ...	874	1,949	119	561	2,145	255
40 and over ...	112	1,229	234	105	727	671
<b>Others</b> ...	6,185	3,621	194	6,065	3,308	627
0—10 ...	1,844	...	...	2,440	2	...
10—15 ...	819	1	...	1,121	4	...
15—20 ...	876	46	1	838	180	3
20—40 ...	2,332	1,772	48	1,301	2,115	117
40 and over ...	314	1,802	145	365	1,007	507



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—Ratio of females per 1,000 males in each Civil Condition and in certain age-periods for selected race-groups in the whole province and for Burmese and Other Indigenous Races in each natural division.**

Race-group and Natural division. 1	All Ages.			15—20.			20—40.			40 and over.		
	Unmarried. 2	Married. 3	Widowed. 4	Unmarried. 5	Married. 6	Widowed. 7	Unmarried. 8	Married. 9	Widowed. 10	Unmarried. 11	Married. 12	Widowed. 13
<b>PROVINCE.</b>												
All Races ...	890	913	2,142	782	2,066	2,870	626	989	1,795	770	675	2,256
Burmese ...	967	1,005	2,386	891	2,157	3,326	834	1,102	2,272	943	756	2,402
Other Indigenous Races ...	901	1,003	2,091	797	2,638	2,735	639	1,128	1,617	799	680	2,290
Chinese ...	523	473	995	398	1,302	973	168	553	598	174	294	1,185
Indian Hindus ...	334	305	616	132	743	788	59	298	448	84	184	721
Indian Muslims ...	467	399	1,183	190	1,142	2,574	80	399	882	137	204	1,302
Other Indians ...	496	470	947	281	1,743	1,435	140	518	877	143	217	964
Indo-Burman Races ...	907	1,040	2,713	728	2,925	4,153	653	1,120	2,175	955	601	2,920
Others ...	714	666	2,352	697	2,856	5,000	406	870	1,758	847	407	2,540
<b>BURMESE.</b>												
Province ...	967	1,005	2,386	891	2,157	3,326	834	1,102	2,272	943	756	2,402
Burman ...	968	1,005	2,394	892	2,154	3,337	836	1,103	2,287	946	758	2,407
Delta ...	952	994	2,088	864	2,441	3,737	818	1,108	2,078	925	718	2,065
Coast ...	903	1,024	2,003	814	2,179	2,347	704	1,083	1,794	483	797	2,058
Centre ...	989	1,016	2,632	923	1,959	3,204	876	1,099	2,482	1,005	794	2,665
North ...	886	973	2,169	848	2,397	2,920	585	1,111	1,601	559	677	2,362
Chin ...	804	667	1,000	800	3,000	...	91	923	...	...	313	...
Salween ...	667	727	628	645	4,000	...	285	880	525	93	390	652
Shan ...	784	803	1,230	640	3,257	2,042	356	913	787	275	493	1,453
<b>OTHER INDIGENOUS RACES.</b>												
Province ...	901	1,003	2,091	797	2,638	2,735	639	1,128	1,617	799	680	2,290
Burman ...	919	1,000	2,101	834	2,474	3,045	704	1,115	1,741	868	715	2,214
Delta ...	954	990	1,823	921	2,569	3,431	790	1,113	1,695	924	729	1,843
Coast ...	897	1,001	2,084	776	2,491	2,971	646	1,102	1,668	805	714	2,229
Centre ...	909	952	2,077	757	2,086	2,743	652	1,033	1,586	944	709	2,228
North ...	893	1,031	2,926	796	2,376	3,036	609	1,185	2,122	817	684	3,307
Chin ...	915	1,045	3,593	829	2,608	2,441	666	1,246	2,920	809	652	3,939
Salween ...	888	1,019	1,824	875	3,551	2,621	619	1,177	1,722	1,030	592	1,851
Shan ...	859	1,004	2,004	702	2,936	2,469	496	1,135	1,407	610	612	2,353



SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*Distribution by Civil Condition of 10,000 of each sex at certain age-periods for selected Races in selected areas.*

NOTE.—The figures for Burmese in this table refer to the whole province; the figures for each of the other races have been compiled from Imperial Table VIII and refer to the total of the areas mentioned in column 2 of that table for the race in question.

Race.	Sex.	All Ages.			0—6.			7—13.			14—16.		
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
Arakanese and Yanbye	Males ...	5,075	4,262	663	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,834	153	13
	Females ...	4,362	4,071	1,567	10,000	...	...	9,993	7	...	8,342	1,412	246
Tavoyan	Males ...	6,161	3,419	420	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,948	52	...
	Females ...	5,605	3,528	867	10,000	...	...	9,999	1	...	9,835	145	20
Merguese	Males ...	6,155	3,495	350	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,987	13	...
	Females ...	5,680	3,655	665	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,762	231	7
Chin Group	Males ...	6,028	3,684	288	10,000	...	...	9,999	1	...	9,862	125	13
	Females ...	5,265	3,641	1,094	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,434	548	18
Kachin	Males ...	5,783	3,845	372	10,000	...	...	9,992	7	1	9,565	422	13
	Females ...	4,519	3,815	1,666	10,000	...	...	9,991	9	...	8,686	1,242	72
Shan	Males ...	5,338	3,809	853	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,805	160	35
	Females ...	4,557	3,907	1,536	10,000	...	...	9,997	2	1	7,887	1,805	308
Môn (Talaing)	Males ...	6,101	3,537	362	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,963	37	...
	Females ...	5,675	3,638	687	10,000	...	...	9,999	1	...	9,795	197	8
Palaung	Males ...	5,937	3,547	516	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,941	57	2
	Females ...	5,321	3,502	1,177	10,000	...	...	9,998	2	...	9,456	505	39
Sgaw Karen	Males ...	6,137	3,370	493	10,000	...	...	9,996	4	...	9,935	64	1
	Females ...	5,818	3,336	846	10,000	...	...	9,999	1	...	9,617	347	36
Pwo Karen	Males ...	6,005	3,591	404	10,000	...	...	9,999	1	...	9,912	82	6
	Females ...	5,696	3,596	708	10,000	...	...	9,999	1	...	9,717	270	13
Taungthu	Males ...	5,808	3,619	573	10,000	...	...	9,998	2	...	9,767	224	9
	Females ...	5,161	3,620	1,219	10,000	...	...	9,998	2	...	8,953	949	98
Arakan-Mahomedan	Males ...	5,963	3,677	360	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,856	144	...
	Females ...	5,268	3,814	918	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	5,075	4,650	275
Telugu	Males ...	2,394	7,486	120	9,960	40	...	9,599	397	4	8,109	1,875	16
	Females ...	3,264	5,954	782	9,978	22	...	9,582	403	15	4,579	5,356	65
Burmese	Males ...	5,710	3,838	452	10,000	...	...	10,000	...	...	9,903	93	4
	Females ...	5,281	3,687	1,032	10,000	...	...	9,999	1	...	9,504	468	28

Race.	Sex.	17—23.			24—43.			44 and over.		
		Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.	Unmarried.	Married.	Widowed.
1	2	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
Arakanese and Yanbye	Males ...	6,240	3,328	432	816	8,295	889	360	7,738	1,902
	Females ...	2,680	6,317	1,003	533	7,963	1,504	305	4,673	5,022
Tavoyan	Males ...	8,384	1,556	60	2,024	7,606	370	634	7,490	1,876
	Females ...	6,024	3,749	227	1,322	7,897	781	512	5,634	3,854
Merguese	Males ...	8,215	1,741	44	1,903	7,780	317	417	7,880	1,703
	Females ...	5,772	4,088	140	1,092	8,268	640	424	6,160	3,416
Chin Group	Males ...	7,823	2,095	82	2,075	7,588	337	396	8,411	1,193
	Females ...	5,083	4,684	233	1,049	7,822	1,129	530	4,551	4,919
Kachin	Males ...	7,544	2,345	111	2,251	7,222	527	496	8,184	1,320
	Females ...	4,580	5,074	346	1,201	7,174	1,625	387	3,304	6,309
Shan	Males ...	7,028	2,420	552	1,638	7,196	1,166	408	7,170	2,422
	Females ...	2,941	6,097	962	667	7,819	1,514	244	3,996	5,760
Môn (Talaing)	Males ...	7,550	2,359	91	1,565	8,064	371	531	7,823	1,646
	Females ...	5,115	4,621	264	1,145	8,187	668	462	6,226	3,312
Palaung	Males ...	7,764	2,084	152	1,993	7,315	692	527	7,516	1,957
	Females ...	4,908	4,718	374	1,034	7,736	1,230	418	4,380	5,202
Sgaw Karen	Males ...	8,533	1,415	52	2,595	6,898	507	607	7,290	2,103
	Females ...	6,432	3,423	145	1,943	7,274	783	816	5,121	4,063
Pwo Karen	Males ...	7,892	2,060	48	2,099	7,492	409	639	7,597	1,764
	Females ...	6,038	3,794	168	1,495	7,851	654	607	5,985	3,408
Taungthu	Males ...	7,729	2,084	187	1,827	7,484	689	556	7,354	2,090
	Females ...	4,320	5,115	565	1,090	7,661	1,249	416	4,663	4,921
Arakan-Mahomedan	Males ...	5,831	4,008	161	1,269	8,169	562	374	8,166	1,460
	Females ...	1,337	8,211	452	526	8,376	1,098	411	3,981	5,608
Telugu	Males ...	4,056	5,929	15	1,091	8,817	92	410	9,014	576
	Females ...	982	8,863	155	331	8,800	869	429	4,252	5,319
Burmese	Males ...	7,229	2,666	105	1,833	7,730	437	837	7,384	1,779
	Females ...	5,008	4,706	286	1,511	7,540	949	770	5,104	4,126



## CHAPTER VII.

### Infirmities.

**64. Enumeration.**—The infirmities for which statistics were collected are the same as in 1921, namely insanity, deaf-mutism, total blindness and leprosy. The following instructions were issued regarding the record of infirmities :—

"If a person is blind in both eyes, or insane, or suffering from corrosive leprosy, or both deaf and dumb, enter the name of the infirmity in this column. If a person has two of these infirmities enter both. Do not enter *blind* for persons who can see anything at all even if they only see badly. You should find out whether a dumb person is deaf by making a noise. Write *deaf-mute* only if *both* deaf and dumb. Do not enter those who are suffering only from leucoderma or white leprosy. Do not enter any infirmities which are not mentioned in the heading of the column. If a person has none of the specified infirmities a cross should be placed in this column."

**65. Statistical References.**—The statistics of infirmities are given in Imperial Table IX which is divided into two parts—one showing the distribution by age and the other the distribution by districts. In addition, the following three subsidiary tables have been appended to this chapter :—

- I.—Number afflicted per 100,000 of each sex in each district and natural division at each of the last five censuses.
- II.—Comparison between the 1931 and 1921 figures for the number afflicted per 100,000 persons of each sex and age-group and the number of females afflicted per 1,000 males in each group.
- III.—Distribution of the infirm by age per 10,000 of each sex.

**66. Accuracy of the Statistics.**—The first thing to be said about the statistics of infirmities is that they are unreliable. They usually are, not only in India but also in other countries. There are many reasons for this. There are first the difficulties of defining the infirmities so as to distinguish for instance between insanity and weakness of intellect and between total blindness of both eyes and partial blindness due to old age or other causes. Leprosy too is difficult to diagnose except by an expert as there are many diseases such as leucoderma, yaws and syphilis which might be mistaken for it. Even in the case of deaf-mutism it is possible that some persons who are only hard of hearing have been included.

In addition to the difficulties of diagnosis there are omissions, which may be deliberate or unintentional. The deliberate omissions are greatest in the case of leprosy, but they also exist in the case of insanity and deaf-mutism as there is a natural reluctance on the part of parents to admit that any of their children are so afflicted. It is only in the case of blindness which does not excite shame or disgust that the number of deliberate omissions may be considered as unimportant.

The unintentional omissions are due to the fact that only a very small part of the population is afflicted and the consequence is that there is a tendency for enumerators to overlook the infirmities column, particularly as it is the last in the schedule. In order to prevent this as much as possible, instructions were issued that a cross should be placed in the infirmities column for persons who had none of the specified infirmities. Further, in order to prevent omissions during slip-copying the record of infirmities was made on separate slips, as at the last two censuses in this province. The figures in Imperial Table IX may therefore be said to represent fairly accurately the entries in the enumeration schedules.

The accuracy of the statistics of infirmities is discussed in paragraph 143 of the Census Report for 1921. After going into the matter very thoroughly Mr. Grantham came to the conclusion that the statistics were not worthy of any credit and he accordingly did not draw any deductions from them. In the subsequent paragraphs of this Chapter an attempt will be made to draw a few conclusions from the figures but it must be borne in mind that these



conclusions, being based on very inaccurate returns, merely represent probabilities. There is no reason to believe that the infirmity statistics of 1931 are more reliable than those of the previous census.

**67. Insanity.**—Insanity was not defined in the census instructions. The word is usually applied to the more violent forms of mental derangement but it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the insane and feeble minded and it is probable that many of the latter have been recorded as insane.

There has been an increase in the proportion of male persons returned as insane—from 93 to 99 per 100,000—but a decrease in the proportion of females—from 84 to 77 per 100,000. The reason for this is not apparent. As at previous censuses the proportions are greatest in the hilly parts of the province in the north, east and west, such as the Shan States, the Bhamo, Myitkyina, Upper Chindwin and Chin Hills districts and the Arakan Hill Tracts. This appears to be the case in other parts of India where, according to the India Census Report of 1921, the "areas of maximum intensity are either in the hills or along the foot of the hills". Figures have not been compiled for insanity among the different races but according to the last two Census Reports for Burma the figures were particularly high for Chins and Kachins. The high rate of insanity among these races is attributed in the 1911 Census Report to promiscuous sexual intercourse at an early age and inbreeding, but it is possible there are other factors. According to S. J. Holmes \*

"where a defect is inherited by two parents from a common ancestor their union is naturally followed by the production of the defect in question. It may be seriously doubted if inbreeding does more than this or is ever strictly speaking the cause of defect of any kind; it simply makes manifest defects that are already in the germ plasm. There is no one trait that results from the marriage of kin; the result is determined by the specific defect in the germ plasm of the common ancestor. It must not be forgotten that if inbreeding brings out undesirable qualities it may also conserve good ones."

According to paragraph 446 of the India Census Report for 1911 the areas where insanity is most prevalent are inhabited by races that are wholly or largely mongoloid, the people who suffer least from insanity being those of Dravidian origin. The consumption of alcohol may also have something to do with the insanity among the Chins and Kachins.

According to the statistics insanity is more prevalent in Burma among males than females. Males are usually more subject to defects of a congenital nature than females but it is possible that concealment is more likely in the case of females. The low proportions of insane in the early age-groups is presumably due to the fact that mental disease does not usually manifest itself till later in life.

There are two mental hospitals in the province, one at Tada-U in Insein District and the other in Minbu District. These two hospitals have accommodation for 1,189 patients. On the date of the census there were 1,176 patients, which is about 9 per cent of the number of persons who were recorded as insane.

**68. Deaf-Mutism.**—According to the statistics the proportion of deaf-mutes has increased from 96 to 122 per 100,000 for males and from 84 to 110 per 100,000 for females. Whether this represents the facts or not it is impossible to say. As in the case of insanity deaf-mutism appears to be most prevalent in the hilly parts of the province in the north, east and west. Goitre is very common in these parts and a large proportion of the deaf-mutes suffer also from goitre. Goitre is particularly common in the neighbourhood of Namhsan, Kutkai and Hsenwi in the Northern Shan States, in the Southern Shan States east of the Salween river, in the Mogòk subdivision of Katha district, in the Kachin Hill Tracts of the Bhamo and Myitkyina districts (particularly Sadon subdivision) and in the Kalewa township of the Upper Chindwin district. Iodine treatment is given but the people are very suspicious of western methods of medicine and as the disease does not cause them inconvenience until it is pronounced they do not take full advantage of the treatment. The association of deaf-mutism with goitre and cretinism is well known; in some parts of the province, *e.g.*, the Chin Hills district, it appears to be associated also with insanity.

\* See pages 246 and 247 of his book "The Trend of the Race."



There is only one school for the deaf in the province, namely the Mary Chapman Training College for Teachers and School for the Deaf in Rangoon. On the date of the census there were 27 pupils (15 males, 12 females).

**69. Blindness.**—The statistics for blindness are the least unreliable of all the infirmity figures. It is not considered a disease to be ashamed of and there is usually no desire to conceal it. The proportion of persons recorded as blind at the 1931 census is only very slightly greater than the proportion in 1921. Blindness appears to be common not only in the Centre subdivision but also in the hilly parts in the north of the province. In all the districts of the Centre subdivision—except Prome, which is near the border line between the Centre and Delta subdivisions—the proportion of persons afflicted with blindness is larger than in the province as a whole. In these districts the climate is dry and the dust and glare are excessive. Cataract and trachoma are very common in these districts. *Ophthalmia neonatorum* due to venereal infection is very common in all parts of the province. In the hill tracts of the Bhamo and Myitkyina districts the huts in which the Kachins live are dark and badly ventilated and the prevalence of blindness may be due to the bad air and smoky atmosphere. Absence of cleanliness may also be partly responsible. In all the districts of the Delta and Coast subdivisions the proportion of persons who are blind is less than the average for the province. This is presumably due to the abundant rainfall which provides green vegetation during the greater part of the year.

Blindness is the only infirmity from which women suffer more than men. During the early years of life up to about 30 or 40, males appear to suffer more than females; it is in the higher ages that there is a much bigger proportion of women. This appears to be the case in all the other provinces in India and the reason usually given is that women suffer most from the smoke of the fires at which they cook their food. Another reason may be that they do not resort as freely as men to hospitals for treatment. Unlike insanity and deaf-mutism blindness is essentially a disease of old age. One of the most common causes of the disease is cataract which usually comes on late in life.

There are two Blind Schools in the Province—St. Michael's Blind School, in Rangoon and St. Raphael's Blind School for Girls in Moulmein. There were only 53 inmates (31 males, 22 females) in these institutions on the date of the census. The number of persons in institutions is therefore only a fraction of one per cent of the number of persons afflicted.

**70. Leprosy.**—The total number of lepers recorded at the 1931 census was 11,127, compared with 9,765 in 1921. The number of lepers is, however, very much larger than this. The reasons are obvious. Not only is it difficult to diagnose in its early stages—particularly cases of nerve leprosy which form a considerable portion—but it is a disease from which most people would be ashamed to admit they suffered. The stigma of being a leper goes back to mediæval times when lepers in Europe were drastically segregated and considered unclean and unfit for association with their fellow men. Unfortunately, in India and Burma at the present time the danger of having such a large number of lepers does not appear to be generally recognised. The only asylums in the province are the Leper Asylum at Kemmendine (Rangoon), St. John's Leper Asylum and the House for Lepers at Mandalay, the Leper Asylum at Moulmein and the Leper Asylum at Kengtung in the Southern Shan States. On the date of the census there were 910 lepers in these asylums; there were also 99 lepers in the Leper Colony at Mōnywa (Lower Chindwin), making a total of 1,009. The majority of the asylum cases are the more advanced ones. So far as the prevention of the spread of leprosy is concerned the asylums can play only a small part. They are, of course, doing excellent humanitarian work but their accommodation is limited and they can only deal with a very small fraction of the number of lepers in the province. Compulsory segregation or segregation in asylums on a large scale is not a practicable measure in Burma, as the numbers involved are so large. At present only pauper lepers can be segregated and this can be done only in certain areas.

The methods of dealing with leprosy have changed considerably in recent years. Leprosy is not considered an incurable disease and although there is not a definite cure for all cases there are methods of treatment by means of which, in a very large number of cases, the progress of the disease may be



arrested and in favourable cases apparent cure may be obtained with entire disappearance of clinical signs of the disease. The modern method of treatment by means of preparations of Chaulmoogra Oil and its derivatives are undoubtedly of great value and are in use throughout the world. It is not necessary for this treatment that the patient should be treated in hospital or in an asylum. The treatment can be given at an out-door dispensary and only requires attendance for an injection twice weekly. Also, the cost is much less than in the case of lepers in an asylum.

The method which has been adopted in India for developing this out-door treatment of leprosy consists in the formation of Propaganda-Treatment-Survey parties. An area is selected for the purpose and the Propaganda Treatment Survey party commence a survey of the lepers in the area with the aid of the local authorities. At the same time they train the local medical men in the diagnosis of early cases and in the methods of treatment. Public lectures are given and the nature of the disease, its dangers and the advantages of treatment explained. A treatment centre is opened, possibly in an existing dispensary, and the first cases put under treatment. It is usually found that when the out-door treatment has been established for a short period and patients have seen that the treatment involves comparatively little trouble and is not a step towards asylum segregation more and more cases come forward and the early cases which have in many instances been previously concealed begin to appear. The treatment of cases also leads to an examination of their house surroundings and assists in the early detection of other cases at the stage most beneficial for treatment. Once the area has been surveyed and the treatment centre well established the party hands the work over to the local authorities to continue it and proceeds to deal with another area.

This Propaganda Treatment Survey system has been recently adopted in

1. Particulars of areas surveyed and cases of leprosy detected by the Special Leprosy Officer.				
District in which area was surveyed. 1	Dates. 2	Population examined. 3	Cases of Leprosy detected. 4	Ratio per 1,000. 5
Minbu ...	From 5th January to 4th May 1932.	19,499	347	17.80
Meiktila ...	From 28th July to 28th September 1932.	16,463	253	15.37
Insein (Hlègu).	From 8th October 1932 to 5th January 1933.	10,482	146	13.93

Burma. The Special Leprosy Officer (U Tha Din) had about six months training from February 1931 in laboratory and field work under the direction of Dr. E. Muir, Professor of Leprosy in the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta. He gained experience of actual field work with leprosy survey parties and visited four leper asylums in India. The area surveyed and the cases of leprosy detected by him are shown in marginal table 1. The populations of these districts and the number

of lepers recorded at the census are given in marginal Table 2. The ratios in column 5 of marginal table 1 are between 12 and 21 times the figures in column 4 of marginal table 2. The proportion of lepers in the areas that were surveyed may, of course, differ appreciably from the proportion in the whole of the district in which the area is situated. Also the proportion of lepers omitted will vary from district to district. But it is probable that the actual number of lepers in the whole province is at least ten times the number recorded at the census. It will be seen from marginal table 1 that the

2. Number of lepers recorded at the 1931 census.			
District. 1	Population. 2	Number of lepers recorded. 3	Ratio per 1,000. 4
Minbu ...	277,876	318	1.14
Meiktila ...	309,999	406	1.31
Insein ...	331,452	220	0.66

total population examined was 46,444 and the number of cases of leprosy detected was 746, which gives a ratio of 16.06 per thousand, or one leper out of every 62 persons. The population of that part of the province in which infirmities were recorded at the census was 14,647,497 and if the proportion of lepers in the rest of the province were the same as in the areas surveyed by the Special Leprosy Officer then the total number of lepers in the province would be about 235,000, which is about 21 times the number actually recorded at the census (11,127). It should be borne in mind that the ratio given above, namely 16.06 per thousand, is based on only a small sample and may not be representative. It is presumed that other areas in the province will be surveyed



and it will be interesting to see what the proportions are in the new areas. It might be mentioned that in Assam the number of lepers according to surveys made from September 1925 to February 1928 was estimated to be between 3 and 4 times the number recorded at the census. On the other hand in Travancore the number of lepers actually found was 16 times the census figure.

It is obvious from the figures given above that although the number of lepers in Burma cannot at present be estimated at all accurately the number must be very large. The leper problem is therefore a big one but now that methods of treatment have been adopted which promise to yield satisfactory results it is perhaps not too much to hope that the number will be gradually reduced.

Much of the information in this paragraph was very kindly furnished by the Director of Public Health (Lieutenant-Colonel G. G. Jolly, C.I.E., I.M.S.); most of the remainder was obtained from a paper on the subject written by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Taylor, I.M.S., late of the Pasteur Institute, Burma.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Number afflicted per 100,000 of each sex in*

NOTE.—Inmates of asylums or other institutions for the infirm who were born outside the district

District and Natural Division.	Insane.										Deaf-Mutes.									
	Males.					Females.					Males.					Females.				
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
<b>PROVINCE ...</b>	99	93	85	61	98	77	84	74	45	83	122	96	77	33	55	110	84	65	22	47
<b>Burman ...</b>	89	81	68	61	98	65	69	54	44	83	92	68	58	32	55	77	58	45	21	47
<i>Della ...</i>	93	70	61	56	81	52	48	37	28	43	68	43	38	22	41	58	35	27	13	34
Rangoon ...	29	41	226	227	205	38	84	115	97	50	25	15	20	14	15	39	24	21	14	16
Insein ...	74	40	39	36	57	48	22	34	22	29	71	26	45	19	39	46	19	38	11	30
Hanthawaddy ...	69	46	39	36	57	48	22	34	22	29	71	26	45	19	39	46	19	38	11	30
Tharrawaddy ...	74	52	34	48	99	35	42	32	23	55	68	32	34	18	58	59	26	22	12	46
Pegu ...	42	36	44	20	64	31	37	34	13	30	50	31	27	19	36	38	26	20	8	30
Bassein ...	54	39	41	38	64	37	31	28	18	37	67	32	24	24	42	60	30	20	9	23
Henzada ...	71	67	53	64	76	43	53	34	35	54	63	66	47	32	38	50	51	31	17	42
Myaungmya ...	39	44	37	43	47	37	34	20	19	38	62	36	26	27	39	53	30	14	14	35
Maubin ...	81	63	53	55	70	61	47	22	22	74	34	48	22	22	65	42	36	17	17	35
Pyapön ...	47	31	32	38	81	59	68	48	26	53	106	92	62	28	56	76	55	37	15	36
Toungoo ...	83	72	58	16	75	48	37	12	...	94	41	46	14	...	75	29	26	9	...	...
Thatön ...	93	46	54	16	...	75	48	37	12	...	94	41	46	14	...	75	29	26	9	...
<b>Coast ...</b>	79	88	71	45	84	68	79	58	45	62	88	63	52	20	41	65	47	35	12	26
Akyab ...	109	102	78	50	95	96	109	67	34	83	108	77	45	28	57	89	53	32	14	38
Kyaukpau ...	15	93	105	67	191	20	68	61	36	69	14	60	56	21	26	7	45	34	11	37
Sandoway ...	103	108	74	57	185	94	65	55	33	79	142	76	66	22	51	88	60	51	9	31
Amherst ...	68	58	47	32	57	55	43	42	15	38	82	46	45	13	26	66	34	31	12	15
Tavoy ...	71	106	77	24	75	64	91	75	25	39	63	36	80	7	45	37	33	41	13	17
Mergui ...	69	71	55	32	82	59	86	39	16	74	103	80	56	17	44	73	69	35	7	23
<b>Centre ...</b>	78	75	66	70	120	62	68	56	61	117	93	65	52	40	72	82	52	38	28	61
Prome ...	75	58	80	63	102	51	40	40	37	63	77	50	41	21	94	70	38	31	17	52
Thayetmyo ...	117	74	83	65	88	96	42	45	56	63	100	18	55	14	20	74	12	33	14	34
Paköku ...	119	110	79	102	129	93	108	67	94	129	224	152	95	94	110	169	111	77	56	84
Minbu ...	87	87	130	92	153	79	96	67	79	186	102	80	58	57	90	89	67	51	35	68
Magwe ...	46	40	46	84	130	41	41	37	82	141	81	48	53	61	76	70	36	36	49	46
Mandalay ...	79	66	69	52	126	71	65	71	43	107	67	49	30	19	70	63	38	28	16	65
Kyaukse ...	84	89	84	75	123	88	90	90	44	106	91	67	44	25	56	86	69	26	31	51
Meiktila ...	58	51	48	39	123	53	53	51	45	103	89	46	34	22	64	79	51	31	20	65
Yamethin ...	71	53	40	53	101	53	52	46	53	95	105	56	52	28	53	110	44	27	22	39
Myingyan ...	46	57	34	81	102	37	46	37	74	118	52	67	39	54	84	59	53	24	41	66
Shwebo ...	59	71	47	57	115	58	60	63	46	134	64	63	57	40	77	57	47	37	17	66
Sagaing ...	68	96	77	84	127	60	80	78	78	141	63	63	52	33	69	56	45	37	23	63
Lower Chindwin ...	77	70	67	63	184	61	71	58	50	142	77	49	59	45	97	66	47	41	22	85
<b>North ...</b>	154	173	125	73	95	158	182	141	85	110	265	295	249	80	88	261	283	244	53	90
Bhamo ...	188	301	70	44	63	191	294	111	43	83	405	666	457	145	46	346	699	492	102	71
Myitkyina ...	168	229	165	45	...	180	251	154	82	...	354	487	485	30	...	418	455	461	61	...
Katha ...	86	63	83	54	64	76	57	89	48	69	121	72	67	43	69	104	61	72	26	66
Upper Chindwin ...	206	206	200	125	152	224	244	223	158	165	283	252	248	115	139	281	237	243	65	125
<b>Chin ...</b>	458	483	...	...	...	456	603	...	...	...	731	762	...	...	...	691	846	...	...	...
Arakan Hill ...	281	167	114	246	355	221	247	148	148	114	127	37	35	47	26	106	59	37	69	11
Tracts. ...	482	623	1,211	364	...	484	767	1,213	336	...	811	865	456	90	85	760	731	349	39	54
Chin Hills ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>Salween ...</b>	101	112	...	...	...	97	98	...	...	...	238	188	...	...	...	256	146	...	...	...
Salween ...	118	71	57	10	54	127	98	64	11	107	204	48	61	21	85	183	47	37	5	54
Karenni ...	85	148	...	...	...	71	98	...	...	...	270	308	...	...	...	319	217	...	...	...
<b>Shan ...</b>	134	156	123	34	26	133	148	124	35	86	298	245	199	38	35	275	234	192	24	43
Northern Shan ...	103	146	174	49	...	104	143	164	54	...	331	333	355	80	...	346	334	354	55	...
Southern Shan ...	157	162	95	27	...	153	152	104	27	...	274	186	116	19	...	226	169	108	11	...



each district and natural division at each of the last five censuses.

in which the institution is situated have been excluded in calculating the figures for that district.

Blind.										Lepers.									
Males.					Females.					Males.					Females.				
1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.
22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
170	168	131	105	172	209	205	150	117	229	102	98	79	56	117	49	49	37	25	52
169	164	119	106	173	209	200	135	121	230	100	95	77	59	117	47	46	35	26	51
111	98	69	57	92	113	97	67	55	99	85	88	76	57	118	30	32	29	19	37
68	49	28	35	31	91	92	49	62	41	29	31	57	53	40	19	31	16	29	31
93	67	72	77	78	106	78	66	67	85	93	68	91	64	129	36	22	39	21	35
113	97	78	62	118	116	108	89	79	154	93	96	46	43	102	34	41	22	11	28
153	119	87	50	101	148	142	64	49	84	77	99	99	43	153	25	35	22	16	38
95	101	87	27	64	100	94	46	21	62	63	75	72	62	129	24	28	36	20	38
77	53	43	27	64	74	46	42	61	110	89	93	81	129	27	27	31	30	19	40
115	129	86	81	122	124	113	73	69	110	104	118	101	81	129	27	32	32	31	40
84	73	46	53	81	72	71	48	54	87	72	95	86	94	146	30	35	28	19	55
138	132	77	59	81	121	106	61	69	87	168	158	139	65	146	62	59	46	19	55
140	92	67	59	81	155	89	80	69	87	82	63	64	65	146	25	26	33	19	55
159	190	111	78	130	162	162	114	70	133	53	67	33	31	79	18	29	15	7	36
119	64	64	30	...	95	51	46	7	...	61	53	48	18	...	24	13	11	10	...
70	72	52	32	58	70	69	64	55	99	31	27	27	14	35	16	32	28	19	37
79	69	42	28	57	75	66	35	20	52	23	21	15	10	28	24	19	15	8	23
31	57	57	42	48	20	59	51	32	41	6	9	27	17	44	4	10	10	11	18
95	103	54	33	64	97	106	33	16	60	14	13	12	11	15	17	5	2	2	5
63	54	53	24	55	72	53	31	18	34	43	39	50	24	37	18	17	11	6	12
62	95	79	48	77	58	99	68	32	95	13	19	29	9	26	5	17	14	36	8
97	102	52	37	80	86	81	58	21	74	12	22	17	9	70	3	10	17	2	23
265	265	189	186	291	338	330	216	207	381	154	134	98	81	154	77	71	46	37	73
152	121	109	119	221	174	136	108	93	192	77	45	69	77	91	20	21	27	22	24
223	175	143	99	116	224	163	140	133	184	119	68	95	48	101	73	32	30	28	30
348	334	191	273	339	473	460	203	318	417	116	96	48	67	122	55	55	28	38	60
259	277	181	187	320	346	362	222	217	428	146	167	140	105	167	84	85	58	54	78
226	183	117	210	250	324	234	172	245	334	203	119	78	100	60	94	53	39	53	69
236	269	240	206	332	269	307	234	185	418	183	153	153	91	201	111	108	91	41	120
315	355	359	209	271	368	364	342	186	287	63	92	125	42	124	29	19	36	28	52
260	206	159	102	258	359	264	183	149	107	164	98	75	46	145	101	61	34	28	81
238	226	160	125	228	319	274	182	151	260	100	71	56	39	91	58	41	23	20	35
251	284	132	244	330	297	344	151	303	434	169	188	81	151	203	79	88	30	54	107
285	302	208	165	326	349	387	266	156	420	103	100	67	47	421	44	46	34	26	59
255	350	272	211	405	369	465	330	211	524	200	286	193	104	240	102	169	110	53	111
413	403	316	246	486	481	470	357	285	602	158	160	144	93	227	87	92	59	36	98
261	247	209	137	227	342	310	234	159	336	58	65	69	42	68	37	43	43	26	44
240	204	149	71	228	353	250	157	83	446	48	19	47	7	40	33	25	25	5	33
178	177	146	72	...	249	233	172	148	...	35	44	31	4	...	26	15	32	10	...
288	256	214	157	169	311	281	212	169	309	80	83	91	47	59	38	49	57	28	39
313	317	295	164	286	447	431	340	182	289	55	85	73	66	100	47	63	39	38	56
119	144	...	...	...	107	122	...	...	...	207	320	...	...	...	105	122	...	...	...
218	269	158	426	250	231	385	111	326	242	471	538	263	388	316	202	257	129	227	242
105	139	99	44	...	92	77	103	36	...	173	305	275	27	...	93	118	111	23	...
152	152	...	...	...	219	222	...	...	...	40	79	...	...	...	20	30	...	...	...
168	56	24	10	36	167	72	41	27	74	18	34	28	15	36	16	4	9	...	40
137	235	...	...	...	264	330	...	...	...	62	119	...	...	...	24	49	...	...	...
187	210	232	101	61	226	255	274	91	236	105	102	75	22	44	62	68	50	12	43
175	214	323	188	...	223	254	378	187	...	49	43	60	30	...	26	22	41	22	...
196	208	183	64	...	228	256	221	53	...	145	142	83	18	...	87	98	54	9	...



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Comparison between the 1931 and 1921 figures for the number afflicted per 100,000 persons of each sex and age-group and the number of females afflicted per 1,000 males in each group.

Age.		Insane.						Deaf-Mutes.					
		Males.		Females.		Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.		Males.		Females.		Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.	
		1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All Ages	...	99	93	77	84	750	841	122	96	110	84	861	842
0—5	...	7	8	6	7	955	938	30	24	26	17	874	731
5—10	...	24	27	21	26	832	955	95	83	79	65	822	792
10—15	...	39	39	34	42	828	1,020	116	98	100	91	834	869
15—20	...	90	74	68	64	785	912	143	110	119	99	861	949
20—25	...	104	111	76	87	747	783	136	138	114	120	862	861
25—30	...	136	116	99	90	649	705	117	102	118	95	906	842
30—35	...	155	158	111	139	608	733	116	130	121	127	883	811
35—40	...	189	152	142	123	629	652	136	87	136	78	840	717
40—45	...	197	117	155	178	686	892	146	114	144	106	860	809
45—50	...	177	118	165	160	844	933	160	73	144	69	814	809
50—55	...	168	161	164	156	932	930	169	98	147	86	824	849
55—60	...	150	153	151	138	967	883	170	70	166	63	936	918
60 and over	...	135	132	132	135	980	1,048	261	131	235	114	899	891

Age.		Blind.						Lepers.					
		Males.		Females.		Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.		Males.		Females.		Number of females afflicted per 1,000 males.	
		1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All Ages	...	170	168	209	205	1,174	1,165	102	98	49	49	463	482
0—5	...	25	21	19	17	816	873	3	2	2	2	731	842
5—10	...	43	41	31	30	716	743	18	9	11	4	634	522
10—15	...	50	56	39	44	750	741	37	28	22	20	571	670
15—20	...	71	83	58	58	852	728	101	70	53	42	542	632
20—25	...	78	86	64	77	844	890	122	117	61	61	509	519
25—30	...	98	104	89	95	817	830	162	135	74	72	411	480
30—35	...	114	119	113	128	836	886	178	175	77	85	364	406
35—40	...	180	139	206	150	957	867	191	188	80	81	351	345
40—45	...	221	204	255	241	1,003	1,050	192	197	85	94	386	486
45—50	...	334	285	430	318	1,169	964	178	129	90	91	462	442
50—55	...	431	377	556	517	1,227	1,321	164	191	86	89	499	449
55—60	...	664	489	923	666	1,334	1,333	135	151	81	92	577	597
60 and over	...	1,076	1,053	1,624	1,527	1,509	1,491	102	120	79	81	774	695



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—Distribution of the Infirm by age per 10,000 of each sex.

Age.	Insane.										Deaf-Mutes.									
	Males.					Females.					Males.					Females.				
	Males.					Females.					Males.					Females.				
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
0-5	91	102	125	115	63	116	113	167	130	84	330	299	368	341	312	335	260	384	351	354
5-10	298	353	322	274	198	331	401	383	277	224	945	1,046	1,082	854	1,005	901	983	960	854	952
10-15	450	479	617	557	567	497	581	605	637	479	1,075	1,182	1,429	1,294	1,335	1,040	1,219	1,328	1,376	1,072
15-20	846	773	1,019	938	914	886	838	894	949	806	1,089	1,120	1,482	1,375	1,088	1,089	1,262	1,528	1,088	878
20-25	991	1,079	1,278	1,300	1,181	1,087	1,004	1,153	1,027	997	1,047	1,314	1,414	1,161	1,167	1,047	1,343	1,748	971	1,066
25-30	1,259	1,074	1,153	1,175	1,170	1,089	900	981	923	920	876	924	932	733	753	921	924	804	710	718
30-35	1,313	1,373	1,285	1,272	1,299	1,065	1,197	1,165	1,118	1,098	794	1,106	949	948	795	814	1,065	905	863	912
35-40	1,221	1,042	1,023	1,004	1,009	1,024	807	796	867	913	711	582	465	560	828	693	495	488	495	741
40-45	1,097	1,146	1,067	994	1,083	1,004	1,214	963	966	1,065	657	732	563	607	461	656	703	490	773	644
45-50	741	692	575	601	585	834	768	679	624	719	542	333	241	428	423	512	320	324	423	439
50-55	601	710	563	611	653	747	785	676	888	923	492	420	283	526	428	470	424	300	531	479
55-60	412	382	274	346	390	532	401	449	381	418	377	171	190	208	233	410	186	219	414	376
60 and over	680	795	699	813	888	888	991	1,089	1,213	1,354	1,065	771	602	965	1,172	1,112	816	522	1,151	1,369

Age.	Blind.										Lepers.									
	Males.					Females.					Males.					Females.				
	Males.					Females.					Males.					Females.				
	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1931	1921	1911	1901	1891
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
0-5	191	147	162	249	269	133	110	148	173	133	34	29	23	112	33	54	50	55	184	52
5-10	304	296	367	395	362	185	189	245	211	180	212	105	95	61	77	290	113	159	120	88
10-15	329	386	459	472	479	210	245	321	250	256	417	335	328	344	372	514	466	464	448	385
15-20	386	483	550	459	439	280	302	375	285	285	919	701	704	714	722	1,077	920	874	872	942
20-25	431	464	616	589	425	310	355	511	422	290	1,128	1,088	938	1,058	938	1,241	1,171	1,125	1,128	1,182
25-30	522	535	521	574	389	363	381	423	375	293	1,446	1,191	1,179	1,245	1,101	1,284	1,187	1,066	960	1,078
30-35	559	575	634	580	513	397	437	540	476	396	1,463	1,457	1,458	1,449	1,248	1,150	1,228	1,229	1,200	1,229
35-40	673	530	586	594	519	548	394	472	426	359	1,195	1,231	1,305	1,153	1,340	906	882	870	1,080	937
40-45	711	731	733	665	620	608	658	636	599	540	1,036	1,213	1,140	1,099	1,279	864	1,064	911	888	1,119
45-50	808	736	698	640	627	804	609	576	511	453	720	797	839	711	830	719	731	724	608	625
50-55	893	919	822	864	783	933	1,042	766	810	824	569	801	762	809	781	614	746	880	791	880
55-60	1,054	679	697	651	665	1,197	777	861	677	757	360	361	393	429	423	449	447	592	448	458
60 and over	3,139	3,519	3,155	3,368	3,910	4,032	4,501	4,126	4,785	5,234	501	691	836	816	856	838	995	1,107	1,184	1,114



## CHAPTER VIII.

### Occupation.

**71. Introduction.**—At the Census of 1921 the total population was divided into *Workers* and *Dependants*. With the exception of a few classes conventionally treated as workers, the term *Dependants* included all those who did not have an income of their own but were supported by another person who did not stand to them in the relation of an employer. All other persons were treated as *Workers*. The term *Workers* thus included those whose income was derived directly from such sources as begging, pensions, rent, dividends or profits from trading as well as those whose income or maintenance was received as payment for their labour or other services ; and it was conventionally extended to include priests and Buddhist monks even if they had no income, and also prisoners in jails and inmates of asylums and a few other special classes. For workers, both the *principal occupation* and the *subsidiary occupation* (see paragraph 173 of the 1921 Census Report for the definition) were entered in the enumeration schedules ; for dependants the principal occupation of the person who supported them was entered.

At the 1931 census the population was divided into *Earners*, *Working-Dependants* and *Non-working Dependants*. Columns 9 to 11 of the enumeration schedule dealt with the record of occupations and the words *Earner* and *Dependant* were defined in the instructions for filling in column 9, which were as follows :—

"Column 9 (*Earner or Dependant*).—Enter whether earner or dependant. Every person, however young or old, is one of these. All persons whose income represents a considerable proportion of the amount required for their maintenance are earners. This income may be obtained by taking part in an occupation or trade or may be derived from rent, investments, etc., and it may be received in the form of cash, goods or as board and lodging. Members of an earner's household who give a large part of their time to assisting him in his work are also earners, e.g., a son who always helps his father in the fields. Pensioners should also be entered as earners.

All other persons are dependants, such as women and children who only occasionally earn anything or who only do housework."

In column 10 of the schedule the principal occupation of earners was entered and in column 11 the subsidiary occupation of earners and the principal occupation of dependants. The instructions issued to enumerators for filling in these two columns were as follows :—

"Columns 10 and 11 (*Occupations*) :—

#### A.—EARNERS.

**Column 10.**—Enter in this column the principal means of subsistence of earners. If an earner has two sources of income enter the one from which the greater annual income is derived. Where the occupation may be carried on in various circumstances the particular case should be described completely. Thus for managers, salesmen, cashiers, clerks, coolies, give also the occupation of the employer, e.g., manager of a rubber plantation, salesman in a motor firm, Railway cashier, lawyer's clerk, coolie in a rice mill. In the case of domestic service state whether boy, cook, sweeper, etc. For a Government or Municipal official give the exact name of the appointment. For a person who sells things state clearly the nature of the goods sold and whether they are sold wholesale, or retail by hawking, e.g., retail cloth seller. If a person makes the goods he sells he should be entered as maker and seller of them. In the case of persons living on agriculture distinguish between (1) non-cultivating owners, (2) cultivating owners, (3) tenant cultivators (whether the rent is paid in cash or kind) and (4) agricultural labourers. Distinguish cultivators who practise wet or dry cultivation, *kaing*, miscellaneous or *taungya* cultivation or gardening. In the case of rent receivers distinguish rents from agriculture, building, mining or other kinds of land or from houses. For persons who have taken the yellow robe enter *koyin*, *upazin*, *pôngyi* or *sayadaw*. For persons who are ill or in hospital record the occupations they will practise on recovery.

"Column 11.—In column 10 has been entered the occupation from which the greatest annual income is derived in an ordinary year. In column 11 must be entered the occupation which is the second greatest source of income. Thus if a man lives principally by his earnings as a boatman, but partly also by fishing, the word 'boatman' will be entered in column 10 and 'fisherman' in this column. If an earner has only one source of income put a small cross in this column."



## B.—DEPENDANTS.

"Column 10.—A small cross must be entered in this column for all dependants.

"Column 11.—If a dependant has one or more occupations enter the most important in this column. For dependants who do only housework enter 'housework,' and for those who do weaving but no other work, except perhaps housework, enter 'weaving'. For those who do no work at all make a small cross in this column."

Supplementary instructions regarding the filling up of the occupation columns were issued to all census officers above the rank of enumerator to enable them to check the work of the enumerators.

It will be seen from the above that the occupation statistics of the 1931 census are not strictly comparable with those of the 1921 census. In 1921 an occupation was entered in the enumeration schedule for every single person. In other words, the total population was classified by occupation. In 1931 only earners and working dependants, *i.e.*, dependants who returned an occupation, have been classified by occupation. It is important to remember that in 1921 the principal occupation of the person by whom a dependant was principally maintained was recorded and not the occupation of the dependant, even if he (or she) had any; in 1931 if a dependant had an occupation it was recorded, otherwise nothing (or rather a cross) was recorded.

**72. Scheme of Classification.**—The scheme of classification is that of M. Bertillon. It was approved by the International Statistical Institute and was adopted for the Census of India in 1911. Under this scheme the various occupations have been grouped into 195 groups and these groups have been combined into 55 orders, 12 sub-classes and 4 classes. The names of all the classes, sub-classes, orders and groups are given in Part I of Imperial Table X. But this scheme of classification, although termed occupational, is, as a matter of fact, partly industrial and partly occupational. The scheme of classification used in the census of England and Wales in 1911 was also partly industrial and partly occupational but in 1921 and again in 1931 there were separate and independent tabulations by occupation and industry. This was done on the recommendation of the British Empire Statistical Conference of 1920. This Conference recommended, among other things, that the classification should be based on two lists, the one of industries and the other of occupations, each heading being defined and given a reference number, and the headings should be so arranged as to be capable of being grouped into classes according to a fixed and defined system. It was also resolved that the basic principle of the industrial classification should be the product or type of service, and that of the occupational classification, the process carried out and the material worked in. Thus, according to these definitions the occupation of any person is the kind of work which he or she performs; and this alone determines the particular group in an occupation classification to which the person is assigned. The nature of the factory, business, or service in which the person is employed has no bearing upon the classification of his occupation, except to the extent that it enables the nature of his work to be more clearly defined. For instance, a durwan or watchman might be employed in a rice mill or saw mill or any other establishment but the nature of the establishment has no bearing upon his occupation and all watchmen would be put in the same occupational group. On the other hand, the industry in which any individual is engaged is determined (whatever may be his occupation) by reference to the business in which, or for the purposes for which, his occupation is followed. No consideration of personal occupation enters into it. Thus every person in a rice mill from the manager down to the coolies who carry the bags of rice, no matter what their occupation may be, are employed in the *industry* of rice-milling.

It will be seen that according to the above definitions of the terms *industry* and *occupation* the classification scheme used for the census of India since 1911 is largely industrial. For instance the persons in group 71 include all those engaged in the *industry* of rice-milling. Similarly, group 54 includes all engaged in the *industry* of saw-milling. For some of the industries and professions there is, however, an occupational classification. Thus in the case of persons employed on the construction of roads and bridges, labourers are included in group 106 and other persons in group 105, while in the case of persons employed in harbours, docks, rivers and canals, labourers are included in group 104 and other persons in group 103. In the case of persons engaged in the legal profession, lawyers are included in group 167 and persons



employed by lawyers, such as clerks and peons, in group 168. Similarly, professors and teachers are included in group 174 and clerks and other persons connected with education in group 175. It should be noted that all doctors (registered medical practitioners), police, postal employees and sweepers are included in groups 169, 157, 114, and 100, respectively, no matter where employed. Persons employed on railways, except doctors, police, postal employees and sweepers, have been divided into labourers (group 113) and others (group 112). But although the figures for some groups represent those employed in industries yet the figures for those groups by no means represent all those employed in those industries. For instance, the entry in the enumeration schedule was often just clerk, carpenter, engine driver, etc., and there was nothing to show whether the person was employed in a rice mill, saw mill or any other establishment. In such cases unspecified carpenters were included in group 55 with turners and joiners, unspecified clerks in group 189 and unspecified engine drivers in group 190. It might be mentioned here that in 1921 there was a Special Industrial Census. This was not repeated in 1931, but in order to compensate to a certain extent for the loss of information involved a special column for *industry* was provided in the enumeration schedule. Although statistics of industries were not compiled—owing to the financial stringency—the entries in the industry column were often very useful in enabling the occupations to be classified.

In the case of persons who sell things it must be noted that those who both make and sell are classified as makers. On the same principle a person who extracts some mineral from the ground and refines it is classified as an extractor of minerals and included in sub-class II and not as a refiner of metals in sub-class III. Similarly, a person who keeps cattle, makes butter and sells it is classified as a cattle keeper (group 21) and not as a butter maker (group 81) or seller of butter (group 131), while a man who catches fish and cures it is classified as a fisherman (group 27) and not as a fish curer (group 81).

Industrial and trading occupations were classified either (a) according to the material worked in or (b) according to the purpose for which the material or article made was used. For instance, the industrial occupations included in groups 42 to 81 are classified according to the material worked in while those in groups 82 to 99 are classified according to the purpose for which the article made was used, irrespective of the material of which the article was made. If an article is included in one of the groups 82 to 99 a maker of that article was included in that group, groups 42 to 81 being intended for makers of other articles. Thus a maker of sandals is included in group 82 (boot, shoe and sandal makers) while a maker of leather trunks and saddles is included in group 51 (working in leather); a person who washes, dyes, cleans or irons articles of dress (*i.e.* used articles) is included in group 85 whereas the proper group number is 49 if the articles have not been used. In the case of trading occupations those in groups 117 to 137 are classified according to the material of which the articles sold are made while those in groups 138 to 148 are classified according to the purpose for which the articles sold are used. If an article is included in one of the groups 138 to 148 a seller of that article was included in that group, groups 117 to 137 being intended for other articles. Thus a dealer in ready-made clothing and other articles of dress is included in group 138 while a piece-goods dealer (*i.e.*, material not made up) is included in group 117.

It will be seen from the above description that the classification scheme is an extremely unsatisfactory one. It is neither purely industrial nor purely occupational. It is a hybrid classification which gives figures neither for industries nor occupations, in the sense in which these terms are ordinarily used. Further criticism of the scheme will be found in paragraph 177 of the 1921 Census Report. In connection with the present census an attempt was made to classify the male population (earners) according to their occupation, *i.e.*, according to the work they do, without regard to the industry for which they do it. The manner in which this was done is explained in paragraph 81.

**73. Comparison between the Classification Schemes for 1921 and 1931.**—In 1921 the classification scheme proposed for all the provinces and states in India was not considered quite suitable for Burma and a few variations were made. For the 1931 census the scheme proposed has been



accepted without variations as there did not appear to be any need to make a change. The classes and sub-classes in the Burma Scheme for 1931 are the same as those in the Burma Scheme for 1921, except that Sub-class I has not been subdivided as it was at the 1921 census. Marginal table 1 shows the relationship between the orders that are principally affected. It will be noticed that the number of orders in Sub-class II—*Exploitation of minerals* has been reduced from three to two. The remaining orders have only been slightly affected by the changes. The relation between the groups of the 1921 census and those of the 1931 census is given in Subsidiary Table IX.

1. Comparison between certain orders in the 1921 and 1931 Classification Schemes for Burma.

Order of the 1921 Scheme.		Equivalent in the 1931 scheme.
Number.	Title.	
I	Control by persons not principally practising an occupation of Sub-class 1b or 1c of land or water used for such an occupation.	Groups 1 to 4 of Sub-order 1(a).
IIA	Cultivation ...	Groups 5 to 8 of Sub-order 1 (a) and Sub-order 1 (b).
IIb	Forestry ...	Sub-order 1 (c).
IIc	Raising of farm stock ...	Sub-order 1 (d).
IId	Raising of other animals ...	Sub-order 1 (e).
IIe	Exploitation of wild animals ...	Order 2.
III	Coal, petroleum and metals ...	Order 3 and groups 35 and 36 of Order 4.
IV	Minerals not of Order III or V ...	Groups 37 to 39 and 41 of Order 4.
V	Minerals soluble in water ...	Group 40 of Order 4.

According to this table all the occupation groups associated with the building industry (groups 85 to 89 of 1921) have been amalgamated; hawkers (group 153 of 1921) are now divided into hawkers of drink and foodstuffs (group 128) and hawkers of commodities other than drink and foodstuffs (group 151) while separate groups have been formed for the manufacture and sale of tobacco, *ganja* and opium (groups 75 and 137 of 1921). Other small changes are too numerous to mention. It might also be mentioned that the titles of some of the classes, sub-classes, orders and groups differ slightly from those used in the corresponding table for 1921.

**74. Statistical References.**—The most important occupation table is Imperial Table X. This table is divided into two parts: figures for the province as a whole are given in Part I and figures for districts in Part II. Figures for certain groups have been omitted from Part II because their numbers were small or *nil* (see Note 7 on the fly-leaf). Other groups have been omitted from Part II, because they were comparatively unimportant or because they were mainly confined to a few districts, but the figures for the most important districts are given in the table on page 104 of the Tables volume. In this way considerable economy was effected in printing.

In Imperial Table XI earners and working dependants are classified by race and principal occupation. In Part I of the table figures are given for classes and sub-classes for selected Natural Divisions; in Part II figures are given for orders and selected groups but separate figures are not given for Natural Divisions, except in the case of groups 1, 5, 6 and 7.

In Provincial Table VI *male earners* have been classified by race (see paragraph 80 of this Chapter).

In addition the following subsidiary tables have been compiled and are appended to this Chapter:—

- I.—General Distribution of the Population by Occupation.
  - A. Earners (principal occupation) and Working Dependants.
  - B. Earners (subsidiary occupation).
- II.—Distribution by Sub-classes in Natural Divisions and Districts.
  - A. Earners (principal occupation) and Working Dependants.
  - B. Earners (subsidiary occupation.)
- III.—Occupation of females by classes, sub-classes, orders and selected groups.
- IV.—Selected occupations, 1931 and 1921.
- VA.—Distribution by occupation of 1,000 workers of selected racial classes.
- VB.—Distribution by race of 1,000 workers in each class, sub-class and order and selected groups of occupation.



- VI.—Number of persons employed on or about the 24th February 1931 in the Post Office and Telegraph Department, the Irrigation Department and on Railways in Burma.  
 A. Post Office and Telegraph Department.  
 B. Irrigation Department.  
 C. Railways.
- VIIA.—Distribution by Economic Function of 1,000 male earners of selected racial classes for (a) the whole province and (b) Rangoon.
- VIIIB.—Distribution by race of 1,000 male earners in each functional class for (a) the whole province and (b) Rangoon.
- VIIIA.—Distribution by Economic Function of 1,000 male earners of selected racial classes in (a) rice mills (group 71) and (b) saw mills (group 54).
- VIIIB.—Distribution by race of 1,000 male earners in each functional class in (a) rice mills (group 71) and (b) saw mills (group 54).
- IX.—Relation between the group numbers of the occupational classification schemes at the 1921 and 1931 censuses in Burma.
- X.—Unemployment of Educated Persons.

**75. Accuracy of the Statistics.**—Considerable difficulty was experienced in drawing up the instructions for filling in the occupation columns. For instance, it is difficult enough to define an earner and a dependant, in English, but it is still more difficult in Burmese and especially in Burmese that an enumerator will understand. For this reason instructions were issued that supervisors and enumerators should be carefully and systematically trained and the distinction between earner and dependant explained to them, but it is probable that many enumerators did not understand this distinction and the figures for earners and dependants must therefore be treated with a certain amount of caution.

In compilation considerable difficulty was experienced with vague entries. In spite of special instructions to the contrary such entries as shopkeeper (ဆိုင်ရှင်), bazaar-seller (ဈေးသင်္ဃန်းဈေးရောင်း), bazaar stall-keeper (ဈေးဆိုင်ရှင်), trader (ကုန်သည်), seller of goods (ကုန်ရောင်း), clerk (စာရေး), cooly (ကူလီ), broker (ပွဲစား) and agent (ကိုယ်စားလှယ်) were frequently found in the schedules. In this connection the entry in column 12 for industry was very useful. For instance for traders, shopkeepers and other persons who sold things (but did not make them) the goods sold had to be entered in the column for industry, while for persons employed in industry and the professions, the industry or the profession of the employer had to be entered. This is the reason for the big decrease in the number of "general storekeepers and shopkeepers otherwise unspecified." In 1921 the total number of workers so classified was 243,485 but the number in 1931 (earners and working dependants) was only 23,429. Similarly, the number of workers with "insufficiently described occupations" in 1921 was 351,923 compared with only 54,921 in 1931.

Another error which had to be guarded against in the compilation concerned the entries for young children. Apparently some enumerators who were acquainted with the census enumeration of 1921 had followed the instructions of that census and for children only a year or two old had entered in column 11 the occupation of the person by whom they were supported, instead of making a *nil* entry (or rather a cross).

It has already been mentioned in paragraph 72 that persons who make things as well as sell them were classified as makers and instructions were issued that such persons should be described in the enumeration schedules as makers and sellers of the articles in question. This was frequently not done and a person who made the things he sold was often entered only as a seller of them. In many such cases it was possible to say from the articles sold whether the person was also a maker of them, but this was not possible in all cases.

In the instructions issued to enumerators it was stated that the principal occupation should be that from which the greatest income was derived in an ordinary year and that the subsidiary occupation should be that from which the second greatest income was derived in an ordinary year. It is sometimes a difficult matter for a person to determine which of his various occupations should be entered as principal and which as subsidiary. Further, there is always a tendency for the occupation that is being pursued at the time the census is taken to be entered as the principal occupation rather than the



occupation from which the greatest annual income is derived. When the census was taken many persons who obtain their greatest income from agriculture would be temporarily following other occupations and may have returned these as their principal occupation. When it is doubtful which of two or more occupations should be returned as principal there is a tendency for the more respectable to be chosen. As regards subsidiary occupations it must be admitted that the returns are very far from complete and in these circumstances it hardly seems worth while compiling the figures.

The compilation of the figures for the occupation tables was much more difficult than the compilation of the figures for the other tables owing to the enormous variety of names used. Fortunately, an index of Burmese names for occupation which had been used at the 1921 census had been preserved and in this index the serial number of the occupation group to which each belonged in the 1921 classification scheme had been noted. This index was invaluable in drawing up a new index. There were about 1,200 names in this list and when it is realised that the work was done by a comparatively uneducated staff of casual employees the difficulty will be appreciated. The work was checked but it is probable that errors remain. But it was surprising how quickly the classifiers learnt the numbers of the different occupation groups, particularly those which occurred frequently in the records. The errors are probably greatest, both absolutely and relatively, for those occupations which occurred only rarely.

**76. Proportion of Workers and Dependants.**—At the 1921 census the population was divided into workers and dependants. At the 1931 census it was divided into earners, working dependants and non-working dependants. In 1921 the number of workers was 6,795,438 or 51·6 per cent. of the total population; in 1931 the number of workers, *i.e.*, earners *plus* working dependants was only 6,211,037 or 42·4 per cent. of the total population. The number of male workers (earners *plus* working dependants in 1931) has increased from 4,060,921 in 1921 to 4,251,771 in 1931, while the number of female workers has decreased from 2,734,517 in 1921 to 1,959,266 in 1931. In 1921 male workers represented 60·3 per cent of the male population compared with 56·8 per cent in 1931, the corresponding percentages for females being 42·5 and 27·3 for 1921 and 1931, respectively. These differences are mainly due to changes in the instructions issued to enumerators. The differences are greatest in the case of young children and females. It is impossible to say at what age children assisting their parents cease to be dependants and become workers. The same difficulty exists in the case of wives helping their husbands. For non-working dependants at the 1931 Census nothing at all—or rather a cross—had to be entered in the enumeration schedules, and it is probable that the large number of non-working dependants in 1931 is partly due to this, as it was so much easier to make a cross than to make enquiries regarding the work done by various members of a family. In 1921 an occupation had to be recorded for every person: if the person was a dependant then the occupation of the person by whom he (or she) was supported had to be recorded. In 1921 many wives and children who earned a small amount occasionally were tabulated as workers, whereas in 1931 such persons were probably returned as non-working dependants. The figures for workers (earners *plus* working dependants) and non-working dependants for 1931 are therefore not comparable with those for workers and dependants for 1921.

The numbers of male and female earners, working dependants and non-working dependants per thousand of the total population in Burma and a few of the other provinces in India are given in marginal table 2. It will be noticed that in Bengal there is a high proportion of non-working dependants, both of

2. Number of male and female earners, working dependants and non-working dependants per 1,000 of the total population in Burma and other provinces in India.

Class.	Sex.	Burma.	Bengal.	Assam.	Bihar and Orissa.	Punjab.	U.P.	Madras.
Earners	Males	258	244	274	282	280	331	273
	Females	97	31	61	118	19	87	110
Working dependants.	Males	32	6	46	7	36	11	20
	Females	37	7	71	9	33	58	152
Non-working dependants.	Males	220	270	203	209	230	183	201
	Females	356	442	345	375	402	330	244



males and females, only 29 per cent of the population being recorded as workers compared with 42 per cent in Burma.

### 77. Distribution of the Working Population by Occupation.—

It has already been explained in paragraph 71 that it is not possible to ascertain from the 1931 figures what proportion of the total population is supported by any particular occupation. Figures can, however, be given for the proportion

3. Distribution of the Population by Occupation.			
Sub-class.	Number per 1,000 in each sub-class.		
	Workers in 1931 (earners and working dependants).	Persons supported in 1921.	Workers in 1921.
1	2	3	4
I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation.	696	731	711
<i>Agriculture</i> ...	665	707	688
<i>Forestry</i> ...	8	6	6
<i>Animals</i> ...	23	18	17
II. Exploitation of Minerals.	6	3	4
III. Industry ...	107	66	71
IV. Transport ...	36	27	28
V. Trade ...	90	83	85
VI. Public Force ...	5	6	6
VII. Public Administration	7	8	5
VIII. Professions and Liberal Arts.	32	21	24
IX. Persons living on their income.	1	1	1
X. Domestic Service ...	7	6	8
XI. Insufficiently described	9	44	52
XII. Unproductive ...	4	4	6
All Occupations ...	1,000	1,000	1,000

of workers (earners and working dependants) engaged in each occupation. In Part A of Subsidiary Table I the proportion of workers per 10,000 of the total population is given for each class, sub-class and order, and in column 2 of marginal table 3 figures are given for the number of workers in each sub-class per 1,000 workers. Separate figures are given for *Agriculture*, *Forestry* and *Animals*. It will be noticed that 70 per cent of the workers were engaged in the production of raw materials and 23 per cent in industry, transport and trade, the remaining 7 per cent being mainly in public service (slightly more than one per cent), the professions and liberal arts (about 3 per cent) and domestic service (nearly 1 per cent); only about one per cent had occupations which were insufficiently described. Proportions for (a) persons supported and (b) workers in 1921 are given in columns 3 and 4 of marginal table 3, but these figures are not comparable with those in column 2. For instance, the figure for agriculture in column 2 is less than the figures in columns 3 and 4 but it does not follow that there has been a reduction in the number of persons supported by agriculture. In the first place, in the population supported by agriculture there is a bigger proportion of women and children than in the population supported by other occupations and secondly, a much larger proportion of women and children were classified as workers at the 1921 census than in 1931. The big reduction in the proportion of workers with insufficiently described occupations from 52 per 1,000 in 1921 to 9 per 1,000 in 1931 is largely responsible for the increase in the proportions for some of the sub-classes, particularly those for *Industry*, *Transport* and *Trade*.

### 78. Agricultural Occupations.—

4. Percentage of workers (earners and working dependants) engaged in agriculture.			
Sex.	Total workers (in thousands).	Number engaged in agriculture (in thousands).	Per cent.
Male ...	4,252	2,922	69
Female ...	1,929	1,205	62
Total ...	6,211	4,128	66

For the purposes of this Report *Agricultural Occupations* will be taken to include those in groups 1 to 16. The extent to which Burma is dependant upon agriculture is shown by marginal table 4. According to this table 69 per cent of the male workers and 62 per cent of the female workers returned an agricultural occupation. For earners alone the percentage is 71 for both males and females. In marginal table 5 figures are given for the



different agricultural occupations. Group 1 includes the ownership of land used for cultivation of any sort or for the raising of farm stock, poultry, etc. Practically the only kind of land not included is mining land and land used for building. The figures are not reliable as they do not allow for the ownership of land by persons whose principal occupation is not land-owning. Thus a person may be a land-owner, money-lender and a shop-keeper and the occupation from which the greatest income is derived in an ordinary year may be moneylending or shopkeeping, in which case "land-owner" would not be the correct return for his principal occupation. Much of the land is owned by persons whose principal occupation is moneylending. The persons in group 1 are usually called *non-agriculturists* as they take no part in the cultivation of the land.

5. Agricultural Workers in 1931 and 1921 (in thousands).					
Group Numbers in 1931 classification scheme.	Title.	1931.		1921.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	Non-cultivating owners ...	39	31	33	41
2-4	Estate agents, managers, rent collectors, clerks, etc.	4	...	3	...
5	Cultivating owners ...	927	321	1,166	903
6	Tenant cultivators ...	578	172	512	331
7	Agricultural labourers ...	1,007	481	622	405
8	Cultivators of <i>taungya</i> ...	290	159	278	247
9-16	Workers in plantations and gardens.	78	41	80	51
1-16	Total ...	2,922	1,205	2,694	1,979

Groups 2, 3 and 4 are mostly Government servants in the Land Records, Settlement and Survey departments. They are not strictly agriculturists but their numbers are small and they have been included for the sake of convenience.

Groups 5, 6 and 7 are confined to the cultivation of paddy and other ordinary crops; the cultivation of vegetables on an extensive scale is also included. These will be referred to as *Agriculture Proper*, as in 1921. *Taungya* is a method of cultivation practised by many of the hill tribes. It consists of clearing by fire for a single season, a patch of forest land (usually on a hillside) and sowing seed among the ashes. The term is, however, loosely applied in some parts of the province to the cultivation of crops other than paddy, particularly vegetables.

Groups 9 to 16 include rubber, tea, sugarcane, *dhani*, betel-vine and other garden cultivation. It will be seen from marginal table 5 that there has been a small increase in the number of male agricultural workers from 2,694 to 2,922 thousands but a big decrease in the number of females from 1,979 to 1,205 thousands. It has already been mentioned that the instructions for filling up the occupation columns were not the same at the 1921 and 1931 censuses, and as a consequence a much larger proportion of women and children were classified as workers in 1921 than in 1931. This is the main reason for the very big drop in the number of female workers but the figures for male workers are also affected by it. The figures for males and females are also affected by the fact that in 1921 there was a very large number of labourers with insufficiently described occupations, namely 225,609, and it is probable that many of these were agricultural labourers; in 1931 the corresponding number was only 45,653. This is partly responsible for the very large increase in the number of agricultural labourers, males having increased from 622 to 1,007 thousands and females from 405 to 481 thousands. It will be noticed that there has been a corresponding decrease in the number of cultivating owners, while the number of male tenant cultivators has increased from 512 to 578 thousands. These differences are so large that it is obvious that a considerable amount of land has passed into the hands of non-agriculturists during the last decade. A better comparison can perhaps be made between the proportions of cultivating owners, tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers



at the two censuses. This is done in marginal table 6. Figures have been

6. Male workers in Agriculture Proper in 1921 and 1931.				
Class of Agriculturist.	Actual number (in thousands).		Per cent.	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
Cultivating owner ...	927	1,166	36.9	50.7
Tenant cultivator ...	578	512	23.0	22.3
Agricultural labourer ...	1,007	622	40.1	27.1
Total ...	2,512	2,300	100	100

labourers in 1921 to compensate for the bigger proportion in 1921 who were classified as having insufficiently described occupations then the percentages for cultivating owners, tenants and labourers will be 49.6, 21.8 and 28.6, respectively.

These figures may be compared with those for the area occupied by agriculturists and non-agriculturists and the area let to tenants. During the ten years ending 30th June 1931, the area occupied by agriculturists has fallen from 14,489,674 acres to 14,456,751 acres. During the first seven years of the decade there was a small but steady increase up to 14,844,506 acres, the fall having taken place during the last three years. The area occupied by non-agriculturists has increased steadily from 3,119,831 acres to 4,356,636 acres during the ten years ending 30th June 1931. This is an increase of more than 1,200,000 acres. The proportion of land in the hands of non-agriculturists has increased during the same decade from 17.72 to 23.16 per cent. In Upper Burma the proportion has increased from 7.91 to 10.52 per cent while in Lower Burma the increase has been from 25.59 to 32.52 per cent. Thus in Lower Burma at the end of June 1931 nearly one-third of the occupied area was in the hands of non-agriculturists. Figures for the area let to tenants are given

7. Area let to tenants in acres.				
Region.	Year ending 30th June.		Increase.	
	1924.	1931.	Actual.	Per cent.
Upper Burma ...	1,845,322	2,160,320	314,998	17.07
Lower Burma ...	4,200,737	5,264,090	1,063,353	25.31
Province ...	6,046,059	7,424,410	1,378,351	22.80

the last few years of the decade. Owing to the trade depression and the tightness of the money market there have been enforced sales and foreclosures on mortgages. These conditions have continued into 1932; according to the Season and Crop Report for 1931-32 figures have been collected which show that in the principal districts of Lower Burma the area held by Chettyars increased between 1st July 1930 and 30th June 1932 by 140 per cent.

**79. Other Occupations.**—It has already been mentioned that the figures for workers in 1921 and 1931 are not strictly comparable. A few conclusions may, however, be drawn from them when the differences are very great. *Sub-Order 1 (c).*—Forestry comprises two classes of persons, namely, the administrative officer connected with the care and control of the forests (group 17) and collectors of forest produce (groups 18 to 20). There have been appreciable increases in the numbers of workers in both these classes. The increase in the second class is largely confined to the Southern Shan States. There has also been an appreciable increase in the number of persons who returned an occupation connected with stock-raising. Pig-breeding is apparently much more common now than it was ten years ago, particularly in



the Southern Shan States. According to Imperial Table XI, 57,252 persons of indigenous races returned an occupation connected with breeding or keeping animals compared with only 28,515 in 1921. There has also been an increase in the number of Indians who keep animals. The increase in the numbers connected with the extraction of metallic minerals is largely due to the increased mining activity in the Shan States and Karenni. The increase would have been much greater but for the fact that in 1921 the smelters and refiners at Namtu were included in group 21 of that census along with the workers in the mines, instead of in group 50. The increase in the number employed in the extraction of non-metallic minerals (Order 4) is entirely due to increased employment in the oil fields.

**Class B—Preparation and Supply of Material Substances** includes the Sub-classes—*Industry, Transport and Trade*. The biggest variation is in the case of *Industry*, where the number of workers has increased from 483,948 to 664,376, i.e., by 180,428. As pointed out in paragraph 77 of this Chapter this increase is largely due to the decrease in the number of workers with insufficiently described occupations. The bulk of the increase under *Industry* is confined to Order 5—Textiles. The number of workers engaged in cotton spinning and weaving has increased from 52,707 to 188,755; separate figures for each sex and for earners and working dependants in 1931 are given in marginal table 8. It will be seen that only a very small proportion are males and that in 1931 about 78 per cent of the females were working dependants. The number of persons in 1931 who returned cotton spinning and weaving as a subsidiary occupation was 46,137 (males 791, females 45,346); in 1921 the number who returned cotton weaving (not spinning) as a subsidiary occupation was 45,774 (males 926, females 44,848). The above figures suggest that there has been an increase in cotton weaving on the part of females. It would, however, be rash to say that this has been the case. As pointed out in paragraph 182 of the 1921 Census Report the figures for the occupations of females are very unreliable, and particularly in the case of weaving. The difference in the instructions issued to enumerators at the 1921 and 1931 censuses is probably responsible for a large part of the increase. For instance, the number of workers in the Southern Shan States engaged in cotton spinning and weaving was 54,106 in 1931, compared with only 834 in 1921. In the instructions for filling in column 11 of the enumeration schedule at the 1931 Census weaving was given as an example of a dependant's occupation and it is probable that this is largely responsible for the recorded increase in the number of persons engaged in weaving. Figures for the workers engaged in silk weaving are given in marginal table 9. In this case about 11 per cent are males and about 63 per cent of the females are working dependants. The same remarks as regards the reliability of the figures apply as in the case of cotton spinners and weavers. Both cotton and silk spinning and weaving are domestic industries and are usually performed by the younger female members of the household. As a rule the families are engaged in agriculture but in some parts of the province cotton and silk weaving are full-time occupations. For many years there has been a decline in cotton and silk weaving. This was largely due to the agricultural expansion and to the fact that cheap cotton and silk piece-goods could be obtained from foreign countries. Owing to the economic depression it is possible that cotton and silk weaving has to

8. Number of workers engaged in cotton spinning and weaving in 1921 and 1931.

Sex.	1931.			1921.
	Earners.	Working Dependants.	Total.	Total.
Males ...	2,568	1,459	4,027	2,354
Females ...	40,091	144,637	184,728	50,353
Total ...	42,659	146,096	188,755	52,707

9. Number of workers engaged in silk spinning and weaving in 1921 and 1931.

Sex.	1931.			1921.
	Earners.	Working Dependants.	Total workers.	Total workers.
Males ...	3,713	786	4,499	3,019
Females ...	13,567	22,970	36,537	18,531
Total ...	17,280	23,756	41,036	21,550



some extent been revived. The number of workers in wood (Order 7) is slightly less than in 1921: there appears to have been a decrease in the number of workers employed in saw mills and a corresponding increase in the number of workers in iacquer, cane, bamboo and other woody materials. Differences in classification at the two censuses may perhaps be partly responsible. The big increase in the number of workers in "other metals" (group 61) is partly due to the fact that in 1921 the smelters and refiners at Namtu were included in group 21 of that census along with the workers in the mines. In making a comparison it is best to combine the figures for Orders 3 and 8. Thus the number of workers engaged in the extraction and in the working of metals has increased from 28,249 in 1921 to 34,062 in 1931. The big decrease in Order 9—Ceramics, is due to the smaller number employed in the making of bricks and tiles. There has been a big increase in the number employed in the manufacture of chemical and analogous products, such as matches, aerated waters, vegetable oils and petroleum. Workers engaged in the manufacture of tobacco (mainly cheroot making) have increased from 14,468 to 23,512; this is largely responsible for the increase under Order 11 (Food Industries). Persons engaged in the cultivation of tobacco are included in groups 5, 6 and 7. The big increases for group 74 (makers of sugar, jaggery and *kyantaga*) and 81 (other foodstuffs) and the big decreases for groups 75 (sweetmeat and condiment makers) and 76 (toddy drawers) are probably due to differences in classification at the two censuses (see Notes 71, 72 and 74 on page 238 of the Tables volume of the 1921 Census). The total number engaged in groups 74, 75, 76 and 81 is 53,367 compared with 52,777 in 1921. The increase in Order 13 (Furniture Industries) is probably due to differences in classification. The increases in Orders 14 (Building Industries) and 15 (Construction of Means of Transport) may be due to the reduction in the number of persons with insufficiently described occupations. It will be noticed that the number of printers, compositors, etc. (group 95), is about double the number in 1921 (2,184).

There has been an increase of 28,713 in the number employed in Transport (Sub-class IV). This increase is probably largely, if not entirely, due to the reduction in the number of persons with insufficiently described occupations.

The number of persons engaged in Sub-class V—*Trade* has declined from 580,622 to 557,248. This decrease may be due to differences in classification: a person who is entered in the enumeration schedule as a seller of an article is often the maker and it is difficult to decide whether he should be entered as a maker of the article in Sub-class III—*Industry* or as a seller of the article in Sub-class V—*Trade*. The big increase under *Industry* may be partly due to this. For instance, the big decrease under Order 25 (Trade in Textiles) may be compared with the big increase under Order 5 (Textile Industries). The decrease in Order 24 (Brokerage, Commission, etc.) is probably due to differences in classification. The majority of brokers, particularly those belonging to indigenous races, are dealers and not brokers working for a commission. Both at this census and the last a broker in a particular commodity who was also a dealer in that commodity was classified as a dealer. But in many cases the commodity was not mentioned and such persons had to be included as brokers in Order 24. The reduction in the number of brokers may be due to the fact that the commodity was more often recorded in 1931 than in 1921. The column for *Industry* was very useful in this connection, the usual entries in the enumeration schedule for, say, a paddy broker being "broker" in column 10 and "paddy" in column 12. The big increases under Order 31 (Hotels, Cafes, Restaurants) and Order 32 (Other Trade in Foodstuffs) and the big decrease under Order 39 (Trade of Other Sorts) are due to differences of classification. At the 1921 Census 243,485 persons were classified as "general storekeepers and shopkeepers otherwise unspecified" (group 152 of that census), whereas in 1931 there were only 23,429 persons in the corresponding group. In 1931 there were 49,571 "hawkers of drink and foodstuffs" (group 128 of Order 31) and 283,361 "dealers in other foodstuffs" (group 134 of Order 32). These groups did not exist at the 1921 Census and many of these persons were presumably included in group 152 of that census. The total number engaged in Orders 31, 32 and 39 is 471,863, which compares with 459,371 in 1921. The decreases in Order 34 (Trade in Furniture), Order 35 (Trade in Building Materials) and Order 36 (Trade in Means of Transport) may be due to differences in classification.



Class C includes Sub-class VI—*Public Force*, Sub-class VII—*Public Administration* and Sub-class VIII—*Professions and Liberal Arts*. The decrease in the number of police (group 157) may be partly due to differences in classification. In some parts of the province the word *ahmudan* was used for persons in Government service and it was often difficult to decide in which group they should be placed. At the 1921 Census they may have been classified as police. The 1921 figures for police are probably too large since 448 females were classified as police at that census. The increases under group 159 (General service of the Government of India or a Provincial Government) and group 160 (mostly Shan States servants) may be due to the development of the province. The number of municipal servants and servants of other local bodies (group 161) has increased from 2,938 to 13,046. The decrease in the number of village officials and servants (group 162) from 13,360 to 6,462 is due to the amalgamation of village-tracts. The very large increase in the number of religious workers and servants other than *pôngyis* (priests), etc. (groups 164 to 166), is not apparent. The increases under Orders 46 (Law), 47 (Medicine), 48 (Instruction) and 49 (Letters, Arts and Sciences) are presumably due to the spread of education.

Under Class D—**Miscellaneous** the number of persons living on their income (Sub-class IX) has increased. This includes the persons who derive the principal part of their incomes from such sources as pensions, dividends, mining land or property. The number of sweepers (group 100) has increased but there appears to have been a decrease in the number of other domestic servants. This decrease may, however, be partly due to differences in classification as it is often difficult to decide whether a person should be classified as a domestic servant or as a servant in an office. The reduction in the number of persons with insufficiently described occupations (Sub-class XI) has already been mentioned. The reduction in the inmates of jails, asylums, etc., is partly due to the fact that prisoners undergoing simple imprisonment and civil and under-trial prisoners were classified as non-working dependants in 1931. There appears to have been a big reduction in the number of beggars, but this may be due to differences in the instructions issued to enumerators. In 1921 the corresponding group included wizards and witches.

**80. Occupation and Race.**—In Imperial Table XI workers (earners and working dependants) have been classified according to their principal occupation and race. This table can be read in two ways : it shows (a) the distribution by occupations of the selected racial classes and (b) the distribution by race of the workers in each class, sub-class and order and in selected groups of occupations. Subsidiary Tables VA and VB have been compiled from Imperial Table XI. Separate figures have been given for Indians born in Burma and Indians born outside Burma since the parts they play in the economic life of the province are different. According to Subsidiary Table VA, among the immigrant Indians 20 per cent of the workers are employed in *Industry*, 20 per cent in *Transport* and 18 per cent in *Trade*, making a total of 58 per cent. These percentages are slightly defective since about 5 per cent had insufficiently described occupations (Sub-class XI) and most of these would be employed in *Industry*, *Transport* and *Trade*. About 19 per cent are engaged in cultivation of all kinds (Sub-orders 1a and 1b), *Agriculture Proper* (groups 5, 6 and 7) being responsible for 16 per cent. Under *Agriculture Proper* agricultural labourers account for 10 per cent and tenant cultivators and cultivating owners for the remaining 6 per cent. The proportions for Indian workers born in Burma are very different : 63 per cent are engaged in cultivation of all kinds and only 22 per cent in *Industry*, *Trade* and *Transport*. It has been pointed out several times in this Report that most of the Indians in Akyab district are permanently resident there, whereas in the rest of the province the Indians are usually only temporarily resident. The occupational distribution of Indians in the Akyab district is therefore very different from that in the rest of the province. In calculating the figures for Indians given in columns 5, 6 and 7 of table 10 below, Akyab district has been excluded. The effect of excluding Akyab district is to lower the proportion of Burma-born Indian workers who are engaged in cultivation from 63 to 43½ per cent and to increase the proportion engaged in *Industry*, *Transport* and *Trade* from 22 to 37 per cent. Proportions for Indian workers born outside Burma are not appreciably affected by excluding Akyab district. Figures have not been given in Subsidiary Table VA for Indians, irrespective of birth-place, but it might be



10. Occupation and Race.								
Class or Sub-class.		Proportion of Indians per 1,000 workers. †	Distribution by occupation of 1,000 workers for					
			All Races. †	Indigenous Races. †	All Indians. ‡	Indians born in Burma. ‡	Indians born outside Burma. ‡	Chinese. §
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	<b>ALL OCCUPATIONS</b> ...	95	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
<b>A</b>	<b>Production of raw materials</b>	44	702	753	273	486	249	160
I	Exploitation of animals and vegetation.	41	696	750	244	478	217	122
	Cultivation * ...	37	664	719	207	435	182	64
II	Exploitation of Minerals ...	373	6	4	29	8	32	38
<b>B</b>	<b>Preparation and supply of material substances.</b>	209	232	193	557	374	578	772
III	Industry ...	158	107	98	190	120	198	188
IV	Transport ...	457	36	20	188	94	199	31
V	Trade ...	172	90	75	178	160	180	553
<b>C</b>	<b>Public Administration and Liberal Arts.</b>	140	44	41	73	55	75	26
VI	Public Force ...	454	5	3	27	12	29	1
VII	Public Administration ...	309	7	5	27	19	28	4
VIII	Professions and Liberal Arts ...	52	32	33	19	24	19	21
<b>D</b>	<b>Miscellaneous</b> ...	415	21	12	97	86	98	42
IX	Persons living on their income ...	255	1	1	4	5	3	3
X	Domestic service ...	544	7	3	46	43	46	22
XI	Insufficiently described occupations ...	481	9	4	44	32	46	11
XII	Unproductive ...	89	4	4	3	5	3	6

\* Includes Sub-orders 1(a) and 1(b).  
† Whole province.

‡ Whole province less Akyab district.  
§ Divisional Burma.

mentioned that the effect of excluding Akyab district is to reduce the percentage of Indian workers engaged in cultivation of all kinds from 26 to 21 per cent and to increase the percentage engaged in *Industry, Trade* and *Transport* from 52 to 56 per cent.

The bulk of the immigrants in Burma are Indians and Chinese and the occupational distribution for Chinese is therefore given in column 8 of table 10 above. Figures have been given for Divisional Burma since the occupations of the Chinese in the Shan States differ considerably from the occupations of the Chinese in the rest of the province and the occupational distribution for the whole province would be representative neither of the Shan States nor of the rest of the province. It will be noticed that 77 per cent are engaged in *Industry, Transport* and *Trade, Industry* taking 19 per cent and *Trade* 55 per cent; only 6 per cent are engaged in cultivation. The distribution by race of 1,000 workers in each class, sub-class and order and in selected groups of occupations is given in Subsidiary Table VB. Out of 1,000 workers in all occupations 879 belong to indigenous races, 95 are Indians, 15 are Chinese, 9 belong to Indo-Burman races and the remaining 2 to other races. The proportion of Indians per 1,000 workers in the different sub-classes is given in column 2 of table 10 above. The proportion of Indians engaged in cultivation is only 37 per 1,000 compared with 95 per 1,000 for all occupations. The proportion of Indians in some of the sub-classes is very high, particularly in *Transport* (457 per 1,000), *Public Force* (454) and *Domestic Service* (544). Subsidiary Table VB gives the proportion for orders and selected groups,



The proportions of Indians among cultivating owners, tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers are given in marginal table 11. Figures have also been given for the whole province, less Akyab district. It will be seen that the proportions for the different classes of agriculturists are all very much reduced by excluding

11. Proportion of Indians per 1,000 workers in Agriculture Proper.						
Group and Title.	Whole Province.			Whole province less Akyab district.		
	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	All Indians.	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	All Indians.
5. Cultivating owners ...	10	6	16	2	5	7
6. Tenant cultivators ...	24	30	54	8	28	36
7. Agricultural labourers	19	33	52	9	31	40
Agriculture Proper ...	17	23	40	6	21	27

Akyab district, particularly in the case of cultivating owners. Outside Akyab district, only 2·7 per cent of the workers in Agriculture Proper are Indians, the percentages for cultivating owners, tenant cultivators and agricultural labourers being 0·7, 3·6 and 4·0, respectively. It will also be noticed that outside Akyab district about three-quarters of the Indians were born outside Burma. As regards non-cultivating owners Subsidiary Table VB shows that only 3 per cent are Indians, but this figure is misleading since many of the non-cultivating owners are moneylenders and have been returned as such. Most of the persons in Order 23 are moneylenders and according to Subsidiary Table VB nearly 58 per cent are Indians, practically all of whom were born outside Burma; 10 per cent are Chinese and nearly 30 per cent belong to indigenous races.

**81. Race and Economic Function.**—It has been pointed out in paragraph 72 of this Chapter that although the scheme of classification is termed occupational it is, as a matter of fact, largely industrial. For instance, many of the so-called occupational groups are actually industrial groups. Thus group 71 includes all persons engaged in the *industry* of rice-milling. An industrial classification is, of course, important, *e.g.*, in connection with unemployment and as affording a record of industrial development, but it does not give satisfactory figures for occupations. In the previous paragraph figures have been given showing the proportion of Indians engaged in the various so-called occupational classes, sub-classes, etc., but there is nothing to show whether these Indians are occupying influential positions or not. It was with a view to remedy this deficiency and to obtain a more correct estimate of the part played by Indians in the economic life of the province that the Director of Statistics and Labour Commissioner (Mr. S. G. Grantham, I.C.S.) prepared a list of twenty functional classes into which he proposed that Indian male earners should be divided. The titles of these classes are given in the first column of Subsidiary Table VII. The contents of the classes are best described in Mr. Grantham's own words :

"The first five functions relate to the direct exploitation of animals and plants. Class F includes clerical workers of all sorts, including clerks in Government offices. Class H is intended to include those for whom some sort of technical training and the exercise of judgment is requisite and to exclude, on the one hand, those who acquire the necessary skill by mere repetition, and on the other hand, Class K. Class K includes those who need theoretical as well as practical knowledge of their work and so need superior education. The medical and religious orders of occupations are excluded to form separate classes P and Q because it would be misleading to include all of these classes in K and division of them is not possible. Class M includes all living upon investments. Class N is the physical force behind Government. Class O excludes all clerks and all technicians of Class K as well as all labourers of Class J. Sweepers are taken out of Class J to form a separate class because even the Burmese have a sort of caste feeling about scavenging and this may prove an important consideration in connection with public health. Class S is for small groups not fitting well into the other functions. Classes T and U are both for the imperfectly classified but it is better not to amalgamate them because T is partly defined."

Figures for male earners classified by race and economic function are given in Provincial Table VI, and the schedules in Note 1 on the fly-leaf show the relation between this table and Imperial Table X, in which figures are given for so-called occupational groups. It will be seen from the lower of the two



schedules that most of the groups of Imperial Table X fall entirely within one functional class; for the remaining groups a further sorting of the slips according to economic function was required. Some groups which belonged almost entirely to one function were treated as belonging to it alone although a few persons were thus wrongly classified, e.g., skilled persons might be included in Class J. This was done in order to reduce the cost as much as possible and in view of the fact that there must be considerable roughness in all the occupation statistics. Functions which gained additions in this way were, however, likely to lose through other groups in which they had few participants. It might also be mentioned that slips for group 115 (bank managers, money-lenders, etc., and their employees), in which the record was indefinite, were classified as M in the case of non-Indians, while for Indians one-quarter were put in K and the remainder in F.

The racial classes in Provincial Table VI are the same as those in Imperial Table X. In Part I figures are given for the whole province and for Divisional Burma and in Part II for Natural Divisions and other regions; in Part III the figures for Chinese, Indians born in Burma and Indians born outside Burma, which are given in Parts I and II, have been rearranged in order to exhibit the figures to better advantage, similar figures being also given for all Indians.

Subsidiary Table VIIA which has been compiled from Provincial Table VI gives the distribution by economic function of 1,000 male earners of the selected racial classes for the whole province and Rangoon. It will be seen that for Burmese in the whole province 26 per cent are cultivating owners, 18 per cent are cultivating tenants and 31 per cent are agricultural labourers, making a total of 75 per cent; craftsmen represent a little more than 5 per cent, unskilled and semi-skilled labourers 8 per cent, traders and shop assistants 5 per cent, and clerical workers about one per cent. For Indians born in Burma about 65 per cent are cultivating owners, tenants or agricultural labourers, about half of them being labourers; about 5 per cent are craftsmen, 12 per cent are unskilled and semi-skilled labourers (excluding sweepers) and about 8 per cent are traders. For Indians born outside Burma the proportions are very different: only 17 per cent are cultivating owners, tenants or agricultural labourers, 10 per cent are craftsmen, 43 per cent are unskilled labourers and 17 per cent are traders; 3 per cent belong to the Army or Police. The Chinese are mostly traders (41 per cent), craftsmen (14), unskilled and semi-skilled labourers (19) and cultivating owners (16), the comparatively high percentage for cultivating owners being mainly due to the Chinese who are settled in the Northern Shan States. The figures for Rangoon given in Part B of Subsidiary Table VIIA are appreciably different from those for the whole province. In Rangoon the Burmese are mainly craftsmen (31 per cent), unskilled or semi-skilled labourers (25), traders and shop assistants (19) and clerical workers (12); Chinese are mainly traders (43 per cent), craftsmen (38) unskilled or semi-skilled labourers (9), and clerks (5); Indians born in Burma are mainly unskilled or semi-skilled labourers (33 per cent), traders (23), craftsmen (20) and clerks (13), while Indians born outside Burma are mainly unskilled or semi-skilled labourers (55 per cent), traders (21), craftsmen (14) and clerks (4).

Subsidiary Table VIIB which has also been compiled from Provincial Table VI gives the distribution by race of 1,000 male earners in each functional class for the whole province and Rangoon. For the whole province it will be noticed that about 2 per cent of the cultivating owners are Indians, while for cultivating tenants and agricultural labourers the percentages are 6 and 8, respectively. The percentages of Indians among the other functional classes are very much larger. Nearly one half of the herdsmen, 42 per cent of the clerical workers, 25 per cent of the craftsmen, 47 per cent of unskilled and semi-skilled labourers, 34 per cent of traders and shop assistants, 43 per cent of the Army and Police and 96 per cent of the scavengers and sweepers are Indians. In the case of Rangoon, 54 per cent of the clerical workers, 56 per cent of the craftsmen, 88 per cent of the unskilled and semi-skilled labourers, 69 per cent of traders and shop assistants, 67 per cent of the Army and Police and 100 per cent of the scavengers and sweepers are Indians.

Subsidiary Tables VIIIA and VIIB which are also appended to this Chapter give the distribution by race and economic function of those employed in rice mills and saw mills. The former table gives the distribution by economic function of 1,000 male earners of the selected racial classes while the latter gives the distribution by race of 1,000 male earners in each functional class,



It should be borne in mind that all the figures in this paragraph refer only to *male earners*. In particular, all Buddhist *póngyis* (priests) have been excluded, as they were treated as working dependants and not as earners. It would have been better if male workers (earners and working-dependants) had been classified by economic function but this was not realised until it was too late.

**82. Occupations of Females.**—The occupations of females are exhibited in Subsidiary Table III. According to that table there are 461 female workers per 1,000 male workers for all occupations, which compares with 673 per 1,000 in 1921. The big decrease is due to the difference in the instructions issued at the two censuses. It was pointed out by Mr. Grantham in the 1921 Census Report (paragraph 182) that the proportion of female to male workers did not give a correct impression, since a woman who gave only a small part of her time to a remunerated occupation was counted as a worker just as much as a man who spent all his working hours at his occupation. The ratio for 1931 is more satisfactory since a much smaller proportion of women were classified as workers at the 1931 Census. But it is probable that many of the working dependants spend only a small portion of their time in their occupation and since there is a bigger proportion of working dependants among the female workers than among the male workers a better impression of the work done by females and males can perhaps be obtained by comparing the figures for earners. The proportion of female earners to male earners for all occupations is 375 per 1,000, or 3 females to 8 males.

The only two sub-classes of occupations which show an excess of female workers are *Industry* and *Trade*. The excess of females in *Industry* is due to the large number of females engaged in cotton and silk spinning and weaving (mostly working dependants) and in the making of cheroots. In Burma the spinning and weaving of cotton and silk are largely domestic industries. In most of the other industries there is an excess of males. If earners alone are considered there are only 479 females for every 1,000 males in *Industry*. In *Trade* there are 1,094 female workers per 1,000 male workers. The social position of Burmese women is higher than that of Indian women and is reflected in the large part they take in the trade of the province. It is in the trade in foodstuffs that females mostly predominate. For earners alone there are 828 females for 1,000 males engaged in *Trade*.

The excess of males in the other sub-classes of occupations varies considerably, the highest proportion of females being in Sub-class I—*Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation*, where there are 404 females per 1,000 males.

**83. Subsidiary Occupations.**—It has already been mentioned in paragraph 75 that the returns for subsidiary occupations are far from complete. This is particularly so where a subsidiary income is derived from land or property. Only 1,034 persons were recorded as having a subsidiary income from investments, pensions, etc., building or mining land (group 185), and only 4,813 had a subsidiary income from land used for purposes of cultivation or for raising animals. According to Subsidiary Table I.-B out of every 1,000 persons in Burma only 31 returned a subsidiary occupation in addition to a principal occupation. Of these about eight returned a subsidiary occupation connected with cultivation. Other methods of supplementing income are by trading (mostly in foodstuffs), cotton and silk weaving, the collection of forest produce, making articles of cane, bamboo and other woody material and by keeping animals. It is not proposed to examine the figures in detail as they are so defective.

**84. Urban Occupations.**—Statistics for urban and rural areas are given in Subsidiary Table I. The percentages for cities and urban industrial areas which are given in this table have been compiled from the figures for the towns of Rangoon, Mandalay, Akyab, Bassein, Moulmein, Insein, Syriam, Yenangyaung, Chauk and Namtu-Panghai. It will be seen that 7 per cent of the total number of workers were enumerated in the above towns. The percentages for the different sub-classes and orders vary considerably. For the first two sub-classes the percentages are small as they deal with the production of raw materials. Both large scale and cottage industries are included under *Industry* and this accounts for the comparatively small



percentage enumerated in towns, namely 20. More than one-third of the workers in *Industry* were engaged in cotton and silk spinning and weaving and only one per cent of these workers were enumerated in the specified towns. For the other orders under *Industry*, except *Ceramics*, the percentages vary from 27 to 76. About 17 per cent of the workers engaged in *Trade* were enumerated in the specified towns. Most of the trade is in foodstuffs, though the percentage enumerated in towns for traders in foodstuffs is less than that for traders in other goods. There is not much to be said about the other sub-classes. It will be noticed that persons living principally on their income and domestic servants are found largely in towns.

As regards the earners who returned subsidiary occupations it will be seen from Subsidiary Table I, Part B, that only one per cent were enumerated in the specified towns. Very few of the earners in towns returned subsidiary occupations. The total number of earners in the specified towns was 386,048 and only 3,691, or less than one per cent of them, returned subsidiary occupations. On the other hand, the total number of earners in the rest of the province was 4,809,475, and 448,505 or more than 9 per cent returned subsidiary occupations.

**85. Unemployment of Educated Persons.**—In view of the increase of unemployment among the educated classes in many parts of India a special enquiry was held to ascertain the number of educated unemployed. It was decided to restrict the enquiry in Burma to the towns of Rangoon, Mandalay, Moulmein, Bassein and Akyab. A schedule was drawn up and enumerators in these towns were instructed to distribute these schedules to all male persons in their jurisdictions who were able to read and write English and were unemployed. The schedules were distributed in the course of the preliminary enumeration and were collected before or at the final enumeration. The information asked for in the schedule was as follows :—

- (1) Name and race,
- (2) Present address,
- (3) Father's profession,
- (4) Age (number of completed years),
- (5) Name of School and University,
- (6) Highest University or School examination passed,
- (7) Any other professional, commercial or technical training,
- (8) How long continuously unemployed on 24th February 1931, and
- (9) How last employed, if at all.

The following instructions were printed on the back of the schedule :—

- (1) The schedule on the other side is to be filled up only by unemployed male persons who are able to read and write English.
- (2) The schedule is required for the benefit of the State and of all educated persons who are unemployed.
- (3) To enter false statements is an offence under the Census Act and is punishable with fine.
- (4) The schedule, when filled up, must be handed back to the enumerator. This should be done at once, but if that is impossible it may be returned at any time before February 24th, or it may be given up to the enumerator when he comes round on that date.
- (5) *Please write very clearly.*

The total number of schedules collected was 923. Of these 778 were received from Rangoon, the numbers from Mandalay, Moulmein, Bassein and Akyab being 104, 32, 6 and 3, respectively. Apparently in the last four towns unemployment among the educated classes was not a serious matter at the time of the census. It might be mentioned that those who did return schedules in these four towns had very poor academic qualifications: out of 145 only one was a graduate, two had passed the I. A. examination and three had passed the High School Final; the remaining 139 were possessed of lower qualifications, namely 6th and 7th standard.

Of the 778 persons who returned schedules in Rangoon, 103 were under 20 years of age and 98 were 40 years of age and over, leaving 577 between 20 and 40. Of these 577, Burmese numbered 287, other indigenous races 11, Chinese 27, Indo-Burman races 17, Indians 150, Europeans 8 and Anglo-Indians 71, while 6 belonged to other races. As regards the qualifications, only



23 were graduates, 15 had passed the I.A. or I.Sc. and 71 had passed the High School Final or Matriculation, the remaining 468 or 81 per cent being possessed of lower qualifications. The figures by no means represent the extent of unemployment. The filling in of the schedules was voluntary and enumerators presumably thought they had sufficient to do in connection with the ordinary census. More than 300 clerks were employed in the compilation department of the Census office towards the end of 1931, most of whom were unemployed on the date of the census. On enquiries being made it was learnt that only about 10 per cent had been offered schedules by enumerators and in all cases the schedules had been filled in and returned. Practically all the clerks in the Census office belonged to indigenous races but it was reported that some Indians had refused to return the schedules as they suspected they might be sent back to India if they did so. The number of unemployed in Rangoon is therefore much larger than the number who returned schedules but it is impossible to estimate the actual number at all accurately. The figures are at best only a sample which may or may not be representative. For the purposes of the India Report figures are required only for those who have passed the High School Final or Matriculation. Figures for these persons are given in Subsidiary Table X.

**86. Post Office and Telegraph Department, Irrigation Department and Railways.**—Special enumerations were made of the persons employed on or about the 24th February 1931 in the Post Office and Telegraph Department, the Irrigation Department and on Railways. The figures are exhibited in Subsidiary Table VI. The total number of employed in the Post Office and Telegraph Department was 5,934 which compares with 5,004 in 1921. Of these 329 were Europeans and Anglo-Indians, compared with 351 in 1921. There is a much larger proportion of Europeans and Anglo-Indians in the Telegraph Department than in the Post Office. The remaining 5,605 were mostly Indians; Burmans numbered 1,510 or 25 per cent of the total number employed. According to the census figures (see Imperial Table X) the number of persons employed in the Post Office and Telegraph Department (including those with subsidiary occupations) is 5,094. The deficit is presumably due to the lack of detailed description of persons such as clerks and labourers.

The number of persons employed in the Irrigation Department is 6,994 which compares with 4,577 in 1921. The number of Europeans and Anglo-Indians has increased from 8 to 22. Separate figures were not supplied for Indians, Chinese and indigenous races.

The number of persons employed on the Railways has decreased from 34,374 to 33,433 but the decrease is entirely among persons indirectly employed. The number of persons directly employed has increased from 20,391 to 27,721. Figures for different racial classes and for different classes of employees are given in marginal table 12. According to Imperial Table X the number of persons employed on the Railways is 27,954. This is practically the same as the number of persons reported as directly employed. It is presumed that both for those directly and those indirectly employed the entries in the enumeration schedules were often incomplete and that it might not be possible to say whether such persons had any connection with the Railways. This applies particularly to those indirectly employed.

12. Persons directly employed on Railways in 1921 and 1931.			
Racial class.		1921.	1931.
Europeans and Anglo-Indians	...	632	847
Indigenous races	...	2,582	4,692
Chinese	...	196	155
Indians	...	16,981	22,027
Total	...	20,391	27,721
Class of persons employed.		1921.	1931.
Officers	...	75	126
Subordinates drawing—			
(i) Over Rs. 75 per mensem	...	1,168	2,195
(ii) Rs. 20 to Rs. 75 per mensem	...	7,327	11,244
(iii) Under Rs. 20 per mensem	...	11,821	14,156
Total	...	20,391	27,721



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—General Distribution of the population by occupation. A.—Earnings (principal occupation) and Working Dependants.

Class, Sub-Class and Order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.	Percentage recorded		Class, Sub-Class and Order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.	Percentage recorded	
		In cities and urban industrial areas.	In rural areas.			In cities and urban industrial areas.	In rural areas.
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
<b>TOTAL POPULATION</b>	10,000	5	95	25. Trade in textiles	13	35	65
<b>Non-working dependants</b>	...	...	...	26. Trade in skins, leather and furs	1	27	73
<b>Earners and working dependants (all occupations)</b>	5,760	4	96	27. Trade in wood	10	18	82
<b>A. PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS</b>	4,240	7	93	28. Trade in metals	2	53	47
<b>I.—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation</b>	2,977	...	100	29. Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	...	28	72
1. Pasture and Agriculture	2,950	...	100	30. Trade in chemical products	4	40	60
1 (a).—Ordinary Cultivation	2,909	...	100	31. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	51	23	77
1 (b).—Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (planters, managers, clerks and labourers).	2,737	...	100	32. Other trade in food-stuffs	254	12	88
1 (c).—Forestry	81	2	98	33. Trade in clothing and toilet articles	2	43	57
1 (d).—Stock raising	36	2	98	34. Trade in furniture	5	27	73
1 (e).—Raising of small animals and insects	53	3	97	35. Trade in building materials	...	38	62
2. Fishing and Hunting	1	9	91	36. Trade in means of transport	4	17	83
<b>II. Exploitation of Minerals</b>	42	2	98	37. Trade in fuel	5	37	63
3. Metallic Minerals	27	9	91	38. Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	4	53	47
4. Non-Metallic Minerals	9	3	97	39. Trade of other sorts	17	26	74
<b>B. PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.</b>	18	13	87	<b>C. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS</b>	187	18	82
<b>III. Industry</b>	986	20	80	<b>VI. Public force</b>	21	24	76
5. Textiles	454	20	80	40. Army	4	31	69
6. Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	159	1	99	41. Navy	...	...	...
7. Wood	70	51	49	42. Air force	...	...	...
8. Metals	15	47	53	43. Police	17	22	78
9. Ceramics	9	20	80	<b>VII. (Order 44). Public Administration</b>	31	30	70
10. Chemical products properly so-called and analogous	13	7	93	<b>VIII. Professions and Liberal Arts</b>	136	14	86
11. Food Industries	97	52	48	45. Religion	88	9	91
12. Industries of dress and the toilet	52	27	73	46. Law	3	34	66
13. Furniture Industries	1	29	71	47. Medicine	20	16	84
14. Building Industries	9	76	24	48. Instruction	14	22	78
15. Construction of means of transport	4	51	49	49. Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44)	11	38	62
16. Production and transmission of physical force	2	70	30	<b>D. MISCELLANEOUS</b>	90	37	63
17. Miscellaneous and undefined Industries	23	41	59	<b>IX. (Order 50). Persons living principally on their income</b>	5	36	64
<b>IV. Transport</b>	152	30	70	<b>X. (Order 51). Domestic service</b>	31	48	52
18. Transport by air	...	...	...	<b>XI. (Order 52). Insufficiently described occupations. (General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation).</b>	37	32	68
19. Transport by water	50	43	57	<b>XII. Unproductive</b>	17	29	71
20. Transport by road	79	22	78	53. Inmates of jails, asylums and almshouses	9	43	57
21. Transport by rail	19	26	74	54. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	8	13	87
22. Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services	3	47	53	55. Other unclassified non-productive industries	...	23	77
<b>V. Trade</b>	380	17	83				
23. Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance	7	31	69				
24. Brokerage, commission and export	2	58	42				



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—General Distribution of the population by occupation. B.—Earnings (subsidiary occupation).

Class, Sub-Class and Order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.	Percentage recorded		Class, Sub-Class and Order.	Number per 10,000 of total population.	Percentage recorded	
		In cities and urban industrial areas.	In rural areas.			In cities and urban industrial areas.	In rural areas.
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
<b>ALL OCCUPATIONS</b>	309	1	99	...	1	2	98
(Subsidiary occupations of earners)	...	...	...	...	...	4	96
<b>A. PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS</b>	135	1	99	...	4	...	100
<b>I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation</b>	133	1	99	...	...	3	97
1. Pasture and Agriculture	122	1	99	...	...	20	80
1 (a).—Ordinary Cultivation	56	1	99	...	1	1	99
1 (b).—Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (planters, managers, clerks and labourers).	25	...	100	...	3	2	98
1 (c).—Forestry	27	...	100	...	26	1	99
1 (d).—Stock raising	14	...	100	...	...	3	97
1 (e).—Raising of small animals and insects	95	...	95	...	1	1	99
2. Fishing and Hunting	11	5	100	...	1	4	96
<b>II. Exploitation of Minerals</b>	2	...	100	...	2	1	99
3. Metallic Minerals	...	...	100	...	...	10	90
4. Non-Metallic Minerals	1	...	100	...	1	3	97
<b>B. PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.</b>	161	1	99	...	11	1	99
<b>III. Industry</b>	85	...	100	...	...	1	99
5. Textiles	35	...	100	...	...	...	100
6. Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom	24	...	100	...	...	...	...
7. Wood	2	...	99	...	...	1	...
8. Metals	1	...	99	...	...	...	...
9. Ceramics	1	...	99	...	5	...	100
10. Chemical products properly so-called and analogous	2	...	100	...	5	2	98
11. Food Industries	13	...	100	...	...	2	98
12. Industries of dress and the toilet	4	...	99	...	...	14	86
13. Furniture Industries	...	...	99	...	3	1	99
14. Building Industries	1	42	58	...	...	8	92
15. Construction of means of transport	...	1	99	...	1	4	96
16. Production and transmission of physical force	...	35	65	...	2	15	85
17. Miscellaneous and undefined Industries	1	2	98	...	1	38	62
<b>IV. Transport</b>	36	1	99	...	...	3	97
18. Transport by air	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
19. Transport by water	4	6	94	...	1	2	98
20. Transport by road	33	...	100	...	...	...	...
21. Transport by rail	...	2	98	...	...	...	...
22. Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services	...	...	100	...	...	2	98
<b>V. Trade</b>	42	1	99	...	...	...	...
23. Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance	2	3	97	...	...	...	100
24. Brokerage, commission and export	...	7	93	...	...	2	98
25. Trade in textiles	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
26. Trade in skins, leather and furs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
27. Trade in wood	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
28. Trade in metals	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
29. Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
30. Trade in chemical products	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
31. Hotels, cafes, restaurants, etc.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
32. Other trade in food-stuffs	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
33. Trade in clothing and toilet articles	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
34. Trade in furniture	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
35. Trade in building materials	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
36. Trade in means of transport	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
37. Trade in fuel	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
38. Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
39. Trade of other sorts	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>C. PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS</b>	11	...	100	...	...	...	...
<b>VI. Public force</b>	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
40. Army	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
41. Navy	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
42. Air force	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
43. Police	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
<b>VII. (Order 44.)—Public Administration</b>	5	...	100	...	...	...	...
<b>VIII. Professions and Liberal Arts</b>	5	...	100	...	...	...	...
45. Religion	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
46. Law	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
47. Medicine	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
48. Instruction	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
49. Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44)	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
<b>D. MISCELLANEOUS</b>	2	...	98	...	...	...	...
<b>IX. (Order 50). Persons living principally on their income</b>	1	...	98	...	...	...	...
<b>X. (Order 51). Domestic service</b>	...	...	99	...	...	...	...
<b>XI. Order 52. Insufficiently described occupations. (General terms which do not indicate a definite occupation).</b>	1	...	94	...	...	...	...
<b>XII. Unproductive</b>	...	...	100	...	...	...	...
53. Inmates of jails, asylums and almshouses	...	...	99	...	...	...	...
54. Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes	...	...	97	...	...	...	...
55. Other unclassified non-productive industries	...	...	93	...	...	...	...



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Distribution by Sub-Classes in natural divisions and districts.***A.—Earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.**

District and Natural Division.	Total 1,000.			Number per mille of the total number of earners and working dependants having the principal occupation in											
	Non-working dependants.	Working dependants.	Earners (principal occupation).	Sub-Class I. Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation.	Sub-Class II. Exploitation of Minerals.	Sub-Class III. Industry.	Sub-Class IV. Transport.	Sub-Class V. Trade.	Sub-Class VI. Public force.	Sub-Class VII. Public Administration.	Sub-Class VIII. Professions and Liberal Arts.	Sub-Class IX. Persons living on their income.	Sub-Class X. Domestic service.	Sub-Class XI. Insufficiently described occupations.	Sub-Class XII. Unproductive.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	576	69	355	696	6	107	36	90	5	7	32	1	7	9	4
<b>Burman</b> ...	585	61	354	686	6	106	39	98	5	7	32	1	8	8	4
<i>Della</i> ...	569	51	380	686	...	87	43	118	5	9	27	1	11	9	4
Rangoon ...	436	17	547	19	...	312	191	239	13	44	61	7	71	30	13
Insein ...	601	46	353	727	...	38	40	95	18	11	22	2	13	25	9
Hanthawaddy ...	613	34	353	667	...	123	44	110	3	5	30	1	7	9	1
Tharrawaddy ...	623	61	316	770	...	66	19	105	4	6	19	1	4	3	3
Pegu ...	614	66	320	749	...	55	38	100	4	5	30	1	4	13	1
Bassein ...	551	58	391	753	...	65	25	111	3	4	21	1	5	10	2
Henzada ...	566	57	377	779	...	67	21	98	2	3	23	...	2	4	1
Myaungmya ...	522	51	427	801	...	46	14	108	2	3	18	1	3	3	1
Maubin ...	566	39	395	746	...	54	26	132	2	5	23	...	3	7	2
Pyapôn ...	593	44	363	740	...	60	38	113	3	5	28	1	5	6	1
Toungoo ...	547	68	385	768	...	60	27	99	3	5	26	1	5	2	4
Thatôn ...	592	52	356	782	1	59	21	91	3	5	21	1	3	5	8
<i>Coast</i> ...	621	61	318	725	8	96	33	81	4	5	24	1	7	12	4
Akyab ...	628	54	318	734	...	96	34	78	2	4	19	1	8	19	5
Kyaukpau ...	609	71	320	827	2	61	5	66	5	4	18	...	...	10	2
Sandoway ...	643	40	317	832	...	47	11	63	4	6	22	1	3	9	2
Amherst ...	615	70	315	670	3	128	45	90	4	5	31	1	8	9	6
Tavoy ...	621	62	317	621	48	115	42	105	4	6	30	2	15	10	2
Mergui ...	610	63	327	767	23	57	35	71	5	8	22	2	5	5	...
<i>Centre</i> ...	589	73	338	660	10	140	36	85	5	5	42	1	5	6	5
Prome ...	599	71	330	648	1	150	28	116	3	5	31	1	5	9	3
Thayetmyo ...	573	113	314	663	4	186	27	69	3	5	25	1	2	7	8
Pakokku ...	598	83	319	606	8	224	32	75	2	4	38	1	4	3	3
Minbu ...	599	57	344	698	5	111	35	85	3	6	39	1	4	4	9
Magwe ...	596	96	308	673	73	87	38	71	4	4	32	1	8	6	3
Mandalay ...	537	68	395	373	2	215	80	163	30	10	77	4	16	19	11
Kyaukse ...	578	64	358	703	...	78	62	81	3	6	46	1	4	9	7
Meiktila ...	617	43	340	726	...	115	22	81	4	6	32	1	5	7	1
Yamethin ...	675	48	277	740	...	38	64	88	8	5	38	1	5	12	1
Myingyan ...	553	63	384	715	...	143	19	73	2	4	37	...	1	1	5
Shwebo ...	579	77	344	768	3	84	34	54	3	3	40	1	4	3	3
Sagaing ...	568	71	361	673	2	143	24	83	2	4	61	1	3	2	2
Lower Chindwin ...	576	90	334	658	2	177	26	72	2	4	46	1	3	3	6
<i>North</i> ...	591	59	350	767	21	64	32	59	13	6	23	2	7	3	3
Bhamo ...	624	26	350	777	...	62	33	61	20	8	21	1	8	5	4
Myitkyina ...	544	58	398	788	31	44	31	44	25	4	15	4	10	3	1
Katha ...	659	52	289	715	43	64	39	83	4	9	32	1	5	2	3
Upper Chindwin ...	528	88	384	792	4	82	28	50	7	4	22	1	4	3	3
<b>Chin</b> ...	413	15	572	967	...	16	1	3	7	3	1	...	2	...	...
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	389	4	607	962	...	4	1	17	8	1	2	2	2	...	1
Chin Hills ...	416	16	568	968	...	18	1	1	7	3	1	...	1	...	...
<b>Salween</b> ...	558	95	347	862	24	34	19	28	4	4	14	...	2	8	1
Salween ...	618	33	349	874	2	51	25	24	6	2	12	1	2	1	...
Karenni ...	505	151	344	853	40	23	15	30	3	6	15	...	2	12	1
<b>Shan</b> ...	518	143	339	714	10	130	21	49	3	12	39	1	2	15	4
Northern Shan States ...	579	90	331	774	26	72	24	37	4	13	31	1	3	11	4
Southern Shan States ...	474	182	344	680	...	162	19	57	2	11	44	1	2	17	5



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Distribution by Sub-Classes in natural divisions and districts.***B.—Earners (Subsidiary Occupation.)**

District and Natural Division.	Number per mille of the total number of earners with subsidiary occupations having the subsidiary occupation in											
	Sub-Class I.	Sub-Class II.	Sub-Class III.	Sub-Class IV.	Sub-Class V.	Sub-Class VI.	Sub-Class VII.	Sub-Class VIII.	Sub-Class IX.	Sub-Class X.	Sub-Class XI.	Sub-Class XII.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	430	6	270	118	135	...	17	17	2	1	4	...
<b>Burman</b> ...	386	7	278	147	144	...	14	20	3	...	1	...
<i>Della</i> ...	432	1	168	141	214	...	19	17	6	1	1	...
Rangoon ...	331	1	105	48	188	1	4	42	265	1	14	...
Insein ...	470	...	94	173	232	...	14	14	1	2	...	...
Hanthawaddy ...	464	1	149	164	169	...	27	22	3	...	1	...
Tharrawaddy ...	388	...	171	224	188	...	11	16	1	...	1	...
Pegu ...	361	...	106	298	177	...	29	21	3	...	5	...
Bassein ...	492	...	149	63	261	...	18	14	3	...	...	...
Henzada ...	448	...	250	115	164	...	11	12	...	...	...	...
Myaungmya ...	532	...	120	31	269	...	18	24	5	...	1	...
Maubin ...	212	...	204	263	267	...	30	16	...	2	6	...
Pyapön ...	360	...	114	167	239	...	77	31	7	...	5	...
Toungoo ...	426	1	136	115	278	...	21	19	4	...	...	...
Thatön ...	340	7	293	202	128	...	5	15	3	3	4	...
<i>Coast</i> ...	465	9	230	131	132	...	12	17	2	1	1	...
Akyab ...	525	...	174	77	179	...	23	20	1	...	1	...
Kyaukpyu ...	357	4	397	27	181	...	11	22	1	...	...	...
Sandoway ...	566	4	187	13	185	...	10	35	...	...	...	...
Amherst ...	386	5	240	244	100	...	6	13	4	1	1	...
Tavoy ...	461	44	228	147	95	...	7	11	1	1	5	...
Mergui ...	773	13	95	34	51	...	12	14	3	...	5	...
<i>Centre</i> ...	300	5	371	168	120	...	11	22	2	...	1	...
Prome ...	429	14	220	184	125	...	12	14	1	...	1	...
Thayetmyo ...	366	1	469	65	67	...	13	18	1	...	...	...
Pakòkku ...	309	2	366	180	114	...	7	21	...	...	1	...
Minbu ...	378	...	216	245	136	...	6	15	1	...	3	...
Magwe ...	355	1	344	110	134	...	20	29	4	1	2	...
Mandalay ...	493	3	141	152	151	...	18	34	8	...	...	...
Kyaukse ...	417	1	140	191	162	...	39	42	6	...	2	...
Meiktila ...	229	10	373	108	229	...	22	26	1	1	1	...
Yamethin ...	329	1	97	324	186	...	30	23	5	...	5	...
Myingyan ...	188	1	593	69	117	...	9	22	1	...	...	...
Shwebo ...	161	10	418	255	115	...	10	30	1	...	...	...
Sagaing ...	279	12	476	89	117	1	7	17	1	...	1	...
Lower Chindwin ...	222	4	477	160	108	...	7	18	3	1	...	...
<i>North</i> ...	517	28	225	100	90	...	18	19	1	1	1	...
Bhamo ...	650	...	136	63	111	...	21	12	1	1	5	...
Myitkyina ...	412	117	279	52	100	1	25	11	3	...	...	...
Katha ...	494	6	187	175	100	...	15	21	1	...	1	...
Upper Chindwin ...	536	21	261	69	73	...	16	23	1	...	...	...
<b>Chin</b> ...	12	2	931	1	13	1	34	2	3	1	...	...
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	421	...	53	...	368	...	105	53	...	...	...	...
Chin Hills ...	12	2	932	1	12	1	34	2	3	1	...	...
<b>Salween</b> ...	757	5	74	20	57	...	64	9	1	...	12	1
Salween ...	648	6	182	43	52	...	59	6	4	...	...	...
Karenni ...	808	5	23	9	59	...	67	11	...	...	17	1
<b>Shan</b> ...	642	1	144	40	126	...	23	11	1	...	12	...
Northern Shan States ...	636	...	117	21	141	...	54	16	1	1	13	...
Southern Shan States ...	644	1	152	45	122	...	14	10	...	...	12	...



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Occupation of females by classes, sub-classes, orders and selected groups.*

Occupational Class, Sub-Class, Order and Group.	Total Earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.		
	Males.	Females.	Ratio of females per 1,000 males.
1	2	3	4
ALL OCCUPATIONS	4,251,771	1,959,266	461
<b>CLASS A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS</b>	3,113,890	1,246,971	401
<b>Sub-Class I.—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation</b>	3,077,517	1,243,839	404
Order 1.—Pasture and Agriculture	3,023,234	1,237,166	409
Sub-Order 1 (a).—Ordinary Cultivation	2,844,835	1,164,300	409
Group 1.—Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind.	38,845	31,367	808
Group 5.—Cultivating owners	926,910	320,926	346
Group 6.—Tenant cultivators	577,548	172,168	298
Group 7.—Agricultural labourers	1,007,363	480,967	478
Group 8.—Cultivators of taungya (shifting cultivation)	290,359	158,856	547
Sub-Order 1 (b).—Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (planters, managers, clerks and labourers).	77,568	41,069	530
Group 14.—Rubber	5,457	1,409	258
Sub-Order 1 (c).—Forestry	44,045	8,683	197
Group 17.—Forest officers, rangers, guards, etc.	6,539	60	9
Group 18-20.—Collectors of forest produce	37,506	8,623	230
Sub-Order 1 (d).—Stock raising	55,908	22,180	397
Sub-Order 1 (e).—Raising of small animals and insects.	878	934	1,064
Order 2.—Fishing and Hunting	54,283	6,673	123
<b>Sub-Class II.—Exploitation of Minerals</b>	36,373	3,132	86
Order 3.—Metallic Minerals	11,911	569	48
Group 31.—Lead, silver and zinc	8,299	236	28
Group 33.—Tin and wolfram	3,507	293	84
Order 4.—Non Metallic Minerals	24,462	2,563	105
Group 36.—Petroleum	17,271	332	19
<b>CLASS B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.</b>	784,952	658,727	839
<b>Sub-Class III.—Industry</b>	309,399	354,977	1,147
Order 5.—Textiles	9,801	223,407	22,794
Group 43.—Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving	4,027	184,728	45,872
Group 47.—Silk spinning and weaving	4,499	36,537	8,121
Order 6.—Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	365	72	197
Order 7.—Wood	76,224	25,837	339
Group 56.—Lacquer workers and makers of baskets, cages, etc., of bamboo, cane and other woody materials (including leaves).	19,591	24,894	1,271
Order 8.—Metals	20,931	651	31
Order 9.—Ceramics	5,166	8,296	1,606
Group 63.—Potters and makers of earthenware	2,936	7,870	2,681
Order 10.—Chemical products properly so-called and analogous	15,554	2,966	191
Group 69.—Manufacture and refining of mineral oils	8,412	177	21
Order 11.—Food Industries	79,898	61,609	771
Group 71.—Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	44,515	18,775	422
Order 12.—Industries of dress and the toilet	47,029	29,309	623
Order 13.—Furniture Industries	867	119	137
Order 14.—Building Industries	12,340	816	66
Order 15.—Construction of means of transport	6,507	73	11
Order 16.—Production and transmission of physical force	2,550	8	3
Order 17.—Miscellaneous and undefined Industries	32,167	1,814	56



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Occupation of females by classes, sub-classes, orders and selected groups—concl'd.*

Occupational Class, Sub-Class, Order and Group.	Total Earners (principal occupation) and working dependants.		
	Males.	Females.	Ratio of females per 1,000 males.
1.	2	3	4
<b>Sub-Class IV.—Transport</b> .. .. .	209,384	12,671	61
Order 18.—Transport by air .. .. .	57	...	...
Order 19.—Transport by water .. .. .	72,263	1,412	20
Order 20.—Transport by road .. .. .	105,237	10,272	98
Order 21.—Transport by rail .. .. .	26,928	835	31
Order 22.—Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services .. .. .	4,899	152	31
<b>Sub-Class V.—Trade</b> ... .. .	266,169	291,079	1,094
Order 23.—Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance. .. .. .	9,512	1,402	147
Order 24.—Brokerage, commission and export .. .. .	2,210	59	27
Order 25.—Trade in textiles .. .. .	13,605	5,179	381
Order 26.—Trade in skins, leather and furs .. .. .	691	139	201
Order 27.—Trade in wood .. .. .	9,682	5,242	541
Order 28.—Trade in metals .. .. .	2,270	189	83
Order 29.—Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles .. .. .	97	52	536
Order 30.—Trade in chemical products .. .. .	4,713	1,177	250
Order 31.—Hotels, cafés, restaurants, etc. .. .. .	38,153	36,714	962
Group 126.—Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters and ice. .. .. .	4,181	399	95
Group 127.—Owners and managers of hotels, cook-shops, etc., and employees. .. .. .	16,968	3,748	221
Group 128.—Hawkers of drink and food-stuffs .. .. .	17,004	32,567	1,915
Order 32.—Other trade in food-stuffs .. .. .	147,135	224,679	1,527
Group 134(a)—Dealers in fish .. .. .	11,925	26,153	2,193
Order 33.—Trade in clothing and toilet articles .. .. .	2,084	1,327	637
Order 34.—Trade in furniture .. .. .	3,946	2,981	755
Order 35.—Trade in building materials .. .. .	376	144	383
Order 36.—Trade in means of transport .. .. .	4,046	1,254	310
Order 37.—Trade in fuel .. .. .	4,971	1,856	373
Order 38.—Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences. .. .. .	4,424	1,757	397
Order 39.—Trade of other sorts .. .. .	18,254	6,928	380
<b>CLASS C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.</b> .. .. .	251,015	23,558	94
<b>Sub-Class VI.—Public force</b> .. .. .	30,812	4	...
Order 40.—Army .. .. .	5,217	1	...
Order 41.—Navy .. .. .	...	...	...
Order 42.—Air force .. .. .	...	...	...
Order 43.—Police .. .. .	25,595	3	...
<b>Sub-Class VII.—(Order 44).—Public Administration</b> .. .. .	44,479	388	9
<b>Sub-Class VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts</b> .. .. .	175,724	23,166	132
Order 45.—Religion .. .. .	118,363	9,917	84
Order 46.—Law .. .. .	4,432	27	6
Order 47.—Medicine .. .. .	22,552	6,540	290
Order 48.—Instruction .. .. .	15,801	4,857	307
Order 49.—Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44) .. .. .	14,576	1,825	125
<b>CLASS D.—MISCELLANEOUS</b> .. .. .	101,914	30,010	294
<b>Sub-Class IX.—(Order 50).—Persons living principally on their income.</b> .. .. .	5,447	1,720	316
<b>Sub-Class X.—(Order 51).—Domestic service</b> .. .. .	34,601	10,088	292
<b>Sub-Class XI.—(Order 52).—Insufficiently described occupations.</b> .. .. .	43,036	11,885	276
<b>Sub-Class XII.—Unproductive</b> .. .. .	18,830	6,317	335
Order 53.—Inmates of jails, asylums and almshouses .. .. .	13,041	220	17
Order 54.—Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes .. .. .	5,573	6,028	1,082
Order 55.—Other unclassified non-productive industries .. .. .	216	69	319



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Selected Occupations, 1931 and 1921.*

NOTE.—In some cases owing to differences in classification at the two censuses the figures in columns 2 and 4 are not comparable. The figures are discussed in paragraph 79.

Occupational Class, Sub-Class, Order and Group.  1	1931.		1921.
	Earners and working dependants. 2	Subsidiary occupations of earners. 3	Workers excluding dependants. 4
ALL OCCUPATIONS ... ..	6,211,037	452,196	6,795,438
CLASS A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS ...	4,360,861	197,213	4,859,709
Sub-Class I.—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation	4,321,356	194,604	4,829,694
Order 1.—Pasture and Agriculture ... ..	4,260,400	178,268	4,758,312
Sub-Order 1 (a).—Ordinary Cultivation ...	4,009,135	82,277	4,542,134
Group 1.—Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind.	70,212	4,813	74,151
Group 5.—Cultivating owners ... ..	1,247,836	27,548	2,068,832
Group 6.—Tenant cultivators ... ..	749,716	7,565	843,540
Group 7.—Agricultural labourers ... ..	1,488,330	23,960	1,027,590
Group 8.—Cultivators of taungya (shifting cultivation) ...	449,215	18,341	524,844
Sub-Order 1 (b).—Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (planters, managers, clerks and labourers).	118,637	36,448	130,654
Group 13.—Betel-vine ... ..	13,421	5,972	9,317
Group 14.—Rubber ... ..	6,866	224	6,427
Group 15.—Tea ... ..	6,729	2,886	21,728
Sub-Order 1 (c).—Forestry ... ..	52,728	38,819	39,184
Group 17.—Forest officers, rangers, guards, etc. ...	6,599	391	4,378
Group 18.—Wood-cutters and charcoal burners ...	30,551	26,242	26,605
Group 19.—Collectors of forest produce (except lac) ...	15,492	11,793	8,190
Sub-Order 1 (d).—Stock raising ... ..	78,088	20,260	45,190
Sub-Order 1 (e).—Raising of small animals and insects.	1,812	464	1,150
Group 25.—Silkworms ... ..	250	69	776
Order 2.—Fishing and Hunting ... ..	60,956	16,336	71,382
Group 27.—Fishing and Pearling ... ..	60,331	16,236	69,252
Sub-Class II.—Exploitation of Minerals ... ..	39,505	2,609	30,015
Order 3.—Metallic Minerals ... ..	12,480	583	10,522
Order 4.—Non-Metallic Minerals ... ..	27,025	2,026	19,493
Group 36.—Petroleum ... ..	17,603	114	9,796
Group 39.—Precious and semi-precious stones ...	6,183	868	3,592
CLASS B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	1,443,679	236,438	1,257,912
Sub-Class III.—Industry ... ..	664,376	122,125	483,948
Order 5.—Textiles ... ..	233,208	51,597	83,877
Group 43.—Cotton spinning, sizing and weaving ...	188,755	46,137	52,707
Group 47.—Silk spinning and weaving ... ..	41,036	4,872	21,550
Order 6.—Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	437	6	590
Order 7.—Wood ... ..	102,061	35,445	104,368
Group 54.—Sawyers ... ..	21,325	7,459	27,422
Group 55.—Carpenters, turners and joiners, etc. ...	36,251	6,009	38,682
Group 56.—Lacquer workers and makers of baskets, cages, etc. of bamboo, cane and other woody materials (includ- ing leaves.)	44,485	21,977	38,264
Order 8.—Metals ... ..	21,582	2,269	17,727
Group 57.—Smelting, forging and rolling of iron ...	838	1	452
Group 59.—Blacksmiths and other workers in iron ...	10,889	2,108	13,139
Group 60.—Workers in brass, copper and bell-metal ...	882	22	1,263
Group 61.—Workers in other metals (except precious metals)	8,940	138	2,785



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Selected Occupations, 1931 and 1921—contd.*

NOTE.—In some cases owing to differences in classification at the two censuses the figures in columns 2 and 4 are not comparable. The figures are discussed in paragraph 79.

Occupational Class, Sub-Class, Order and Group.	1931.		1921.
	Earners and working dependants. 2	Subsidiary occupations of earners. 3	Workers excluding dependants. 4
1			
Order 9.—Ceramics ... ..	13,462	2,089	19,672
Group 63.—Potters and makers of earthenware ...	10,806	1,648	10,757
Group 64.—Brick and tile makers ...	2,241	425	8,389
Order 10.—Chemical products properly so-called and analogous	18,520	2,551	10,799
Group 66.—Manufacture of matches, fireworks and other explosives.	2,822	23	18
Group 67.—Manufacture of aerated and mineral waters and ice.	793	6	174
Group 68.—Manufacture and refining of vegetable oils ...	5,250	2,042	4,304
Group 69.—Manufacture and refining of mineral oils ...	8,589	3	5,384
Group 70.—Manufacture of other chemical products, e.g., soap, paper.	1,066	477	919
Order 11.—Food Industries ... ..	1,41,507	18,754	1,29,100
Group 71.—Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders	63,290	2,585	60,929
Group 74.—Makers of sugar, jaggery and kyantaga ...	13,304	2,180	6,434
Group 75.—Sweetmeat and condiment makers	7,069	1,095	12,012
Group 76.—Toddy drawers ...	25,681	10,753	32,289
Group 78.—Manufacturers of tobacco ...	23,512	784	14,468
Order 12.—Industries of dress and the toilet ... ..	76,338	6,038	67,201
Group 82.—Boot, shoe, sandal and clog makers ...	7,694	700	6,701
Group 83.—Tailors, milliners, dress makers and darters	47,498	3,692	37,101
Order 13.—Furniture Industries ... ..	986	19	471
Order 14.—Building Industries ... ..	13,156	1,399	10,762
Order 15.—Construction of means of transport ...	6,580	692	4,633
Order 16.—Production and transmission of physical force ...	2,558	23	182
Order 17.—Miscellaneous and undefined Industries ...	33,981	1,243	34,566
Group 95.—Printers, engravers, book-binders, compositors, etc.	4,397	21	2,184
Group 100.—Scavengers and sweepers ... ..	7,742	64	6,582
<b>Sub-Class IV.—Transport</b> ... ..	<b>2,22,055</b>	<b>53,416</b>	<b>1,93,342</b>
Order 18.—Transport by air ... ..	57	1	...
Order 19.—Transport by water ... ..	73,675	5,423	67,270
Order 20.—Transport by road ... ..	1,15,509	47,758	1,04,720
Order 21.—Transport by rail ... ..	27,763	191	16,704
Order 22.—Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services ...	5,051	43	4,648
<b>Sub-Class V.—Trade</b> ... ..	<b>5,57,248</b>	<b>60,897</b>	<b>5,80,622</b>
Order 23.—Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.	10,914	2,350	11,615
Order 24.—Brokerage, commission and export ... ..	2,269	196	7,526
Order 25.—Trade in textiles ... ..	18,784	1,102	32,075
Order 26.—Trade in skins, leather and furs ... ..	830	89	1,304
Order 27.—Trade in wood ... ..	14,924	5,520	15,653
Order 28.—Trade in metals ... ..	2,459	197	2,194
Order 29.—Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles ... ..	149	10	781
Order 30.—Trade in chemical products ... ..	5,890	979	4,699
Order 31.—Hotels, cafés, restaurants, etc. ... ..	74,867	5,045	27,389
Group 126.—Vendors of wine, liquors, aerated waters and ice.	4,580	208	4,828
Group 127.—Owners and managers of hotels, cook-shops, etc. and employees.	20,716	886	22,561
Order 32.—Other trade in food-stuffs ... ..	3,71,814	37,679	1,87,582
Group 129.—Grain and pulse dealers ... ..	29,729	6,223	42,360
Group 130.—Dealers in sugar, jaggery, sweetmeats and spices.	39,140	3,529	39,158
Group 134.—Dealers in other food-stuffs ... ..	2,83,361	25,707	96,072
Groups 135 and 136.—Dealers in tobacco and opium ...	11,264	1,330	14,855
Order 33.—Trade in clothing and toilet articles ... ..	3,411	459	4,278
Order 34.—Trade in furniture ... ..	6,927	1,348	10,805
Order 35.—Trade in building materials ... ..	520	85	8,032



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Selected Occupations, 1931 and 1921—concl'd.*

NOTE.—In some cases owing to differences in classification at the two censuses the figures in column 2 and 4 are not comparable. The figures are discussed in paragraph 79.

Occupational Class, Sub-Class, Order and Group.  1	1931.		1921.
	Earners and working dependants. 2	Subsidiary occupations of earners. 3	Workers excluding dependants. 4
Order 36.—Trade in means of transport ...	5,300	1,446	10,366
Order 37.—Trade in fuel ...	6,827	2,789	5,564
Order 38.—Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	6,181	306	6,359
Order 39.—Trade of other sorts ...	25,182	1,261	2,44,400
<i>Group 150.—General store-keepers and shop-keepers otherwise unspecified.</i>	23,429	942	2,43,485
<b>CLASS C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.</b>	2,74,573	15,675	2,32,743
<b>Sub-Class VI.—Public force</b> ...	30,816	87	38,097
Order 40.—Army ...	5,218	6	7,860
Order 41.—Navy ...	...	...	...
Order 42.—Air force ...	...	...	...
Order 43.—Police ...	25,598	81	30,237
<b>Sub-Class VII.—(Order 44).—Public Administration</b> ...	44,867	7,755	34,234
<i>Group 159.—General service of the Government of India or a Provincial Government.</i>	18,117	95	12,412
<i>Group 160.—General service of a Shan, Indian or Foreign State.</i>	7,242	1,946	5,524
<i>Group 161.—Municipal and other local (not village) service</i>	13,046	358	2,938
<i>Group 162.—Village officials and servants other than watchman.</i>	6,462	5,356	13,360
<b>Sub-Class VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts</b> ...	1,98,890	7,835	1,60,412
Order 45.—Religion ...	1,28,280	294	1,05,101
<i>Group 163.—Pongyis, upazins, priests, ministers, etc.</i>	72,135	72	69,817
<i>Group 164.—Koyins, nuns, religious mendicants</i> ...	50,746	2	34,575
Order 46.—Law ...	4,459	71	2,872
<i>Group 167.—Lawyers of all kinds</i> ...	2,311	23	1,513
<i>Group 168.—Lawyer's clerks, petition-writers, etc.</i> ...	2,148	48	1,359
Order 47.—Medicine ...	29,092	5,007	23,896
Order 48.—Instruction ...	20,658	298	14,895
Order 49.—Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44) ...	16,401	2,163	13,648
<b>CLASS D.—MISCELLANEOUS</b> ...	1,31,924	2,870	4,45,074
<b>Sub-Class IX.—(Order 50).—Persons living principally on their income.</b>	7,167	1,034	4,405
<b>Sub-Class X.—(Order 51).—Domestic service</b> ...	44,689	166	51,060
<b>Sub-Class XI.—(Order 52).—Insufficiently described occupations.</b>	54,921	1,622	3,51,923
<i>Group 188.—Manufacturers, businessmen and contractors otherwise unspecified.</i>	1,531	52	81,976
<i>Group 189.—Cashiers, accountants, book-keepers and other clerical employees in unspecified industries or trades.</i>	6,723	109	36,520
<i>Group 190.—Mechanics otherwise unspecified</i> ...	1,014	24	7,818
<i>Group 191.—Labourers and workmen otherwise unspecified</i>	45,653	1,437	2,25,609
<b>Sub-Class XII.—Unproductive</b> ...	25,147	48	37,686
Order 53.—Inmates of jails, asylums and almshouses ...	13,261	...	16,324
Order 54.—Beggars, vagrants, prostitutes ...	11,601	3	20,876
Order 55.—Other unclassified non-productive Industries ...	285	45	486



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VA.—*Distribution by occupation of 1,000 workers of selected racial classes.*

(See paragraph 80.)

Occupational Class, Sub-Class, Order and Group.	All Races.	Burmese.	Other Indigenous Races.	Chinese.	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	Indo-Burman Races.	Europeans and allied Races.	Anglo-Indians.	Other Races.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ALL OCCUPATIONS	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
CLASS A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS.	702	711	827	275	690	252	520	122	61	65
Sub-Class I.—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation.	696	707	824	232	686	223	518	45	35	60
Order 1.—Pasture and Agriculture	686	696	815	227	680	218	497	44	34	29
Sub-Order I (a).—Ordinary Cultivation	645	668	756	178	621	168	456	10	14	7
Group 1.—Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind.	11	13	10	4	11	2	18	3	4	5
Group 3.—Cultivating owners	201	202	259	24	130	15	157	1	3	1
Group 6.—Tenant cultivators	121	145	99	7	187	47	93	...	2	...
Group 7.—Agricultural labourers	240	301	178	22	290	101	185	...	1	1
Sub-Order I (b).—Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (planters, managers, clerks and labourers).	19	11	33	27	10	20	8	9	7	18
Group 14.—Rubber	1	...	1	1	...	3	1	6	5	8
Sub-Order I (c).—Forestry	8	9	10	4	1	2	3	24	13	3
Sub-Order I (d).—Stock raising	13	7	16	13	47	27	29	1	...	1
Sub-Order I (e).—Raising of small animals and insects.	...	...	...	5	...	...	1	...	...	...
Order 2.—Fishing and Hunting	10	11	9	5	6	5	21	1	1	30
Sub-Class II.—Exploitation of Minerals	6	4	3	42	4	29	2	77	26	5
Order 3.—Metallic Minerals	2	...	1	32	...	14	1	20	9	2
Order 4.—Non-Metallic Minerals	4	4	2	10	4	15	1	56	17	3
Group 36.—Petroleum	3	3	...	...	3	14	1	54	16	3
CLASS B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	232	230	129	647	222	575	381	389	472	666
Sub-Class III.—Industry	107	109	80	167	73	200	102	91	119	88
Order 5.—Textiles	38	35	54	1	2	1	21	1	1	1
Order 6.—Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2
Order 7.—Wood	16	20	9	61	6	18	12	6	8	6
Group 54.—Sawyers	3	3	1	4	3	15	5	5	8	4
Order 8.—Metals	3	3	1	24	2	12	2	13	8	1
Order 9.—Ceramics	2	3	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	...
Order 10.—Chemical products properly so-called and analogous.	3	2	1	3	2	20	4	24	26	18
Order 11.—Food Industries	23	25	7	30	19	71	24	18	12	10
Group 71.—Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders.	10	6	3	9	16	66	12	15	7	8
Order 12.—Industries of dress and the toilet	12	12	4	33	22	36	20	3	9	25
Order 13.—Furniture Industries	...	...	...	1	...	1	...	...	...	1
Order 14.—Building Industries	2	2	...	6	4	10	7	5	6	2
Order 15.—Construction of means of transport	1	1	...	4	1	5	4	8	17	4
Order 16.—Production and transmission of physical force.	...	...	...	1	1	2	2	10	18	3
Order 17.—Miscellaneous and undefined Industries	5	5	2	3	11	22	6	4	13	16
Group 100.—Scavengers and sweepers	1	...	...	...	5	14	...	...	...	...
Sub-Class IV.—Transport	36	26	9	63	56	197	59	194	234	214
Order 18.—Transport by air	12	8	3	6	13	75	8	147	52	168
Order 19.—Transport by water	19	16	6	54	27	77	42	15	25	10
Order 20.—Transport by road	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Group 106.—Labourers employed on roads and bridges.	5	4	2	41	7	23	4	...	1	1
Order 21.—Transport by rail	4	2	...	2	13	39	6	22	106	26
Group 112.—Railway employees of all kinds other than doctors, police, postal service, labourers and sweepers.	2	1	...	1	9	20	4	22	105	26
Group 113.—Labourers of all kinds associated with railways (excluding sweepers).	2	1	...	1	3	19	2	...	1	...
Order 22.—Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services.	1	...	...	...	3	5	2	11	51	9







SUBSIDIARY TABLE VB.—*Distribution by race of 1,000 workers in each class, sub-class and order and selected groups of occupations.*

(See paragraph 80.)

Occupational Class, Sub-Class, Order and Group.	All Races.	Burmese.	Other Indigenous Races.	Chinese.	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	Indo-Burman Races.	Europeans and allied Races.	Anglo-Indians.	Other Races.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
ALL OCCUPATIONS ... ..	1,000	558	321	15	16	79	9	1	1	...
CLASS A.—PRODUCTION OF RAW MATERIALS.	1,000	565	378	6	16	28	7	...	...	...
Sub-Class I.—Exploitation of Animals and Vegetation.	1,000	567	380	5	16	25	7	...	...	...
Order 1.—Pasture and Agriculture ... ..	1,000	566	382	5	16	25	6	...	...	...
Sub-Order 1 (a).—Ordinary Cultivation ...	1,000	578	376	4	15	20	6	...	...	...
Group 1.—Non-cultivating proprietors taking rent in money or kind.	1,000	658	292	5	15	15	14	...	...	...
Group 5.—Cultivating owners ... ..	1,000	561	414	2	10	6	7	...	...	...
Group 6.—Tenant cultivators ... ..	1,000	673	265	1	24	30	7	...	...	...
Group 7.—Agricultural labourers ... ..	1,000	701	239	1	19	33	7	...	...	...
Sub-Order 1 (b).—Cultivation of special crops, fruit, etc. (planters, managers, clerks and labourers.)	1,000	326	557	21	9	83	4	1	...	...
Group 14.—Rubber ... ..	1,000	142	261	12	5	559	9	6	4	1
Sub-Order 1 (c).—Forestry ... ..	1,000	600	361	7	3	20	4	3	1	...
Sub-Order 1 (d).—Stock raising ... ..	1,000	327	406	16	59	171	21	...	...	...
Sub-Order 1 (e).—Raising of small animals and insects.	1,000	143	525	258	20	38	15	...	...	...
Order 2.—Fishing and Hunting ... ..	1,000	627	293	8	10	41	19	...	...	1
Sub-Class II.—Exploitation of Minerals ...	1,000	355	152	98	10	363	3	14	4	...
Order 3.—Metallic Minerals ... ..	1,000	33	151	236	3	557	4	12	4	...
Order 4.—Non-Metallic Minerals ... ..	1,000	504	153	35	13	274	3	15	4	...
Group 36.—Petroleum ... ..	1,000	546	4	2	19	398	3	22	5	...
CLASS B.—PREPARATION AND SUPPLY OF MATERIAL SUBSTANCES.	1,000	552	178	41	15	194	15	2	2	1
Sub-Class III.—Industry ... ..	1,000	567	241	23	11	147	9	1	1	...
Order 5.—Textiles ... ..	1,000	526	465	...	1	2	5	...	...	...
Order 6.—Hides, skins and hard materials from the animal kingdom.	1,000	563	64	73	23	243	27	2	...	5
Order 7.—Wood ... ..	1,000	670	177	55	6	85	6	...	...	...
Group 54.—Sawyers ... ..	1,000	504	113	15	15	335	14	2	2	...
Order 8.—Metals ... ..	1,000	478	119	104	10	277	5	4	2	...
Order 9.—Ceramics ... ..	1,000	766	163	4	8	57	1	...	...	...
Order 10.—Chemical products properly so-called and analogous.	1,000	367	60	13	11	518	12	9	8	1
Order 11.—Food Industries ... ..	1,000	609	100	20	13	247	9	1	1	...
Group 71.—Rice pounders and huskers and flour grinders.	1,000	335	108	13	25	506	10	2	1	...
Order 12.—Industries of dress and the toilet ...	1,000	565	117	40	29	233	15	...	1	...
Order 13.—Furniture Industries ... ..	1,000	555	44	77	22	289	11	...	1	...
Order 14.—Building Industries ... ..	1,000	463	47	45	33	376	31	3	3	...
Order 15.—Construction of means of transport ...	1,000	451	50	56	21	367	30	9	16	1
Order 16.—Production and transmission of physical force.	1,000	416	20	26	22	407	38	28	42	2
Order 17.—Miscellaneous and undefined Industries	1,000	526	107	8	32	313	10	1	2	1
Group 100.—Scavengers and sweepers ... ..	1,000	47	6	2	67	877	2	...	...	...
Sub-Class IV.—Transport ... ..	1,000	405	83	26	25	432	15	6	6	1
Order 18.—Transport by air ... ..	1,000	18	...	...	...	982	...	...	...	3
Order 19.—Transport by water ... ..	1,000	379	72	8	18	495	6	15	4	...
Order 20.—Transport by road ... ..	1,000	477	107	43	23	327	20	1	1	...
Group 106.—Labourers employed on roads and bridges.	1,000	388	111	119	21	354	6	...	...	...
Order 21.—Transport by rail ... ..	1,000	199	19	8	45	687	12	6	23	1
Group 112.—Railway employees of all kinds other than doctors, police, postal service, labourers and sweepers.	1,000	135	10	10	66	703	18	11	45	2
Group 113.—Labourers of all kinds associated with railways (excluding sweepers).	1,000	266	28	6	23	670	6	...	...	...
Order 22.—Post Office, Telegraph and Telephone services.	1,000	263	53	7	59	516	24	15	60	2



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VB.—*Distribution by race of 1,000 workers in each class, sub-class and order and selected groups of occupations—concl'd.*

(See paragraph 80.)

Occupational Class, Sub-Class, Order and Group.	All races.	Burmese.	Other Indigenous Races.	Chinese.	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	Indo-Burman Races.	Europeans and allied Races.	Anglo-Indians.	Other Races.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>Sub-Class V.—Trade</b> ... ..	1,000	592	141	69	16	156	22	1	1	1
Order 23.—Banks, establishments of credit, exchange and insurance.	1,000	248	48	97	20	556	9	12	8	2
Order 24.—Brokerage, commission and export ...	1,000	504	77	43	41	254	27	22	19	12
Order 25.—Trade in textiles ...	1,000	365	126	59	28	367	48	2	1	4
Order 26.—Trade in skins, leather and furs ...	1,000	495	89	81	23	256	54	1	1	...
Order 27.—Trade in wood ...	1,000	611	230	38	6	101	10	3	2	...
Order 28.—Trade in metals ...	1,000	323	54	29	56	474	53	5	5	2
Order 29.—Trade in pottery, bricks and tiles ...	1,000	617	34	27	47	255	20	...	...	...
Order 30.—Trade in chemical products ...	1,000	443	142	88	22	254	24	8	17	2
Order 31.—Hotels, cafés, restaurants, etc. ...	1,000	476	140	100	17	246	18	1	...	1
Group 127.—Owners and managers of hotels, cook-shops, etc., and employees.	1,000	197	102	209	23	435	29	2	1	2
Group 128.—Hawkers of drink and food-stuffs ...	1,000	628	161	25	14	158	13	...	...	...
Order 22.—Other trade in food-stuffs ...	1,000	653	143	62	14	106	21	...	...	...
Group 129.—Grain and pulse dealers ...	1,000	635	130	66	11	138	17	2	1	...
Group 134.—Dealers in other food-stuffs ...	1,000	657	144	65	14	101	19	...	...	...
Order 33.—Trade in clothing and toilet articles ...	1,000	644	108	92	6	112	31	1	1	4
Order 34.—Trade in furniture ...	1,000	621	103	18	33	193	24	2	2	6
Order 35.—Trade in building materials ...	1,000	479	156	6	21	302	33	...	4	...
Order 36.—Trade in means of transport ...	1,000	398	329	21	46	126	63	5	10	1
Order 37.—Trade in fuel ...	1,000	488	149	19	11	321	10	1	...	...
Order 38.—Trade in articles of luxury and those pertaining to letters and the arts and sciences.	1,000	521	138	38	22	235	28	5	6	7
Order 39.—Trade of other sorts ...	1,000	498	92	135	23	200	31	8	8	4
<b>CLASS C.—PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND LIBERAL ARTS.</b>	1,000	583	239	8	12	128	10	12	8	1
<b>Sub-Class VI.—Public force</b> ... ..	1,000	313	159	3	20	434	8	58	5	...
Order 40.—Army ...	1,000	5	271	...	14	394	1	314	1	...
Order 41.—Navy ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Order 42.—Air force ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Order 43.—Police ...	1,000	376	136	3	21	443	9	6	6	...
<b>Sub-Class VII.—(Order 44).—Public Administration.</b>	1,000	379	255	13	23	286	19	8	17	1
Group 159.—General Service of the Government of India or a Provincial Government	1,000	508	121	8	33	263	29	14	24	1
<b>Sub-Class VIII.—Professions and Liberal Arts</b>	1,000	671	248	7	8	44	8	5	6	1
Order 45.—Religion ...	1,000	691	288	1	2	13	2	2	...	...
Group 163.—Pongyis, upazins, priests, ministers, etc.	1,000	779	203	1	1	12	1	2	...	...
Group 164.—Koyins, nuns, religious mendicants ...	1,000	589	407	...	...	1	...	2	...	...
Order 46.—Law ...	1,000	649	76	15	39	140	58	8	13	2
Group 167.—Lawyers of all kinds ...	1,000	704	63	16	27	107	48	14	18	2
Order 47.—Medicine ...	1,000	657	191	12	14	94	12	5	12	2
Group 169.—Registered medical practitioners including oculists.	1,000	196	50	11	69	516	28	51	64	16
Group 170.—Other persons practising the healing arts without being registered.	1,000	709	232	10	7	33	9	...	...	...
Group 171.—Dentists ...	1,000	470	15	352	13	22	37	15	11	64
Group 172.—Midwives, vaccinators, compounders, nurses, masseurs, etc.	1,000	643	155	2	18	136	14	7	23	2
Order 48.—Instruction ...	1,000	562	228	26	23	90	24	19	27	1
Order 49.—Letters, arts and sciences (other than 44)	1,000	685	110	24	20	119	14	9	15	6
<b>CLASS D.—MISCELLANEOUS</b> ... ..	1,000	355	161	39	40	375	21	3	5	1
<b>Sub-Class IX.—(Order 50) Persons living principally on their income.</b>	1,000	488	113	24	39	216	52	22	42	4
<b>Sub-Class X.—(Order 51) Domestic service</b> ...	1,000	285	108	39	52	492	20	1	2	1
<b>Sub-Class XI.—(Order 52) Insufficiently described occupations.</b>	1,000	244	20	48	35	446	20	3	4	...
<b>Sub-Class XII.—Unproductive</b> ... ..	1,000	684	184	24	32	57	19	...	1	...
Order 53.—Inmates of jails, asylums and almshouses	1,000	802	101	25	13	46	11	...	2	...
Order 54.—Beggars, vagrants and prostitutes ...	1,000	564	266	22	53	66	28	...	1	...
Group 193.—Beggars and vagrants ...	1,000	568	269	22	54	58	28	...	1	...
Order 55.—Other unclassified non-productive industries.	1,000	84	698	21	11	179	4	4	...	...



**SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—Number of persons employed on or about the 24th February 1931 in the Post Office and Telegraph Department, the Irrigation Department and on Railways in Burma.**

(See paragraph 86.)

**A.—POST OFFICE AND TELEGRAPH DEPARTMENT.**

Class of persons employed. 1	Total persons. 2	Post Office.		Telegraph Department.	
		Europeans and Anglo-Indians. 3	Others. 4	Europeans and Anglo-Indians. 5	Others. 6
<b>Total persons employed</b> ...	5,934	63	4,455	266	1,150
(1) <i>Post and Telegraphs</i> ...	5,222	48	3,758	266	1,150
1. Supervising Officers (including Probationary Superintendents and Inspectors of Post Offices and Assistant and Deputy Superintendents of Telegraphs and all officers of higher rank than these).	87	6	20	48	13
2. Postmasters including Deputy, Assistant, Sub and Branch Postmasters and Telegraph Masters.	479	5	451	23	...
3. Signalling establishment including warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, military telegraphists and other employees.	251	...	...	182	69
4. Miscellaneous Agents, School Masters, Station Masters, etc.	184	3	181	...	...
5. Clerks of all kinds ...	1,251	34	973	12	232
6. Postmen ...	1,435	...	1,435	...	...
7. Skilled labour establishment including foremen, instrument-makers, carpenters, blacksmiths, mechanics, sub-inspectors, linemen and line-riders and other employees.	497	...	...	1	496
8. Unskilled labour establishment including line coolies, cable guards, battery men, telegraph-messengers, peons and other employees.	904	...	564	...	340
9. Road establishment consisting of overseers, runners, clerks, and booking agents, boat-men, syces, coachmen, bearers and others.	134	...	134	...	...
(2) <i>Railway Mail Service</i> ...	296	2	294	...	...
10. Supervising Officers (including Superintendents and Inspectors of Sorting).	5	...	5	...	...
11. Clerks of all kinds ...	4	...	4	...	...
12. Sorters ...	141	2	139	...	...
13. Mail guards, Mail agents, Van peons, porters, etc.	146	...	146	...	...
(3) <i>Combined Offices</i> ...	416	13	403	...	...
14. Signallers ...	201	13	188	...	...
15. Messengers and other servants ...	215	...	215	...	...

**B.—IRRIGATION DEPARTMENT.**

Class of persons employed. 1	Total persons. 2	Europeans and Anglo-Indians. 3	Others. 4
<b>Total persons employed</b> ...	6,994	22	6,972
<i>Persons directly employed</i> ...	1,954	22	1,932
Officers ...	33	15	18
Upper Subordinates ...	140	1	139
Lower Subordinates ...	95	5	90
Clerks ...	178	1	177
Peons and other servants ...	328	...	328
Coolies ...	1,180	...	1,180
<i>Persons indirectly employed</i> ...	5,040	...	5,040
Contractors ...	207	...	207
Contractors' regular employees ...	35	...	35
Coolies ...	4,798	...	4,798

**C.—RAILWAYS.**

Class of persons employed. 1	Total persons. 2	Europeans and Anglo-Indians. 3	Indigenous Races. 4	Chinese. 5	Indians. 6
<b>Total persons employed</b> ...	33,433	855	5,845	229	26,504
<i>Persons directly employed</i> ...	27,721	847	4,692	155	22,027
Officers ...	126	109	11	...	6
Subordinates drawing more than Rs. 75 per mensem.	2,195	586	257	22	1,330
Subordinates drawing from Rs. 20 to Rs. 75 per mensem.	11,244	135	1,807	133	9,169
Subordinates drawing under Rs. 20 per mensem.	14,156	17	2,617	...	11,522
<i>Persons indirectly employed</i> ...	5,712	8	1,153	74	4,477
Contractors ...	170	6	12	12	140
Contractors' regular staff ...	291	2	66	7	216
Contractors' coolies ...	5,251	...	1,075	55	4,121







SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII B.—Distribution by race of 1,000 male carriers in each functional class for (a) the whole province and (b) Rangoon.

(See paragraph 81.)

Economic Function.	All Races.	Burmese.	Other Indigenous Races.	Chinese.	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	Indo-Burman Races.	Europeans and allied Races.	Anglo-Indians.	Other Races.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>A.—THE WHOLE PROVINCE.</b>										
All Functions ...	1,000	533	292	21	19	121	10	2	1	...
A.—Cultivating landowners ...	1,000	446	517	11	9	11	6	...	...	...
B.—Cultivating tenants ...	1,000	682	250	1	25	34	8	...	...	...
C.—Agricultural labourers ...	1,000	675	238	2	26	51	9	...	...	...
D.—Herdsman ...	1,000	252	205	33	47	440	22	...	...	...
E.—Fishers and hunters ...	1,000	625	289	9	10	47	19	...	...	1
F.—Clerical workers ...	1,000	391	83	40	44	379	29	9	24	3
G.—Managers and officials of organised industrial undertakings.	1,000	513	64	60	36	179	23	79	39	6
H.—Craftsmen ...	1,000	569	97	59	20	232	15	2	5	1
J.—Unskilled and semi-skilled labourers (excluding sweepers and scavengers.)	1,000	382	95	34	21	454	12	1	1	1
K.—Technical experts and professional classes (excluding medical and religious).	1,000	501	151	22	26	152	30	84	32	2
L.—Traders and shop assistants ...	1,000	403	99	133	25	310	25	2	2	2
M.—Rentiers ...	1,000	611	278	14	18	52	17	3	6	1
N.—Army, Navy, Air Force and Police.	1,000	296	204	3	19	411	7	55	5	...
O.—General public service (including service of local bodies) not in other classes.	1,000	457	458	23	5	10	8	18	21	1
P.—Religion ...	1,000	252	377	5	18	203	53	81	5	5
Q.—Medicine ...	1,000	649	203	18	13	93	12	4	5	3
R.—Sweepers and scavengers ...	1,000	35	3	2	55	904	2	...	...	...
S.—Miscellaneous ...	1,000	751	146	5	11	73	5	2	4	3
T.—Insufficiently described. {Manufacturers, businessmen, contractors.	1,000	150	32	76	45	612	61	10	13	3
U.—Others ...	1,000	92	652	33	5	212	...	5	...	...
<b>B.—RANGOON.</b>										
All Functions ...	1,000	152	6	66	29	705	14	13	12	4
A.—Cultivating landowners ...	1,000	489	13	84	15	386	8	4	1	...
B.—Cultivating tenants ...	1,000	606	3	67	40	275	8	...	...	...
C.—Agricultural labourers ...	1,000	371	40	26	26	518	19	...	...	...
D.—Herdsman ...	1,000	12	1	6	27	952	2	...	...	...
E.—Fishers and hunters ...	1,000	281	...	8	16	672	23	...	...	...
F.—Clerical workers ...	1,000	291	18	56	56	481	27	13	49	8
G.—Managers and officials of organised industrial undertakings.	1,000	189	8	138	53	211	45	209	122	26
H.—Craftsmen ...	1,000	257	5	137	32	530	18	6	13	2
J.—Unskilled and semi-skilled labourers (excluding sweepers and scavengers.)	1,000	86	2	14	21	864	7	3	2	2
K.—Technical experts and professional classes (excluding medical and religious.)	1,000	244	28	38	30	297	17	236	99	12
L.—Traders and shop assistants ...	1,000	127	5	129	30	665	19	10	8	7
M.—Rentiers ...	1,000	334	23	52	92	310	62	26	85	16
N.—Army, Navy, Air Force and Police.	1,000	177	40	5	17	651	7	80	23	...
O.—General public service (including service of local bodies) not in other classes.	1,000	338	34	30	12	85	12	187	290	12
P.—Religion ...	1,000	79	26	10	...	696	10	142	10	26
Q.—Medicine ...	1,000	342	20	92	37	404	19	23	36	27
R.—Sweepers and scavengers ...	1,000	...	...	...	69	930	...	...	...	...
S.—Miscellaneous ...	1,000	501	53	26	21	334	9	9	31	15
T.—Insufficiently described. {Manufacturers, businessmen, contractors.	1,000	45	6	26	26	792	58	...	26	19
U.—Others ...	1,000	79	...	26	26	868	...	...	...	...



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIIIA.—*Distribution by Economic Function of 1,000 male earners of selected racial classes in (a) rice mills (group 71) and (b) saw mills (group 54).*

(See paragraph 81.)

A.—RICE MILLS.

Economic Function.	All Races.	Burmese.	Other Indigenous Races.	Chinese.	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	Indo-Burman Races.	Europeans and allied Races.	Anglo-Indians.	Other Races.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All Functions ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
F.—Clerical workers ...	65	132	129	271	47	31	179	29	238	333
G.—Managers and officials of organised industrial undertakings.	22	53	48	111	27	5	36	596	167	222
H.—Craftsmen ...	63	89	83	415	92	40	215	10	190	222
J.—Unskilled and semi-skilled labourers (excluding sweepers and scavengers).	848	724	732	200	834	925	559	...	48	111
K.—Technical experts and professional classes (excluding medical and religious).	2	3	9	2	1	...	11	365	357	111

B.—SAW MILLS.

Economic Function.	All Races.	Burmese.	Other Indigenous Races.	Chinese.	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	Indo-Burman Races.	Europeans and allied Races.	Anglo-Indians.	Other Races.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All Functions ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000
F.—Clerical workers ...	66	93	41	349	89	19	164	103	250	400
G.—Managers and officials of organised industrial undertakings.	41	56	42	145	36	8	75	436	386	400
H.—Craftsmen ...	326	456	563	284	184	91	267	26	23	200
J.—Unskilled and semi-skilled labourers (excluding sweepers and scavengers).	564	395	353	222	691	882	484	...	45	...
K.—Technical experts and professional classes (excluding medical and religious).	2	1	1	...	...	1	11	436	295	...

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VIII-B.—*Distribution by race of 1,000 male earners in each functional class in (a) rice mills (group 71) and (b) saw mills (group 54).*

(See paragraph 81.)

A.—RICE MILLS.

Economic Function.	All Races.	Burmese.	Other Indigenous Races.	Chinese.	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	Indo-Burman Races.	Europeans and allied Races.	Anglo-Indians.	Other Races.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All Functions ...	1,000	237	32	19	23	676	10	2	1	...
F.—Clerical workers ...	1,000	483	64	80	17	323	28	1	4	1
G.—Managers and officials of organised industrial undertakings.	1,000	571	70	97	29	142	17	66	7	2
H.—Craftsmen ...	1,000	335	42	125	34	425	35	...	3	1
J.—Unskilled and semi-skilled labourers (excluding sweepers and scavengers).	1,000	202	28	5	23	737	7	...	...	...
K.—Technical experts and professional classes (excluding medical and religious).	1,000	248	114	19	10	48	48	362	143	10

B.—SAW MILLS.

Economic Function.	All Races.	Burmese.	Other Indigenous Races.	Chinese.	Indians born in Burma.	Indians born outside Burma.	Indo-Burman Races.	Europeans and allied Races.	Anglo-Indians.	Other Races.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
All Functions ...	1,000	489	107	16	15	355	14	2	2	...
F.—Clerical workers ...	1,000	681	65	85	20	101	35	3	8	2
G.—Managers and officials of organised industrial undertakings.	1,000	681	111	58	14	67	26	21	21	2
H.—Craftsmen ...	1,000	682	184	14	9	99	11	...	...	...
J.—Unskilled and semi-skilled labourers (excluding sweepers and scavengers).	1,000	342	67	6	19	555	12	...	...	...
K.—Technical experts and professional classes (excluding medical and religious).	1,000	111	67	...	...	89	67	378	289	...



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IX.—*Relation between the group numbers of the occupational classification schemes at the 1921 and 1931 censuses in Burma.*

(See paragraph 73.)

Number of Occupational group.		Number of Occupational group.		Number of Occupational group.		Number of Occupational group.	
1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.	1931.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1	1	45 (a), 45 (b)	56	107 (a),	102	154	152
2 (a)	2, 4	45 (c).		107 (b),		155	153
				110 (a).			
2 (b)	3, 4	46	57			156	154
3 (a)	5	47	58	110 (b)		157	155
3 (b)	6	48	59	111	105	158	156
3 (c)	7	49	60	112	106	159	157
4	8	50	61	113 (a),	107	160	158
5	16	51	62	113 (b).		161	159
6 (a)	13	52-54, 57	65	114	108	162	160
6 (b)	14	55	63	115	109	163	161
6 (c)	16 (a)	56	64	116	110	164	162
6 (d)	16	58	66	117	111	165	163
6 (e)	15	59	67	118	112	166	164
6 (f)	12, 16 (c)	61	68	119	113	167	165
6 (g)	11	62	69	120	114		
6 (h)	16	60, 63, 64 (a),	70	121	115	168	166
		64 (b).					
6 (i)	9	64 (c)				169	167
7	16, 10	65	71	122	116	170	168
8	17	67	72	123 (a),	117		
9 (a), 9 (b)	18	68	73	123 (b).		171	169-171, 173.
9 (c), 9 (d)	19	71	74	124	118		
10	20, 26	72	75	125 (a),	119-122	172	172
				125 (b).			
11	21	73	77	126	123	173	174
12, 14	23	74	76	127 (a),	124		
				127 (b).		174	175
13	22	75	78, 79, 80	128	125	175	176
15	24	66, 69, 70	81	129	126	176	177
16	25	77	83	130	127	177 (a)	178
17	27	78	82	131	134 (a)		
18	28	76, 79	84	132	130, 134	177 (b)	181
19	35	80	85	133	131		
20	36	81	86	134	130	177 (c)	179
21	29-34	82	87, 172	135	130, 134	177 (d).	
						177 (e)	178-180
22 (a) 22 (b)	39	83 (a), 83 (b)	88	136	129		
22 (c)	37, 38, 41,	84	89	137	135-137	178	182
23, 24	40	85-89	90	138	132	179	181, 184
25	42	90	91	139	133	180	185
26, 27	43	91	92	140	138		
28	44	92	93	141	139	181, 182	187
29, 30	45	93	94	142	140	183	186
31-33	46	94, 95	95	143	141	184	188
34, 35	47	96	96	144	142	185	189
36	48	97	97	145	143		
37	49	98 (a), 98 (b),	98, 99	146	144	186	190
38	50	98 (c).		147	145	187	191
39, 40	51	99, 100	183	148	146	188	192
41	52	101		149	147		
42	53	102, 103	100	150	148	189	181, 193
43	54	104	101	151	149	190	194
44	55	105, 108	103	152	150		
		106, 109	104	153	128, 151	191	195



SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—*Unemployment of Educated Persons.*

(See paragraph 85.)

## PART I.—BY RACE.

Race.	Total Unemployed, (aged 20-40).	Aged 20-25.		Aged 25-30.		Aged 30-35.		Aged 35-40.	
		Unemployed for		Unemployed for		Unemployed for		Unemployed for	
		Less than one year.	One year or more.	Less than one year.	One year or more.	Less than one year.	One year or more.	Less than one year.	One year or more.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Burmese ...	37	12	11	2	4	...	2	3	3
Other Indigenous Races.	6	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	...
Chinese ...	5	2	2	...	...	1	...	...	...
Indo-Burman Races ...	5	2	1	1	1	...	...	...	...
Indians ...	51	12	14	7	8	2	5	1	2
Tamils and Telugus ...	13	6	3	2	1	1	...	...	...
Bengalis and Chittago- nians.	19	2	6	1	4	1	3	1	1
Other Indian Races ...	7	...	2	1	1	...	2	...	1
Indians, unspecified ...	12	4	3	3	2	...	...	...	...
Europeans ...	2	...	...	1	...	...	1	...	...
Anglo-Indians ...	7	3	1	...	...	1	2	...	...
Others ...	2	...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...
Total ...	115	33	34	12	13	4	10	4	5

## PART II.—BY DEGREE OR EXAMINATION.

Degree or Examination.	Total unemployed (aged 20-40.)	Aged 20-25.		Aged 25-30.		Aged 30-35.		Aged 35-40.	
		Unemployed for		Unemployed for		Unemployed for		Unemployed for	
		Less than one year.	One year or more.	Less than one year.	One year or more.	Less than one year.	One year or more.	Less than one year.	One year or more.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Indian Degrees—									
Medical ...	1	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
Legal ...	1	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...
M.A. ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...
M.Sc. ...	2	1	...	1	...	...	...	...	...
B.A. ...	11	4	3	1	1	1	1	...	...
B.Sc. ...	5	1	3	...	...	...	1	...	...
B.Eng. ...	3	...	...	...	...	1	2	...	...
Indian Examinations—									
I.A. ...	8	1	2	2	1	...	1	...	1
I.Sc. ...	9	3	4	1	1	...	...	...	...
High School Final or Matric.	74	23	22	6	9	2	4	4	4
Total ...	115	33	34	12	13	4	10	4	5

Total of educated unemployed under 20 years ... 11  
 Total of educated unemployed 40 years and over ... 17  
 Total number of educated unemployed whose fathers were soldiers ... Nil  
 Total number of educated unemployed whose fathers were cultivators ... 7  
 Total number of educated unemployed whose fathers were artisans ... 1  
 Total number of educated unemployed whose fathers were menials or servants ... 1



## CHAPTER IX.

### Literacy.

**87. Enumeration.**—The following instructions were issued to enumerators for filling in the literacy columns of the enumeration schedule :—

"Column 16 (*Literate or illiterate*).—Enter the word "*literate*" for all persons who can both read and write a letter in any language. For other persons make a small cross in this column."

"Column 17 (*English*).—Enter the word "*English*" for all persons who can both read and write a letter in English. For those who cannot do *both* make a small cross in this column."

These are the same instructions as were issued at the two previous censuses. In 1901 the test of literacy was not so definite and less stringent; persons were recorded as literate if they could both read and write any language and it is probable that many were classed as literate who could only read in a very perfunctory manner or who could only write their own names.

**88. Statistical References.**—The figures for literacy are embodied in Imperial Tables XIII and XIV. In the former, figures are given for racial classes and not for religions, as at the 1921 census, and the racial classes are the same as those in Imperial Table VII. In Imperial Table XIII figures for the whole province, Divisional Burma and the Eastern States, are given in Parts IA, IB and IC, respectively, figures for districts in Part II and figures for towns over 20,000 in Part III; in Parts II and III figures for unimportant racial classes have been omitted. In Imperial Table XIV figures are given for selected indigenous races or race-groups in districts and states where they are specially numerous. In addition the following subsidiary tables have been compiled and appended to this Chapter :—

- I.—Literacy by age, sex and race.
- II.—Literacy in each district and natural division by age and sex.
- III.—Literacy of Burmese in each district and natural division by age and sex.
- IV.—Progress of literacy in English since 1901 by age and sex for each natural division.
- V.—Literacy of selected races or racial classes in selected areas.
- VI.—Progress of literacy since 1901 by age and sex for each natural division.
- VII.—Proportion of literacy at certain ages.
- VIII.—Number of institutions and pupils according to the returns of the Education Department.
- IX.—Statistics of the main University Examinations.
- X.—Number of Books published in each language.

**89. Accuracy of the Statistics.**—The instructions for filling in the literacy columns of the enumeration schedule were not difficult to understand and there is no reason to believe that there was any deliberate misrepresentation. In many cases, particularly in rural areas, the persons enumerated would be personally known to the enumerators. It is probable therefore that the enumeration record represents the facts fairly accurately.

The figures for the age-groups in Imperial Table XIII were obtained in the same manner as those in Imperial Table VII (see paragraph 42 of Chapter IV for the method of compilation). This method of compilation was very unsatisfactory. For instance, in compiling the figures for the five-yearly groups half the number of literate persons in the (unadjusted) age-group 7—13 (between  $6\frac{1}{2}$  and  $13\frac{1}{2}$  completed years) were taken to have completed 10 years and included in the age-group 10—15 and the other half were included in the age-group 5—10. This method of compilation may give approximately correct results in the case of the figures for the total population but it gives incorrect figures for literate persons since more than half the literate persons in the unadjusted age-group 7—13 would have completed 10 years. This can be seen by comparing the proportion of literate persons in the age-groups 5—10 and 10—15 at the 1921 and 1931 censuses. In 1921 there were 510 literates per 1,000 males aged 5 and over, the proportions for the age-groups 5—10 and 10—15 being 96 and 373, respectively; in 1931 there were 560 literates among males aged 5



and over but the proportions for the age-groups 5—10 and 10—15 were 227 and 385, respectively. The very large proportion in the age-group 5—10 at the 1931 census is due to the method of compilation. The figures for the higher age-groups are also affected but probably not to the same extent. For ages of 5 and over the figures for the proportion of literate persons may be taken to be roughly comparable with the corresponding figures at the 1921 census.

**90. Standard of Literacy.**—The test of literacy was the ability to write a letter to a friend and to read the answer to it. This is a very low standard. According to the Director of Public Instruction (see page 14 of the annual report for 1930-31) "it is doubtful if anyone deserves the title of literate unless he, or she, has passed, or is capable of passing, the Fourth Standard." At the 1931 census an attempt was made to ascertain the number who had passed this standard, the following instructions being issued to all census officers above the rank of enumerator :—

"Column 16.—All persons recorded as "literate" in column 16, except those recorded in column 17 as knowing English, should be asked if they have passed the IV standard examination in an anglo-vernacular or a vernacular school, and if they have then "standard IV" should be entered in brackets after the word "literate" in column 16, e.g. "literate (standard IV)."

Unfortunately the decision to distinguish between those who had and those who had not passed standard IV was not arrived at until late in 1930 and it is obvious from the records that in many parts of the province the instructions never reached the enumerators, or if they did, were ignored. Since the figures were entirely unreliable they have not been compiled. It is clear, however, from the annual reports of the Director of Public Instruction that only a very small percentage of those recorded as literate at the census have passed the Fourth Standard. A large proportion of the pupils are in unrecognised monastic schools and even in the recognised schools the majority of the pupils leave from the lower primary stages. Thus the high proportion of literates in Burma as compared with the other provinces in India is due to the very low standard of literacy adopted for census purposes.

**91. Comparison between Burma and India.**—The number of persons aged 5 and over who were recorded as literate in any language is 4,646,088, males being 3,635,790 and females 1,010,298. The proportion of literates (both sexes) has increased from 317 per mille in 1921 to 368 per mille in 1931, the increase for males being from 510 to 560 per mille and for females from 112 to 165 per mille. Thus the proportion for females has increased by nearly 50 per cent. Literacy among females in Burma has grown very rapidly during the last twenty years, the increase for the previous decade being 60 per

1. Number per mille of persons aged 5 and over who are literate.

Province or State.	Literate in any language.			Literate in English.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Burma ... ..	368	560	165	13	20	5
Burma, excluding the Shan States and Karenni.	397	600	182	14	22	5
The Shan States and Karenni	121	219	17	4	6	1
Bengal ... ..	110	180	32	25	43	5
Madras ... ..	108	188	30	15	26	4
Assam ... ..	91	152	23	12	22	2
Bihar and Orissa ...	52	95	8	5	9	1
Bombay ... ..	102	167	29	18	29	6
Central Provinces ...	60	110	11	6	11	1
Punjab ... ..	59	95	15	11	19	2
United Provinces ...	55	94	11	6	11	1
Baroda ... ..	209	330	79	15	28	2
Hyderabad ... ..	47	83	10	5	8	1
Cochin ... ..	337	460	220	37	58	16
Mysore ... ..	106	174	33	...	27	5
Gwalior ... ..	47	78	11	5	8	1
Travancore ... ..	289	408	168	19	31	7

the United Provinces, Bihar and Orissa, the Punjab and the Central Provinces

cent. In marginal table 1 figures are given for the larger provinces in India and for a few States from which figures have been received. It will be seen that the proportion of literates (in any language) in Burma is more than three times as large as in any of the other provinces. As explained in the previous paragraph this is due to the high proportion of literates among the Buddhists. If the standard of literacy had to be raised appreciably it is doubtful whether Burma would retain its position at the head of the list. Among the provinces in India proper, Bengal, Madras and Bombay are the most literate, with Assam not far behind ; in



the proportion of literate persons is very much smaller. It will be noticed that Cochin is not far behind Burma as regards the total population, the proportion of literacy among females being greater than in Burma. Baroda is still a long way behind Burma although free and compulsory primary education has been in force there for many years. As regards literacy in English, Burma no longer holds first place among the provinces in India as far as females are concerned, Bombay now taking that position. For males Burma has a smaller proportion than Bengal, Madras and Bombay, the proportion in Bengal being about double what it is in Burma.

**92. Literacy by Natural Divisions.**—Literacy figures for each natural division have been given in columns 2 and 4 of marginal table 2, and figures for Burmese in the four subdivisions of the Burman natural division, in columns 3 and 5. The males will be considered first.

It will be noticed that for the total population the Centre subdivision has the largest proportion of male literates, namely 701 per mille. This is presumably due to the large proportion of Buddhists in the total population (95 per cent). The Delta has the next largest proportion, 605 per mille. In the Delta there is also a large proportion of Buddhists as well as a comparatively large number of Christians—among whom the proportion of literates is high—but there is also a very large number of Indians and this is the reason for the proportion of literate males being smaller than in the Centre. In the North subdivision the smaller proportion is due to the large number of Animists. The Coast subdivision has the smallest proportion of all, due presumably to the presence of Animist races and Indians. The proportion of male literates in the Chin division is now 43 per mille, as compared with 35 in 1921, but is still much less than in any other natural division. The proportion in the Shan division, 222 per mille, compares with 153 in 1921 and represents an increase of 45 per cent. Literacy figures for districts are given for the total population in Subsidiary Table II and for Burmese in Subsidiary Table III. Among the Delta districts, Thatôn has by far the smallest proportion of male literates, namely 359 per mille. This is rather surprising, in view of the fact that the indigenous races are practically all Buddhists. According to the 1921 Census Report (paragraph 129) it may be due to the backwardness of the Karens in that district or to the lack of educational facilities in the remote parts. This may also be the reason for the small proportion of male literates in Amherst district, namely 385 per mille. As regards the Burmese there is not much difference between the proportion of male literates in the Delta, Centre and North subdivisions; the highest proportion is in the North, which is rather surprising. Practically all the Burmese in the Coast subdivision were enumerated in Sandoway and Amherst districts and as far as male literacy among the Burmese is concerned these are two of the three most backward districts in the province, the proportion of male literates being only 595 and 661 per mille, respectively; the other backward district is Thatôn with only 648 per mille.

The proportions for females are very different from those for males. The Delta has by far the largest proportion of female literates—282 per mille—the Centre coming next with only 130 per mille, followed by the Coast with 107 and the North with 72. The high proportion in the Delta is due to the fact that the educational facilities are better than in other subdivisions and there is also a bigger proportion of Christians. In addition to Rangoon which has 431 literate females per mille, Hanthawaddy, Pegu, Bassein, Myaungmya, Maubin and Pyapôn have all more than 300. The only two districts in the Delta with

2. Number per mille of persons aged 5 and over who are literate in any language.

Natural Division.	Males.		Females.	
	All.	Burmese.	All.	Burmese.
1	2	3	4	5
<b>Province</b> ...	560	717	165	210
Burman ...	610	717	185	209
Delta ...	605	720	282	320
Coast ...	430	634	107	219
Centre ...	701	717	130	128
North ...	530	731	72	138
Chin ...	43	...	3	...
Salween ...	145	...	31	...
Shan ...	222	...	17	...



females is 210 per mille while in all the Burma towns included in marginal table 3 the proportion is more than twice as great. Pegu with 600 per mille has a larger proportion than Rangoon. Among Indians in Rangoon the Muslims have a high proportion of literates, the figures for males and females being 597 and 238 per mille, respectively, compared with 372 and 60 for Indian Muslims in the whole province; for Hindus the proportions for males and females are 313 and 180, respectively, which compare with 338 and 109 for Indian Hindus in the whole province. The effect of the large number of illiterate unskilled Indian labourers in Rangoon is shown by the smaller percentage of literate male Hindus.

**95. Literacy in English.**—In marginal table 1 of paragraph 91 a comparison is made between the proportion of literates in Burma and in other provinces of India. According to that table, the proportion of females literate in English in Burma is greater than in most of the other provinces, being exceeded only by Bombay; for males Burma occupies a mid-way position. For ages 20 and over it might be mentioned that in the whole of India the proportion literate in English is 25 for males and 3 for females, which compares with 23 and 5, respectively, in Burma. Figures for literacy in towns in India proper and Burma are given in marginal table 3 of paragraph 94. Subsidiary Table I shows that the proportion of literates in English for Burmese and "Other Indigenous Races" is much smaller than for any other racial class. The classes which contribute most are the Indians (particularly the Christians) and the "Others" which are mostly Europeans and Anglo-Indians. Among Indian females the Hindus have a much larger proportion of literates in English (18 per mille) than the Muslims (4 per mille) but the proportion for Indian females of other religions is very much greater (134 per mille) and is due to the fact that about two-thirds of them are Christians. For Indians of all religions the proportion of literates in English is 56 per mille for males and 19 per mille for females. Subsidiary Table I also shows that "Other Indigenous Races" have a higher proportion of females literate in English than the Burmese, due to the higher proportions for Sgaw and Pwo Karen females. According to Subsidiary Table V the proportion for Sgaw Karen females is more than three times as great as that for Burmese females. The educational activities of the Christian Missions are responsible for this, about 25 per cent of the Sgaw Karen females being Christians. In Subsidiary Table I the racial class "Others" includes groups Y and Z in the racial classification scheme (see Part I of Imperial Table XVII) and all but about 10 per cent are Europeans and Anglo-Indians. If this racial class is excluded from the total population the proportion of males literate in English is reduced from 20 to 18 per mille while the proportion of females is reduced from 5 to 3 per mille.

Subsidiary Table IV gives comparative figures for previous censuses. It will be seen that the proportion literate in English has about doubled during the last twenty years both for males and females. The increases have been particularly great in the Shan division, the proportion having doubled for each sex during the past ten years. In 1911 nearly one-half of the persons literate in English were enumerated in Rangoon; in 1931 the proportion was about one-third.

**96. Educational Institutions.**—Subsidiary Table VIII shows that there has been a decrease during the decade in the number of educational institutions, both public and private. There has also been a decrease in the number of pupils in private institutions but in public institutions the pupils have increased by 189,023 or 53 per cent., males by 91,914 or 38 per cent and females by 97,109 or 83 per cent. This large increase in the number of female pupils is in accordance with the literacy figures, the proportion of literate females aged 5 years and over having increased from 112 per mille in 1921 to 165 per mille in 1931. In the private institutions there are only 6,289 female pupils out of 192,866 as they are mostly monastic schools.

**97. Books.**—Subsidiary Table X shows the number of books published during the last four decades. There has been a big decrease in the number published during the last decade. The reason is not apparent. The decline has been particularly rapid during the last few years and may be due to the economic depression. When compared with other provinces in India the number published is exceedingly small. The number of copies printed is not



known but in most cases is probably very small. It is not surprising therefore that the Burmese villager is pitifully ignorant and credulous and that rebellion breaks out periodically. The value of good books and the urgent need for them at the present time in Burma was stressed by the Director of Public Instruction (Mr. J. M. Symns, I.E.S.) at the recent opening of the Ram Krishna Mission Society Free Library and Reading Room. An extract from his speech is given below :—

"You are all aware that this province stands highest of all the Indian Provinces in the matter of literacy, but what is the good of being able to read, if you have got little or nothing to read? Believe me, there is nothing that Burma needs more to-day than books: I am not referring now to school-books, but books for the general public. It may sound paradoxical but it is none the less true that a province which stands first in the matter of literacy stands last in the matter of literature.

"The Burma Education Extension Association has started the work of translating but their effort is but a drop in the ocean of our needs. What we want is a steady supply of cheap editions of all the best books of the world translated into the vernacular. Government has in the past been generous to libraries and every recognised library has, as you know, been able to draw a fifty-fifty grant for the purpose of purchasing books and periodicals. But more than this is required; what we want is an annual supply of, say, some thirty newly-translated books priced at as low a figure as possible and peddled through the length and breadth of Burma by colporteurs in the pay of enterprising publishers.

"These are days when we can't expect much financial assistance from Government, but I believe that if Government were to guarantee publishers a certain sale, it would, as has been found in the case of school-books, never be called upon to meet this guarantee. The Burman, and I am particularly thinking of him now, is beginning to get interested in the world outside Burma, and it is our business to keep that interest alive by giving him good and cheap Burmese literature. I hope that it will be possible before very long to put up a scheme which will appeal to the authorities, partly because it will be for the good of Burma and partly because it will cost Government nothing at all.

"A collection of books without readers has no right to be called a "library" but even if many books are being read, it is obvious that at regular intervals we shall need to add new books and get rid of those which are merely cumbering the shelves. Here comes in the question of publication and when we realise that a country like Great Britain publishes some 14,000 books a year, that Japan publishes some 20,000, that Madras publishes some 4,000, while this poor little province of Burma can barely publish a hundred, hardly any of which bring us into contact with the outside world, we shall realize how very difficult it is to-day in Burma to make of our libraries a growing organism."



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Literacy by age, sex and race.*

Racial Class.	Number per <i>mille</i> of persons in the same age-period who are literate in any language.					Number per <i>mille</i> of persons in the same age-period who are literate in English.				
	All ages over 5.	5—10	10—15	15—20	20 and over.	All ages over 5.	5—10	10—15	15—20	20 and over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>MALES.</b>										
All Races ...	560	227	385	618	662	20	7	13	28	23
Burmese ...	717	296	494	804	857	14	5	10	23	16
Other Indigenous Races ...	350	117	216	386	430	8	3	7	14	9
Chinese ...	454	181	300	447	512	44	22	46	71	42
Indian Hindus ...	338	147	237	331	361	53	33	51	56	54
Indian Muslims ...	372	107	178	339	436	40	10	19	37	47
Other Indians ...	536	268	405	568	579	201	110	180	221	211
Indo-Burman Races ...	402	173	283	474	497	74	20	44	104	94
Others ...	914	582	795	954	968	827	518	729	898	871
<b>FEMALES.</b>										
All Races ...	165	103	161	210	171	5	3	6	8	5
Burmese ...	210	133	206	266	218	2	2	4	5	2
Other Indigenous Races ...	80	48	79	109	83	3	2	3	6	2
Chinese ...	171	114	187	252	167	17	13	27	34	12
Indian Hindus ...	109	75	117	146	108	18	20	31	27	13
Indian Muslims ...	60	36	57	79	65	4	2	4	6	4
Other Indians ...	323	218	328	410	332	134	87	149	189	131
Indo-Burman Races ...	180	108	169	229	196	9	6	11	14	8
Others ...	885	597	803	943	953	814	534	742	883	876



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—Literacy in each district and natural division by age and sex.

District and Natural Division.		Number per mille who are literate in any language.										
		All ages over 5.			5—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.	
		Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
PROVINCE	...	368	560	165	227	103	385	161	618	210	662	171
Burman	...	403	610	185	251	116	421	181	673	236	720	193
Della	...	454	605	282	278	158	451	253	670	350	695	306
Rangoon	...	508	542	431	320	244	495	396	581	523	559	456
Insein	...	452	619	260	258	157	419	234	662	322	732	280
Hanthawaddy	...	528	658	374	322	220	513	334	738	456	748	407
Tharrawaddy	...	504	721	289	368	199	568	310	803	391	825	285
Pegu	...	500	669	313	322	179	494	284	747	402	774	337
Bassein	...	465	614	306	268	161	454	267	705	377	709	337
Henzada	...	448	653	246	293	154	487	240	743	314	763	256
Myaungmya	...	491	638	320	277	165	457	268	678	375	747	362
Maubin	...	459	601	311	235	117	415	216	672	340	719	376
Pyapön	...	527	689	334	345	172	546	285	720	439	788	371
Toungoo	...	372	546	187	228	116	376	180	639	232	637	197
Thatön	...	245	359	121	141	71	237	110	387	151	439	131
Coast	...	276	430	107	140	56	256	97	464	137	535	117
Akyab	...	241	384	76	131	41	235	67	401	85	474	86
Kyat kpyu	...	274	495	63	163	37	302	59	542	74	613	67
Sandoway	...	323	526	124	199	88	366	141	627	179	626	118
Amherst	...	259	385	118	126	55	224	101	410	151	486	133
Tavoy	...	361	532	179	164	95	303	164	579	243	667	191
Mergui	...	335	488	161	119	70	250	143	545	218	624	180
Centre	...	409	701	130	281	102	474	149	782	171	835	125
Prome	...	469	717	225	331	179	528	264	798	288	826	216
Thayetmyo	...	409	696	126	306	109	502	156	750	150	817	119
Pakökku	...	378	675	101	250	85	436	125	765	142	825	92
Minbu	...	423	732	124	277	97	484	148	816	167	863	117
Magwe	...	426	746	100	298	90	511	125	824	132	880	91
Mandalay	...	515	731	281	376	200	612	289	812	353	803	284
Mandalay City	...	608	774	423	500	305	684	431	806	507	824	428
Kyaukse	...	396	668	130	249	99	408	156	736	192	798	120
Meiktila	...	361	667	85	248	65	436	96	747	114	804	82
Yamethin	...	388	671	106	243	78	424	117	742	141	812	104
Myingyan	...	380	680	97	246	74	419	109	774	126	832	94
Shwebo	...	399	730	96	296	81	494	114	826	122	876	90
Sagaing	...	400	672	156	262	125	443	182	727	228	821	144
Lower Chindwin	...	372	697	92	274	75	453	106	793	123	858	88
North	...	306	530	72	152	48	284	77	563	99	653	72
Bhamo	...	207	348	69	122	53	206	84	339	104	433	64
Myitkyina	...	209	354	42	45	27	127	42	333	55	453	43
Katha	...	376	653	98	215	64	375	104	748	134	798	97
Upper Chindwin	...	362	644	66	174	39	348	66	705	87	788	68
Chin	...	23	43	3	23	3	44	4	69	6	44	3
Arakan Hill Tracts	...	54	90	15	33	13	58	19	102	28	107	13
Chin Hills	...	19	37	2	22	2	42	3	65	3	35	1
Salween	...	89	145	31	53	24	98	41	161	55	172	27
Salween	...	98	151	39	83	34	135	53	165	54	167	34
Karenni	...	81	138	25	27	14	61	31	158	56	177	20
Shan	...	123	222	17	56	10	121	16	227	24	277	18
Northern Shan States	...	103	180	19	51	11	102	18	188	26	220	19
Southern Shan States	...	137	253	16	60	8	133	14	257	23	319	16



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Literacy of Burmese in each district and natural division by age and sex.*

District and Natural Division.	Number per mille who are literate in any language.										
	All ages over 5.			5—10.		10—15.		15—20.		20 and over.	
	Total.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	458	717	210	296	133	494	206	804	266	857	218
<b>Burman</b> ...	458	717	209	296	133	494	206	804	266	857	218
<i>Delta</i> ...	519	720	320	318	177	519	282	807	391	853	351
Rangoon ...	672	820	522	380	273	614	441	899	612	915	563
Insein ...	480	690	268	269	159	445	236	748	330	854	292
Hanthawaddy ...	596	761	429	366	253	584	379	867	519	887	469
Tharrawaddy ...	510	731	298	342	199	552	309	825	396	857	309
Pegu ...	540	746	335	346	184	532	296	845	428	886	364
Bassein ...	516	695	340	295	178	497	293	799	406	823	377
Henzada ...	457	676	247	298	151	498	236	771	310	799	260
Myaungnya ...	567	768	358	332	183	541	299	814	406	920	409
Maubin ...	528	692	369	269	127	476	236	778	370	840	461
Pyapön ...	557	757	348	369	175	593	291	818	457	883	389
Toungoo ...	449	686	215	280	131	466	200	813	257	811	230
Thatön ...	460	648	267	270	152	425	232	682	328	803	296
<i>Coast</i> ...	427	634	219	208	109	383	186	700	284	788	242
Akyab ...	489	695	272	235	54	403	167	761	298	807	337
Kyaukpau ...	671	801	410	435	111	679	316	725	500	840	438
Sandoway ...	366	595	143	174	91	351	151	684	196	747	144
Amherst ...	476	661	287	238	125	411	216	713	360	823	332
Tavoy ...	591	708	422	281	227	415	355	672	522	777	452
Mergui ...	769	897	491	300	179	471	357	935	593	940	561
<i>Centre</i> ...	411	717	128	284	101	480	147	803	169	862	123
Prome ...	482	751	229	338	179	539	266	834	291	877	222
Thayetmyo ...	432	742	133	328	115	537	164	808	157	872	126
Paköku ...	380	681	103	253	86	438	127	770	144	836	95
Minbu ...	437	760	132	288	104	502	158	845	177	898	124
Magwe ...	421	759	97	298	88	512	123	842	128	911	88
Mandalay ...	522	781	276	393	197	645	282	900	350	867	278
<i>Mandalay City</i> ...	633	839	431	544	316	733	443	908	528	896	432
Kyaukse ...	396	676	127	244	98	411	153	747	187	814	117
Meiktila ...	362	678	84	252	64	442	95	760	112	821	80
Yamethin ...	393	696	103	249	75	435	113	769	137	851	101
Myingyan ...	378	681	96	246	73	419	108	776	125	836	93
Shwebo ...	400	739	95	298	80	497	113	838	120	891	89
Sagaing ...	399	676	154	262	124	444	181	733	226	829	141
Lower Chindwin ...	370	698	91	274	74	453	105	794	121	862	87
<i>North</i> ...	438	731	138	232	86	422	141	829	179	884	140
Bhamo ...	461	728	183	237	105	433	170	804	245	892	193
Myitkyina ...	557	791	244	159	155	384	250	886	314	925	249
Katha ...	423	709	142	239	93	405	151	825	183	863	142
Upper Chindwin ...	437	753	106	230	64	449	105	834	136	903	110
<b>Chin</b> ...	679	833	442	600	200	556	429	833	429	951	579
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	1,000	1,000	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1,000	...
Chin Hills ...	667	823	442	600	200	556	429	833	429	946	579
<b>Salween</b> ...	618	756	405	409	258	592	443	762	564	840	399
Salween ...	635	767	443	430	286	622	486	778	582	861	444
Karenni ...	541	710	172	214	...	333	133	667	417	774	171
<b>Shan</b> ...	489	713	209	224	109	410	178	732	263	827	227
Northern Shan States ...	515	753	229	249	126	449	198	809	278	870	248
Southern Shan States ...	428	625	160	163	68	320	128	564	229	737	173



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Progress of literacy in English since 1901 by age and sex for each natural division.*

Natural Division.		Number per <i>ten</i> thousand of persons in the same age-group who are literate in English.											
		All ages 5 and over.				15—20.				20 and over.			
		1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901	1931	1921	1911	1901
1		2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
MALES.													
PROVINCE	...	202	155	104	70	284	198	144	89	233	183	126	83
Burman	...	222	174	117	79	313	223	163	99	256	203	142	93
Delta	...	321	257	181	120	453	333	259	162	366	293	213	137
Coast	...	200	141	85	70	260	200	139	96	244	175	97	74
Centre	...	130	102	65	41	195	127	77	34	145	122	83	56
North	...	89	71	51	31	103	78	25	16	110	90	72	42
Chin	...	26	24	9	17	60	11	3	7	27	38	13	25
Salween	...	81	51	13	8	136	41	7	4	89	68	18	11
Shan	...	58	28			67	23			69	39		
FEMALES.													
PROVINCE	...	50	38	24	15	81	57	34	21	45	36	24	14
Burman	...	55	43	27	17	90	64	39	24	50	41	27	17
Delta	...	95	75	49	31	149	111	68	41	90	75	52	32
Coast	...	42	32	22	19	78	54	34	24	36	27	19	17
Centre	...	25	20	11	6	41	27	14	8	21	18	10	6
North	...	10	10	6	4	16	12	6	3	10	10	8	5
Chin	...	2	3	1	1	3	3	7	...	2	3	1	1
Salween	...	13	6	2	1	31	11	1	1	11	6	2	1
Shan	...	13	6			17	6			11	7		

SUBSIDIARY TABLE V.—*Literacy of selected races or racial classes in selected areas.*

NOTE.—The figures for Burmese in this table refer to the whole province; the figures for the other races have been compiled from Imperial Table XIV and refer to the total of the areas mentioned in column 2 of that table for the race in question.

Race or Racial Class  1	Population.*								
	Persons, 2	Males, 3	Females, 4	Literate in any language per thousand population.			Literate in English per <i>ten</i> thousand population.		
				Persons, 5	Males, 6	Females, 7	Persons, 8	Males, 9	Females, 10
Burmese ...	7,068,113	3,457,450	3,610,663	476	747	216	85	148	24
Arakanese and Yanbye ...	310,998	153,719	157,279	366	625	113	77	135	19
Tavoyan ...	121,795	60,373	61,422	393	599	190	72	125	20
Merguese ...	75,657	37,802	37,855	409	619	199	79	142	17
Chin Group ...	130,789	63,563	67,226	15	30	...	6	13	...
Kachin Group ...	128,119	60,786	67,333	29	46	13	5	10	1
Shan ...	510,312	257,313	252,999	115	215	14	11	19	3
Mon (Talaing) ...	256,252	129,864	126,388	292	457	124	52	85	18
Palaung ...	107,597	54,125	53,472	59	115	2	1	3	...
Sgaw Karen ...	306,975	154,416	152,559	241	321	160	120	161	80
Pwo Karen ...	346,783	172,408	174,375	243	358	129	38	48	28
Taungthu ...	168,986	84,524	84,462	153	275	31	14	22	6
Arakan Mahomedan ...	36,222	18,558	17,664	80	134	22	146	275	10

\* Only persons who have completed 6½ years are included in this table (See Note 2 to Imperial Table XIV).



SUBSIDIARY TABLE VI.—*Progress of literacy since 1901 by age and sex for each natural division.*

Natural Division.  1		Number per <i>mille</i> of persons in the same age-group who are literate in any language.											
		All ages 5 and over.				15—20.				20 and over.			
		1931 2	1921 3	1911 4	1901 5	1931 6	1921 7	1911 8	1901 9	1931 10	1921 11	1911 12	1901 13
MALES.													
PROVINCE	...	560	510	431	437	618	569	479	485	662	620	544	537
Burman	...	610	563	477	483	673	628	526	527	720	684	602	598
Delta	...	605	573	516	492	670	640	582	544	695	673	628	593
Coast	...	430	395	321	338	464	428	319	359	535	508	422	425
Centre	...	701	630	501	535	782	703	547	587	835	782	656	681
North	...	530	489	415	355	563	530	464	475	653	598	509	529
Chin	...	43	35	23	33	69	35	15	25	44	45	32	46
Salween	...	145	114	121	97	161	125	154	135	172	142	151	110
Shan	...	222	153			227	172			277	100		
FEMALES.													
PROVINCE	...	165	112	70	52	210	156	109	77	171	118	75	53
Burman	...	185	127	80	59	236	177	123	85	193	135	85	60
Delta	...	282	200	130	94	350	273	196	138	306	217	141	95
Coast	...	107	79	47	48	137	113	64	57	117	88	53	53
Centre	...	130	83	51	35	171	114	77	47	125	84	54	37
North	...	72	52	29	24	99	75	46	32	72	55	29	26
Chin	...	3	3	1	2	6	4	1	3	3	2	1	2
Salween	...	31	23	8	4	55	34	12	6	27	22	9	5
Shan	...	17	9			24	12			18	9		

SUBSIDIARY TABLE VII.—*Proportion of literacy at certain ages.*

NOTE.—1. Figures for the number of literate persons per *mille* of persons in the same age-group are given in italics in columns 5 to 10.

2. Ages are given at the nearest birthday, e.g. the age-group 14—16 includes those who have completed 13½ years but have not completed 16½ years.

Age-group.  1	Total Population.			Number per <i>mille</i> of persons in the same age-group who are					
				Literate in any language.			Literate in English.		
	Persons. 2	Males. 3	Females. 4	Persons. 5	Males. 6	Females. 7	Persons 8	Males. 9	Fe- males. 10
<b>PROVINCE—</b>									
7—13 ...	2,421,994	1,234,259	1,187,735	554,844	387,628	167,216	16,989	11,316	5,673
14—16 ...	900,020	456,987	443,033	358,849	262,726	96,123	15,587	11,209	4,378
17—23 ...	1,925,210	929,767	995,443	800,442	594,272	206,170	35,350	28,115	7,235
24 and over ...	6,792,055	3,578,262	3,213,793	2,911,354	2,378,898	532,456	93,196	80,026	13,170
<b>Divisional Burma</b>									
7—13 ...	2,179,862	1,110,600	1,069,262	543,208	377,605	165,603	16,471	10,988	5,483
14—16 ...	804,964	409,628	395,336	347,460	252,485	94,975	15,222	10,939	4,283
17—23 ...	1,724,726	833,440	891,286	775,630	572,174	203,456	34,510	27,429	7,081
24 and over ...	6,064,777	3,192,165	2,872,612	2,798,037	2,271,167	526,870	90,178	77,363	12,815
<b>Eastern States—</b>									
7—13 ...	242,132	123,659	118,473	11,636	10,023	1,613	518	328	190
14—16 ...	95,056	47,359	47,697	11,389	10,241	1,148	365	270	95
17—23 ...	200,484	96,327	104,157	24,812	22,098	2,714	840	686	154
24 and over ...	727,278	386,097	341,181	113,317	107,731	5,586	3,018	2,663	355







SUBSIDIARY TABLE X.—*Number of Books published in each language.*

Language.	Books published in the year.											Total books published in the decade.			
	1921.	1922.	1923.	1924.	1925.	1926.	1927.	1928.	1929.	1930.		1921—30.	1911—20.	1901—10.	1891—00.
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11		12	13	14	15
<b>Total</b> ...	232	178	180	156	177	167	122	92	90	192		1,586	2,792	1,963	847
English ...	14	15	16	14	20	8	9	10	4	9		119	226	79	86
Burmese ...	123	94	87	79	118	128	45	37	38	93		842	1,533	872	348
Burmese and English ...	4	6	3	1	1	2	4	1	...	2		24	112	62	50
Burmese and Pali ...	38	29	38	25	7	15	54	28	29	44		307	433	689	280
Burmese and Arabic ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	...	...	2
Burmese and Latin ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	1	...	...
Burmese and Sanskrit ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...		1	...	...	...
Pali ...	6	...	7	10	4	...	5	14	8	4		58	232	169	10
Pali and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	8	4	1
Maru ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	1	...	...
Maru and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	1	...	...
Lisu ...	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		2	1	...	...
Lahu ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...		1	1	1	...
Chin ...	1	1	1	1	2	...	...	...	7	1		14	14	4	1
Chin and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	1	...
Kachin ...	...	...	4	...	...	1	...	...	...	...		5	33	7	7
Kachin and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	1	1	3
Taungthu ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	2	...	...
Sgaw-Karen ...	4	7	9	17	11	6	3	1	2	6		66	50	24	26
Sgaw, Karen and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...		1	...	...	2
Pwo-Karen ...	...	1	1	2	...	...	...	...	...	...		4	6	2	6
Pwo-Karen and English ...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	2	...	...
Karen (unspecified) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	3	...	...
Karen (unspecified) and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	2	...	...
Karen (unspecified) and Burmese ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	1	...	...
Shan ...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		3	5	4	8
Shan and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	2	2	...
Talaing ...	18	1	1	1	...	4	...	...	...	...		25	14	4	2
Talaing and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	2	3
Talaing and Burmese ...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	...	...	1
Arabic ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	3	3	...
Arabic and Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	1	...	...
Bengali ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	...	...		1	3	4	3
Gujarati ...	...	...	1	1	1	...	...	...	...	...		3	4	...	...
Gujarati and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	2	...	...
Gujarati and Sanskrit ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...		1	...	...	...
Hindi ...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	...	...		1	...	...	...
Hindi and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	1	...
Persian ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	...	...
Tamil ...	16	17	11	5	10	1	1	...	2	2		65	74	13	4
Tamil and English ...	2	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		4	8	3	2
Telugu ...	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	4	2	1
Telugu and English ...	1	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	...	...	...
Urdu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	8	9	1
Urdu and English ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		1	1	...	...
Uriya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		25	25	...	...
Latin ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	...	1	...
English and various languages.	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...		...	2	2	...



LYONSISTIC MAP

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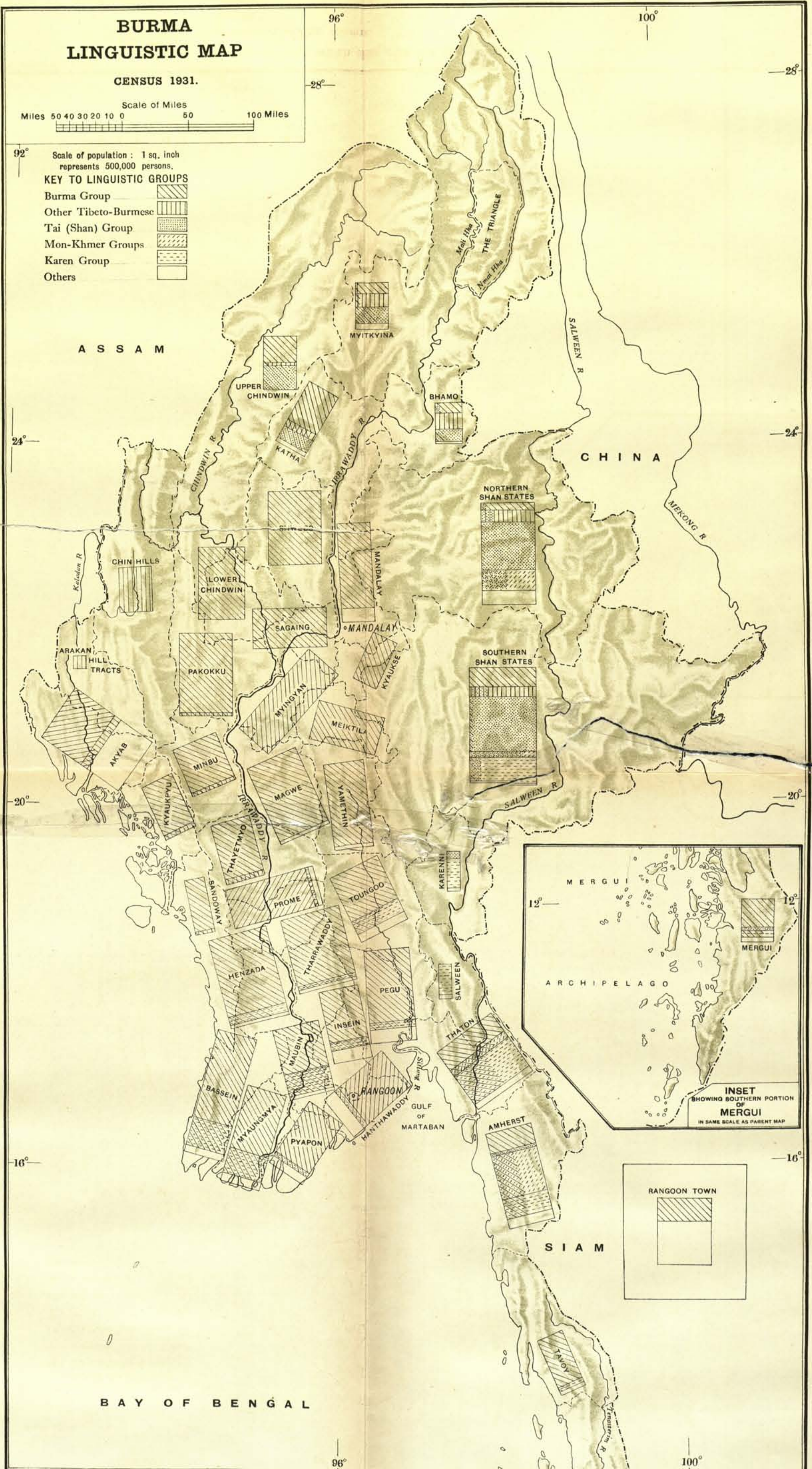
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The figures from which this map has been compiled are given in Appendix A of this volume.



## CHAPTER X.

### Language.

**98. Enumeration.**—There were two columns for language in the enumeration schedule and the following instructions were issued to enumerators for filling in these columns :—

"Column 14 (Language).—Enter each person's mother tongue as spoken from the cradle. In the case of infants and deaf-mutes the language of the mother should be entered. For recording languages which belong to Burma you will receive instructions from your supervisor. A list of the principal languages is given on the cover of the enumeration book. There are other Indian languages but these are the languages chiefly used."

"Column 15 (Subsidiary Language).—In column 14 has been entered a person's mother tongue. In this column should be entered any other language or languages commonly used by the speaker."

The following instructions were also issued to census officers above the rank of enumerator :—

"You should note carefully that the language to be entered in column 14 is the mother tongue, which may not be the language ordinarily used in the home. Deputy Commissioners will issue instructions for recording languages which belong to Burma. A blank page has been provided for them at page 59 of Manual."

It will be noticed that the language entered in the enumeration schedules was the mother tongue and not the language ordinarily used in the home, as at the last census. The figures for language for 1931 are therefore not strictly comparable with those for 1921 (*see* paragraph 100). Special instructions were issued in connection with the record of indigenous languages and races ; these are given in the next paragraph.

**99. Classification Scheme.**—The classification scheme for languages is the same as that adopted at the 1921 census. The classification of the indigenous languages is given in marginal table 1. For the sake of convenience all Chinese languages have been regarded as indigenous. It is pointed out in Appendix B of the 1921 Census Report that this classification lays no claim to finality and is merely based on the scanty materials collected up-to-date. After the 1921 census Mr. Taylor, who wrote the Appendix mentioned above, was on special duty in this connection but apparently nothing further has been published. The non-indigenous languages were formed into three artificial groups X, Y, Z, representing Indian, European and Other languages, respectively.

The classification scheme for races is the same as that for languages, the only difference being

1. Classification of Indigenous Languages.			
Family.	Sub-Family.	Branch.	Group.
Tibeto-Chinese	Tibeto-Burmese	Assam-Burmese	A. Burma B. Lolo-Muhso C. Kuki-Chin D. Naga E. Kachin F. Sak (Lui)
		North-Assam ...	G. Mishmi
		Unclassed ...	H. Mro
	Tai-Chinese ...	Tai ...	I. Tai
		Chinese ...	R. Chinese
Austrie	Austro-Nesian	Indo-Nesian ...	J. Malay
	Austro-Asiatic	Mon-Khmer ...	K. Mon L. Palaung-Wa M. Khasi
Karen			N. Karen
Man			O. Man



that an additional group S has been formed to represent the Indo-Burman races, who do not have separate languages. Each race or language *group* has been subdivided and the words "race" and "language" are used in this Report to denote the lowest classes into which the groups have been subdivided. The names of these races and languages are given in Part I of Imperial Table XVII and Part IB of Imperial Table XV, respectively.

Owing to the large number of indigenous races and languages special precautions had to be taken to ensure that they were correctly recorded. The instructions issued in this connection are contained in Census Circulars 7 and 10 and are similar to those issued at the 1921 census. District Officers were asked to compile a list of indigenous races and languages (in most districts one list was compiled for both) which were found (or spoken) in their districts. This list was known as the *standard list*. Since there are many indigenous races and languages which have alternative names the standard list contained two columns, in the first of which was entered the names of the races or languages to be entered in the enumeration schedules and in the second, any alternative names for these races or languages or for dialects of the languages. In 1921 similar lists had been compiled and these were found very useful in drawing up the lists for the 1931 census. Imperial Tables X and XIII of the 1921 census which give the district figures for each race and language were also very useful. These lists, after having been checked by the Census Superintendent, were issued to all census officers above the rank of enumerator, together with instructions regarding the use of the lists. As a rule, the lists and the instructions were cyclostyled but in a few districts they were printed. Further particulars regarding these instructions will be found in the two circulars referred to above.

A slight change was made in the record for Chinese. In 1921 separate figures were obtained only for Yunnanese; in 1931 separate figures for Cantonese and Fukienese were also obtained but it is probable that most of the "Other and unspecified Chinese" are Cantonese or Fukienese.

It must be borne in mind that this classification of languages is only tentative and that many of the languages which are regarded as distinct are probably only dialects of other languages. This applies particularly to the languages of the Kuki-Chin group.

**100. Accuracy of the Statistics.**—It has already been pointed out in paragraph 98 that the language figures of this census are not strictly comparable with those of 1921, since the mother tongue was recorded in 1931 and the language ordinarily used in the home, in 1921. This can be seen by comparing the figures for Mon\*, the number of speakers in 1931 being 305,294, compared with only 189,263 in 1921. This increase is largely due to the fact that Burmese was returned at the 1921 census by many Mons as the language used in the home, whereas at the 1931 census they probably returned Mon as their mother tongue. The figures for the other languages are also affected by the difference in the instructions issued at the two censuses though perhaps not to the same extent. For the sake of brevity, persons who returned a particular language as their mother tongue at the 1931 census have been referred to as "speakers" of that language, in spite of the fact that they may not speak it in every day life or in the home.

Another difficulty exists in the case of closely related languages since in any district the languages regarded as distinct or separate may not be the same at different censuses. For instance, in Mergui district at the 1931 census 1,090 speakers of Burmese were recorded and 100,917 speakers of Merguese, whereas at the 1921 census 89,054 speakers of Burmese were recorded and not a single speaker of Merguese. Apparently in 1921 Merguese was considered a dialect of Burmese in Mergui district. Other examples will be given in discussing the variations for the different language groups.

There is perhaps no need to mention the extreme instability of language and racial distinctions in Burma, as it has been discussed at great length in previous Census Reports. Interesting examples are given in paragraph 270 of the 1911 Census Report.

\* As a rule the word "Mon" is used in this Report instead of "Talaing" as it is believed to be more correct; it is the name used in Siam and it has also been adopted by the Local Government as the official name of the race, language and literature.



Another factor to be borne in mind is the extension of the census limits. The areas enumerated by language (race, religion, etc.) for the first time in 1931 were (a) the Somra Tract in the Upper Chindwin district, (b) the area formerly known as the unadministered portion of the Pakòkku Hill Tracts, and now included in the Chin Hills district and (c) the area brought under administration and added to the Chin Hills district in 1930. These areas had populations in 1931 of 7,981, 6,650 and 18,327, respectively; the first two had their populations estimated in 1921 while the third was omitted from the census operations of that year. In the Somra Tract the languages spoken belong to the Naga and Kuki-Chin groups while the languages spoken in the other two areas are mostly languages of the Kuki-Chin group.

**101. Statistical References.**—The statistics for language are given in Imperial Table XV. The arrangement of the table is explained in the notes on the fly-leaf; Part I gives the figures for mother tongue and Part II deals with bilingualism. The distribution of the languages is exhibited on the Linguistic Map at the beginning of this chapter, the extent of bilingualism being shown by means of superimposing one kind of hatching on another. The figures from which the map has been compiled are given in Appendix A. The following subsidiary tables appended to this chapter have also been compiled :—

- I.—Distribution of total population by mother tongue.
- II.—Proportion of the population of selected language classes who speak subsidiary languages.
- III.—Comparison of Indigenous Races and Languages.
- IV.—Distribution by Language-groups of the population of each district and natural division.

Figures for indigenous races are also discussed in this chapter. The main statistics are given in Imperial Table XVII, the arrangement of the table being explained in the notes on the fly-leaf. The variation in the population of the different race-groups is given in Imperial Table XVIII.

**102. Language Distribution by Natural Divisions.**—Subsidiary Table IV of this chapter gives the distribution by language groups of the population of each district and natural division, separate figures being given only for the more important groups. It will be noticed that two-thirds of the population of the province speak languages of the Burma group; Karen languages are spoken by 9 per cent, Tai (Shan) and Indian languages coming next with 7 per cent each. Speakers of languages of the Kuki-Chin group and of Mon (Talaing) each represent about 2 per cent of the population while the Kachin, Palaung-Wa and Chinese groups represent only one per cent each. These figures relate only to the part of the province that was enumerated by religion. Thus if the whole of the Myitkyina district, the Triangle and the Hukawng Valley had been enumerated, the proportion of the population speaking Kachin would be appreciably increased.

In the Burman division 75 per cent of the population speak languages of the Burma group. The proportions vary considerably in the different subdivisions. In the Centre subdivision 95 per cent of the population speak languages of the Burma group, which compares with 96 per cent in 1911. With the exception of a few persons in the Meiktila and Yamèthin districts who speak Danu, practically the only language of the Burma group spoken in the Centre subdivision is Burmese. In the Kyauksè, Meiktila, Myingyan, Shwebo, Sagaing and Lower Chindwin districts speakers of Burmese represent 98 per cent of the population. In all districts of the Centre subdivision, except Mandalay, speakers of Burmese represent more than 90 per cent of the population; for Mandalay the proportion is 85 per cent, the smaller percentage being mainly due to the comparatively large proportion (11 per cent) speaking Indian languages. In Pakòkku, Minbu, Thayetmyo and Prome districts, Chin languages are spoken by 4, 7, 8 and 3 per cent of the population, respectively.

The Delta subdivision is much less homogeneous as regards language than the Centre. Languages of the Karen group are spoken by 17 per cent of the population and Indian languages by 10½ per cent, a little more than two-thirds



of the population speaking Burmese. In Rangoon more than half the population speak Indian languages, Burmese being spoken by about a third. In the other districts of the Delta, except Thatôn, the proportion speaking Burmese varies from 65 per cent in Maubin to 91 per cent in Tharrawaddy. In Thatôn one-half of the population speak Karen languages, 31 per cent Burmese and 11 per cent Mon. The only other district in the Delta which contains an appreciable proportion of speakers of Mon is Pegu with  $1\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. Not so many years ago Mons used to be supreme in the Delta; now the Mon language is spoken only by one per cent of the population. The percentage of the population speaking Karen languages is least in Rangoon where it is less than one per cent; it is greatest in Thatôn, Maubin, Myaungmya, Bassein and Toungoo, for which the percentages are 50, 31, 26, 22 and 21, respectively.

In the Coast subdivision the proportions speaking the different languages vary from the one district to another. In Akyab there is a large Indian population: languages of the Burma group are spoken by slightly more than one-half of the population and Indian languages by 41 per cent. For Kyaukpyu and Sandoway about 90 per cent speak languages of the Burma group; most of the remainder speak Chin languages. The languages of the Burma group spoken in Akyab, Kyaukpyu and Sandoway are Burmese, Arakanese, Yanbye and Chaungtha. Amherst is the stronghold of the Mon language, and is spoken by 46 per cent of the people; Burmese is spoken by 20 per cent and Karen languages by 21 per cent. About three-quarters of the total speakers of Mon in the province were enumerated in Amherst, most of the remainder being in Thatôn district. In Tavoy 85 per cent speak Tavoyan, a language of the Burma group very similar to Burmese; Karen languages are spoken by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent; Indian, Chinese and Mon languages make up the balance. The language of the Burma group in Mergui is Merguese, which is also very little different from Burmese and is spoken by two-thirds of the population; Karen, Shan and Indian languages are spoken by 13, 8 and 6 per cent, respectively.

In the North subdivision languages of the Burma group are spoken by 45 per cent of the population, Shan languages by 31 per cent and Kachin languages by 12 per cent. In Bhamo, Katha and the Upper Chindwin districts Burmese is practically the only language of the Burma group spoken; a few speakers of Hpon still survive in Bhamo and Myitkyina. In Myitkyina district Burmese is spoken by 8 per cent of the population and other languages of the Burma group (mostly Maru, Lashi and Atsi) by 14 per cent. Speakers of Kachin are more or less confined to the Bhamo and Myitkyina districts. Languages of the Sak group (Kadu and Ganan) are spoken by 9 per cent of the population of Katha district and Chin languages by 4 per cent of the population of the Upper Chindwin. In Myitkyina district Indian languages are spoken by 10 per cent of the population.

In the Chin division about 96 per cent of the population speak languages of the Kuki-Chin group. In the Arakan Hill Tracts languages of the Burma group (Chaungtha, Arakanese and Yanbye) are spoken by 11 per cent of the population and Mro by 11 per cent.

About 79 per cent of the population of the Salween division speak languages of the Karen group; 14 per cent speak Shan languages and about 4 per cent languages of the Burma group.

In both the Northern and Southern Shan States 47 per cent of the population speak languages of the Tai (Shan) group, but the proportions speaking the other languages differ considerably in the two parts. In the Northern Shan States languages of the Palaung-Wa group are spoken by 20 per cent of the population, Kachin by 10 per cent, Chinese by 10 per cent and languages of the Burma group by only 8 per cent; in the Southern Shan States Karen languages are spoken by 20 per cent, languages of the Burma group by 17 per cent, languages of the Lolo-Muhso group by 9 per cent and languages of the Palaung-Wa group by only 5 per cent, while speakers of Chinese and Kachin are less than one per cent.

**103. Indigenous Languages and Races.**—In discussing the variations in the figures for speakers of indigenous languages it is often necessary to refer to the figures for races. For the sake of convenience and to avoid overlapping the variations in the figures for indigenous races are also discussed in this chapter. The variations in the figures for non-indigenous races (including Chinese) are dealt with in Chapter XII.



**104. Burma Group.**—Languages of the Burma group are spoken by 9,862,694 persons or 67·3 per cent of the population. This percentage is less than that at the 1921 census, namely 70·1, because speakers of languages of the Burma group have increased by only 6·8 per cent while speakers of other languages have increased by 20·7 per cent. This is mainly due to the mother tongue being recorded in 1931 and not the language ordinarily used in the home, as in 1921, since many persons whose mother tongue belongs to another language group ordinarily speak Burmese. In 1921 the number of persons belonging to races not included in the Burma group who returned a language of the Burma group as the language ordinarily used in the home was 557,874 (see Subsidiary Table III of Appendix B of the 1921 Census Report); they were mostly Mons, Karens, Shans, Zerbadis, Indians, Chinese, Kadus and Chins. In 1931 the number of persons belonging to races not included in the Burma group who returned a language in the Burma group as their mother tongue was only 240,593 (see Subsidiary Table III at the end of this chapter), which is less than half the corresponding number in 1921. Subsidiary Table III also shows that practically all the persons belonging to races of the Burma group have returned a language of the Burma group as their mother tongue. Persons belonging to the races of the Burma group have increased by 10·9 per cent, which compares with an increase of 6·8 per cent for persons speaking languages of the Burma group. These percentages may be compared with those for other groups. For instance, Mons have increased by 4·1 per cent and speakers of Mon by 61·3 per cent; persons of the Tai (Shan) group have increased by 1·9 per cent and speakers of Tai languages by 10·9 per cent; Karens have increased by 12·1 per cent and speakers of Karen languages by 20·4 per cent; Chins have increased by 21·2 per cent (the large increase is due to the extension of the area enumerated by language) and speakers of Chin languages by 28·2 per cent.

Burmese is the main language of the province and Subsidiary Table I shows that it is spoken by 60 per cent of the population. The distribution is given in Part I E of Imperial Table XV, and it will be noticed that there is a considerable number of speakers in most districts in Divisional Burma. In a few districts where the number of speakers of Burmese is small the languages spoken are very closely related to Burmese. Thus in the Akyab and Kyaukpyu districts Arakanese and Yanbye are the indigenous languages commonly spoken, while in the Tavoy and Mergui districts the bulk of the population have been returned as speakers of Tavoyan and Merguese, respectively. It has already been pointed out in paragraph 100 that in 1921 in Mergui district Merguese was not recorded at all for language as it was considered to be a dialect of Burmese. In making a comparison with the figures for 1921 it is therefore better to include the figures for all the languages which are closely related to Burmese rather than to compare the figures for the separate varieties. The languages of the Burma group which may be considered closely related to Burmese are Arakanese, Yanbye, Chaungtha, Tavoyan, Merguese, Danu, Yabein and Yaw. Figures for these languages are given in marginal table 2.

The proportion of the population speaking Burmese and its closely related languages has fallen from 692 to 665 per thousand while the proportion speaking other indigenous languages (including Chinese) has increased from 239 to 259 per thousand. Speakers of Burmese and its varieties have increased during the decade by only 7·0 per cent, while speakers of other indigenous languages (including Chinese) have increased by 20·3 per cent. As pointed out previously in this paragraph this is due to the fact that a much larger proportion of persons belonging to other racial groups returned Burmese as their language in 1921 than in 1931.

2. Languages in 1931 and 1921.

Languages.	Actual number of speakers.		Per thousand of total population.	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
Burmese (and varieties) ...	9,747,133	9,111,705	665	692
Other indigenous languages (including Chinese) ...	3,789,828	3,151,543	259	239
Indian Languages ...	1,079,820	879,697	74	67
English ...	26,866	24,085	2	2
Other Languages ...	3,850	2,069	...	...
Total ...	14,647,497	13,169,099	1,000	1,000



Figures for races are given in marginal table 3.

3. Races in 1931 and 1921.				
Races.	Actual number.		Per thousand of total population.	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
Burmese (and closely related races).	9,510,884	8,558,993	649	650
Other indigenous races ...	3,709,138	3,426,303	253	260
Chinese ...	193,594	149,060	13	11
Indians ...	1,017,825	881,357	69	67
Indo-Burmans ...	182,166	125,262	12	10
Others ...	33,890	28,124	2	2
Total ...	14,647,497	13,169,099	1,000	1,000

The proportion of persons belonging to the Burmese race and closely related races namely 649 per thousand is slightly less than it was in 1921 ; the proportion belonging to other indigenous races has decreased while the proportion belonging to Indian and Chinese races has increased. The increase in the proportion of Indians and Chinese is due to immigration while the decrease in

the proportion of other indigenous races is presumably due to absorption by the Burmese. It should also be borne in mind that the extension of the enumeration in 1931 to areas containing mostly Chins and Nagas would tend to depress the proportion of Burmese. Persons belonging to the Burmese race and closely related races increased during 1921—31 by 11·2 per cent ; the increase for other indigenous races was only 8·2 per cent but this figure includes the increase due to the extension of the census limits : if the inhabitants of the area enumerated by race for the first time are all taken to be Chins and Nagas the increase is reduced to only 7·2 per cent.

Unlike Burmese which is spoken over a large part of the province,

4. Tavoyan.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	159,174	156,507
1921 ...	131,746	129,287

speakers of the closely related languages are confined to comparatively small areas. Tavoyans and speakers of Tavoyan are mostly found in Tavoy district ; a few thousand were enumerated in Mergui but less than a thousand in the rest of the

province. The large increase is probably due to a few Tavoyans having returned their race and language as Burmese in 1921.

5. Merguese.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	101,144	95,453
1921 ...	177	178

All but a hundred or two of the Merguese and speakers of Merguese were enumerated in Mergui district. The large increase is, of course, due to practically all the Merguese having returned their race and language as Burmese in 1921.

Most of the speakers of Arakanese, Yanybe and Chaungtha are found in the Arakan administrative division. Figures for persons in Akyab district who

6. Burma group (Akyab district).				
Race or Language.	Language.		Race.	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
Burmese ...	2,445	5,185	1,614	4,172
Arakanese ...	195,720	211,581	180,069	255,127
Yanbye ...	98,163	83,357	99,069	2,386
Chaungtha ...	32,699	7,132	47,120	44,286
Others ...	1	2	...	...
Total ...	329,028	307,257	327,872	305,971

returned races and languages in the Burma group in 1921 and 1931 are given in marginal table 6. Yanbye was treated as a separate race and language for the first time in 1911. The figures for race in marginal table 6 show that most of the Yanbye in 1921 were recorded as Arakanese. The reduction in the number of persons speaking Arakanese appears to be mainly due to a number of Chaungthas having returned their language as Arakanese in

1921. The Burmese in Akyab district have been settled there for a long time and have intermarried with the Arakanese. There is therefore a tendency for



their numbers to decrease naturally since the offspring of such marriages probably prefer to be known as Arakanese.

Figures for Kyaukpyu district are given in marginal table 7. It is probable that the 1931 figures for Yanbye are in excess while those for Burmese are too small, both for race and language. The northern part of An township is largely populated by Burmans and Chins, whereas according to Provincial Table II there are only 166 Burmans in the whole township. The figures for Arakanese are probably too low since there is a large Arakanese population in Myebon township.

According to the Deputy Commissioner, Arakanese and Burmese who have settled down in Kyaukpyu consider themselves as Yanbye.

Figures for Sandoway district are given in marginal table 8. It will be noticed that Yanbye was not returned at all in 1921 either for race or language. Many persons in Sandoway district describe themselves as Arakanese as well as Yanbye and such persons were evidently recorded as Arakanese in 1921. According to the Deputy Commissioner the 1931 figures for Yanbye (both for race and language) may be in excess of the correct number because in some cases Arakanese have returned themselves as Yanbye under the impression that

Arakanese living outside Akyab district should be called Yanbye, but the error is probably small. The large increase in the number of persons in the Burma group is partly due to better enumeration in 1931.

If the figures for the Akyab, Kyaukpyu and Sandoway districts are combined the decrease in the number of speakers of Burmese is 13,245 or 14.6 per cent while the increase in the number of speakers of Arakanese, Yanbye and Chaungtha is 66,429 or 13.3 per cent. Similarly there has been a decrease of 9.4 per cent in the race figures for Burmese and an increase of 12.2 per cent in the race figures for Arakanese, Yanbye and Chaungtha combined. The Burmese are apparently being absorbed by the Arakanese and Yanbye in the Arakan division.

The Yabein language is closely related to Burmese. No speakers were returned at this census or the two previous censuses. The Yabeins used to be silk-worm rearers and they lived on the slopes of the Pegu Yomas. This area was in a very disturbed state when the census was taken, owing to the activities of the rebels, and the absence of any record for race may perhaps be due to this. There appears to be no doubt, however, that the Yabeins are being absorbed by the Burmese.

The number of persons speaking the Yaw language has increased from 2 to 877 and there has been a corresponding increase in the figures for race. These increases are due to more correct enumeration. The Yaws take their name from the Yaw Valley in Pakòkku district but practically all the speakers of Yaw at the 1931 census were enumerated in Myitkyina district. They are apparently of a roving disposition so this may account for their migration northwards. The Yaws in Pakòkku district have apparently been recorded as speakers of Burmese. This is probably due to the fact that Yaw was inadvertently omitted from the standard list of indigenous

7. Burma group (Kyaukpyu district).

Race or Language.	Language.		Race.	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
Burmese ...	531	10,459	755	10,097
Arakanese ...	1,332	2,520	595	2,455
Yanbye ...	194,198	166,657	193,373	165,794
Total ...	196,061	179,636	194,723	178,346

8. Burma group (Sandoway district).

Race or Language.	Language.		Race.	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
Burmese ...	74,521	75,098	71,685	67,472
Arakanese ...	9,386	28,005	7,644	31,054
Yanbye ...	34,183	...	34,197	...
Total ...	118,090	103,103	113,526	98,526

9. Yabein.

Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	...	...
1921 ...	...	1,774
1911 ...	...	1,549

10. Yaw.

Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	877	910
1921 ...	2	89
1911 ...	...	96



languages for Pakòkku district. The dialect is a mixture of several languages but is probably most closely related to Burmese. The famous Yaw longyis are, however, not made by the Yaws but by the Taungthas (see paragraph 106).

Speakers of Danu have dropped from 72,925 to 60,966 ; on the other hand the numbers of the race have increased from 74,642 to 77,941. The language is very similar to Burmese. Sir George Scott doubts whether there was ever a distinct Danu race or language, and considers the dialect is a sort of Doric form of Burmese with a slight admixture of foreign words\*. Danus who did not return Danu as their language presumably returned Burmese or Shan. They are mostly found near the western part of the Southern Shan States, in the Northern Shan States (Hsipaw State) and in the neighbouring districts of Meiktila and Yamèthin. There are Danus in the Mandalay district but they have probably been returned as Burmese or Shans.

11. Danu.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	60,966	77,941
1921 ...	72,925	74,642
1911 ...	18,694	70,947

The number of persons returned as speaking the Intha dialect has increased from 55,007 to 56,829. The increase in the figures for race is slightly less. They are mostly found in the neighbourhood of the Inle lake in Yawngwe State. Their name means "children of the lake" or "lake dwellers" and they are best known as the "leg-rowers," as they use the leg instead of the arm. According to tradition they were originally natives of Tavoy.

12. Intha.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	56,829	56,901
1921 ...	55,007	56,175
1911 ...	55,880	52,685

The number of speakers of Taunggyo in 1931, namely 22,261, compares with 22,532 in 1921 and 19,317 in 1911. They are practically all found in Yawngwe State and the states in the Western subdivision of the Southern Shan States. Their dialect resembles Burmese but although they have become isolated they have managed to survive. They must not be confused with the Taungthas (in the Karen group) or the Taungthas (in the Kuki-Chin group).

13. Taunggyo.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	22,261	22,296
1921 ...	22,532	23,677
1911 ...	19,317	19,656

The Hpons are a small tribe living in the vicinity of the upper defile of the Irrawaddy. The number of speakers of the dialect has increased from 243 to 679 and is presumably due to more correct enumeration ; 296 were enumerated in Myitkyina district and 383 in Bhamo district. Although their numbers are small they are a very important tribe from a linguistic point of view. They were apparently left behind during one of the Tibeto-Burman invasions. According to the 1911 Census Report (paragraph 181) "A close and intimate study of the Hpon

14. Hpon.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	679	667
1921 ...	243	367
1911 ...	342	378

language would solve numerous interesting problems concerning the origin and early migration of the Tibeto-Burmese."

In 1911 the Atsi, Lashi, Maru and Maingtha tribes were classified as Kachin-Burma hybrids, but in 1921 they were included in the Burma group. According to Mr. Taylor (see paragraph 5 of Appendix B of the 1921 Census Report) "these four languages differ considerably from ordinary Burmese and, together with P'un (Hpon) which may be regarded as a connecting link with Burmese, form a distinct sub-group of the Burma group. The precise degree of their relationship with Burmese still remains to be worked out, but there is no doubt that they belong to the Burma rather than to any other group." The Atsis, Lashis and Marus are largely

found in the Myitkyina district in the neighbourhood of the eastern branch

\* See page 29 of his book "Burma and Beyond."



of the Irrawaddy. According to Major Davies, the Burmese came down the eastern branch of the Irrawaddy and the Atsis, Lashis and Marus and Hpons are stragglers left behind in the southerly migration of the main body of the race. The original migration of these tribes was apparently impeded by the Shan invasion from the east. The Atsis, Lashis and Marus have largely adopted the manners and customs of the Kachins among whom they live and from whom they are hardly distinguishable. Figures for them are given in marginal tables 15, 16 and 17. The 1911 figures have not been given since a much larger part of the Myitkyina district was omitted from the census operations of that year and the figures are not comparable. The reduction in the figures for Lashi and Maru during 1921—31 may be due to many of them having returned Kachin as their race and language in 1931. On the other hand marginal table 18 shows that in the Myitkyina and Katha districts \* there has actually been a decrease in the number of Kachins. The death-rate among the Kachins is probably high and it is possible that the deaths have exceeded the births. Also the decrease may be partly due to migration from the enumerated parts of the district to areas that were not enumerated. According to marginal table 18 there has been a big increase in the number of Lisaws in the Myitkyina and Katha combined districts and it is possible that the Lashis and Lisaws have been mixed up. The same thing may have happened in the Bhamo district; in that district no Lashis were enumerated at all in 1931 compared with 763 in 1921, whereas the Lisaws have increased from 18 to 1,273; also the Atsis have dropped from 1,612 to 12 and the Marus from 729 to 381. Similar differences occur in the figures for the Northern Shan States which are given in marginal table 20 of paragraph 105. Marus are also found in parts of the province that were not enumerated. Capt. Green has estimated that there are 14,000 in Myitkyina district outside the area enumerated, 7,000 in the Triangle and 1,000 in the Hukawng Valley. Types of Marus are given in Plates I and II of Appendix C.

The language of the Maingthas is very similar to that of the Atsis, Lashis and Marus but in appearance they are very different. According to Major Davies they are probably descendants of Atsis who travelled further south and came under Shan influence. They have largely adopted the dress, customs and religion of the Shans but their features are decidedly different. Their headquarters are beyond the frontier and the few that were enumerated were probably mostly travellers.

16. Lashi.

Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	12,564	12,661
1921 ...	16,570	17,010

17. Maru.

Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	17,447	17,780
1921 ...	20,577	21,425

18. Races in Myitkyina and Katha districts.\*

Race-group and Race.	1931.	1921.	Increase.
Burma group ...	172,198	142,804	29,394
<i>Burmese</i> ...	147,328	115,562	31,766
<i>Yaw</i> ...	889	83	806
<i>Hpon</i> ...	284	367	- 83
<i>Atsi</i> ...	2,691	2,564	127
<i>Lashi</i> ...	9,701	12,916	- 3,215
<i>Maru</i> ...	11,111	10,798	313
<i>Maingtha</i> ...	189	346	- 157
<i>Others</i> ...	5	168	- 163
Lolo-Muhso group ...	7,520	2,833	4,687
<i>Lisaw</i> ...	7,413	2,678	4,735
<i>Others</i> ...	107	155	- 48
Kachin group ...	41,430	42,823	- 1,393
Sak group ...	42,464	42,072	392
<i>Kadu</i> ...	35,761	36,225	- 464
<i>Ganan</i> ...	6,703	5,847	856
Tai group ...	124,372	121,109	3,263
<i>Shan</i> ...	94,421	109,325	- 14,904
<i>Shan-Tayok</i> ...	5,537	6,926	- 1,389
<i>Shan-Bama</i> ...	23,293	6	23,287
<i>Hkamti</i> ...	1,121	4,851	- 3,730
<i>Others</i> ...	...	1	- 1
Palaung-Wa group ...	4,751	4,205	546
Chinese ...	6,827	5,150	1,677
Indians ...	23,610	16,712	6,898
Other races ...	2,522	2,072	450
Total ...	425,694	379,780	45,914

\* Combined figures have been given for these two districts since a large part of Katha district was transferred to Myitkyina district during 1921-31 and comparable figures for the separate districts cannot be given.



105. Lolo-Muhso Group.—According to the 1911 Census Report this

19. Lolo-Muhso group.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	...	93,052
1921	...	75,686

group is the result of the most easterly division of the southern migration of the Tibeto-Burmese tribes. Instead of pressing southwards towards the Irrawaddy valley the tribes of this group diverged in a south-easterly direction through the valleys of the Mekong and Salween. The figures for race and language show an increase of 22·9 per cent. The big increases in the Myitkyina, Katha and Bhamo districts have already been commented upon in paragraph 104.

20. Races in the Northern Shan States.			
Race group and Race.	1931.	1921.	Increase.
Burma Group ...	47,249	46,429	820
Burmese ...	18,445	17,270	1,175
Dannu ...	16,602	15,264	1,338
Atsi ...	2,615	681	1,934
Lashi ...	2,958	3,325	- 367
Maru ...	6,288	9,849	- 3,561
Maingtha ...	335	...	335
Others ...	6	40	- 34
Lolo-Muhso group ...	9,562	8,156	1,406
Lisaw ...	7,906	7,387	519
Lolo ...	...	769	- 769
Lahu ...	1,641	...	1,641
Pyin ...	15	...	15
Kachin group ...	63,229	57,742	5,487
Sak group ...	385	326	59
Kadu ...	338	284	54
Ganan ...	47	42	5
Tai group ...	288,659	269,168	19,491
Shan ...	277,541	262,886	14,655
Shan-Tayok ...	11,097	6,159	4,938
Others ...	21	123	- 102
Palaung-Wa group ...	123,277	114,633	8,644
Wa ...	1,969	8,006	- 6,037
Tai-Lai ...	487	2	485
Yanglam ...	776	1,300	- 524
Palaung and Palè ...	120,241	105,325	14,716
Others ...	4	...	4
Karen group ...	452	1,149	- 697
Man group ...	744	...	744
Miao ...	744	...	744
Chinese ...	60,550	50,682	9,868
Indians ...	21,253	10,051	11,202
Others ...	1,098	887	211
Total ...	616,458	559,223	57,235

The races of the Lolo-Muhso group which are most numerous in the enumerated parts of the province are the Kaws, Lahus and Lisaws or Lisus. The dialects of these three tribes are very similar. The headquarters of the

21. Lisaw.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	...	19,698
1921	...	13,152

Lisaws are also outside the province—east of Myitkyina district—but they are of a roving disposition and are found as far south as Mong Pai, Mawmai and Northern Siam. Types of Lisaws found in different parts of the province are shown in Plates XIV to XVIII of Appendix C. There has been a big increase in their number since 1921. The increases occur mainly in the Myitkyina, Katha and Bhamo districts and have already been commented upon. The number of Lisaws in the unenumerated parts of Myitkyina district has been estimated by Capt. Green to be 10,000.

Figures for the races in the Northern and Southern Shan States are given in marginal table 20 of this paragraph and in marginal table 42 of paragraph 112, respectively, and it will be noticed that the races of the Lolo-Muhso group have increased in these two areas by 17·2 and 15·5 per cent, respectively. It is difficult to account for these large increases. In the Northern Shan States there has been a reduction in the number of Lashis and Marus and it is possible that this may have some connections with the increase in the races of the Lolo-Muhso group. Migration may be partly responsible or better enumeration. Capt. Green thinks that the large increases for some of the races of the Lolo-Muhso group may be due to under-enumeration in 1921 since the census of that year was believed to have some connection with taxation.

The figures for the separate races and languages of the Lolo-Muhso group show considerable variations. The Lolo tribe is perhaps the most important in the group but its headquarters are in Yunnan and only a small number cross the frontier. In 1921 Lolo was returned by 769 persons (in the Northern Shan States) as their race and language ; in 1931 it was not returned at all. It is possible that they were recorded as Lahus since marginal table 20 shows 1,641 Lahus in 1931 compared with none at all in 1921.



The Lahus in Burma (*see* Plate XIII) are mostly found in Kengtung State but there are large numbers in the neighbouring Chinese territory and Siam. A few (1,641) were enumerated in the Northern Shan States though as mentioned above, it is possible that some of these were Lolos. There has been an appreciable increase in their numbers since 1921.

The Kwis or Lahu-hsis are a branch of the Lahus and are found only in Kengtung State. They are not very numerous, the number recorded in 1931 being 3,837 compared with 3,713 in 1921.

Like the Kwis, the Kaws or Akhas are found only in Kengtung State. Akha is their tribal name but they are better known as Kaws. The large increase in their numbers may be due to better enumeration. They have intermarried with the Chinese a great deal. The Kaw women are distinguished by their very decorative dress (*see* Plates XI and XII). There is an interesting account of them in Chapter XX of Sir George Scott's book "Burma and Beyond."

The Akō are closely related to the Kaws and, like them, are found only in Kengtung State. According to the 1911 Census Report they are an admixture of trans-frontier Kaws with the Chinese. In 1931 the number enumerated was 1,343 which compares with 51 in 1921.

The Pyins, Pyens, or Hpins, which in 1911 were regarded as a Wa tribe, were classified in 1921 according to their language and included in the Lolo-Muhso group. Their numbers are small. The reduction in numbers may be due to many of them having been recorded as Tai-Loi or Shans. They were recorded only in Kengtung State.

The Nungs (*see* Plates IV and V) were enumerated for the first time in 1921. The number recorded at the census is small as they are mostly found outside the census area. Capt. Green estimates that there are 15,000 in Myitkyina district outside the census area and 9,000 in the Triangle. There are about 200 Nungs in the Burma Rifles but they were apparently recorded as Kachins.

Speakers of Tangsir, Hopa, Watao-khum or Khwinpang were not recorded as they are found in Myitkyina district outside the census area.

**106. Kuki-Chin Group.**—Figures for the number of persons who returned a language or race of the Kuki-Chin group are given in marginal table 25. The figures for 1921 are slightly less than those given in the 1921 Census Tables since Taman which was included in the Kuki-Chin group at the 1921 census has been regarded as a language of the Sak group. In 1931 the Somra Tract, the area formerly known as the unadministered portion of the Pakōkku Hill Tracts and the area brought under administration and added to the Chin Hills district in 1930, were enumerated for the first time by language, race, etc., in 1931 and this is the reason for the very large increase in the number of Chins. These three areas had populations in 1931 of 7,981, 6,650 and 18,327 respectively, making a total of 32,958. In the Somra Tract about one half of the inhabitants are Chins, while in the two remaining areas they are practically all Chins. The increase in the number of Chins and of persons speaking Chin languages due to the extension of the census limits is therefore about 30,000. This reduces the increase in the number of Chins from

22. Lahu.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	...	26,864
1921	...	22,742

23. Kaw (Akha).		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	...	40,407
1921	...	34,265

24. Pyin.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	...	800
1921	...	927

25. Kuki-Chin group.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	...	343,854
1921	...	268,288
Increase	...	75,566



60,962 to 30,962 which is an increase of 10·7 per cent and the increase in the number of persons speaking Chin languages is reduced from 75,566 to 45,566, which is an increase of 17·0 per cent.

At the 1921 census 21,062 Chins returned a language of some other group ; many of these would be Chins living in the plains who are becoming Burmanised and presumably returned Burmese as the language ordinarily used in the home. At the 1931 census the number of Chins who returned a language of another group as their mother tongue was only 5,900. The increase in the number of speakers of Chin languages has occurred mainly in the Centre subdivision, particularly in the Pakòkku, Minbu, Thayetmyo and Prome districts. The number of Chins in the Centre subdivision has increased by 9 per cent during 1921—31, but the number of speakers of Chin languages has increased by 30 per cent. The proportion of Chins in this subdivision was the same in 1931 as in 1921, namely 1·85 per cent but the proportion of persons speaking Chin languages has increased from 1·48 per cent in 1921 to 1·75 per cent in 1931.

Part IB of Imperial Table XV shows that there are 44 separate languages in the Kuki-Chin group. The classification of these languages is a matter of some difficulty since the majority of them have never been properly studied. Attempts have been made by different persons but there does not appear to be any unanimity of opinion among them. In Appendix B of the 1921 Census Report they were divided into two classes : A. Meithei or Manipuri and B. Kuki-Chin languages proper. Class B was again subdivided into four groups, the Old Kuki group and the Northern, Central and Southern groups. The only representative of the Old Kuki group is Kyaw. It is not proposed to attempt any classification at this census. With the exception of Kathè (Meithei) and Kyaw the Chin languages have been numbered serially, mainly with reference to the part of the province in which the majority of the speakers are found. Many of the languages are spoken only in the Chin Hills district. Thus speakers of the Thado, Siyin, Sokte, Kamhow and Yo dialects (C. 3 to C. 7) are largely confined to the Tiddim subdivision of the Chin Hills district and the Upper Chindwin district. The Tashon, Yahow, Laizao, Kwangli, Ngorn, Lushei, Whelngo, Lyente and Zahnyet dialects (C. 8 to C. 16) are mainly spoken in the Falam subdivision, Lai, Lawhtu, Kwelshim, Zotung, Sentang, Tamang, Miram, Zolamnai, Torr and Ta-oo (C. 17 and C. 19 to C. 27) in the Haka subdivision and Mgan (C. 28) and Chinbok (C. 30) in the Kanpetlet subdivision of the Chin Hills district. Welaung (C. 29) and Yindu (C. 31) are also spoken in the Kanpetlet subdivision but for some reason or other were not recorded in the Chin Hills district. The remaining languages are mostly spoken outside the Chin Hills district and it is probable that most of them belong to the Southern group.

A few changes have been made in the list of Chin languages given in the 1921 Census Tables. Paite has been dropped since, according to the Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills district, it is not the name of a tribe but a term applied by the Chins of the Falam subdivision to the Chins of the North, whether they are Thados, Soktes, Siyins, Kamhows or Yos. Tlantlang and Yokwa have also been omitted as they were considered to be Lais. Taman has been transferred to the Sak group. In their place have been added Zahnyet (C. 16) and Lyente (C. 15), Miram (C. 24), Zolamnai (C. 25) and Torr (C. 26), Ta-oo (C. 27), Tamang (C. 23), Welaung (C. 29) and Mgan (C. 28). Ta-oo and Tamang are spoken in that part of the Haka subdivision which was enumerated for the first time in 1931 and Mgan and Welaung are spoken in what was formerly the unadministered portion of the Pakòkku Hill Tracts (also enumerated for the first time in 1931). The names of a few languages have been changed slightly on the recommendation of the Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills district, *e.g.*, Whelngo for Hnalngo, Laizao for Laiyo, Sentang for Shentang, Lawhtu for Lawtu, Zotung for Yotun.

Figures for the speakers of the different Chin languages at the 1931 census

26. Chin (unspecified).		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	...	89,146
1921	...	105,490
		95,983
		116,591

and the two previous censuses are given in Subsidiary Table I. Differences in classification account for many of the changes. For instance, there were 20,195 speakers of Chinbok in 1931, none in 1921 and 18,179 in 1911, similarly there were 10,268 speakers of Chinbon in 1931 and only 683 in 1921 : in 1921 these were presumably returned as speakers of Chin

(unspecified). Figures for those who returned their race or language as



Chin (unspecified) are given in marginal table 26. There has been a slight reduction in 1931 but the figures are still large. All, or practically all, were enumerated outside the Chin Hills district, and a very large proportion would belong to the Southern Chin group.

Figures for Kathè (Meithei) are given in marginal table 27. Most of the persons represented by these figures are called Ponna in Burma. The origin of this word is apparently not established. There appear to be three principal kinds of Ponna, namely Bama (or Myamma) Ponna, Yakaing (or Arakan) Ponna and Kathè Ponna. There is an account of these different kinds in paragraph 169 of the 1921 Census Report, and it is suggested that figures for these kinds should have been compiled separately. This was done in 1931. Kathè was

27. Kathè (Meithei).			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	3,764	6,113
1921	...	2,404	9,407

recorded for 1,353 persons as their race, Kathè Ponna for 1,474, Bama Ponna for 2,072, Arakan Ponna for 59 and Ponna (unspecified) for 1,155. The Kathè were enumerated mostly in the Upper Chindwin (383), Sagaing (363) and Mandalay (328) districts; 1,348 of the Kathè Ponna, 618 of the Ponna (unspecified) and 1,846 of the Bama Ponna were enumerated in Mandalay district; 40 of the Arakan Ponna and 191 of the Bama Ponna were enumerated in Rangoon. Many of the Ponna are astrologers and officiate at marriage ceremonies among the wealthier classes. The reduction in the figures for race is probably due to absorption by the Burmese; the increase in the number of speakers may be due to the mother tongue being recorded and not the language ordinarily used in the home. It will be seen from the figures given above that a large proportion of the Ponna were enumerated in Mandalay district. There is a large colony of them in Mandalay City. According to the 1921 Census Report (paragraph 169):

"A large number of Manipurians were brought to Burma as prisoners of war after the Burmese invasions of Manipur, particularly those of 1758, 1764 and 1819; and it is chiefly to the descendants of these that the term Kathè has generally been applied. These were skilful in weaving intricate patterns in silk cloths, and it was principally as weavers to the Burmese King of Ava that they were kept in Mandalay. They were also however employed later to dig canals; but so little of the pay disbursed from the royal treasury for them filtered through the hands of the various Burmese officers, that they used to escape secretly to British Burma and so founded colonies there. They were noted not only for their weaving but for their skill in astrology, music, dancing and massaging; and some accounts of them unfairly add begging to this list of accomplishments. As would be expected of people from the country where polo originated, the Kathè were also noted for horsemanship."

The Kyaws or Chaws are a small tribe living on the banks of the Kaladan river in the Arakan Hill Tracts. According to tradition they were offered as pagoda slaves by a pious queen of Arakan named Saw Me Gyi about three centuries ago. They have decreased in number from 351 to 234. Unlike the Chaungthas they contract marriage strictly among their own class and this may be the reason for their decrease in numbers. The Anus and Kaungtsos are also small tribes living in the Arakan Hill Tracts. At the 1921 census 412 Anus and 370 Kaungtsos were recorded, whereas in 1931, there were 1,151 Kaungtsos recorded but not a single Anu. There is apparently very little difference between these two tribes in their language, appearance, dress, mode of life and customs. There are a few Kaungtsos in that part of the Arakan Hill Tracts which was not enumerated. A few Yindus were recorded in the Arakan Hill Tracts in 1921; in 1931 they were probably recorded as Chins (unspecified).

The Taungthas have increased from 7,570 to 11,187. They are practically confined to the Pakkoku district; most of them are in the Tilin and Saw townships but there are also a few in Gangaw. Interesting legends regarding their origin will be found in Volume XVIII, Part I, 1928, and Volume XX, Part I, 1930, of the Journal of the Burma Research Society. They appear to have migrated from the neighbourhood of Mount Popa in Myingyan district about a thousand years ago. They have been placed in the Kuki-Chin group as their language closely resembles Chinbok but they appear to be racially distinct from both Chins and Burmans; they are one of the few tribes of the Kuki-Chin group which have accepted Buddhism. The famous Yaw longyis are made by them.

Shō or Southern Chin was recorded for only 1,010 persons, all of whom were enumerated in Thayetmyo and Minbu districts. It is probable that many of those in the plains for whom the record was only Chin (unspecified) belonged to this tribe.



The Khamis are found only in the Akyab district and the Arakan Hill Tracts. Their numbers have increased from 26,104 to 30,924 ; this may be partly due to more correct enumeration. An account of the manners and customs of the Khamis in the Akyab district is given in Appendix D.

**107. Naga Group.**—The number of Nagas recorded in 1931 was 4,224 which compares with 406 in 1921. The increase is due to the enumeration for the first time by race, etc., of the Somra Tract in the Upper Chindwin district. Practically all the Nagas are in this district ; a few hundred were enumerated in Kanti State and the remainder in the Somra Tract. No figures appear to be available for the number of Nagas in the unadministered territory associated with the Upper Chindwin district. An account of the manners, customs, dress, etc., of the

Naga tribes will be found in Appendix E.

**108. Kachin Group.**—Kachins have increased during the decade by 4·4 per cent and speakers of Kachin by 5·5 per cent. All but one per cent of the Kachins were enumerated in the Northern Shan States and the Bhamo, Myitkyina and Katha districts. In the Bhamo district Kachins increased by 3·5 per cent and in the Northern Shan States by 9·5 per cent, whereas in the combined Myitkyina and Katha districts, there was a decrease of about 3 per cent. Migration may be partly responsible for this decrease. It is possible that some of the Kachins

have moved on into the unadministered Wa States. At the last census eight new tribes were added to the Kachin group representing persons in the Hkamti Long plains. These names were not recorded at the 1931 census. Subsidiary Table III shows that only 263 Kachins spoke languages other than Kachin while there were only 815 speakers of Kachin who were not Kachins.

There is a large number of Kachins in parts of the province that were not enumerated. Capt. Green has estimated that there are 16,000 in Myitkyina district outside the census area, 24,000 in the Triangle and 13,000 in the Hukawng Valley.

Capt. Green is of the opinion that the Hkahku Kachins in the Triangle, the Hukawng Valley and west of the Irrawaddy, are very different from the Bhamo and Lashio Kachins, although they all speak the same language. The latter are markedly mongoloid while the former are a taller type with long oval face, pointed chin and aquiline nose. The Hkahku Kachins are shown in Plates XXII and XXIII, and the Bhamo and Lashio Kachins in Plate III.

**109. Sak Group.**—This group was formed in 1921. In 1911 Kadu had been included in the Burma group, and Sak and Daingnet in the Chin group. The reasons for the formation of this group are given in paragraph 10 of Appendix B of the 1921 Census Report. In 1921 Taman was included in the Kuki-Chin group but for this census it has been included in the Sak group ; Malin has also been added, so that this group now consists of Kadu, Ganan, Sak, Daingnet, Taman and Malin.

Figures recorded for the races and languages in this group at the last three censuses are given in marginal table 30. The Kadus are the most numerous tribe in this group and the large increase in the numbers between 1911 and 1921, which is shown by the marginal table is probably due to the Kadus having been recorded as Shans or Burmans in 1911. The prediction in paragraph 287 of the 1911 Census Report that the disintegration of the Kadus would proceed with accelerated rapidity has not been fulfilled. Their origin does not appear to have been definitely established. The locality in

30. Sak group.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	35,237	51,820
1921	...	25,237	50,541
1911	...	12,068	12,756

which they settled—the Irrawaddy Valley, in the neighbourhood of Tagaung—



facilitated intercourse with Chins, Kachins, Burmans and Shans and all these races seem to have gone to the making of the Kadu race. An account of the Kadus during the 12th and 13th centuries is given in Appendix F. The Ganans are a branch of the Kadus. There has been a slight decrease in the number of Kadus but an increase in the number of

31. Kadu.				32. Ganan.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.	Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	20,305	36,400	1931	...	7,144	7,182
1921	...	18,594	37,710	1921	...	1,022	6,474

Ganans. If the figures for the two races are combined, there has been a slight decrease. The increase in the number of speakers is particularly great in the case of Ganan. In 1921 about 25,000 Kadus and Ganans returned a language belonging to another group, and of these about 24,000 spoke Burmese and 1,000 Shan (*see* paragraph 10 of Appendix B of the 1921 Census Report). In 1931 only about 16,000 Kadus and less than 100 Ganans returned a language of another group.

The Saks and Daingnets were recorded only in Akyab district. Accord-

ing to Appendix B of the 1921 Census Report "Daingnet is the language, much corrupted by Bengali, of the descendants of Sak prisoners of war from the Valley of the Lower Chindwin who were captured by King Mindi of Arakan

33. Sak.				34. Daingnet.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.	Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	691	693	1931	...	6,159	6,355
1921	...	614	614	1921	...	4,915	4,928
1911	...	80	79	1911	...	919	954

at the close of the thirteenth century and made to settle in the Akyab district." In the 1911 census tables the Saks are recorded as Thets. The large increase in the number of Daingnets is probably due to more accurate enumeration.

Tamans were recorded only in the Upper Chindwin district. There is an interesting account of them in Mr. Grant Brown's Gazetteer of the Upper Chindwin district. Malins are a branch of the Tamans. They were not recorded at all in 1931, although they still exist in that district; the language, however, does not appear to be spoken now.

35. Taman.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	938	1,190
1921	...	92	815
1911	...	...	527

**110. Mishmi Group.**—No race in this group was recorded at the 1931 census. There may be a few in the unenumerated parts of Myitkyina district. At the 1921 census 13 were recorded in the Hkamti Long plains.

**111. Mro Group.**—Apparently Mro is a difficult language to classify; according to Mr. Taylor "it bears relationship to many languages but is closely connected with none." Pending further light on the subject it has been placed in a separate group. The Mros are found in the Akyab district and the Arakan Hill Tracts. There has been a slight decrease in their numbers since 1921.

36. Mro.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	14,094	13,766
1921	...	14,324	14,771



**112. Tai Group.**—Persons belonging to the Tai group have increased by only 1·9 per cent, while persons speaking languages of the Tai group have increased by 10·9 per cent. The reason for the much greater rate of increase for language is that many Shans outside the Shan States ordinarily speak Burmese. Subsidiary Table III of Appendix B of the 1921 Census Report shows that at the 1921 Census 119 thousand persons of the Tai group, or 12 per cent of the total number, returned a language of another group as the language ordinarily used in the home, and, of these, 114 thousand spoke

Burmese; in 1931 the number of persons in the Tai group who returned a mother tongue in another group was 20 thousand or only 2 per cent of the total number (see Subsidiary Table III).

The percentage increase in the number of speakers of Tai languages has

37. Tai group.			
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.	
1931	1,021,917	1,037,406	
1921	921,507	1,017,987	
1911	968,375	996,420	

of course been greatest outside the Shan States. Marginal table 38 shows that the increases have been considerable in all the subdivisions of the Burman division, and particularly in the North subdivision, where the number of speakers has been doubled. The increase in the number of persons in the Tai group has not been so great; according to marginal table 39 the increase in the Burman natural division has been 4 per cent and in the North subdivision only 3 per cent.

In the combined Myitkyina and Katha districts persons of the Tai group

38. Languages of the Tai (Shan) group.			
Natural Division.	Number of speakers.		Percentage increase.
	1921.	1931.	
Province	921,507	1,021,917	11
Burman	210,053	308,595	47
Delta	30,853	41,730	35
Coast	21,961	29,321	34
Centre	4,800	6,159	28
North	152,439	231,385	52
Salween	18,022	15,484	—14
Shan	693,432	697,838	1
N. Shan States	271,842	289,132	6
S. Shan States	421,590	408,706	—3

increased by only 3 per cent but speakers of Tai languages by 54 per cent. In these two districts a large number of Shans returned their language as Burmese in 1921. Practically all the persons in the Tai group in the Coast subdivision were enumerated in Amherst and Mergui. In Amherst district persons of the Tai group increased by 32 per cent and speakers of Tai languages by 64 per cent. There are very few persons of the Tai group in the Centre subdivision; 69 per cent are in Mandalay district, 13 per cent in Prome and 10 per cent in Yamethin. The increase in the number is largely due to migration of Shans

into Mandalay district. Both in the Centre and the Delta subdivisions no

39. Races of the Tai (Shan) group.		
Natural Division.	Number of persons.	
	1921.	1931.
Province	1,017,987	1,037,406
Burman	313,792	325,485
Delta	46,058	45,579
Coast	23,166	27,755
Centre	5,515	6,664
North	239,053	245,487
Salween	17,507	15,502
Shan	686,686	697,417
N. Shan States	296,168	288,659
S. Shan States	417,518	408,758

40. Tai group (Myitkyina and Katha Districts).		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	110,163	124,372
1921	71,747	121,109

41. Tai group (Amherst District.).		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	16,818	17,236
1921	10,228	13,017

other race of the Tai group is found in appreciable numbers except Shan. In the Delta there has been a decrease of one per cent in the number of Shans but an increase of 35 per cent in the speakers of Shan. In the Delta the Shans are rapidly becoming

Burmanised; in 1921 only about two-thirds of the Shans returned Shan as the language ordinarily used in the home.



In the Northern Shan States persons belonging to races of the Tai group have increased by 7 per cent and speakers of Tai languages by 6 per cent; on the other hand in the Southern Shan States the figures for race show a reduction of 2 per cent and those for language a reduction of 3 per cent. The reason for the decreases in the Southern Shan States may be due to differences in classification at the two censuses. Figures for the more important races and race-groups are given in marginal table 42, and it will be noticed that there have been considerable increases in the Lolo-Muhso and Palaung-Wa groups. In particular, 11,369 Tai-Loi were enumerated in 1931 and none in 1921. It is possible that some of the Tai-Loi in 1921 were treated as Shans. In the 1921 Census Tables (Part IB of Imperial Table X) Tai-Loi is included both in the Tai group and in the Palaung-Wa group but only two persons returned it as their race and it was not recorded at all for language. The origin of the word Tai-Loi is discussed in paragraph 115.

It is not proposed to discuss the figures for the individual races of the Tai group, since the figures are not reliable. It is perhaps sufficient to give only one example. According to marginal table 18 of paragraph 104 the number of persons belonging to races in the Tai group in the Myitkyina and Katha districts has increased from 121,109 to 124,372, but there are very big differences in the figures for the separate races: Shans have dropped from 109,325 to 94,421, Shan-Tayoks from 6,926 to 5,537 and Hkamti Shans from 4,851 to 1,121, while Shan-Bamas have increased from 6 to 23,293. Apparently in 1931 many of the Hkamti Shans and Shan-Tayoks returned themselves as Shans while a very large number of Shans must have returned themselves as Shan-Bamas. The name Shan-Bama seems to occur for the first time in the Census records in 1921, when 16 persons returned it as their race and 5 as their language. The origin of the word is not known. The only other district besides Myitkyina which returned Shan-Bamas was Bhamo where three were recorded. They are possibly Shans who are becoming Burmanised. The number of persons who returned Shan-Bama as their language in 1931 was 7,735 and they too were enumerated in Myitkyina district.

It will be noticed that Shangyi and Shangale do not appear in the Census tables. At a Conference held in Taunggyi in June 1930 which was attended by the Commissioner of the Federated Shan States, the Census Superintendent and the Assistant Superintendents stationed in the Shan States, the languages and races to be entered in the enumeration schedule were discussed and it was decided that the figures for Shangyi and Shangale obtained at the 1921 Census were unreliable, that the majority of Shans did not know whether they were

42. Races in Southern Shan States.

Race-group and Race.	1931.	1921.	Increase.
Burma group ...	143,274	142,228	1,046
<i>Burmese</i> ...	7,985	7,608	377
<i>Danu</i> ...	57,782	56,832	950
<i>Iutha</i> ...	55,219	54,322	897
<i>Taungyo</i> ...	22,250	23,451	- 1,201
<i>Others</i> ...	38	15	23
Lolo-Muhso group ...	74,859	64,836	10,023
<i>Lisao</i> ...	3,273	3,177	96
<i>Lahu</i> ...	25,543	22,694	2,849
<i>Akø</i> ...	1,343	51	1,292
<i>Pyin</i> ...	458	936	- 478
<i>Kwi</i> ...	3,837	3,713	124
<i>Kaw</i> ...	40,405	34,265	6,140
Kachin group ...	666	164	502
Tai group ...	408,758	417,518	- 8,760
<i>Shan</i> ...	335,173	349,398	- 14,225
<i>Shan-Tayok</i> ...	4,156	4,998	- 842
<i>Daye</i> ...	701	968	- 267
<i>Hkun</i> ...	31,278	33,390	- 2,112
<i>Lu</i> ...	30,034	25,862	4,172
<i>Lao</i> ...	4,732	2,890	1,842
<i>Tai Len</i> ...	2,641	...	2,641
<i>Others</i> ...	43	12	31
Palaung-Wa group ...	47,824	37,323	10,501
<i>Wa</i> ...	8,496	6,754	1,742
<i>Danaw</i> ...	1,157	1,669	- 512
<i>Khamuk</i> ...	118	226	- 108
<i>Lem</i> ...	...	791	- 791
<i>Tai-Loi</i> ...	11,369	...	11,369
<i>Yang (unspecified)</i> ...	416	2,924	- 2,508
<i>Yanglam</i> ...	10,090	12,577	- 2,487
<i>Yangsek</i> ...	2,677	...	2,677
<i>Palaung and Pale</i> ...	13,501	12,382	1,119
Karen group ...	177,831	175,151	2,680
<i>Bwè</i> ...	19	833	- 814
<i>Brek</i> ...	1,113	...	1,113
<i>Karenbyu</i> ...	268	1,346	- 1,078
<i>Taungthu</i> ...	153,956	148,687	5,269
<i>Padaung</i> ...	13,932	13,082	850
<i>Yinbaw</i> ...	261	1,011	- 750
<i>Gheko</i> ...	1,316	1,234	82
<i>Karenni</i> ...	2,437	3,638	- 1,201
<i>Zaycin</i> ...	3,736	4,129	- 393
<i>Others</i> ...	793	1,191	- 398
Chinese ...	3,899	2,135	1,764
Indians ...	11,351	6,708	4,643
Others ...	1,768	1,555	213
Total ...	870,230	847,618	22,612



Shangyis or Shangales and that no useful purpose would be served by maintaining the distinction.

**113. Malay Group.**—There are only two representatives in this group, Malay and Salon. The Malays are practically confined to the Mergui district (most of them were enumerated in the Bokpyin and Maliwun townships), only 93 being enumerated outside the district. The large increase is probably due to better enumeration as there appears to have been under-enumeration in parts of Mergui district in 1921. Of the 6,300 Malays enumerated in Mergui district, only 4,378 returned Malay as their mother tongue; Siamese was returned by 1,848, Merguese by 39 and Shan by 24. The number of Salons is practically the same as in 1921. The total number enumerated in boats was 1,308, compared with 1,825 in 1921, so that there are not as many eking out an existence in boats as did formerly. There are settlements now in Tavoy Island and at Mergui, Bokpyin and Victoria Point, among other places. The census of the Salons living in boats was carried out by Mr. C. Lindsay-Smith, Deputy Conservator of Forests, Mergui Division. The use

of a sea-going launch for this purpose makes the enumeration very expensive and it should be given up unless it can be combined with other work.

**114. Mon Group.**—Mon or Talaing is the only representative of this group in Burma. At previous censuses the word Talaing was used, but for the reasons given in paragraph 100, Mon will be used in this Report. The derivation of the word Talaing does not appear to have been definitely settled. Mr. Luce has something to say on the subject in Appendix F. The earliest genuine original mention of the word in Burmese inscriptions appears to have been in A.D. 1204. As far as Mr. Halliday is aware the word does not occur at all in Mon inscriptions or in Mon literature.

Mons have increased by 4 per cent during the decade and speakers of Mon by 61 per cent. It has already been pointed out that the big increase in the number of speakers is due to the mother tongue having been recorded in 1931, and not the language ordinarily used in the home, as in 1921. Ninety seven per cent of the Mons were enumerated in three districts—73 per cent in Amherst district, 18½ per cent in Thaton and 5½ per cent in Pegu; most of the remaining 3 per cent were enumerated in the Tavoy, Hanthawaddy, Insein and other Delta districts. Ninety eight per cent of

the speakers of Mon were enumerated in the Amherst, Thaton and Pegu districts. Mons who do not speak their own language usually speak Burmese. At the 1921 census 135,809 Mons, or 42 per cent of the total number, returned a language of another group, whereas in 1931 the corresponding number was 32,045 or only 10 per cent of the total number (see Subsidiary Table III). These figures are not, however, representative of the three districts—Amherst, Thaton and Pegu—where the Mons are most numerous. Figures for Burmese and Mon (race and language) for these three districts are given in marginal tables 46, 47 and 48. Practically all the speakers of Mon in these tables would be Mons since the total number of speakers of Mon in

the whole province belonging to other race-groups was only 1,563 in 1921 and 611 in 1931. At the 1921 census in the Amherst district 80 per cent of the

43. Malay.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	4,460	6,393
1921 ...	3,446	4,712

44. Salon.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	1,908	1,930
1921 ...	1,931	1,941

45. Mon.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931 ...	305,294	336,728
1921 ...	189,263	323,509
1911 ...	179,443	320,629

46. Burmese and Mon in Amherst district.				
Year of Census.	Race.		Language.	
	Burmese.	Mon.	Burmese.	Mon.
1931 ...	73,756	246,871	103,681	235,612
1921 ...	69,346	187,259	128,410	151,028

47. Burmese and Mon in Thaton district.				
Year of Census.	Race.		Language.	
	Burmese.	Mon.	Burmese.	Mon.
1931 ...	136,423	62,090	163,018	56,775
1921 ...	111,065	69,016	168,348	36,201



Mons spoke the racial language, the percentages for Thaton and Pegu being very much smaller, namely 52 and 1, respectively; at the 1931 census the percentages for these three districts were 95, 91 and 39, respectively. In the Amherst and Thaton districts a big increase in the number of speakers of Mon has been accompanied by a decrease in the number of speakers of Burmese; in Pegu this has not been the case since speakers of Burmese are so much more numerous than speakers of Mon.

48. Burmese and Mon in Pegu district.				
Year of Census.	Race.		Language.	
	Burmese.	Mon.	Burmese.	Mon.
1931 ...	366,568	18,292	381,252	7,162
1921 ...	294,826	47,018	355,827	462

The increase in the number of Mons in the Amherst district from 187,259 to 246,871, *i.e.*, by 59,612 or 32 per cent is very striking. In Mudon township they represent 88 per cent of the population, in Yelamaing township 76 per cent, in Kyaikkami 68 per cent, in Chaungzon 71 per cent and in Kyaikmaraw 49 per cent; in Moulmein, Kawkareik and Kya-in they represent only 21, 17 and 12 per cent, respectively. In the whole district they represent 48 per cent of the population, Karens coming next with 21 per cent.

In Thaton district the Mons have dropped from 69,016 to 62,090 where they now represent only 11 per cent of the population; they are largely confined to the Paung, Pa-an and Kyaikto townships where they represent 27, 16 and 18 per cent of the population, respectively.

There have also been decreases in other districts in the Delta. For instance, in Pegu the Mons have dropped from 47,018 to 18,292, in Pyapon from 4,092 to 649, in Bassein from 4,544 to 508 and in Hanthawaddy from 7,205 to 2,453. Thus outside the Amherst and Thaton districts the process of absorption of the Mons by the Burmese would appear to be almost complete; in Amherst district they have taken on a new lease of life. In this connection the following extract from paragraph 317 of the 1911 Census Report is well worth quoting:—

"It is impossible here to describe how the Mon-Khmer races once occupied practically the whole of the valley of the Irrawaddy; how they were separated and isolated by the Burmese and Shan invasions, how one branch was forced towards the coast and achieved cohesion as the Talaing race as the result of external pressure; how for centuries warfare was waged for supremacy between the Burmese, the Shans and the Talaings; how the latter at the middle of the eighteenth century were supreme from Mandalay to Martaban; and how in the interval they have been reduced to the small and vanishing remnant now presented in the census records. The last phase can be briefly sketched. With the conquest of Pegu by Alaungpaya in 1757 the Talaing language was discouraged by the Burmese. But it was not till the retirement of the British from Pegu in 1826 that its use was absolutely proscribed. It would have become extinct but for the migration of Talaings into Tenasserim, where under British rule it managed to exist until 1852, when the permanent occupation of Pegu by the British removed the ban. But the spirit of the race had been crushed in the interval and for a long time it scarcely resisted absorption by the Burmese."

**115. Palaung-Wa Group.**—Persons belonging to races of this group have increased by 13 per cent and speakers of Palaung-Wa languages by 19 per cent during the decade. In the previous decade there had been a decrease in the figures for both race and language, which was entirely due to the reduction in the figures for Palaungs in the Southern Shan States and was attributed to Shan absorption. The increase during 1921-31 is largely due to an increase in the figures for Palaungs, particularly in the Northern Shan States. Marginal table 20

49. Palaung-Wa Group.			
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.	
1931 ...	176,024	176	382
1921 ...	147,841	156	703
1911 ...	166,212	175	940

of paragraph 105 shows that the Palaungs in the Northern Shan States increased by 14,716 but it will also be noticed in the same table that the Was decreased by 6,037. It is not known whether there is any connection between these changes. The increase for all races in the Palaung-Wa group in the Northern Shan States was only 8,644 or 7.5 per cent. Marginal table 42 of paragraph 112, which gives figures for the more important races in the Southern Shan States, shows that 11,369 Tai-Loi and 2,677 Yangsek were enumerated in 1931 compared with none at all in 1921. The Tai-Loi have already been referred to in paragraph 112. In 1921 only 2 Tai-Loi were enumerated in the whole province; in 1931 there were 11,856, of whom 11,369 were enumerated in the



Southern Shan States (all in Kengtung State) and 487 in the Northern Shan States. The word Tai-Loi means Hill-Shan. The following account of the Tai-Loi has been kindly furnished by the Rev. J. H. Telford of the American Baptist Mission, Loimwe :—

"In addition to the Shans, who live in the fertile plains of Kengtung State, there are numerous Hill tribes the most prominent of which are the Lahus and the Kaws; in addition there are the Tailoi or mountain Shan as they are sometimes erroneously designated. The Tailoi are in fact a branch of the Wa tribe and are sometimes and correctly called 'Kut Wa'. The Shan word "Kut" means to be "left behind". The Tailoi are the remnants of the Wa tribe that were left behind in Kengtung State, when the Khun from Siam came and occupied the Kengtung country and drove the earlier inhabitants, the Wa, into the Chinese province of Yunnan."

It is probable that in 1921 some of these Tai-Loi were recorded as Shans and this may be partly responsible for the increase in the number of persons belonging to races of the Palaung-Wa group. The Was are found mostly in the uncontrolled Wa states but this area was not enumerated. The total number recorded at the census was only 10,465 and of these, 8,361 were enumerated in Kengtung State, 135 in the remainder of the Southern Shan States and 1,969 in the Northern Shan States. The figure 1,969 does not include East Manglun which was not enumerated by race.

Palè was not recorded at all; the Palès differ very little from the Palaungs and were probably recorded as such.

The Danaws are a small tribe found mostly in the states of Yawnghwe and Hsa Mong Hkam. They are a hybrid race and have been placed in the Palaung-Wa group as their language most closely resembles the Mon-Khmer languages. They should not be confused with the Danus.

Most of the Yanglam or Karennet (Black Karen) were enumerated in the states of Kehsi Mansam, Mong Nawng, Laihka and Mong Nai; a few were recorded in South Hsenwi and Hsipaw.

The Yangsek or Yinkya (striped Yin) were enumerated only in Mong Nai and other states of the south-eastern subdivision of the Southern Shan States.

**116. Karen Group.**—Karens have increased since 1921 by 12 per cent and speakers of Karen languages by 20 per cent. In the previous decade the increases were 11 and 4 per cent, respectively. Subsidiary Table III of Appendix B of the 1921 Census Report shows that 111,628 Karens, or 9 per cent of the total number of Karens, returned languages belonging to other groups as the language ordinarily used in the house; of these, about 103,000 spoke Burmese. In 1931 only 30,045 Karens or 2 per cent of the total number of Karens, returned a language of another group as their mother tongue. This is the main reason

50. Karen group.		
Year of Census.	Language.	Race.
1931	1,341,066	1,367,673
1921	1,114,016	1,220,356
1911	1,066,635	1,099,048*

for the large increase in the number of speakers during the decade. But the increase in the number of Karens is above the average. Marginal table 51 shows that the Karens in the Delta and in the Tenasserim portion of the Coast

51. Races of the Karen group.				
Natural Division.	1921.	1931.	Increase.	
			Actual.	Per cent.
Province	1,220,356	1,367,673	147,317	12.1
Burman	953,571	1,100,529	146,958	15.4
Delta	830,793	946,987	116,194	14.0
Coast (Tenasserim)	112,379	142,373	29,994	26.7
Centre	9,475	10,510	1,035	10.9
Salween	90,462	88,834	-1,628	-1.8
Shan	176,300	178,283	1,983	1.1
N. Shan States	1,149	452	-697	-60.7
S. Shan States	175,151	177,831	2,680	1.5

subdivision have increased much more than the Karens in the Shan States. The number of Karens in the combined Shan and Salween divisions is 267,117, which is an increase of only 355 on the number recorded in 1921. The particularly large increase in Tenasserim is partly due to under-enumeration in 1921 in the non-synchronous portions of the Kya-in and Kawkaik townships of Amherst district (see paragraph 16 of Chapter I). In these two townships Karens amount to 65 and 54 per cent, respectively, of the total population.

\* This figure includes 74 Christians (39 in Henzada and 35 in the Southern Shan States) whose race was not returned in 1911 and who have been taken to be Karens.



At the 1921 Census an attempt was made to get all the Karens properly described with reference to their race and language; instructions were issued that the entry Karen (unspecified) should be made only after every effort to identify the race and language had failed. Although considerable success was attained the numbers were still large, namely, 62,627 for race and 98,713 for language. Similar instructions were issued in connection with the 1931 census and the numbers of Karens (unspecified) have been still further reduced, to 38,067 for race and 47,026 for language. The persons who returned their race or language as Karen (unspecified) in 1921 and 1931 were largely confined to the Tenasserim, Pegu and Irrawaddy divisions. These are the areas where the Sgaw and Pwo Karens are most numerous and this is largely the reason why these two races have had such large increases. For instance, in Toungoo district the increase in the number of Sgaw Karens from 11,354 to 31,461 is largely due to the decrease in the number of Karens (unspecified) from 45,818 to 17,974.

In Appendix C Captain Green points out that the Sgaw, Pwo and Paku Karens are very different from the Karens who live in the hills, and from a racial point of view he would place the remaining races of this group (with the possible exception of Taungthu) in the Palaung-Wa group. It will be noted that the Sgaw, Pwo and Paku Karens amount to 1,013,976 or 74 per cent of the total number of Karens, and the percentage would be still larger if some of the unspecified Karens were added.

The Taungthus are the most numerous of the hill Karens and they are largely confined to the Southern Shan States, Thatôn and the neighbouring districts. The Paku, Monnepwa and Bwe Karens are practically confined to the Toungoo district. The Brek Karens (*see* Plate VII at the end of Appendix C) are found in Karenni and in the state of Mong Pai; the increase in their numbers from 618 to 6,695 is presumably due to more accurate enumeration. The Karenbyu are mostly found in Toungoo, Karenni and Yamèthin. The Padaungs are the people whose females wear the hideous neck ornaments (*see* Plate VI) but they have managed to increase from 13,755 to 16,483 in spite of them. They and the Yinbaw are found mostly in Mong Pai State and Karenni. The Gheko Karens are found in Toungoo district and Mong Pai. Most of the Karenni were enumerated in Karenni but there are also a few scattered about the Southern Shan States and in the districts of Toungoo, Amherst, Thatôn and Salween. The Zayein Karens have already been mentioned in Chapter VI; they have managed to survive in spite of their peculiar system of endogamy. They are found in the states of Loilong and Mong Pai. The Talaing-Kalasi are found only in Yamèthin district. An interesting account of the manners, customs and traditions of most of these hill Karens will be found in Sir J. G. Scott's book "Burma and Beyond."

52. Sgaw Karen.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	499,789	518,040
1921	...	368,282	437,110

53. Pwo Karen.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	473,720	487,824
1921	...	352,466	411,891

**117. Man Group.**—This group is represented by two languages—Miao or Miaotzu and Yao. In 1911 these languages were treated as a group of the Mon-Khmer branch but in 1921 they were made into a separate family. The Miao and Yao races come from China (*see* Plates IX and X). In 1911 approximately equal numbers were recorded in the Northern and Southern Shan States; in 1921 they were practically all enumerated in the Southern Shan States while in 1931 most of them (744) were enumerated in the Northern Shan States (North Hsenwi) and the remainder (207) in the Southern Shan States (Kengtung).

54. Man group.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	947	951
1921	...	591	597
1911	...	920	1,158



### 118. Chinese Languages.—The Chinese have increased in number by 30 per cent and speakers of Chinese languages by 46 per cent. The big increase for speakers is due to the reduction in the number of Chinese who speak other languages from 27,548 in 1921 to 15,957 in 1931. Chinese who do not speak their own language usually speak Burmese. The Yunnanese are mostly found in the Northern Shan States; they have increased by 14 per cent while speakers of Yunnanese have increased by 21 per cent. In 1921 there were 4,382 Yunnanese, or 7 per cent of the total number, who spoke languages other than Yunnanese; in 1931 there were only 577 or one per cent of the total number. Chinese other than Yunnanese have increased by 40 per cent during the decade while speakers of Chinese languages other than Yunnanese have increased by 67 per cent.

55. Chinese.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	178,316	193,594
1921	...	122,162	149,060

Yunnanese, or 7 per cent of the total number, who spoke languages other than Yunnanese; in 1931 there were only 577 or one per cent of the total number. Chinese other than Yunnanese have increased by 40 per cent during the decade while speakers of Chinese languages other than Yunnanese have increased by 67 per cent.

### 119. Indian Languages.—Indians have increased during the decade by 15 per cent and speakers of Indian languages by 23 per cent. At the 1921 census, about 40 thousand Indians returned Burmese as the language ordinarily used in the home; for the 1931 Census, figures for Indians who returned a non-Indian language as their mother tongue have not been compiled but the number is probably very much less than 40,000. The excess of speakers of Indian languages over the number of Indians at the 1931 Census is accounted for by the fact that some of the Indo-Burman races have returned an Indian language as their mother tongue. Marginal table 57 shows that the excess is largely confined to the Akyab district. In this district many of the Arakan Mahomedans have apparently returned Bengali as their mother tongue. In Kyaukpau district the excess is 1,539 and in Sandoway only 573. In the remaining districts of the province the Indo-Burman races are usually Zerbadis and most of them appear to have returned Burmese or some other indigenous language as their mother tongue.

56. Indian Languages and Races.			
Year of Census.		Language.	Race.
1931	...	1,079,820	1,017,825
1921	...	879,697	881,357

by the fact that some of the Indo-Burman races have returned an Indian language as their mother tongue. Marginal table 57 shows that the excess is largely confined to the Akyab district. In this district many of the Arakan Mahomedans have apparently returned Bengali as their mother tongue. In Kyaukpau district the excess is 1,539 and in Sandoway only 573. In the remaining districts of the province the Indo-Burman races are usually Zerbadis and most of them appear to have returned Burmese or some other indigenous language as their mother tongue.

57. Indian Languages and Races.				
Area.		Language.	Race.	Excess of Language over Race.
Akyab District	...	259,787	210,990	48,797
Remainder of Province.	...	820,033	806,835	13,198
Total	...	1,079,820	1,017,825	61,995

120. The Pau Chin Hau Script.—In paragraph 135 of Chapter XI. an account is given of the Pau Chin Hau movement in the Chin Hills. Reference is made there to certain Chin characters which were revealed to Pau Chin Hau in one of his dreams. Copies of the original characters are not available but apparently they were very numerous. The characters were revised, the third and last revision being carried out in 1931. The new alphabet consists of 21 consonants. The first page of the Spelling Book together with the corresponding Roman version is printed on page 195. It will be noticed that there are tones. It is maintained that the Chin sounds can be properly represented in these new characters but not in the Roman character. "The Sermon on the Mount" in St. Matthew has already been printed in this character. In this work of translation Pau Chin Hau is helped by a vernacular school teacher named Than Chin Kham who lives in Tonzan village near Tiddim and who knows Burmese. The whole of St. Matthew is being translated and in May 1932 the first eight chapters had already been completed. For the purpose of translation, the Burmese version of St. Matthew is used and also a Chin version (in the Roman character), which was done by Mr. Cope, the American Baptist Missionary in the Chin Hills: this version in the Roman character is also given in "The Sermon on the Mount" referred to above. No information is available as to the number of persons who can read the script.



# THE PAU CHIN HAU SCRIPT.

(See paragraph 120).

pa ka la ma da ya va nga ha ga xa hsa ba tga ta hta na hpa ra fa cha

à ài i aw u ua ia

ab ag ad am an al an ang ai

These are tonal signs

pá	ká	lá	má	dá	yá	vá	ngá	há	gá	xá	hsá	bá	tga	tá	hta	ná	hpa	rá	fá	chá
pai	kai	lai	mai	dai	yai	vai	ngai	hai	gai	xai	hsai	bai	tgai	tai	htai	nai	hpai	rai	fai	chai
pi	ki	li	mi	di	yi	vi	ngi	hi	gi	xi	hsi	bi	tgi	ti	hti	ni	hpi	ri	fi	chi
paw	kaw	law	maw	daw	yaw	vaw	ngaw	haw	gaw	xaw	hsaw	baw	tgaw	taw	htaw	naw	hpaw	raw	faw	chaw
pu	ku	lu	mu	du	yu	vu	ngu	hu	gu	xu	hsu	bu	tgu	tu	htu	nu	hpu	ru	fu	chu
pua	kua	lua	mua	dua	yua	vua	ngua	hua	gua	xua	hsua	bua	tgua	tua	htua	nua	hpuu	rua	fua	chua
pia	kia	lia	mia	dia	yia	via	ngia	hia	gia	xia	hsia	bia	tgia	tia	htia	nia	hpia	ria	fia	chia



**121. Bilingualism.**—Statistics of bilingualism are given in Part II of Imperial Table XV. Only selected indigenous languages have been taken into account in compiling this table, all other languages being ignored. The selected languages have been formed into five classes and figures have been given for these five classes. It has already been pointed out in paragraph 102 of this chapter that in the Centre subdivision 95 per cent of the population speak Burmese and that the proportion exceeds 90 per cent in all the districts in this subdivision except Mandalay. In many of the districts in the province, and particularly in the centre of the province, the number of Burmese who speak another indigenous language or a subsidiary language is negligible. As a measure of economy it was therefore decided not to compile figures for subsidiary languages for Burmans in these districts.

The Linguistic Map at the beginning of this chapter has been based on the figures given in Part II of Imperial Table XV; the method of preparation is explained in Appendix A. Marginal table 58 shows what a large proportion of the Karens speak a language of the Burma group as a subsidiary language. In Hanthawaddy, Insein, Maubin and Pyapôn it is in the neighbourhood of 90 per cent.

Marginal table 59 shows that a large proportion of the Shans in Myitkyina, Katha and Upper Chindwin districts speak a language in the Burma group as a subsidiary language; the proportions are, of course, higher than in the Shan States.

In the first seven districts of marginal table 60 the "Other Tibeto-Burmese languages" are mostly Chin languages\* and it will be noticed that in the districts in the Arakan division the percentage speaking languages of the Burma group as subsidiary languages increases as one proceeds southwards; in Prome, Thayetmyo, Minbu and Pakôkku the percentages are very much larger. The "Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages" are mostly languages of the Sak group in Katha district and Kachin in Myitkyina. A large proportion of the Kadus and Ganans evidently speak Burmese as a subsidiary language; about 45 per cent of the Kadus have returned Burmese as their mother tongue.

A language of the Tai group has been returned as a subsidiary language in the Northern Shan States by about 22 per cent of those whose mother tongue is Kachin and in the Southern Shan States by about 28 per cent of those whose mother tongue is a language of the Lolo-Muhso group. A much bigger proportion of the races in the Palaung-Wa group speak a language of the Tai group. In the Northern Shan States 44 per cent of those whose mother tongue belongs to the Palaung-Wa group (mostly Palaungs) returned a subsidiary language in the Tai group, while in the Southern Shan States the proportion was as high as 73 per cent.

Amherst, Thatôn and Pegu are the only three districts in which an appreciable number of persons returned Mon as their mother tongue; the proportion of these persons who returned Burmese as a subsidiary language was 47 per cent in Amherst, 77 per cent in Thatôn and 95 per cent in Pegu. In the other Delta districts practically all those who returned Mon as their mother

58. Percentage of persons whose mother tongue is a Karen language and who speak a subsidiary language in the Burma Group.

District.	Per cent.
Pegu	78
Tharrawaddy	68
Hanthawaddy	90
Insein	88
Bassein	89
Henzada	73
Myaungmya	83
Maubin	90
Pyapôn	89
Thatôn	55
Amherst	44
Tavoy	48
Mergui	70
Toungoo	55
Southern Shan States	7

59. Percentage of persons whose mother tongue is in the Tai group and who speak a subsidiary language in the Burma group.

District.	Per cent.
Amherst	52
Mergui	17
Bhamo	32
Myitkyina	62
Katha	82
Upper Chindwin	76
Northern Shan States	7
Southern Shan States	4

60. Percentage of persons whose mother tongue belongs to "Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages" who speak a subsidiary language in the Burma group.

District.	Per cent.
Akyab	37
Kyaukpyu	46
Sandoway	63
Prome	84
Thayetmyo	78
Minbu	75
Pakôkku	84
Myitkyina	12
Katha	76

\* In Akyab district languages of the Mro and Sak groups are also included.



tongue have returned Burmese as a subsidiary language. The percentages vary according to the distance from Amherst district.

Many other interesting results can be worked out from the figures in Part II of Imperial Table XV. The "Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages" include languages of the Lolo-Muhso, Kuki-Chin, Naga, Kachin, Sak (Lui) and Mro groups and the distribution of language groups in each district is given in Part 1b of Imperial Table XV; in many districts languages of the Chin group are the only languages of this class that are spoken. The Mon-Khmer groups include Mon and the languages of the Palaung-Wa group; speakers of Mon are practically confined to Lower Burma and speakers of languages of the Palaung-Wa group to the Shan States and Katha district.

This is the first time that subsidiary languages have been recorded and it is possible, perhaps probable, that the figures are defective, and in some districts more than in others.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Distribution of total population by mother tongue.*

Language.	Total number of speakers.			Number per 10,000 of total population.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
ALL LANGUAGES ...	14,647,497	13,169,099	12,039,083	10,000	10,000	10,000
A. Burma Group ...	9,862,694	9,232,636	8,304,785	6,733	7,011	6,857
A1. Burmese ...	8,841,760	8,400,094	7,883,299	6,036	6,379	6,507
A2. Arakanese ...	221,945	247,691	323,962	152	188	268
A3. Yanbye ...	326,642	250,018	...	223	190	...
A4. Chaungtha ...	34,625	9,052	2,515	24	7	2
A5. Tavoyan ...	159,174	131,746	46	109	100	...
A6. Merguese ...	101,144	177	...	69	...	...
A7. Yabein ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
A8. Yaw ...	877	2	...	1	...	...
A9. Danu ...	60,966	72,925	18,694	42	55	16
A10. Intha ...	56,829	55,007	55,880	39	42	46
A11. Taungyo ...	22,261	22,532	19,317	15	17	16
A12. Hpon ...	679	243	342	...	...	...
A13. Atsi ...	5,294	5,663	205	4	4	...
A14. Lashi ...	12,564	16,570	...	9	13	...
A15. Maru ...	17,447	20,577	209	12	16	...
A16. Maingtha ...	487	339	316	...	...	...
B. Lolo-Muhso Group ...	93,052	75,686	65,821	64	57	54
B1. Lisaw ...	19,698	13,152	9,066	13	10	8
B2. Lolo ...	...	769	339	...	1	...
B3. Lahu ...	26,864	22,742	18,500	18	17	15
B4. Akö ...	1,343	51	794	1	...	1
B5. Pyin ...	800	927	273	1	1	...
B6. Kwi ...	3,839	3,676	3,924	3	3	3
B7. Kaw ...	40,407	34,265	32,925	28	26	27
B8. Nung ...	101	64	...	...	...	...
B9. Tangsir ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B10. Hopa ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B11. Watao-khum ...	...	40	...	...	...	...
B12. Khwinpang ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C. Kuki-Chin Group ...	343,854	268,288	295,913	235	204	244
C1. Kathè (Meithei) ...	3,764	2,404	1,629	3	2	1
C2. Kyaw ...	234	351	249	...	...	...
C3. Thado ...	6,320	2,243	...	4	2	...
C4. Siyin ...	3,506	3,143	151	2	2	...
C5. Sokte ...	17,072	17,363	...	12	13	...
C6. Kamhow ...	19,794	9,818	...	14	7	...
C7. Yo ...	1,365	5,449	...	1	4	...
C8. Tashon ...	3,064	7,559	...	2	6	...
C9. Yahow ...	9,595	10,045	...	7	8	...
C10. Laizao ...	6,334	9,277	...	4	7	...
C11. Kwangli ...	3,614	3,604	...	2	3	...
C12. Ngorn ...	5,808	3,832	...	4	3	...
C13. Lushei ...	296	306	...	...	...	...
C14. Whelngo ...	3,478	3,150	...	2	2	...
C15. Lyente ...	1,571	...	...	1	...	...
C16. Zahnyet ...	6,186	...	...	4	...	...
C17. Lai ...	24,158	19,650	1,924	16	15	2
C18. Lakher ...	64	6	...	...	...	...
C19. Lawhtu ...	9,725	3,043	...	7	2	...
C20. Kwelshim ...	2,821	2,458	...	2	2	...
C21. Zotung ...	8,985	5,109	...	6	4	...
C22. Sentang ...	7,324	5,720	...	5	4	...
C23. Tamang ...	8,290	...	...	6	...	...
C24. Miram ...	5,272	...	...	4	...	...
C25. Zolamnai ...	2,492	...	...	2	...	...
C26. Torr ...	193	...	...	...	...	...
C27. Ta-oo ...	516	...	...	...	...	...
C28. Mgan ...	3,140	...	...	2	...	...
C29. Welaung ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C30. Chinbok ...	20,195	...	18,179	14	...	15
C31. Yindu ...	9	105	4,348	...	...	4
C32. Chinmè ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C33. Chinbon ...	10,268	683	1,600	7	1	1
C34. Taungtha ...	11,153	6,253	17,244	8	5	14
C35. Shō ...	1,560	...	...	1	...	...
C36. Khami ...	30,882	26,571	16,431	21	20	14
C37. Anu ...	...	712	474	...	1	...
C38. Kaungtso ...	1,148	57	...	1	...	...
C39. Kaukadan ...	294	9	...	...	...	...
C40. Ledu ...	1,719	2,011	...	1	2	...
C41. Matu ...	154	51	...	...	...	...
C42. Sittu ...	4,282	3,918	...	3	3	...
C43. Chaunggyi Chin ...	32	666	...	...	1	...
C44. Saingbaung ...	8,031	7,232	...	5	5	...
C45. Chin (unspecified) ...	89,146	105,490	233,684	61	80	193



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Distribution of total population by mother tongue—*  
contd.

Language.	Total number of speakers.			Number per 10,000 of total population.		
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
<b>D. Naga Group</b> ...	4,201	402	...	3	...	...
D1. Naga (unspecified) ...	4,159	166	...	3	...	...
D2. Tangkul ...	42	236	...	...	...	...
<b>E. Kachin Group</b> ...	153,897	145,918	169,414	105	111	139
E1. Kachin ...	153,897	145,618	169,414	105	111	139
E2. Nogmung ...	...	168	...	...	...	...
E3. Ntit ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E4. Pangsu ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E5. Kang ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E6. Nawngkhai ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E7. Nokkyo ...	...	132	...	...	...	...
E8. Yoya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E9. Tawhawng ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>F. Sak (Lui) Group</b> ...	35,237	25,237	12,068	24	19	11
F1. Kadu ...	20,305	18,594	11,069	14	14	10
F2. Ganau ...	7,144	1,022		5	1	
F3. Sak ...	691	614	80	...	...	...
F4. Daingnet ...	6,159	4,915	919	4	4	1
F5. Taman ...	938	92	...	1	...	...
F6. Malin ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>G. Mishmi Group</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
G1. Khaman-Mishmi ...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>H. Mro Group</b> ...	14,094	14,324	2,718	10	11	2
H1. Mro ...	14,094	14,324	2,718	10	11	2
<b>I. Tai Group</b> ...	1,021,917	921,507	968,375	698	700	799
I1. Shan ...	914,379	819,467	897,578	624	622	740
I2. Shan-Tayok ...	18,270	23,473	...	12	18	...
I3. Dayè ...	698	746	225	...	1	...
I4. Siamese ...	8,648	8,743	8,902	6	7	8
I5. Hkun ...	31,234	33,210	48,408	21	25	40
I6. Lu ...	30,031	26,108	13,262	21	20	11
I7. Lao ...	7,163	3,851	...	5	3	...
I8. Shan-Bama ...	7,735	5	...	5	...	...
I9. Hkamti ...	1,103	5,904	...	1	4	...
I10. Annamese ...	8	...	...	...	...	...
I11. Tai-Lem ...	2,648	...	...	2	...	...
<b>J. Malay Group</b> ...	6,368	5,377	6,061	4	4	5
J1. Malay ...	4,460	3,446	4,190	3	3	3
J2. Salon ...	1,908	1,931	1,871	1	1	2
<b>K. Mon Group</b> ...	305,294	189,263	179,443	208	144	148
K1. Talaing ...	305,294	189,263	179,443	208	144	148
<b>L. Palaung-Wa Group</b> ...	176,024	147,841	166,212	120	112	136
L1. Wa ...	10,290	13,648	12,548	7	10	10
L2. Danaw ...	1,159	1,433	...	1	1	...
L3. En ...	...	...	3,684	...	...	3
L4. Khamuk ...	191	203	...	...	...	...
L5. Lhem ...	...	782	...	...	1	...
L6. Tai-Loi ...	11,852	...	...	8	...	...
L7. Yang (unspecified) ...	471	1,197	5,732	...	1	4
L8. Yanglam ...	10,725	12,853		7	10	
L9. Yangsek ...	2,680	...	...	2	...	...
L10-11. Palaung and Palè ...	138,656	117,725	144,248	95	89	119



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Distribution of total population by mother tongue—*  
concl'd.

Languages.		Total number of speakers.			Number per 10,000 of total population.		
		1931.	1921.	1911.	1931.	1921.	1911.
1		2	3	4	5	6	7
M. Khasi Group	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
N. Karen Group	...	1,341,066	1,114,016	1,066,635	916	846	881
N1. Karen (unspecified)	...	47,026	98,713	851,655	32	75	702
N2. Sgaw	...	499,789	368,282	...	341	280	...
N3. Paku	...	8,620	1,206	...	6	1	...
N4. Wewaw	...	...	256	...	...	...	...
N5. Monnepwa	...	2,126	72	...	1	...	...
N6. Bwè	...	6,227	10,627	9,100	4	8	8
N7. Brek	...	6,695	616	...	5	...	...
N8. Karenbyu	...	15,299	11,160	777	10	8	1
N9. Pwo	...	473,720	352,466	...	323	268	...
N10. Mopwa	...	2	...	...	...	...	...
N11. Taungthu	...	222,714	210,535	168,326	152	160	139
N12. Padaung	...	16,485	13,743	8,516	11	10	7
N13. Yinbaw	...	2,922	5,362	2,166	2	4	2
N14. Gheko	...	4,075	2,579	...	3	2	...
N15. Karenni	...	31,556	34,488	21,203	22	26	18
N16. Zayein	...	3,737	3,911	4,892	3	3	4
N17. Talaing-Kalasi	...	73	...	...	...	...	...
O. Man Group	...	947	591	920	1	...	...
O1. Miao	...	830	394	646	1	...	...
O2. Yao	...	117	197	274	...	...	...
R. Chinese Group	...	178,316	122,162	108,877	122	95	89
R1. Yunnanese	...	67,235	55,616	...	46	42	89
R2. Cantonese	...	31,978	66,546	108,877	22	51	
R3. Fukienese	...	44,118			30		
R4. Other and unspecified Chinese.	...	34,985			24		
X. Indian Languages	...	1,079,820	879,697	741,659	737	668	611
X1. Assamese	...	1,203	338	...	1	...	...
X2. Balochi	...	88	11	...	...	...	...
X3. Bengali	...	376,994	301,039	...	257	229	...
X4. Bihari	...	57	87	...	...	...	...
X5. Central Pahari	...	2,969	263	...	2	...	...
X6. Eastern Pahari	...	38,381	21,906	...	26	17	...
X7. Gujarati	...	17,706	13,140	...	12	10	...
X8. Kanarese	...	255	815	...	...	1	...
X9. Kashmiri	...	38	56	...	...	...	...
X10. Konkani	...	711	270	...	...	...	...
X11. Malayalam	...	12,218	5,926	...	8	4	...
X12. Marathi	...	673	1,303	...	...	1	...
X13. Oriya	...	60,682	47,545	...	41	36	...
X14. Pashto	...	2,003	17,845	...	1	14	...
X15. Punjabi	...	27,709	1,104	...	19	1	...
X16. Rajasthani	...	388	1,167	...	...	1	...
X17. Sindhi	...	431	167	...	...	...	...
X18. Tamil	...	184,107	152,258	...	126	116	...
X19. Telugu	...	160,640	155,519	...	110	118	...
X20. Western Hindi	...	192,567	158,399	...	131	120	...
Y. European Languages	...	27,895	24,441	25,204	19	19	21
Y4. English	...	26,866	24,085	...	18	18	...
Z. Other Languages	...	2,821	2,422	1,112	2	2	2



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Proportion of the population of selected language classes who speak subsidiary languages.*

NOTE.—This table has been compiled from the figures in Part II of Imperial Table XV ; only selected indigenous languages are taken into account, all other languages being ignored. The languages included in the five classes are given in Note 8 to Imperial Table XV.

1	Number per 10,000 persons whose mother-tongue is in the Burma group who				Number per 10,000 persons whose mother-tongue is in the other Tibeto-Burmese groups who				Number per 10,000 persons whose mother-tongue is in the Karen group who				Number per 10,000 persons whose mother-tongue is in the Tai (Shan) group who				Number per 10,000 persons whose mother-tongue is in the Mon-Khmer groups who								
	Speak, in addition, a subsidiary language, in				Speak, in addition, a subsidiary language, in				Speak, in addition, a subsidiary language, in				Speak, in addition, a subsidiary language, in				Speak, in addition, a subsidiary language, in								
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
PROVINCE	9,971	5	4	17	3	7,207	2,183	1	607	2	4,159	5,700	...	113	28	7,575	2,350	14	51	10	4,590	3,510	5	6	1,889
Burman	9,983	4	2	8	3	5,435	4,512	...	53	...	2,960	7,007	...	...	33	3,327	6,607	40	25	1	4,520	5,407	2	6	65
Delta	9,995	...	4	...	1	1,467	8,528	5	...	...	2,667	7,333	...	...	...	1,570	8,329	...	99	2	2,119	7,880	...	1	...
Coast	9,973	...	4	...	23	5,801	4,199	...	...	...	4,920	4,829	...	1	250	6,180	3,692	...	124	4	5,230	4,763	...	7	...
Centre	10,000	...	...	...	...	1,988	8,012	...	...	...	2,130	7,870	...	...	...	4,001	5,999	...	...	...	10,000	...	...	...	...
North	9,655	104	...	241	...	7,632	2,250	...	118	...	3,357	6,450	105	88	...	3,264	6,683	53	...	...	2,460	3,428	134	...	3,978
Chin	10,000	...	...	...	...	10,000	...	...	...	...	10,000	...	...	...	...	10,000	...	...	...	...	10,000	...	...	...	...
Salween	9,638	...	362	...	...	10,000	...	...	...	...	10,000	...	...	...	...	9,716	...	...	284	...	10,000	...	...	...	...
Shan	9,425	53	80	441	1	7,341	133	3	2,515	8	8,468	673	1	844	14	9,406	520	2	58	14	4,709	67	11	7	5,206



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Comparison of Indigenous Races and Languages.*

Race and Language.	Racial strength.	Persons of race who speak racial language.		Persons of race who speak other languages.		Persons of other races who speak racial language.	
		Actual.	Percentage of racial strength.	Actual.	Percentage of racial strength.	Actual.	Percentage of racial strength.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>A. Burma Group</b> ...	9,627,196	9,622,101	100	5,095	...	240,593	2
A1. Burmese ...	8,596,031	8,592,993	100	3,038	...	248,767	3
A2. Arakanese ...	208,251	197,419	95	10,832	5	24,526	12
A3. Yanbye ...	326,734	314,440	96	12,294	4	12,202	4
A4. Chaungtha ...	49,057	34,340	70	14,717	30	285	1
A5. Tavoyan ...	156,507	155,810	100	697	...	3,364	2
A6. Merguese ...	95,453	93,515	98	1,938	2	7,629	8
A7. Yabeln ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
A8. Yaw ...	910	871	96	39	4	6	1
A9. Danu ...	77,941	60,836	78	17,105	22	130	...
A10. Intha ...	56,901	56,472	99	429	1	357	1
A11. Taungyo ...	22,296	22,214	100	82	...	47	...
A12. Hpon ...	667	667	100	...	...	12	2
A13. Atsi ...	5,318	5,007	94	311	6	287	5
A14. Lashi ...	12,661	12,513	99	148	1	51	...
A15. Maru ...	17,780	17,375	98	405	2	72	...
A16. Maingtha ...	689	477	69	212	31	10	1
<b>B. Lolo-Muhso Group</b> ...	93,214	93,033	100	181	...	19	...
B1. Lisaw ...	19,865	19,671	99	194	1	27	...
B2. Lolo ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B3. Lahu ...	27,184	26,847	99	337	1	17	...
B4. Akö ...	1,343	1,343	100	...	...	...	...
B5. Pyin ...	473	455	96	18	4	345	73
B6. Kwi ...	3,837	3,832	100	5	...	7	...
B7. Kaw ...	40,405	40,370	100	35	...	37	...
B8. Nung ...	107	92	86	15	14	9	8
B9. Tangsir ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B10. Hopa ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B11. Watao-Khun ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
B12. Khwinpang ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>C. Kuki-Chin Group</b> ...	348,994	343,094	98	5,900	2	760	...
C1. Kathè (Meithei) ...	6,113	2,449	40	3,664	60	1,315	22
C2. Kyaw ...	234	234	100	...	...	...	...
C3. Thado ...	6,319	6,297	100	22	...	23	...
C4. Siyin ...	3,486	3,434	99	52	1	72	2
C5. Sokte ...	16,981	16,972	100	9	...	100	1
C6. Kamhow ...	19,392	19,113	99	279	1	681	4
C7. Yo ...	1,367	1,365	100	2	...	...	...
C8. Tashon ...	3,628	2,977	82	651	18	87	2
C9. Yahow ...	5,803	5,706	98	97	2	3,889	67
C10. Laizao ...	7,503	6,326	84	1,177	16	8	...
C11. Kwangli ...	4,743	3,574	75	1,169	25	40	1
C12. Ngorn ...	5,119	4,852	95	267	5	956	19
C13. Lushai ...	375	289	77	86	23	7	2
C14. Wheingo ...	4,684	3,296	70	1,388	30	182	4
C15. Lyente ...	1,611	1,561	97	50	3	10	...
C16. Zahnyet ...	6,677	6,176	92	501	8	10	...
C17. Lai ...	24,225	23,883	99	342	1	275	1
C18. Lakher ...	64	64	100	...	...	...	...
C19. Lawhtu ...	9,675	9,673	100	2	...	52	1
C20. Kwelshim ...	2,809	2,779	99	30	1	42	1
C21. Zotung ...	8,992	8,933	99	59	1	52	1
C22. Sentang ...	7,319	7,319	100	...	...	5	...
C23. Tamang ...	8,291	8,290	100	1	...	...	...
C24. Miram ...	5,329	5,271	99	58	1	1	...
C25. Zolamnai ...	2,431	2,429	100	2	...	63	3
C26. Torr ...	193	193	100	...	...	...	...
C27. Ta-oo ...	516	516	100	...	...	...	...
C28. Mgan ...	3,141	3,140	100	1	...	...	...
C29. Welaung ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C30. Chinbok ...	19,396	19,360	100	36	...	835	4
C31. Yindu ...	9	9	100	...	...	...	...
C32. Chinmè ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C33. Chinbon ...	7,888	6,641	84	1,247	16	3,627	46
C34. Taungtha ...	11,187	11,144	100	43	...	9	...
C35. Shō ...	1,010	694	69	316	31	866	86
C36. Khami ...	30,924	30,153	98	771	2	729	2



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Comparison of Indigenous Races and Languages.*

Race and Language.	Racial Strength.	Persons of race who speak racial languages.		Persons of race who speak other languages.		Persons of other races who speak racial language.	
		Actual.	Percentage of racial strength.	Actual.	Percentage of racial strength.	Actual.	Percentage of racial strength.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
C37. Ann ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
C38. Kaungtso ...	1,151	1,147	100	4	...	1	...
C39. Kavkadan ...	321	294	92	27	8	...	...
C40. Ledu ...	1,530	1,530	100	...	...	189	12
C41. Matu ...	159	154	97	5	...	...	...
C42. Sittu ...	4,214	4,214	100	...	...	68	2
C43. Chaunggyi Chin ...	183	...	...	183	100	32	17
C44. Saingbaung ...	8,019	8,019	100	...	...	12	...
C45. Chin (unspecified) ...	95,983	87,503	91	8,480	9	1,643	2
<b>D. Naga Group</b> ...	4,224	4,201	99	23	1	...	...
D1. Naga (unspecified) ...	4,159	4,158	100	1	...	1	...
D2. Tanghkul ...	65	42	65	23	35	...	...
<b>E. Kachin Group</b> ...	153,345	153,082	100	263	...	815	...
E1. Kachin ...	153,345	153,082	100	263	...	815	...
E2. Nogmung ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E3. Nüt ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E4. Pangsü ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E5. Kang ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E6. Nawngkhái ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E7. Nokkyo ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E8. Yoya ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
E9. Tawhawng ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>F. Sak (Lui) Group</b> ...	51,820	35,021	68	16,799	32	216	...
F1. Kadu ...	36,400	20,195	55	16,205	45	110	...
F2. Ganán ...	7,182	7,083	99	99	1	61	1
F3. Sak ...	693	691	100	2	...	...	...
F4. Daingnet ...	6,355	6,082	96	273	4	77	1
F5. Taman ...	1,190	933	78	257	22	5	...
F6. Malin ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>G. Mishmi Group</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
G1. Khaman-Mishmi ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>H. Mro Group</b> ...	13,766	13,559	98	207	2	535	4
H1. Mro ...	13,766	13,559	98	207	...	535	4
<b>I. Tai Group</b> ...	1,037,406	1,017,222	98	20,184	2	4,695	...
I1. Shan ...	900,204	880,574	98	19,630	2	33,805	4
I2. Shan-Tayok ...	29,183	18,100	62	11,083	38	170	1
I3. Dayè ...	701	697	99	4	1	1	...
I4. Siamese ...	11,734	8,404	72	3,330	28	244	2
I5. Hkun ...	31,279	31,205	100	74	...	29	...
I6. Lu ...	30,034	30,003	100	31	...	28	...
I7. Lao ...	7,205	7,064	98	141	2	99	1
I8. Shan-Bama ...	23,296	7,726	33	15,570	67	9	...
I9. Hkamti ...	1,121	1,103	98	18	2	...	...
I10. Annamese ...	8	8	100	...	...	...	...
I11. Tai-Lem ...	2,641	2,637	100	4	...	11	...



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Comparison of Indigenous Races and Languages.*

Race and Language.	Racial Strength.	Persons of race who speak racial strength.		Persons of race who speak other languages.		Persons of other races who speak racial language.	
		Actual.	Percentage of racial strength.	Actual.	Percentage of racial strength.	Actual.	Percentage of racial strength.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
<b>J. Malay Group</b> ...	8,323	6,361	76	1,962	24	7	...
J1. Malay ...	6,393	4,449	70	1,944	30	11	...
J2. Salon ...	1,930	1,908	99	22	1	...	...
<b>K. Mon Group</b> ...	336,728	304,683	90	32,045	10	611	...
K1. Talaing ...	336,728	304,683	90	32,045	10	611	...
<b>L. Palaung-Wa Group</b> ...	176,382	175,957	100	425	...	67	...
L1. Wa ...	10,465	10,289	98	176	2	1	...
L2. Danaw ...	1,157	1,157	100	...	...	2	...
L3. En ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
L4. Khamuk ...	194	136	70	58	30	55	28
L5. Lem ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
L6. Tai-Loi ...	11,856	11,850	100	6	...	2	...
L7. Yang (unspecified) ...	420	407	97	11	3	64	15
L8. Yanglam ...	10,867	10,724	99	143	1	1	...
L9. Yangsek ...	2,677	2,676	100	1	...	4	...
L10. Palaung ...	138,746	138,434	100	312	...	222	...
L11. Palé ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>M. Khasi Group</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
<b>N. Karen Group</b> ...	13,67,673	13,37,628	98	30,045	2	3,438	...
N1. Karen (unspecified) ...	38,067	35,838	94	2,229	6	11,188	29
N2. Sgaw ...	518,040	496,867	96	21,173	4	2,922	1
N3. Paku ...	8,112	8,080	100	32	...	540	7
N4. Wewaw ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
N5. Monnepwa ...	2,131	1,093	51	1,038	49	1,033	48
N6. Bwè ...	6,316	6,165	98	131	2	62	1
N7. Brek ...	6,695	6,695	100	...	...	...	...
N8. Karenbyu ...	16,187	15,289	94	898	6	10	...
N9. Pwo ...	487,824	471,717	97	16,107	3	2,003	...
N10. Mopwa ...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...
N11. Taungthu ...	225,822	222,154	98	3,668	2	560	...
N12. Padaung ...	16,483	16,467	100	16	...	18	...
N13. Yinbaw ...	2,925	2,921	100	4	...	1	...
N14. Gheko ...	3,829	3,817	100	12	...	258	7
N15. Karenni ...	31,429	31,287	100	142	...	269	1
N16. Zayein ...	3,736	3,736	100	...	...	1	...
N17. Talaing-Kalasi ...	77	73	95	4	5	...	...
<b>O. Man Group</b> ...	951	947	100	4	...	...	...
O1. Miao ...	831	830	100	1	...	...	...
O2. Yao ...	120	117	98	3	3	...	...
<b>R. Chinese Group</b> ...	193,594	177,637	92	15,957	8	679	...
R1. Yunnanese ...	67,691	67,114	99	577	1	121	...
R2. Cantonese ...	33,990	31,723	93	2,267	7	255	1
R3. Fukienese ...	50,038	44,099	88	5,939	12	19	...
R4. Other and unspecified Chinese.	41,875	34,223	82	7,652	18	762	2



SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Distribution by Language-groups of the population of each district and natural division.*

District and Natural Division.	Total Population.	Number per 10,000 of the population speaking a language of the following language groups.									
		Burma.	Kuki-Chin.	Kachin.	Tai (Shan).	Món (Talaing).	Palauing-Wa.	Karen.	Chinese.	Indian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	14,647,497	6,733	235	105	698	208	120	916	122	737	126
<b>Burman</b> ...	12,856,207	7,517	123	70	240	237	4	835	88	811	74
<i>Delta</i> ...	5,435,058	6,861	17	...	77	122	...	1,695	142	1,048	38
Rangoon ...	400,415	3,492	5	...	12	3	...	75	676	5,353	383
Insein ...	331,452	7,169	8	2	168	10	...	1,110	137	1,323	73
Hanthawaddy ...	408,831	7,502	...	...	63	9	...	652	115	1,639	20
Tharrawaddy ...	508,319	9,078	25	...	58	...	...	516	47	273	4
Pegu ...	489,969	7,783	27	...	116	146	...	740	138	1,045	6
Bassein ...	571,043	7,171	17	...	10	8	...	2,243	103	442	7
Henzada ...	613,280	8,711	73	...	8	...	...	966	41	200	2
Myaungmya ...	444,784	6,587	...	...	5	3	...	2,636	149	618	1
Maubin ...	371,509	6,471	...	...	3	2	...	3,054	94	374	1
Pyapôn ...	334,158	8,175	...	...	5	7	...	622	168	1,023	1
Toungoo ...	428,670	6,733	14	...	379	20	...	2,050	81	704	18
Thatôn ...	532,628	3,063	...	...	126	1,066	...	4,987	78	678	2
<i>Coast</i> ...	1,845,301	5,472	304	...	159	1,293	...	768	86	1,770	148
Akyab ...	637,580	5,161	461	...	...	...	...	...	7	4,075	296
Kyaukpyu ...	220,292	8,900	826	...	...	...	...	...	6	266	1
Sandoway ...	129,245	9,137	648	...	...	...	...	1	11	198	4
Amherst ...	516,233	2,014	...	...	326	4,564	...	2,064	162	838	32
Tavoy ...	179,964	8,608	...	...	4	150	...	748	158	321	12
Mergui ...	161,987	6,652	...	1	767	17	...	1,342	239	578	405
<i>Centre</i> ...	4,823,979	9,517	175	2	13	...	...	21	23	236	13
Prome ...	410,651	9,176	339	3	20	...	...	112	49	298	3
Thayetmyo ...	274,177	9,030	816	...	1	...	...	2	22	126	2
Pakôkku ...	499,181	9,509	431	...	1	...	...	1	8	48	2
Minbu ...	277,876	9,140	697	...	...	...	...	...	19	142	1
Magwe ...	499,573	9,578	46	...	...	...	...	3	23	334	17
Mandalay ...	371,636	8,519	67	26	120	...	...	21	76	1,063	107
Kyaukse ...	151,320	9,806	2	...	11	...	...	2	22	156	3
Meiktila ...	309,999	9,801	...	...	1	...	4	3	8	177	6
Yamethin ...	390,820	9,484	45	...	10	...	...	109	31	313	9
Myingyan ...	472,557	9,911	...	...	2	...	...	1	12	73	1
Shwebo ...	446,790	9,844	1	...	1	...	...	...	16	135	3
Sagaing ...	335,965	9,876	15	...	1	...	...	1	5	100	3
Lower Chindwin ...	383,434	9,915	1	...	1	...	...	1	12	68	2
<i>North</i> ...	751,869	4,451	119	1,174	3,077	...	67	8	125	428	550
Bhamo ...	121,193	2,652	2	3,860	2,851	...	25	14	205	270	121
Myitkyina ...	171,524	2,273	16	2,333	3,622	...	...	3	235	973	545
Katha ...	254,170	6,500	3	57	1,890	...	187	12	406	271	973
Upper Chindwin ...	204,982	4,797	417	2	4,228	...	...	2	10	261	282
<b>Chin</b> ...	192,655	124	9,629	...	...	...	...	1	4	115	126
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	21,418	1,053	7,595	...	...	...	...	...	...	231	1,121
Chin Hills ...	171,237	8	9,884	...	...	...	...	2	5	101	1
<b>Salween</b> ...	111,947	394	...	2	1,383	15	7	7,934	36	227	2
Salween ...	53,186	412	...	...	771	22	10	8,599	28	155	2
Karenni ...	58,761	378	1	4	1,937	8	4	7,331	43	292	2
<b>Shan</b> ...	1,486,688	1,287	...	433	4,694	...	1,148	1,201	432	221	584
Northern Shan States ...	616,458	770	...	1,033	4,690	...	1,994	9	978	344	182
Southern Shan States ...	870,230	1,654	...	8	4,697	...	549	2,045	46	134	868



## CHAPTER XI.

### Religion.

**122. Enumeration.**—The following instructions were issued to enumerators for filling in the column for religion in the enumeration schedule:—

"Column 6 (Religion).—Enter in this column the religion which each person returns, e.g., Buddhist, Animist, Hindu, Mahomedan, Sikh, Jain, Christian, Jew, Confucian, etc. For children ask the parents according to which religion the children are being brought up. In the case of Christians the sect must be entered in brackets after the word "Christian." Do not write "Protestant." For a person who says he is a Mussalman, Moslem or Pathi, write "Mahomedan." Care must be taken not to enter Jains and Sikhs as Hindus. Similarly Brahmos and Aryas should be recorded as such. In the case of Indians be careful not to enter their *race* or *caste* in this column. Illiterate Indians should not be asked "What is your religion?" but "are you a Hindu, Mahomedan, Sikh, Jain, etc.?" and they will then know what is required. A list of the principal religions and Christian sects found in this province is given on the cover of the enumeration book."

Previous censuses have shown that special precautions are necessary if the Christian sects are to be correctly entered in the enumeration schedules and a circular containing the instructions to be followed was therefore issued to all Deputy Commissioners. Copies of this circular were sent to the heads of the different sects, and they were asked to communicate the instructions to their leading representatives in the districts.

**123. Statistical References.**—The main statistical table for Religion is Imperial Table XVI. At previous censuses figures for age, sex and civil condition and for age, sex and literacy were given for each of the religious classes in India, including Burma. For the 1931 census in Burma a classification by race instead of by religion was considered more appropriate for the civil condition and literacy tables and accordingly in Imperial Tables VII and XIII figures have been given for racial classes; separate figures have, however, been given for Indian Hindus, Indian Muslims, and other Indians in these two tables. In Imperial Table V the population of each town is classified by religion. Christians are classified by Sect and Race in Provincial Table IV: at the last census the corresponding table was Imperial Table XV. In Provincial Table V Indians are classified by race and religion and according to whether they were born in Burma or outside Burma. In Imperial Table XVII, which classifies the population by race, there is a further classification by religion.

In addition the following subsidiary tables have been compiled and are appended to this Chapter:—

- I.—General distribution of the population by religion and its variation since 1901.
- II.—Proportion of each religion per 10,000 persons in each district and natural division at each census since 1891.
- III.—Christians of Indigenous and Indian Races.
- IV.—Religions of Urban and Rural Populations.

**124. Accuracy of the Statistics.**—At the 1931 census Buddhism was the professed religion of about five-sixths of the population. There are several paragraphs on Buddhism in the 1891 Census Report and in paragraph 47 the opinion is expressed that Buddhism in Burma is "but a thin veneer of philosophy laid over the main structure of Shamanistic belief" and that "the main basis of the religious feelings of the laity, and especially of the country folk, is *nat*-worship and not Buddhism." This view was also accepted by the Census Superintendents of 1901 and 1911. Mr. Grantham, however, did not subscribe to this view and his reasons for differing are given in paragraph 75 of the 1921 Census Report. It is not, however, proposed to discuss the question here: readers who are interested may read the paragraphs on Buddhism in previous Census Reports and form their own opinion. Enumerators were required to record the religion claimed by each person and the figures for Buddhists represent those who preferred to be known as Buddhists.

The Chinese also believe in spirits, but their spirits are different from those of the indigenous races of Burma. The religion of the ordinary Chinamen is usually a mixture of several religions. The ordinary Burmese enumerator knows little or nothing about the beliefs of the Chinaman, except that they are



connected with spirits of some kind or another, and the result is that the majority of Chinamen are recorded as Animists. The particular religion recorded for Chinamen is therefore largely a matter of accident and it is probable that most of the Chinese other than Christians and Muslims would be more correctly described as Taoists or Confucians.

There is no reason to believe that the figures for Hindus and Muslims are not correct. Where a block (an enumerator's charge) contained a large number of Indians an Indian enumerator was employed, whenever possible, but in most cases the enumerators were Burmese. The ordinary Burmese enumerator is not distinguished for his linguistic ability but he often knows sufficient Hindustani to be able to ask an Indian whether he is a *Hindu-walla* or a *Musalaman*; in other cases the services of an interpreter or a friend who knows Hindustani might be called in. In many cases it is possible to tell a man's religion from his appearance.

A few Indian Animists were recorded. In paragraph 78 of the 1921 Census Report it is pointed out that the primitive Indian tribes who are called Animists in India do not migrate to Burma and that the Indians who were recorded as Animists in Burma were people enumerated by a rustic Burman who had little conception of religions other than Buddhism and spirit worship, and really meant *non-Buddhist* by his record. For this census therefore the small number of Indian Animists have been included among the Hindus.

**125. Distribution by Religion since 1891.**—The figures for each religion are given in marginal table 1. The figures for Buddhists in this table include Chinese Buddhists while those for Animists include Chinese Animists. In making a comparison with the distribution for previous censuses Mr. Grantham in the 1921 Census Report excluded the Chinese Buddhists and Animists from the figures for Buddhists and Animists, respectively, on the grounds that a better comparison could be made by doing so; he also included the Indian Animists in the figures for Hindus.

1. Distribution by religion in 1931.		
Religion	Actual Number.	Per 1,000.
Buddhist ...	12,348,037	843
Animist ...	763,243	52
Hindu ...	570,953	39
Muslim ...	584,839	40
Christian ...	331,106	23
Others ...	49,319	3
Total ...	14,647,497	1,000

The proportions calculated in this way for 1921 and the three previous censuses are given in marginal table 2, together with the corresponding figures for 1931; separate proportions for males and females in 1931 have also been given.

It will be noticed that there has been a continuous decline in the proportion of Buddhists since 1891, and corresponding increases in the proportions of Hindus, Muslims and Christians.

The decline in the proportion of Buddhists is not, of course, a decline in absolute numbers but merely indicates a slower rate of increase than the Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The figures for the different censuses are not strictly comparable since they do not

2. Proportional distribution by religion.							
Religion.	Males.	Females.	Persons.				
	1931.	1931.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.
Buddhist ...	810	871	840	848	857	885	903
Hindu ...	57	20	39	37	32	28	23
Muslim ...	49	31	40	38	35	33	33
Christian ...	23	22	23	20	17	14	16
Others ...	61	56	58	57	59	40	25
Total ...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

cover the same area. The areas to which the census has been extended since 1891 have been largely occupied by Buddhists and Animists and this has tended to depress the figures for Hindus, Muslims and Christians. The proportion of Hindus has increased faster than that of Muslims but the latter are still in the majority. The large increases for these two religions are, of course, mainly due to immigration; in the case of Muslims, inter-marriage of Indian Muslims with females of indigenous races is also partly responsible. The steady increase in the proportion of Christians from 14 per thousand in



1901 to 23 per thousand in 1931 is due to conversions from other religions. The class "Others" in marginal table 2 is mainly composed of Animists of indigenous races and Chinese (other than Christians and Muslims) and the large increase in the proportion in this class between 1891 and 1911 is due to the extension of the census to areas containing a large number of persons in this class. Since 1911 there has been very little change: the proportion of Animists has been reduced by conversions to Christianity and Buddhism while the proportion of Chinese has been increased by immigration, and the small reduction in the proportion for this class from 59 to 58 per thousand is the result of these two opposing factors. It will be noticed that Hindu and Muslim males together make up 10·6 per cent of the total male population, compared with 10·3 per cent in 1921 while the females make up 5·1 per cent of the total female population, compared with 4·6 per cent in 1921. The maintenance of the existing proportions of Hindus and Muslims is dependent on the continuance of immigration; owing to the sex disparity, particularly among the Hindus, the deaths exceed the births. The sex disparity has been reduced during the last thirty years, particularly in the case of Hindus, the number of females per 1,000 males in 1901 and 1931 being 205 and 333, respectively, for Hindus, and 542 and 607, respectively, for Muslims. The sex-ratio of Muslims is also discussed in paragraph 129.

**126. Buddhists.**—The Buddhists have increased from 11,201,943 in 1921 to 12,348,037 in 1931, *i.e.*, by 1,146,094 or 10·23 per cent. The non-Buddhists, on the other hand, have increased from 1,967,156 in 1921 to 2,299,460 in 1931, *i.e.*, by 332,304 or 16·89 per cent; these figures cover the areas that were enumerated by religion at the censuses in question, *i.e.*, figures for the estimated areas are excluded. In 1931 the area formerly known as the unadministered portion of the Pakôkku Hill Tracts, the Somra Tract and part of the Chin Hills district were enumerated by religion for the first time. These three areas had a population in 1931 of 32,958, and practically all the inhabitants would be Animists. If they are all taken to be non-Buddhists the increase in the number of non-Buddhists in the area enumerated by religion at both censuses is reduced to 299,346\* (332,304—32,958) or 15·22 per cent. This figure is very much greater than the increase in the number of Buddhists, namely 10·23 per cent. The large increase in the number of non-Buddhists is due to immigration, mainly of Indians and Chinese. The non-Buddhists have been increasing at a greater rate than the Buddhists for many decades. This can be seen from marginal table 3 which shows that the percentage of Buddhists

3. Percentage of Buddhists in the total population of natural divisions.					
Natural Division.	Actual number of Buddhists in 1931.	Percentage of total population in			
		1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
Province ...	12,348,037	84·30	85·06	85·72	88·62
Burman ...	11,100,371	86·34	86·89	87·83	89·58
Delta ...	4,552,857	83·77	84·14	85·32	87·95
Coast ...	1,377,600	74·65	75·03	75·99	75·99
Centre ...	4,598,021	95·32	95·88	96·02	96·42
North ...	571,893	76·06	75·76	78·27	85·57
Chin ...	2,751	1·43	1·65	1·14	1·65
Salween ...	44,678	39·91	40·12	38·54	...
Shan ...	1,200,237	80·73	82·73	83·63	90·98

in the total population has fallen from 88·62 in 1901 to 84·30 in 1931. The extensions at the 1911 and subsequent censuses consisted of areas in which the inhabitants are mainly Animists and this has tended to depress some of the percentages, *e.g.*, the decrease in the North subdivision between 1911 and 1921 is largely due to the extension of the census in 1921 to parts of Myitkyina district. Marginal table 3 shows,

however, that the percentage of Buddhists has declined in all subdivisions of the Burman natural division, except the North subdivision, where there has been a slight increase since 1921. The decline has been least in the Centre subdivision where the percentage has fallen from 96·42 to 95·32 during the last thirty years. The maintenance of this high percentage of Buddhists in the Centre subdivision is rather striking when one considers that there has been a considerable amount of immigration of Indians since 1901. For instance, Subsidiary Table IX of Chapter I shows that Buddhists of the Centre subdivi-

\* This figure differs slightly from that given in paragraph 15 of Chapter I since the area covered by the figures is not the same.



sion have increased by only 8·8 per cent since 1921, whereas non-Buddhists have increased by 25·1 per cent. The percentage of Buddhists in the total population of the Centre subdivision is, however, so large that it requires a very large percentage increase in the number of non-Buddhists to effect a small reduction in the proportion of Buddhists in the total population.

Immigration from India is largely responsible for the reduction in the percentage of Buddhists in the total population of the Delta from 89·80 per cent in 1891 to 83·77 in 1931. The reduction was particularly marked between 1891 and 1911; since 1911 it has shown a tendency to slow up, the reduction during the last decade being from 84·14 to 83·77 per cent. Subsidiary Table IX of Chapter I shows that during 1911—21 Buddhists of the Delta increased by 9·7 per cent and non-Buddhists by 20·2 per cent; in 1921—31 Buddhists increased by 12·2 per cent and non-Buddhists by 15·4 per cent. The difference between the two rates of increase has been reduced considerably and it is possible that the next census will show an increase in the percentage of Buddhists in the Delta subdivision. It depends largely on the migration between India and Burma.

The percentage of Buddhists in the Coast subdivision is much smaller than in the Centre subdivision. Both Akyab and Amherst contain large Indian populations and there is also a fair number of Animists, particularly among the Chins and Mros in the Arakan portion. The percentage of Buddhists in the Coast subdivision has not appreciably changed since 1901. There has been a considerable amount of Indian immigration but conversions from Animism have probably helped to maintain the percentage of Buddhists. At the 1921 census, and presumably at previous censuses also, there was a considerable amount of under-enumeration in the Amherst and Sandoway districts (see paragraph 16 of Chapter I) and this is probably the reason for the small decrease between 1921 and 1931, since most of the inhabitants of the omitted areas would be Buddhists.

In the North subdivision only about three-quarters of the population are Buddhists, about two-thirds of the remainder being Animists. The small increase in the percentage of Buddhists between 1921 and 1931 is probably due to conversions from Animism.

In the Chin division the inhabitants are practically all Animists, less than 2 per cent being Buddhists. The small decrease in the percentage of Buddhists since 1921 may be due to the extension of the census area.

In the Salween division only about 40 per cent of the population are Buddhists; 47 per cent are Animists and 10 per cent Christians. The inhabitants are mainly Karens and Shans. In the Salween district the Karens are practically all Sgaw Karens and there are approximately equal numbers of Animists and Buddhists. There are not many Buddhists among the Karens of Karenni, the majority being Animists and the remainder mostly Christians. The Shans are practically all Buddhists.

In the Shan division the percentage of Buddhists has fallen from 82·73 in 1921 to 80·73 in 1931. This appears to be mainly due to immigration of Indians and Chinese. Subsidiary Table VIII of Chapter I shows that Buddhists increased by only 3·1 per cent; Indians on the other hand increased by 95 per cent and Chinese by 22 per cent.

**127. Animists.**—The Animists have increased from 702,587 in 1921 to 763,243 in 1931, *i.e.*, by 60,656 or 8·6 per cent. Part of this increase is due to an extension of the census area. In the previous paragraph the population in 1931 of the area enumerated by religion for the first time in 1931 is given as 32,958, and if the number of persons in this area, other than Animists, is taken to be 500 then the increase in the number of Animists in the area enumerated by religion at both censuses is reduced

†. Chinese classified by religion in 1921 and 1931.

Religion.	1921.			1931.		
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Animism ...	103,340	70,716	32,624	112,855	75,431	37,424
Buddhism ...	28,959	19,282	9,677	43,399	27,986	15,413
Confucianism ...	14,131	9,964	4,167	34,112	21,510	12,602
Others ...	2,630	1,915	715	3,228	2,122	1,106
Total ...	149,060	101,877	47,183	193,594	127,049	66,545



to 28,198 (60,656—32,458), which is an increase of only 4·0 per cent. It has already been mentioned in paragraph 124 that the religion recorded for the Chinese is largely a matter of accident. In marginal table 4 figures are given for 1921 and 1931. It will be noticed that a much larger proportion of Chinese was recorded as Animists in 1921 than in 1931. The unreliability of the figures can be gauged from the fact that at the 1921 census 51,513 Chinese were recorded in the Shan States as Animists and only 4 as Confucians, whereas at the 1931 census, 45,812 were recorded as Animists and 16,125 as Confucians. It has also been mentioned in paragraph 124 that in 1921 some Indians were recorded and classified as Animists, whereas in 1931 Indian Animists were treated as Hindus. The number of Indians classified as Animists in 1921 was 6,425. In comparing the figures for Animists at the 1921 and 1931 censuses it is therefore advisable to exclude the figures for Chinese and Indian Animists. If this is done the number of Animists in 1921 is reduced to 592,822 (702,587—103,340—6,425) and the corresponding number in 1931 for the same area is 617,930 (763,243—32,458—112,855), which is an increase of 25,108 or 4·2 per cent. This is very much less than the increase for the total population and is largely due to conversions to Buddhism and Christianity.

The percentage of Animists in each natural division is given in Subsidiary Table I. The figures in the table are those recorded at the census, except that Indian Animists have been treated as Hindus. It will be noticed that Animists now represent a little over 5 per cent of the population. The proportion of Animists varies considerably in different parts of the province and varies from about one per cent in the Delta and Centre subdivisions to 14 per cent in the Shan division and 96 per cent in the Chin division. If Chinese Animists were excluded the proportion of Animists in the Shan division and in each subdivision of the Burman natural division would be appreciably reduced.

**128. Hindus.**—At the 1931 census figures for Aryas and Brahmos were included in those for Hindus, whereas in 1921 separate figures were given for them; at previous censuses they were not recorded but it is probable that they were treated as Hindus. In 1931 the number of Hindus enumerated was 570,953. This figure includes the Aryas and Brahmos and the Indians who were recorded as Animists. In 1921 the number of Hindus was 484,432 and, if the Aryas and Brahmos and Indian Animists are added, the total becomes 491,575\* (484,432+718+6,425). The increase is therefore 79,378 or 16·1 per cent.

Figures are not available for the different Hindu castes. In 1891, 1901 and 1911 attempts were made to record castes in Burma but the figures obtained were quite unreliable and at subsequent censuses no record of caste was made. Among Hindus in Burma the same importance is not attached to caste as in India proper and Burmese enumerators know nothing at all about the different castes. Many of the Hindus in Burma, and particularly the Telugu unskilled labourers, do not belong to any caste. The Indian Christians in Burma are largely recruited from the non-caste and low caste Hindus.

Figures for the percentage of Hindus in the total population at the last

5. Percentage of Hindus in the total population, by natural divisions.					
Natural Division.	Actual number of Hindus in 1931.	Percentage of total population in			
		1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
Province ...	570,953	3·90	3·68	3·21	2·75
Burman ...	541,759	4·21	4·08	3·64	3·06
Delta ...	388,049	7·14	7·10	6·47	5·31
Coast ...	54,227	2·94	3·20	3·04	3·36
Centre ...	74,119	1·54	1·29	1·07	0·80
North ...	25,364	3·37	2·74	2·19	1·84
Chin ...	1,808	0·94	1·59	1·23	1·34
Salween ...	1,677	1·50	0·57	0·41	...
Shan ...	25,709	1·73	0·90	0·44	0·42

four censuses are given for each natural division in marginal table 5. The percentages for the different censuses are not strictly comparable but they are sufficiently reliable to enable the deduction to be made that there has been a steady increase in the percentage of Hindus since 1901, although even now Hindus form slightly less than 4 per cent of the population. About two-

thirds of the Hindus in the province are to be found in the Delta subdivision, the

\* In Subsidiary Table VIII of Chapter I the 1921 and 1931 figures for Aryas and Brahmos have been included in the figures for Hindus; figures for Indian Animists have not been included in the 1921 and 1911 figures for Hindus since for 1911 the number is not known.



Centre coming next with only 13 per cent. It will be noticed that during the last decade there has been very little change in the proportion of Hindus in the Delta subdivision. The decline in the Coast subdivision is almost entirely due to the smaller number of Hindus in Amherst district and may be due to the reduced demand in that district for unskilled labour or to the replacement of Indian labourers by those of indigenous races. Both the Centre and North subdivisions show considerable increases in the proportion of Hindus but the Shan and Salween divisions show much the largest increases. There has been a considerable increase in the number of Gurkhas in the Shan States and the works of the Burma Corporation have also provided increased employment for Indians.

Hindus are largely concentrated in towns; they form 20 per cent of the urban population and only 2 per cent of the rural population. The number of Hindus enumerated in towns was 309,043, which is 54 per cent of the total number of Hindus in the province.

The sex disparity of the Hindus is referred to in paragraph 125. There are now only three males to every female compared with five in 1901.

**129. Muslims.**—At the last census the word *Mahomedan* was used; *Muslim* has been used at this census as it is understood to be more correct and is preferred by those who profess this religion.

The Muslims have increased from 500,592 in 1921 to 584,839 in 1931, *i.e.*, by 84,247 or 16·8 per cent. The racial classification of the Muslims is given in marginal table 9 of paragraph 131, which shows that the bulk of the Muslims belong to Indian and Indo-Burman races. There is a considerable amount of inter-marriage between Indian Muslims and females of the indigenous races of the province and the offspring usually become Muslims. The large increase in the number of Muslims is to a certain extent due to these mixed marriages. Marriages between Indian Hindus and females of indigenous races are less frequent and the offspring usually adopt the religion of the mother. Figures for the proportion of Muslims in each natural division for the last four censuses are given in marginal table

6. Muslims now form 4 per cent of the total population, which is slightly larger than the percentage for Hindus. The distribution of the Muslims is very unequal: 41 per cent are found in one district alone—Akyab—and this accounts for the large percentage (52) in the Coast subdivision; most of the remainder are found in the Delta and Centre subdivisions.

6. Percentage of Muslims in the total population by natural divisions.

Natural Division.	Actual number of Muslims in 1931.	Percentage of total population in			
		1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
Province ...	584,839	3·99	3·80	3·47	3·28
Burman ...	576,740	4·49	4·31	3·98	3·69
Delta ...	182,612	3·36	3·27	2·93	2·48
Coast ...	304,828	16·52	16·26	15·40	15·24
Centre ...	81,538	1·69	1·60	1·51	1·35
North ...	7,762	1·03	1·01	1·23	1·18
Chin ...	153	0·08	0·07	0·12	0·10
Salween ...	794	0·71	0·67	0·60	...
Shan ...	7,152	0·48	0·33	0·21	0·23

Outside Akyab district the Muslims are largely concentrated in towns. In the whole province 32·7 per cent of the Muslims were enumerated in towns, whereas if Akyab district is excluded the percentage is increased to 52·1, which is slightly less than the percentage for Hindus. Similarly, in the whole province 12·6 per cent of the urban population and 3·0 per cent of the rural population are Muslims, but if Akyab district is excluded these percentages are reduced to 12·0 and 1·3, respectively.

It has already been mentioned in paragraph 125 that among the Muslims the number of females per 1,000 males has increased from 542 in 1901 to 607 in 1931. These proportions are greater than those for Hindus because a much larger proportion of the Muslims are permanently resident in Burma. The Muslims are mostly composed of Indian and Indo-Burman races. The sex-ratios for these two racial classes differ considerably; among the Muslims belonging to Indo-Burman races there is an excess of females (1,022 per 1,000 males) while among Indian Muslims there are only 461 females per 1,000 males. In Akyab district where many of the Indian Muslims are permanently resident there are 787 females per 1,000 males, while in the rest of the province there are only 246. Thus outside Akyab district there is only one female to every four males among the Indian Muslims, which is a smaller proportion than that for Hindus in the whole province, namely one to every three males.



### 130. Christians.—Marginal table 7 shows that since 1901 there has been

7. Percentage of Christians in the total population by natural divisions.

Natural Division.	Actual number of Christians in 1931.	Percentage of total population in			
		1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
Province ...	331,106	2.26	1.95	1.73	1.42
Burman ...	294,713	2.29	2.03	1.90	1.59
<i>Delta</i> ...	229,932	4.23	3.93	3.81	3.26
<i>Coast</i> ...	25,201	1.37	1.10	1.01	0.81
<i>Centre</i> ...	22,257	0.46	0.43	0.40	0.33
<i>North</i> ...	17,323	2.30	0.97	0.51	0.30
Chin ...	2,433	1.26	0.56	0.14	0.03
Salween ...	11,710	10.46	9.07	3.74	...
Shan ...	22,250	1.50	0.93	0.48	0.16

a steady increase in the proportion of Christians in each part of the province. About 69 per cent of the Christians are to be found in the Delta subdivision, which compares with 79 per cent in 1911. The increases have been greatest in the more remote parts of the province, such as the North subdivision and the Chin and Shan divisions, which contain large numbers of Animists. The propor-

tion of Christians to the total population varies considerably in different parts of the province. In the Salween division Christians amount to 10 per cent of the population whereas in the Centre subdivision, the stronghold of Buddhism, they amount to only one-half per cent of the population. As regards individual districts and states, Karenni has the largest proportion of Christians, namely 17 per cent, while Toungoo, Bhamo, Rangoon and Bassein come next with 10, 9, 8 and 7 per cent, respectively; Insein and Mergui each have 6 per cent.

### 131. Religion and Race.—In marginal table 8, Buddhists have been classified by race and the proportions for 1921 have also been given. Chinese

8. Buddhists classified by Race.			
Race-group.	1931.		1921.
	Actual number.	Per 1,000.	Per 1,000.
Burma ...	9,574,053	778.1	771.1
Kuki-Chin ...	67,712	5.5	6.0
Sak (Lui) ...	51,772	4.2	4.4
Tai (Shan) ...	1,030,686	83.8	90.4
Mon (Talaing) ...	335,821	27.3	28.9
Palaung-Wa ...	173,063	14.1	13.7
Karen ...	1,049,613	85.3	84.5
Indo-Burman Races ...	5,315	0.4	0.1
Indian Races ...	12,600	1.0	0.6
Others ...	4,003	0.3	0.3
Total ...	12,304,638	1,000	1,000

Buddhists have been excluded as in 1921 (*see* marginal table 7 of paragraph 81 of the 1921 Report). It will be seen that the Burma group of races is responsible for 78 per cent of the Buddhists, Burmese having 70 per cent and the closely related races, Arakanese, Yanbye, Tavoyan and Merguese, 6 per cent. Practically all the Burmese (99.8 per cent) are Buddhists. The increase in the proportion of Buddhists in the Burma group during 1921—31 from 771 to 778 per 1,000 is probably due to certain Buddhists having returned themselves as belonging to a race of the Burma group at the 1931 census and to a race of another group at the 1921 census. In this connection the drop in the proportion of Buddhists

in the Tai (Shan) group from 90 to 84 per 1,000 is significant, as there is a tendency for Shans to pass themselves off as Burmans. The Shans are not being converted to any other religion. In 1921, 99.19 per cent of the Shans were Buddhists compared with 99.35 per cent in 1931. The drop in the proportion of Buddhists in the Chin group is probably due to the extension of the census limits in the Chin Hills district, where most of the Chins are Animists. The Buddhist Chins are mostly found in the Centre and Delta subdivisions. Shan and Karen races each make up  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of the total number of Buddhists. Only about three-quarters of the Karens are Buddhists: 16 per cent are Christians and the remainder, Animists. The proportion of Buddhists among the Karens has declined since 1921 from 77.3 to 76.7 per cent while that of Christians has increased from 14.6 to 16.0 per cent; the proportion of Animists has declined from 8.1 to 7.2 per cent. Indian Buddhists have increased from 7,155 to 12,600; one Buddhist in a thousand is now an Indian compared with one in 1,600 in 1921.

Practically all the Hindus are Indians. A few thousand are Kathè (Meithei), which, in the racial classification, has been treated as an indigenous race and included in the Kuki-Chin group.



Figures for Muslims classified by race are given in marginal table 9. The proportions at the 1921 census are given in the last column. Myedus were treated as Indians at the 1921 census and as a race of the Indo-Burman group at the 1931 census. For the calculation of the proportions for 1921 they have all been treated as Muslims, belonging to the Indo-Burman group of races and as being born in Burma. The table shows that 68 per cent of the Muslims are Indians while 30 per cent belong to Indo-Burman races (mostly Zerbadis and Arakan Mahomedans). Most of the Indian Muslims were born in Burma. This is due to

the large number of Muslims permanently resident in Akyab district; out of the 223,761 Muslims who were born in Burma, as many as 164,442 or 73 per cent were enumerated in Akyab district. The decrease since 1921 in the proportion of Muslims belonging to Indian races and the corresponding increase for Indo-Burman races is mainly due to the fact that Muslims of Indo-Burman races are increasing at a faster rate than Indian Muslims. The high rate of increase for Indo-Burman races is partly due to the inter-marriage of Indian Muslims with females of indigenous races: the offspring belong to the Indo-Burman group of races and are usually brought up as Muslims. Actually the increase in the Muslims of the Indo-Burman races during 1921—31 was as much as 42 per cent, whereas the Indian Muslims increased by only 10 per cent. These figures do not, however, represent the facts. At the last census many Arakan Mahomedans were recorded as Indians (*see* paragraph 16 of Chapter I). The number cannot be estimated at all accurately but there is no doubt that the increase in the Muslims of Indo-Burman races was much less than 42 per cent while the increase in the Indian Muslims was more than 10 per cent. The decrease in the proportion of Burmese Muslims from 17 to 4 per 1,000 is probably due to some Zerbadis having returned themselves as Burmese in 1921 and this would also contribute to the large increase in the proportion belonging to Indo-Burman races. Most of the Burmese Muslims are females, and it is probable that many of them are wives of Indian Muslims.

Christians are classified by sect and race in Provincial Table IV. The proportions in certain race-groups are given in marginal table 10. It will be

noticed that two-thirds of the Christians are Karens. Indigenous races make up 81 per cent of the Christians, Europeans and Anglo-Indians 9 per cent and Indians 9 per cent, the remaining one per cent being mainly Chinese and Zerbadis. The proportion of Karen Christians to the total number of Christians has fallen since 1921 from 693 to 661 per 1,000. This is because the Karen Christians have increased by 23 per cent while Christians of other races have increased by 42 per cent; the total number of Christians has increased by 29 per cent. Subsidiary Table III shows that Christians of indigenous races increased by 29 per cent and Indian Christians by 33 per cent. It might also be mentioned

that European and Anglo-Indian Christians increased by 20 per cent. The

9. Muslims classified by Race.					
Race.	Population in 1931.			Per 1,000 of total population in	
	Males.	Females.	Persons.	1931.	1921.
Indians born in Burma.	116,240	107,521	223,761	383	395
Indians born outside Burma.	155,274	17,559	172,833	296	326
Indo-Burman Races	87,092	89,022	176,114	301	249
Chinese ...	945	529	1,474	3	3
Burmese ...	392	2,163	2,555	4	17
Malay ...	3,282	3,040	6,322	11	9
Others ...	599	1,181	1,780	3	...
Total ...	363,824	221,015	584,839	1,000	1,000

10. Christians classified by Race.				
Race-group.	Actual number.		Per 1,000.	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1921.
Burma ...	14,596	14,611	44	57
Karen ...	218,790	178,225	661	693
Other indigenous races.	35,124	14,924	106	58
Europeans and Allied races.	11,553	8,630	35	33
Anglo-Indians ...	18,788	16,658	57	65
Indians ...	30,135	22,602	91	88
Others ...	2,120	1,456	6	6
Total ...	331,106	257,106	1,000	1,000



increase in the proportion of European Christians during 1921—31 from 33 to 35 per 1,000 is probably due to a bigger proportion of Anglo-Indian Christians having been classified as Europeans at the 1931 census than in 1921; it is better to compare the proportion for Europeans and Anglo-Indians combined and it will be noticed that this has fallen from 98 to 92 per 1,000 since 1921. The decrease for the Burma group is due to a reduction in the number of Burmese, Tavoyan and Merguese Christians from 13,844 in 1921 to 11,480 in 1931. On the other hand, Christians of other races in the Burma group have had considerable increases, *e.g.*, Lashi Christians have increased from 191 to 1,063 and Maru Christians from 178 to 1,266. Christians of other Animist races have also had considerable increases, *e.g.*, Kachin Christians from 4,551 to 15,532, Chin Christians from 4,046 to 7,821 and Christians belonging to races of the Lolo-Muhso group from 4,434 to 8,433. About 72 per cent of the Indian Christians are Tamils, and more than half of the remainder are Telugus.

### 132. Christian Sects.—Figures for Christian Sects are given in Provincial Table IV.

11. Christian Sects.				
Sect.	All Races.		Excluding Christian Races.	
	1931.	1921.	1931.	1922.
Baptist ...	212,990	160,656	210,260	158,206
Roman Catholic ...	89,678	71,941	75,334	61,434
Anglican ...	22,853	20,410	11,806	10,466
Presbyterian ...	1,031	1,508	150	119
Methodist ...	1,982	1,424	1,348	861
Other definite sects ...	1,906	1,061	1,574	705
Protestant and unspecified ...	666	106	293	27
Total ...	331,106	257,106	300,765	231,818

12. Christians classified by Race and Sect.					
Race.	All Sects.	Baptist.	Roman Catholic.	Angli-can.	Other Sects.
Burmese ...	11,257	4,458	5,529	805	465
Karens ...	218,790	168,935	41,294	7,817	744
Other indigenous races.	38,463	30,764	7,136	464	99
Indians ...	30,135	5,136	20,668	2,572	1,759
Europeans and Anglo-Indians.	30,341	2,730	14,344	11,047	2,220
Others ...	2,120	967	707	148	298
Total ...	331,106	212,990	89,678	22,853	5,585

Sixty-four per cent or nearly two-thirds of the Christians in Burma are Baptists, 27 per cent are Roman Catholics and 7 per cent are Anglicans, so that these three sects together make up 98 per cent of the total number of Christians. Since 1921, Baptists have increased by 33 per cent, Roman Catholics by 25 per cent and Anglicans by 12 per cent. Marginal table 11 gives the comparative figures for 1921 and 1931; for the purposes of the table "Christian Races" have been taken to include European and allied races (including Armenians) and Anglo-Indians.

Figures for Christians classified by race and sect are summarised in

marginal table 12. Separate figures for Sgaw and Pwo Karens are given in Note 5 to Provincial Table IV on page 285 of the Tables volume.

**133. Sects peculiar to Burma.**—The reason why Karens have accepted Christianity so readily is to be found in their legend concerning 'Y'wa,' the Creator, and the return of the white brother with the Lost Book. The story of the creation is very similar to that given in Genesis and, according to Dr. Marshall (*see* page 12 of his book on "The Karen People of Burma"), it probably had an Hebraic source. The story of the Lost Book which is given below is taken from the above mentioned book of Dr. Marshall (pages 278-9):—

"In the beginning 'Y'wa' had seven sons, the eldest of whom was the Karen and the youngest, the white man. The father, being about to go on a journey, invited the Karen to accompany him; but the latter declined on the score that he had his field to clear. The Burman also refused to go. However, each of them gave 'Y'wa' a gift, the Karen presenting him with a bamboo trough, such as the pigs feed out of, and the Burman, with a paddle\*. The white brother was induced to accompany his father, and, when they got to the sea, they transformed the trough into a boat and the paddle into a mast and sail. By these means they soon reached the celestial shore. While there 'Y'wa' prepared three books: one of silver and gold for the Karen, because he was the oldest; one of palm-leaf for the Burman, and one

\* Another version of this myth says that the Karen gave "Y'wa" a "saw ku" or rain cover such as is worn when the people are transplanting rice in the rainy season.



of parchment for their white brother. These were given to the white man, and he accepted them, but kept the silver and gold book himself, sending the parchment book to the Karen by the hands of the Burman."

Owing presumably to the strong influence exercised by the 'Y'wa' legend the Karens have always been ready to accept the teachings of self-constituted prophets. Most of these sects die out but a few survive. Such are the *Talaku*, *Maw Lay* and *Laikai* sects. The word *Talaku* means a hermit and the origin of the sect is given in paragraph 52 of the 1901 Census Report. There are followers of this sect in the Amherst district but they were unfortunately not recorded as such at this census. The *Maw Lay* sect apparently originated about the middle of the last century and at one time its adherents numbered some thousands. Further particulars are given by Dr. Marshall in his book on the Karens (page 264). The name was not recorded at this census and the exact number survivors is therefore not known. The *Laikai* sect was returned as their religion by 117 persons in the Thatôn district. They were classified as Buddhists on the advice of the Deputy Commissioner, Thatôn, who furnished the following information about them:—

"With regard to ဝေဝေ (Laikai) this is not a Christian sect. These are found in the Pa-an and Hlaingbwe townships but their number is not large. They are in fact Buddhists but differ from ordinary Buddhists in that they have no *hpongyis* and do not pay respect to *hpongyis* nor do they worship at pagodas and images of Buddha. Their beliefs regarding the past and the future are the same as ordinary Buddhists."

Among other religious sects peculiar to Burma may be mentioned the *Silein* and *Kleebo* sects, which are offshoots from Christianity. Mr. Grantham gives particulars of the *Silein* sect in paragraph 84 of his Report. At the 1921 census 102 persons were recorded as belonging to this sect but it was not recorded at all at the 1931 census. The origin of the *Kleebo* sect is also described in paragraph 84 of the 1921 Census Report. The following has been kindly furnished by the Rev. W. Sherratt:—

"The origin of Thomas Pellakoe's movement seems to have been due to the translation of the Hebrew word 'qesheth' [which according to the lexicographers means both 'bow' (the weapon) and 'rainbow'] in Genesis ix. v.13 &c., by the word 'klee' which means the ordinary cross-bow, instead of by the word 'terkwai' meaning an arc, in the Karen Bible.

It was stated at the time that Pellakoe, himself an ordained priest or deacon of the Church of England, heard a sermon by one of the missionaries in which the promise of Genesis ix. v.13 'I do set my bow in the cloud' was explained as being a prophecy of the coming of the Christ—transliterated 'kree' in the Karen language.

Pellakoe seems immediately to have come to the conclusion that the word 'klee' was identical with the word 'kree,' indeed that the latter was a mistaken pronunciation of the former, which led, by an easily understood development, to the substitution of 'the shooting of the bow' for 'baptism' as the initiatory ceremony of the Thomas Pellakoe, or as it soon came to be known, the *Kleebo* Sect.

So far as the movement is still alive this rite of bow shooting is observed."

There were some adherents of this sect in the Delta at the 1921 census but apparently they were not recorded as such (see paragraph 84 of the 1921 Census Report). The number recorded in 1931 was only 10 (in Thatôn district) but no information is available as to whether this is a correct estimate of their number or not. They have been treated as Christians in the tabulation.

**134. Animists and the Supreme Being.**—The belief of the Karens in a Supreme Being has been mentioned in paragraph 133. But the Karens are not the only indigenous race which believes in the existence of a Supreme Being. The belief is shared by the Kachins, some of the Chins and the Lahus, to mention only a few. The Kachin name for the Supreme Being is *Karai Kasang* but no offerings are made to him, nor is any reference made to him in any of their ceremonies; in times of great danger Kachins occasionally call out to him to spare them. According to Capt. J. H. Green, F.R.A.I., I.A.:—

'Karai Kasang' is a mythological figure, one of five brothers and sisters and the son of Wawm Wawm Sawmi (mist) and Nengpang Majau (a bird). The Kachin 'wise men' say that he holds the vital strings of all humans. The existence of Karai Kasang was only known to the few 'wise men' before the advent of the Christians and their present knowledge has been obtained from the missionaries and does not agree with their old mythology."

The Supreme Being of the Lahus is called *G'uisha* and he is regarded as the sole creator of the universe and even of the evil-spirits. The Rev. J. H. Telford, B.D., F.R.G.S., of the American Baptist Mission, Loimwe, has made



a special study of the beliefs of the tribes in Kengtung State and he has very kindly allowed the following extracts to be made from a paper he has written on the subject :—

"When I was making my first contacts with the Lahus I was surprised to find what appeared to be, two distinct forms of belief, namely, the belief in an eternal Being and the belief in spirits. I have since learned that among other peoples of the world, the same two types of faith are found. It is an amazing feature of religion in the East, that two different faiths exist and are contemporaneously practised by some races, apparently without any sense of contradiction. Burmese and Shan Buddhism for instance are saturated with animistic practices, while the Lahus and Kachins, though they are ardent animists, are also monotheists.

One fact we are sure of is that the Lahus have kept alive their belief in G'uisha and that this form of faith is distinctly separate from and is apparently of a different origin than their belief in spirits or demons. Not only is there a difference in origin, but there is also a very noticeable difference in the method of worship. For the worship of G'uisha, the Lahus build their hut-temple or "Bonyeh," which seems to be necessary but no temple is required for the propitiation of spirits. The offerings and sacrifices to the demons are executed in the mysterious jungles, at the base of trees, before huge rock boulders, at the river bank, in the rice field, on the mountain top, near the village gateway and sacred grove and on the house altar.

As it is with people so is it frequently with religion the worst and least sacred side appears conspicuously, while the good feature often lies obscure and hidden. The casual observer would probably class the Lahus as animists, pure and simple. A hasty acquaintance with their religious beliefs and practices would not readily reveal the purer element of their faith, which is sometimes monotheism.

Monotheistic belief and worship of G'uisha have been strong factors in enabling the Lahus to attain to a comparatively high moral standard. Of all the races of Kengtung, I think, they are morally the most elevated, and in my estimation, it is their monotheistic beliefs rather than their animistic tenets that supply the ethical motive. Tylor says, 'Savage animism is almost devoid of that ethical element which to the educated modern mind is the very mainspring of practical religion. Not as I have said, that morality is absent from the life of the lower races. Without a code of morals, the very existence of the rudest tribe would be impossible . . . but these ethical laws stand on their own ground of tradition and public opinion comparatively independent of the animistic beliefs and rites which exist behind them. The lower animism is not immoral, it is unmoral.'\* I agree with Tylor in thinking that savage animism is almost devoid of the ethical element, but on the other hand, I believe, that savage monotheism, which may have been prior to animism, was latently replete with ethical principles. Tylor states that 'tradition and public opinion' and not animism are the sources of the ethical laws of primitive man. I think it is necessary to go a step further and ask from whence did these "traditions" come and how was 'public opinion' created and maintained? From our study of Lahu traditions, which teach both religion and ethics, it is apparent that the source of their ethical laws is monotheism. The same laws that prohibit idolatry—there is no trace of idolatry among the Lahus—also prohibit adultery, theft and murder. The age-long worship of this moral, eternal Being, 'G'uisha,' who imparts and gives his divine approval of these ethical laws, has been the principal contributing factor in the creation and maintenance of public opinion which has been a constant check to immoral conduct. Previous to the appointed times for the worship of G'uisha, the Lahu villagers must refrain from deceit and lying. The quality of the God that is worshipped is reflected in the type of moral character that worship evolves.

Of course, if monotheism is of later development than animism, then these ethical laws are of a correspondingly later evolution. However, I am inclined to the opinion that animism is a degenerate type of religion and that it joined itself with tenacious grip, in the form of a parasitical growth, to the already planted and growing tree of monotheism. The animistic parasite grew both profusely and rapidly, and quickly enveloped the trunk of monotheism and almost hid it completely. Just as it seemed to require the constant and vigilant efforts of a comparatively few leaders in Israel to prevent the national faith in Jehovah from becoming submerged by the gods of neighbouring peoples, so also may have been the experience of other monotheistic races. It is quite possible and may be probable, that in all the past history of the Lahu race, there have been members of the tribe who have been devout believers in G'uisha, even as we find, to-day, in every Lahu community, a few individuals of good moral character, who are versed in the traditional knowledge of G'uisha and who encourage the rest of the community in the worship of the eternal Being. Concerning such leaders the words of Milton might be fittingly quoted :—

'Ev'n them who kept thy truth so pure of old  
When all our Fathers worship't Stocks and Stones.' †

Those men are the custodians of the knowledge of G'uisha and it is only after long acquaintance with them that they show a disposition to divulge their theological views. It is only the student of the inner, hidden language of the Lahus that comes to know that they are believers in a supreme Being. That they obtained their ideas of 'G'uisha' from Christian missionaries or from any other European is unsupportable. The belief in an eternal Being is so deeply entrenched in the religious thought and life of so many primitive peoples, the world over, that it is difficult to imagine that missionaries have been the successful disseminators of such knowledge."

\* Tylor *Prim. Cul.* p. 360, vol. ii.

† Milton—On the Late Massacre of Piedmont.



**135. The Pau Chin Hau Movement in the Chin Hills.**—This movement originated about the beginning of the present century but there is no mention of it in the 1911 or 1921 Census Reports. Pau Chin Hau is a Sokte Chin about 60 years of age and now lives at Mwelbwem, a village not far from Tiddim in the Chin Hills. The origin of the movement is best described in Pau Chin Hau's own words :—

"From the year 1888 to 1902 I suffered from a long and severe illness."

"From the year 1900 onward in dreams and visions I received a series of communications which I hold to be divine and are the foundations both of my alphabet and my religious teaching."

"The first of these was in 1900 when in my dream I saw a twisted rope suspended between the heaven and the earth. Many people were trying to climb it but no one was successful. I knelt in prayer and ascended the rope as far as the thirtieth heaven, then descended to the earth and still by means of the rope, which had penetrated the ground, descended deep into the heart of the earth."

"A year later I heard the voice of God calling me by name and commanding me to look forward to the future when many mysterious things would occur. I saw visions of railway trains, steam-ships and other Western inventions although I had never been away from the hills and had no knowledge that such things existed. There were visions of great battles, of stone-clad horses and horsemen. There were English, Indian and many unknown nations engaged in the struggle. I saw amongst other things the unknown nations falling dead and disappearing from view while my own people who were with me, though still alive were left cowering in the valleys between the hills, covered with dust and rubbish. I tried to cover my face with my hands but in spite of myself I had to continue gazing into a mirror held by an Englishman so that the vision remained in my mind's eye for three days and three nights."

"In 1902 I had another dream. In this dream I saw an Englishman who appeared to me to be divine. He wanted me to learn lessons, taught by means of stones in the shape of letters, which put together formed a book. I tried to learn the same and eventually succeeded and my eyes then opened."

"When I got up from sleep my passion for learning and teaching the symbols and sounds of the alphabet was so great that I could not sleep either day or night until I had written them out on paper. Though the Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills advised me to have my invention printed I was not satisfied with it and revised it more than once—the third and last revision being carried out in 1931."

"As above stated, during the period of these visions I was still suffering from severe illness which was not cured during the year when I had seen the letters. In the following year, however, in another vision I saw many races of people flocking together in a huge plain. Then there appeared a being who came riding the sun as a horse, the bridle and other trappings of which glittered like gold. Then I shouted 'Behold and obey the order of God' and while all bowed themselves to the earth he called me by name twice in succession 'Pau Chin Hau, Pau Chin Hau, will you worship me?' I said 'who are you?' and he replied, 'The Lord who made heaven and earth, men and animals, the sun, the moon and the stars and who has power to cure all sickness.'"

"I had faith in him and in a moment was cured from my illness of fifteen years. During those years for the cure of that illness I had paid the sum of Rs. 400 in making sacrifices of various kinds of animals to the *nats* or demons. The cure of God was complete and cost nothing."

"I stood alone in my faith for three years during which time the members of my own family, even, reviled instead of encouraging me but gradually as my neighbours and even people from distant villages saw me still enjoying sound health my religion began to spread until after six years people from all parts of the hills became my fellow worshippers."

"Our Chin ancestors worshipped various kinds of *nats* such as House *Nat*, Forest *Nat*, Water *Nat*, etc., altogether fifty-four in number. Those who have believed and wished to enter my religion came from far distant villages and invited me to visit them. Together with a little band of disciples I made it my custom to accept their invitation and on entering a house or village after praying to God would destroy completely the articles used for making sacrifices to the *Nats* and whereas sufferers had previously, like myself, had to pay large sums for such sacrifices our only charge was a nominal sum to cover travelling expenses. Sometimes it seemed as though some of my more hasty or unintelligent followers were themselves possessed by demons after such visits but after praying to God they speedily became normal again."

"Further some of my followers, either through reluctance to destroy completely ancestral customs or through fear of specially powerful *nats*, have retained in part their *nat* worship. I have declared that this was not the will of God and many, like myself, are now entirely freed from such practices."

"One wholesome effect of my teaching is that where formerly many who had nothing went into debt to obtain sacrificial offerings and so could neither afford to buy food nor pay their taxes, my followers being free from such expenses are in much better circumstances."

"Among other results I should mention that the old custom of the Chins of retaining a corpse in the house for many days, until it stank and bred corruption and disease, has now been abolished amongst the villages which accept my teaching."

"Another old custom of the Chins was that of attempting to discover the particular *nat* which caused an illness by feeling the pulse or reading the countenance of the sick person. The *nat*, when discovered, was propitiated and petitioned. We now pray to the One God."



"Again according to Chin belief the soul of a man may leave his body and as it wanders afar be seized on by one of the numerous *nats* resulting in illness or death of the owner. To make the spirit return to its home it was necessary to sacrifice an animal. We retain no such belief. A particularly difficult disease to deal with was supposed to be caused by the injection of a foreign substance into the body through sorcery or witchcraft and in this case it was considered necessary to make a compound of turmeric and other roots, ground and steeped in water, to be drunk as a libation while calling upon the name of the king of *nats*. We, ourselves, call upon the name of God."

"Amongst all the festivals observed by our Chin fore-fathers we have retained but one, the Festival of the Separation of the Years (New Year Festival). It is now, however, called the Festival of God and each year after the completion of the merrymaking we meet in church and offer prayers to God."

"As regards the organisation of my religion—as I am myself unable to go to every village into which the religion has entered I have appointed an elder connected with the religion in each village. Further, not long after the birth of this religion certain prophets termed either 'seers' or 'interpreters of the word of God' arose, some of whom were able to show wonderful and miraculous doings. Others, alas, have gone astray and are opposing the simple faith."

"Given under the hand of Prophet Pau Chin Hau at Mwelbwem, on the 25th May 1932."

The following information regarding the religion has been furnished by the Assistant Superintendent, Tiddim subdivision, Chin Hills district :—

"Any household wishing to adopt this religion has to pay Rs. 3 as initiation fees. This money is not taken by Pau Chin Hau but is eaten by the person who converts the household. No other payment is made. On New Year's Day, English calendar, a collection is made in his churches. This money is spent on a big feast. Drinking in moderation is not observed by any of the followers, nor is it observed by Pau Chin Hau himself."

"In the churches are kept earthenware pots. People who are ill go and pray into these pots and ask for divine help. If the person is unable to go as far as the church he may do so in his house, or some other person may do so on his or her behalf. The spirit addressed is called 'Pa Chiem.' This is the Chin word for 'God.' During service in the church a glass of *zu* is handed round to those present which is said to be the outward sign of thanks to God for the food and drink given."

"The religion has many amusing parts in it. There are men known as 'Pa-leik-thas' (policemen), who also go by the name of 'Kut-dom-pas' (men who feel the pulse). These men sport a uniform in the shape of a red head dress. These 'Pa-leik-thas' were introduced into the religion, because as all bad characters are said to shun the police, so in the same way all evil spirits will shun the sick person, or the society of any person as long as there is a 'Pa-leik-tha' present in his red head dress. No *nat* is ever said to 'Pet' (bite or cause illness to) any 'Pa-leik-tha,' so long as he is in uniform, but as soon as the 'Pa-leik-tha' removes his red head dress and adorns a white one he is liable to attack at any moment as the *nat* is no respecter of persons who are not in uniform."

"The 'Pa-leik-tha' number from 3 to 6 per village. There are also commissioned officers amongst them. These men are known as 'Botair' (meaning an Inspector, Jemadar, or Subadar). Whenever a person falls ill the ordinary policeman is sent for. Should his prayers and presence cause no relief, the next highest in rank is called in and so on until the patient recovers or dies. There are quite a number of patients who suffer in silence until the pain they bear becomes unbearable and these men, some very intelligent, will tell one that directly they utter the words 'Pa-leik-tha sam in' (call the commissioned officers) their disease or the pains would leave them."

Apparently Pau Chin Hau himself does not favour *nat* sacrifices but he admits that some of his followers still carry them out. According to the Deputy Commissioner, Chin Hills district, drinking is not forbidden by the Pau Chin Hau rules nor is there anything specially laid down in regard to drinking to excess. Presumably Pau Chin Hau realises that it is too much to expect his followers to give up their former customs entirely. He himself drinks and has admitted that he may occasionally get drunk. The Christian Mission working in the Chin Hills is the American Baptist Mission and it is presumably this liking for alcoholic liquor which prevents them from being accepted as Christians.

Unfortunately, when the census was taken, the Census Superintendent was not aware of the existence of this movement and the followers of Pau Chin Hau were all recorded in the enumeration schedules as Animists. The Deputy Commissioner of the Chin Hills district has estimated the number of followers in his district at 35,700 (26,000 in Tiddim subdivision and 9,700 in Falam subdivision) but there are also followers on the other side of the frontier.

A copy of the script mentioned by Pau Chin Hau will be found in Chapter X.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—General distribution of the population by Religion and its variation since 1901.

Religion and Natural Division.	Actual number in 1931.	Proportion per 10,000 of population in				Variation per cent (Increase +, Decrease -).			Net variation per cent.
		1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1921—1931.	1911—1921.	1901—1911.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>BUDDHISTS.</b>									
Province	12,348,037	8,430	8,506	8,572	8,862	- 1	- 1	- 3	- 5
Burman	11,100,371	8,634	8,689	8,783	8,958	- 1	- 1	- 2	- 4
Delta	4,552,857	8,377	8,414	8,532	8,795	...	- 1	- 3	- 5
Coast	1,377,600	7,465	7,503	7,599	7,599	- 1	- 1	...	- 2
Centre	4,598,021	9,532	9,588	9,602	9,642	- 1	...	...	- 1
North	571,893	7,606	7,576	7,827	8,557	...	- 3	- 9	- 11
Chin	2,751	143	165	114	165	- 13	+ 45	- 31	- 13
Salween	44,678	3,991	4,012	3,854	...	- 1	+ 4	...	...
Shan	1 200,237	8,073	8,273	8,363	9,098	- 2	- 1	- 8	- 11
<b>ANIMISTS.</b>									
Province	763,243	521	534	579	385	- 2	- 8	+ 50	+ 35
Burman	312,887	243	251	258	200	- 3	- 3	+ 29	+ 22
Delta	62,084	114	120	137	95	- 5	- 12	+ 44	+ 20
Coast	82,499	447	439	454	458	+ 2	- 3	- 1	- 2
Centre	41,617	86	71	94	100	+ 21	- 24	- 6	- 14
North	126,687	1,085	1,920	1,752	1,085	- 12	+ 10	+ 61	+ 55
Chin	185,440	9,625	9,612	9,714	9,637	...	- 1	+ 1	...
Salween	52,905	4,726	4,957	5,671	...	- 5	- 13	...	...
Shan	212,011	1,426	1,509	1,524	816	- 6	- 1	+ 87	+ 75
<b>HINDUS.</b>									
Province	570,953	390	368	321	275	+ 6	+ 15	+ 17	+ 42
Burman	541,759	421	408	364	306	+ 3	+ 12	+ 19	+ 38
Delta	388,049	714	710	647	531	+ 1	+ 10	+ 22	+ 34
Coast	54,227	294	320	304	336	- 8	+ 5	- 10	- 13
Centre	74,119	154	129	107	80	+ 19	+ 21	+ 34	+ 93
North	25,364	337	274	219	184	+ 23	+ 25	+ 19	+ 83
Chin	1,808	94	159	123	134	- 41	+ 29	- 8	- 30
Salween	1,677	150	57	41	...	+ 163	+ 39	...	...
Shan	25,709	173	90	44	42	+ 92	+ 105	+ 6	+ 312
<b>MUSLIMS.</b>									
Province	584,839	399	380	347	328	+ 5	+ 10	+ 6	+ 22
Burman	576,740	449	431	398	369	+ 4	+ 8	+ 8	+ 22
Delta	182,612	336	327	293	248	+ 3	+ 12	+ 18	+ 35
Coast	304,828	1,052	1,626	1,540	1,524	+ 2	+ 6	+ 1	+ 8
Centre	81,538	169	160	151	135	+ 6	+ 6	+ 12	+ 25
North	7,762	103	101	123	118	...	- 18	+ 4	- 13
Chin	153	8	7	12	10	+ 14	- 42	+ 20	- 20
Salween	794	71	67	60	...	+ 6	+ 12	...	...
Shan	7,152	48	33	21	23	+ 45	+ 57	- 8	+ 109
<b>CHRISTIANS.</b>									
Province	331,106	226	195	173	142	+ 16	+ 13	+ 22	+ 59
Burman	294,713	229	203	190	159	+ 13	+ 7	+ 19	+ 44
Delta	229,932	423	393	381	326	+ 8	+ 3	+ 17	+ 30
Coast	25,201	137	110	101	81	+ 24	+ 9	+ 25	+ 68
Centre	22,257	46	43	40	33	+ 7	+ 8	+ 21	+ 39
North	17,323	230	97	51	30	+ 137	+ 90	+ 70	+ 667
Chin	2,433	126	56	14	3	+ 125	+ 300	+ 367	+ 4,100
Salween	11,710	1,046	907	374	...	+ 15	+ 143	...	...
Shan	22,250	150	93	48	16	+ 61	+ 94	+ 193	+ 838



SUBSIDIARY TABLE II.—*Proportion of each religion per 10,000 persons*

District and Natural Division.	Buddhists.					Animists.				
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	8,430	8,506	8,572	8,862	9,053	521	534	579	385	221
<b>Burman</b> ...	8,634	8,689	8,783	8,958	9,105	243	251	258	200	170
<i>Delta</i> ...	8,377	8,414	8,532	8,795	8,980	114	120	137	95	94
Rangoon ...	3,383	3,263	3,323	3,560	4,428	137	84	246	313	27
Insein ...	7,925	8,240	8,420	8,860	9,309	194	110	88	66	40
Hanthawaddy ...	8,113	8,054	8,255	8,627		108	143	82	53	
Tharrawaddy ...	9,513	9,495	9,544	9,570	9,724	55	43	54	26	53
Pegu ...	8,562	8,490	8,624	9,020	9,286	136	151	136	54	37
Bassein ...	8,747	8,755	8,867	8,892	9,141	80	69	46	51	35
Henzada ...	9,490	9,533	9,567	9,674	9,682	42	36	27	7	2
Myaungmya ...	8,680	8,752	8,974	9,306	9,505	140	109	87	31	27
Maubin ...	9,151	9,175	9,266	9,376		67	53	54	54	
Pyapön ...	8,608	8,792	8,954	8,954	7,610	138	131	139	561	547
Toungoo ...	7,951	7,803	7,829			276	542	637		
Thatön ...	9,087	9,135	9,119	9,327	9,114	75	49	142	28	482
<i>Coast</i> ...	7,465	7,503	7,599	7,599	7,941	447	439	454	458	464
Akyab ...	5,296	5,467	5,708	5,814	6,204	628	639	639	658	678
Kyaukpyu ...	8,859	8,929	8,970	8,923	8,864	793	809	736	828	847
Sandoway ...	9,155	9,005	8,858	8,734	8,814	207	407	645	715	708
Amherst ...	8,485	8,499	8,423	8,326	8,624	231	82	118	65	194
Tavoy ...	9,145	9,258	9,572	9,606	9,751	224	177	102	90	10
Mergui ...	7,647	7,723	8,041	8,664	8,583	392	475	367	198	256
<i>Centre</i> ...	9,532	9,588	9,602	9,642	9,631	86	71	94	100	119
Prome ...	9,487	9,588	9,498	9,603	9,617	158	115	245	236	236
Thayetmyo ...	9,244	9,385	9,186	9,102	9,063	578	441	614	635	690
Paköku ...	9,863	9,880	9,857	9,884	9,768	78	72	84	54	122
Minbu ...	9,688	9,693	9,621	9,677	9,667	163	177	218	234	249
Magwe ...	9,578	9,700	9,832	9,897	9,897	43	15	11	31	18
Mandalay ...	8,193	8,394	8,654	8,901	9,112	74	76	44	26	40
Kyaukse ...	9,352	9,468	9,540	9,672	9,690	15	11	1	4	3
Meiktila ...	9,701	9,714	9,712	9,803	9,863	8	12	3	6	5
Yamethin ...	9,220	9,238	9,370	9,429	9,409	103	84	79	110	95
Myingyan ...	9,905	9,718	9,913	9,950	9,902	9	9	4	6	6
Shwebo ...	9,639	9,673	9,677	9,695	9,517	13	10	3	4	6
Sagaing ...	9,794	9,820	9,817	9,865	9,845	4	3	3	3	1
Lower Chindwin ...	9,913	9,918	9,926	9,923	9,950	8	4	2	2	2
<i>North</i> ...	7,606	7,576	7,827	8,557	9,237	1,685	1,920	1,752	1,085	260
Bhamo ...	5,412	4,942	4,961	5,976	8,430	3,298	4,281	4,426	3,347	601
Myitkyina ...	4,617	3,656	3,525	5,100		4,095	5,346	5,382	3,762	
Katha ...	9,463	9,336	9,350	9,382	9,389	194	379	378	389	165
Upper Chindwin ...	9,102	9,502	9,602	9,724	9,642	563	205	218	129	123
<b>Chin</b> ...	143	165	114	165	...	9,625	9,612	9,714	9,637	...
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	1,197	1,064	807	738	823	8,651	8,632	8,915	9,054	8,914
Chin Hills ...	11	20	8	31	...	9,747	9,769	9,835	9,775	...
<b>Salween</b> ...	3,991	4,012	3,854	...	...	4,726	4,957	5,671	...	...
Salween ...	5,262	5,226	4,393	3,645	1,375	4,221	4,448	5,379	6,204	8,485
Karenni ...	2,840	3,054	3,459	...	...	5,183	5,359	5,885	...	...
<b>Shan</b> ...	8,073	8,273	8,363	9,098	...	1,426	1,509	1,524	816	...
Northern Shan States ...	7,231	7,437	7,318	9,229	...	2,062	2,344	2,595	597	...
Southern Shan States ...	8,670	8,825	9,003	9,043	...	975	958	869	907	...



*in each district and natural division at each census since 1891.*

Hindus.					Muslims.					Christians.				
1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1891.
12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	24.	25.	26.
390	368	321	275	228	399	380	347	328	333	226	195	173	142	159
421	408	364	306	226	449	431	398	369	335	229	203	190	159	160
714	710	647	531	367	336	327	293	248	197	423	393	381	326	358
3,519	3,656	3,694	3,533	3,208	1,768	1,812	1,862	1,831	1,599	771	739	786	721	703
944	841	703	494	319	309	273	250	189	175	616	532	521	370	155
1,278	1,298	1,223	976	82	331	351	322	278	48	158	139	111	66	91
178	186	170	213	82	108	110	89	79	48	141	164	139	109	165
838	917	871	583	395	225	219	170	136	111	233	220	197	207	165
274	305	268	321	138	200	204	184	163	122	696	667	633	571	563
119	122	124	88	70	95	95	87	62	57	253	213	193	167	187
294	257	183	79	87	340	309	212	132	82	542	572	542	451	298
230	207	176	235	87	169	189	159	114	82	384	363	343	220	298
675	569	474	193	188	214	198	138	151	157	362	313	284	978	1,495
555	513	405	193	188	225	214	181	151	157	987	928	944	978	1,495
425	448	403	383	198	301	285	245	200	84	106	81	89	60	119
294	320	304	336	288	1,652	1,626	1,540	1,524	1,219	137	110	101	81	89
262	255	273	290	235	3,802	3,625	3,366	3,221	2,862	6	11	11	15	22
35	32	32	24	18	304	224	196	217	262	10	7	5	7	8
54	34	37	61	23	486	469	414	430	406	97	85	45	58	50
477	608	649	844	584	617	638	622	600	453	182	169	185	160	145
207	212	62	50	34	170	183	115	102	84	249	169	148	150	121
475	488	302	86	116	898	860	881	802	717	584	454	407	248	528
154	129	107	80	82	169	160	151	135	132	46	43	40	33	29
192	148	136	71	66	121	112	93	72	63	36	33	26	17	17
83	76	88	98	101	73	78	87	101	86	19	18	23	37	58
27	18	28	27	59	23	22	22	20	43	7	7	7	5	7
73	73	100	35	43	52	45	40	39	31	5	6	6	8	6
206	171	83	26	33	106	83	51	26	33	49	27	15	6	10
764	619	472	366	260	658	651	612	555	494	261	234	193	119	82
94	72	57	48	42	482	402	350	243	247	42	42	48	31	15
109	91	105	65	54	159	148	152	104	61	16	27	24	20	15
187	193	122	87	104	393	400	359	321	331	64	75	58	41	31
48	39	40	19	39	28	26	34	19	34	8	8	7	5	17
78	65	64	55	155	204	195	177	151	250	56	51	77	86	58
80	60	56	32	51	91	86	90	65	57	26	29	32	30	38
35	38	24	33	16	30	30	28	28	18	8	10	9	7	1
337	274	219	184	299	103	101	123	118	121	230	97	51	30	58
115	124	153	183	636	159	174	208	292	177	902	359	165	100	151
827	780	723	827	221	139	104	222	229	177	259	81	66	34	40
222	157	153	142	147	89	98	92	67	140	29	29	23	...	...
202	180	104	72	147	58	57	63	50	63	60	39	10	15	10
94	159	123	134	...	8	7	12	10	...	126	56	14	3	...
94	275	255	201	250	50	22	19	5	12	7	7	3	1	1
94	140	103	118	...	3	4	11	11	...	141	64	16	3	...
150	57	41	...	...	71	67	60	...	...	1,046	907	374	...	...
66	70	58	58	55	94	106	87	44	66	347	150	82	49	18
226	46	28	...	...	50	37	40	...	...	1,679	1,504	588	...	...
173	90	44	42	...	48	33	21	23	...	150	93	48	16	...
281	140	54	112	...	60	41	26	48	...	112	35	7	8	...
96	58	37	13	...	40	27	1	13	...	176	131	73	20	...



SUBSIDIARY TABLE III.—*Christians of Indigenous and Indian Races.*

NOTE.—Indigenous races are those in groups A to O. (See Part I of Imperial Table XVII).

Division.	Indigenous Races.				Indian Races.			
	1931.	1921.	Increase 1921—1931.		1931.	1921.	Increase 1921—1931.	
			Absolute.	Per cent.			Absolute.	Per cent.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	268,510	207,760	60,750	29	30,135	22,602	7,533	33
<b>Burman</b> ...	233,727	184,616	49,111	27	29,940	22,287	7,653	34
Delta ...	185,207	155,152	30,055	19	23,566	17,789	5,777	32
Coast ...	21,270	13,913	7,351	53	1,172	1,056	116	11
Centre ...	10,604	9,675	929	10	5,055	3,310	1,745	53
North ...	16,646	5,870	10,776	184	147	132	15	11
<b>Chin</b> ...	2,403	788	1,615	205	4	16	- 12	- 75
<b>Salween</b> ...	11,679	10,329	1,350	13	3	4	- 1	- 25
<b>Shan</b> ...	20,701	12,027	8,674	72	188	295	- 107	- 36

SUBSIDIARY TABLE IV.—*Religions of Urban and Rural populations.*

Natural Division.	Number per 10,000 of Urban population who are						Number per 10,000 of Rural population who are					
	Buddhist.	Animist.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Christian.	Others.	Buddhist.	Animist.	Hindu.	Muslim.	Christian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	5,860	213	2,033	1,258	472	164	8,728	557	200	300	198	19
<b>Burman</b> ...	5,872	197	2,028	1,271	470	162	8,992	249	213	342	198	5
Delta ...	4,996	204	2,634	1,333	610	223	8,977	98	373	159	390	3
Coast ...	5,486	291	1,904	1,976	298	45	7,667	463	130	1,619	120	1
Centre ...	7,624	127	989	898	284	77	9,737	82	64	91	21	7
North ...	3,803	815	2,613	1,503	562	703	7,697	1,706	283	70	223	22
<b>Chin</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	143	9,625	94	8	126	4
<b>Salween</b> ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	3,991	4,726	150	71	1,046	16
<b>Shan</b> ...	5,439	750	2,206	835	516	254	8,155	1,447	110	24	138	126



## CHAPTER XII.

### Race.

**136. Enumeration.**—In Burma the record of race was made in column 5 of the enumeration schedule. The special instructions that were issued in connection with the record of indigenous races and languages have already been mentioned in paragraph 99 of Chapter X. Lists of Indian and Indo-Burman Races were given on the cover of the enumeration book and instructions were issued regarding the manner of using these lists. Enumerators were particularly warned that the caste must not be entered for Hindus, nor the tribe for Muslims. A column, 5 (a), was also provided which had to be filled up for Indians and Chinese only, the letter "P" being entered for those permanently resident in Burma and the letter "T" for those only temporarily resident.

Supplementary instructions were also issued to census officers above the rank of enumerator in connection with the record of race for Indians, Chinese, Europeans and Anglo-Indians, *Ponma* and persons of mixed races.

**137. Statistical References.**—The main statistical table for race is Imperial Table XVII and the arrangement of the table is described in the notes on the fly-leaf. Figures for the population of the different race-groups at the last four censuses are given in Imperial Table XVIII. Figures for Europeans and Anglo-Indians are given in Imperial Table XIX. In Provincial Tables II and III the populations of townships and towns, respectively, are classified by race, while in Provincial Table V Indians are classified by religion, race and birth-place. Racial classes are classified by age and civil condition in Imperial Table VII and by age and literacy in Imperial Table XIII, similar figures for selected races being given in Imperial Tables VIII and XIV, respectively. In Imperial Table XI the working population is classified by race and occupation, while in Provincial Table VI male-earners have been classified by race and "economic function." Lastly, Christians have been classified by sect and race in Provincial Table IV.

Subsidiary Table I at the end of this chapter shows the distribution by race-groups of the population of each district and natural division, and Subsidiary Table III of Chapter X compares the figures for indigenous races with those for languages.

On the racial map at the beginning of this Report the population of each district is represented by a rectangle, which is subdivided into smaller rectangles of different colours representing the populations of the different race-groups.

**138. The Classification Scheme.**—The classification scheme for races is the same as that for languages and is discussed in paragraph 99 of Chapter X. The accuracy of the statistics for race are discussed in paragraph 100 of the same chapter.

**139. Omitted Areas.**—A list of the areas that were excluded from the census operations is

given in the first paragraph of Chapter I. An estimate of the population of some of these omitted areas is given in marginal table 1. These estimates were compiled by Capt. J. H. Green, I.A., in

1. Estimated population of certain areas omitted from the census operations.

Area.	Total.	Kachin.	Lisaw.	Maru.	Nung.	Tibetan.
The unenumerated parts of Myitkyina district.	55,160	16,000	10,000	14,000	15,000	160
The Triangle ...	40,000	24,000	...	7,000	9,000	...
The Hukawng Valley.	14,000	13,000	...	1,000	...	...
Total ...	109,160	53,000	10,000	22,000	24,000	160

consultation with Mr. J. T. O. Barnard, C.B.E., C.I.E., the Assistant Superintendents of Fort Hertz and Sumpra Bum and others who have visited the areas in question. These figures may be taken to represent the numbers of speakers of Kachin, Lisaw, etc., as well as the numbers of persons belonging to these races. The population of East Manglun in the Northern Shan States was only estimated; figures for race, religion, etc., were not obtained since it was not actually enumerated. Figures for its estimated population have been included in Imperial Tables I and II but not in any of the other Imperial Tables.



**140. Variation in the Population of Race-groups.**—Figures for the population of the different race-groups at the last four censuses are given in Imperial Table XVIII. The figures in that table for the years 1901 and 1911 were obtained from Imperial Table XIII of those censuses and some difficulty was experienced in compiling them. In Imperial Table XIII for 1901 the races, tribes and castes are classified according to the predominant religion, but the figures given for any race, tribe or caste include the figures for all religions, *e.g.*, the figures for Karens under "Buddhist and Animist (Indigenous)" include figures for Christians. Similarly the figures for the castes under "Hindu" appear to include figures for Indian Christians and Buddhists; figures are also given for Native Christians but these apparently represent Indian Christians for whom no tribe or caste was returned, the record for the tribe or caste being simply "Indian" or "*kala*." All the figures in the Hindu class have been taken to be Indians (group X) with the exception of the figures for Manipuri, which have been included in group C (Kuki-Chin group). In the Musalman class the figures for Arab, Egyptian, Persian and Turk have been included in group Z (Other Races), those for Panthay in group R (Chinese) and those for Malay in group J (Malay); the remaining figures in this class have been included in group X (Indian Races) with the exception of 8,000 males\* and 7,000 females\*, representing the Arakan Mahomedans, which have been included in group S (Indo-Burman Races). For the 1911 figures 10,000 males\* and 9,000 females\* were taken to represent the Arakan Mahomedans and included in group S (Indo-Burman Races). Also, since the figures for Manipuri in the 1911 table do not apparently include all the Kathè, 3,000 of each sex were subtracted from the figures for Indians, and included in the figures for group C (Kuki-Chin group), in addition to the figures for Manipuri.

The Sikhs and Jains at the 1901 and 1911 censuses were all taken to be Indians. There were also 394 Animists, 1,560 Buddhists and 938 Christians at the 1901 census and 452 Christians at the 1911 census for whom no race was returned but by considering the figures for each district the numbers falling in the different racial groups were estimated with a considerable degree of accuracy, *e.g.*, the 719 Buddhists who were enumerated in Magwe in 1901 were included in the figures of the Burma group.

Figures for the proportion of the population belonging to the different

2. Number of persons belonging to each race-group per 10,000 of the total population.				
Race-group.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
A.—Burma Group ...	6,573	6,589	6,589	6,805
B.—Lolo-Muhso Group ...	64	58	56	47
C.—Kuki-Chin Group ...	238	225	259	214
D.—Naga Group ...	3	...	1	1
E.—Kachin Group ...	105	111	134	62
F.—Sak (Lai) Group ...	35	38	11	39
G.—Mishmi Group ...	...	...	...	...
H.—Mro Group ...	9	11	2	12
I.—Tai Group ...	708	772	822	850
J.—Malay Group ...	6	5	5	5
K.—Mon Group ...	230	245	265	311
L.—Palaung-Wa Group ...	120	119	145	84
M.—Khasi Group ...	...	...	...	...
N.—Karen Group ...	934	926	907	873
O.—Man Group ...	1	...	1	...
R.—Chinese Group ...	132	113	101	60
S.—Indo-Burman Races ...	124	95	65	34
X.—Indian Races ...	695	669	615	584
Y.—European, etc. ...	21	19	20	18
Z.—Other Races ...	2	2	1	1
Total ...	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000

race-groups are given in marginal table 2. These figures have been worked out from Imperial Table XVIII.† It will be noticed that the proportion belonging to the Burma group has fallen since 1921 from 6,589 to 6,573 per 10,000. This is due to the reduction in the numbers of Lashis and Marus. Marginal table 3 of Chapter X shows that the proportion belonging to the Burmese and closely related races, namely 649 per thousand, is only slightly less than

it was in 1921, while the proportion belonging to other indigenous races

\* These are the figures which were used by Mr. Grantham in his estimate of the Indian population (see paragraph 167 of the 1921 Census Report). Mr. Grantham's estimate of the Indian population in 1901 is, however, between 15 and 16 thousand less than the one given in Imperial Table XVIII for 1931.

† Mr. Grantham's estimate was obtained from the figures for religion and he took the number of Indian Christians in 1901 to be 8,798, but, as explained above, this figure represents only those Christians for whom the record for tribe or caste was simply "Indian" or "*kala*." The actual number of Indian Christians in 1901 was probably very much larger than 8,798, since the number in 1911 was 23,089 [this figure does not include any on account of the 452 Christians for whom no record of race (not even "Indian") was made in 1911].

† The figures in Imperial Table XVIII for the year 1921 for Indo-Burman races (group S), Indian races (group X) and Other races (group Z) differ from those given in the 1921 Census Tables because in 1921 Arab, Persian and Myedu were regarded as Indian races, whereas in 1931 Arab and Persian have been included in group Z (Other races) and Myedu among the Indo-Burman races.



has fallen from 260 to 253 per 1,000. Thus the Burmese and the closely related races have been able almost to maintain their proportion in spite of the immigration of Indians and Chinese; they have done this by absorption of other indigenous races. In this connection the reduction in the proportion of persons belonging to the Tai and Mon groups from 850 and 311 per 10,000, respectively, in 1901 to 708 and 230, respectively, in 1931 is very striking. Karens, on the other hand, have been able to increase their proportion from 873 in 1901 to 934 in 1931. The reduction in the proportion of persons in the Tai group does not mean, of course, that they are not increasing at all but that they are not increasing as fast as the other races. During the last decade they have increased by only 2 per cent. This is partly due to the slow rate of natural increase—the reason for which is not apparent—and partly to their absorption by the Burmese in areas in which they come into contact. Absorption by the Burmese is also responsible for the reduction in the proportion of persons belonging to the Mon group. The Karens are exclusive and there is at present no likelihood of their being absorbed by the Burmese. It must be borne in mind in comparing the figures in marginal table 2 that they do not cover the same area and that the extensions of the census limits have been to areas mainly occupied by indigenous races other than Burmese. The big increases for the Chinese, Palaung-Wa and Kuki-Chin groups in 1911 are due to the extensions of the census in 1911 to areas containing large numbers of these races. In 1921 a large proportion of the Kachin Hill Tracts in the Myitkyina district was enumerated for the first time and the reduction in the proportion of Kachins in 1921 is due to many of the Atsis, Lashis and Marus having been wrongly recorded as Kachins in 1911. The increases for the Kuki-Chin and Naga groups in 1931 are also mainly due to extensions of the census areas. The reduction in the proportion of persons in the Palaung-Wa group in 1921 as compared with 1911 is probably due to absorption of the Palaungs by the Shans, particularly in the Southern Shan States. In 1911 many of the Kadus appear to have been returned as Shans or Burmese and this is presumably the reason for the low proportion for the Sak group in that year. During the last thirty years the proportion of persons belonging to non-indigenous races has increased considerably; the proportion of Chinese has increased from 60 to 132 per 10,000 and the proportion of Indians from 584 to 695 per 10,000. Persons belonging to Indo-Burman races are mainly Zerbadis; according to the figures there has been a considerable increase since 1901, but the figures for 1901 and 1911 censuses are not reliable (*see* paragraph 143).

Figures for the indigenous races and race-groups have already been discussed in Chapter X and the remainder of this chapter will therefore be confined to a discussion of the figures for the non-indigenous races.

**141. Indians.**—The number of Indians has increased from 881,357 in 1921 to 1,017,825 in 1931, *i.e.*, by 136,468 or 15·5 per cent. In paragraph 16 of Chapter I it is pointed out that many Arakan Mahomedans in the Akyab district returned themselves as Indians at the 1921 census. The number may be roughly estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000, in which case the increase in the Indian population would be in the neighbourhood of 17 per cent. Outside Akyab district the number of Indians has increased from 679,970 to 806,835, which is an increase of 126,865 or 18·7 per cent. This is considerably larger than the rate of increase of the indigenous population.

The increase in the number of Indians is entirely due to migration. One of the most important characteristics of the Indian population in Burma is the sex disparity, only 27·9 per cent of the total number of Indians being females. There has been a slight increase during the last thirty years, the percentage in 1901 being 25·8. One of the results of this sex disparity is that the deaths among the Indian population exceed the births, and the actual increase in the Indian population is therefore the result of the increase due to migration and the decrease due to the excess of deaths over births. Unfortunately reliable birth and death rates are not available for Indians, nor is it possible to estimate at all accurately the increase in the Indian population due to migration. In paragraph 14 of Chapter I the increase in the total population of Burma during 1921—31 due to migration has been estimated at 342,000. The increase in the Indian population due to migration may be roughly estimated at between 250,000 and 300,000 and it follows that the average annual excess of deaths over births among the Indian population during 1921—31 would probably be between 15,000 and 20,000. These figures are, of course, very rough since reliable figures for



birth and death rates or for migration are not available, but they give one an idea of the relative importance of the factors on which the variation in the Indian population depends. If there was no migration the Indian population would fall and the sex disparity would be gradually reduced.

Marginal table 3 shows that the rates of increase of the Indian population

Natural Division.	Actual Population.		Increase.	
	1931.	1921.	Actual.	Per cent.
Province ...	1,017,825	881,357	136,468	15.5
Burman ...	980,524	860,605	119,919	13.9
Delta ...	563,080	491,145	71,935	14.6
Coast (Arakan) ...	217,301	206,206	11,095	5.4
Coast (Tenasserim) ...	55,474	54,158	1,316	2.4
Centre ...	112,594	84,990	27,604	32.5
North ...	32,075	24,106	7,969	33.1
Chin ...	2,227	2,691	- 464	- 17.2
Salween ...	2,470	1,328	1,142	86.0
Shan ...	32,604	16,733	15,871	94.8
Northern Shan States ...	21,253	10,051	11,202	111.5
Southern Shan States ...	11,351	6,682	4,669	69.9

vary considerably in different parts of the province; in the Burman natural division they vary from 2.4 per cent in the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision to 33.1 per cent in the North subdivision. In the Delta subdivision, Rangoon, Insein, Pyapôn and Myaungmya have had the greatest actual increases, namely 24, 12, 10 and 8 thousand, respectively, while the greatest percentage increases are shown by Pyapôn (39

per cent), Myaungmya (39) and Insein (38); in Pegu district the increase was less than one per cent.

The Indians in the Arakan portion of the Coast subdivision are largely confined to the Akyab district and the variation in the Indian population of that district is discussed in paragraph 16 of Chapter I; as explained above the figures given for this subdivision in marginal table 3 are not reliable.

The small increase shown for the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision is due to the fact that there has been a small decrease in the Indian population of Amherst district, due perhaps to the reduced demand for labour or to the replacement of Indian labour by labour of indigenous races; the other two districts, Tavoy and Mergui, show appreciable increases in the Indian population.

In the Centre subdivision, Mandalay, Magwe and Prome have had the greatest absolute increases, namely 8, 6 and 3 thousand, respectively; with the exception of Thayetmyo which shows an increase of only 8 per cent, all the districts in the Centre subdivision show large percentage increases in the Indian population varying from 18 per cent in the Lower Chindwin to 59 per cent in Magwe.

In the North subdivision there has been a decrease in the Indian population of Bhamo district but very large increases in the other three districts; in the combined Myitkyina and Katha districts Indians have increased by 6,900 or 41 per cent and in the Upper Chindwin by 1,637 or 44 per cent.

The increase in the number of Indians in the Salween division is presumably connected with the mining activities in Bawlake State; in Salween district there has been a decrease in the Indian population.

It is in the Shan States that the greatest rates of increase are shown, the Indian population of the Northern Shan States having been more than doubled. Many of the Indians who come to the Shan States are Gurkhas; in the Northern Shan States 8,203 Gurkhas were enumerated, representing 39 per cent of the total Indian population, the number in the Southern Shan States being 5,035 or 44 per cent of the Indian population. There has also been a much larger number of Indians employed at the works of the Burma Corporation than in 1921.

The distribution of Indians in the province is shown very clearly on the Racial Map at the beginning of this Report. It will be noticed that they are largely concentrated in the Delta, Coast and Centre subdivisions, which together contain 93 per cent of the total number of Indians. Subsidiary Table I shows that in the Delta subdivision 10 per cent of the total population is Indian. Rangoon is largely responsible for this high percentage since 53 per cent of the population of Rangoon belong to Indian races. Similarly, the high percentage of Indians in the Coast subdivision is mainly due



to the inclusion of Akyab district, in which one-third of the population is Indian. Rangoon and Akyab together contain 42 per cent of the total number of Indians in the province. Marginal table 4 gives figures for the districts in which at least 4 per cent of the population belong to Indian races. All, with the exception of Mandalay and Myitkyina, are in Lower Burma. Many of them are in the Delta and are connected with Rangoon either by river or rail. Large numbers of Gurkhas have settled down in Myitkyina district and there is also a considerable number of Indians among the military police stationed there; these appear to be the main reasons for the high percentage of Indians in that district. If the whole of Myitkyina district had been enumerated the percentage would have been much smaller. The percentage of Indians in the whole province is 6.95 but if Akyab district is excluded the percentage is reduced to 5.76; the percentage in Divisional Burma, excluding Akyab district, is 6.20.

Indians are classified by race in marginal table 5. It will be noticed that the six races shown in this table together make up 85 per cent of the total number of Indians. Seventy-four per cent of the Chittagonians (64 per cent of the males and 92 per cent of the females) were enumerated in Akyab district. Figures for these six races, classified by religion and birth-place (whether born in Burma or outside Burma) are given for selected districts in Provincial Table V.

Indians are classified by religion in marginal table 6. Ninety-five per cent of the Indians are Hindus or Muslims, 56 per cent being Hindus and 39 per cent, Muslims; 3 per cent are Christians, and the remainder are mostly Buddhists and Sikhs. If Akyab district is excluded 68 per cent are Hindus, 25 per cent are Muslims, and 4 per cent are Christians.

Figures for Indian immigrants, *i.e.*, Indians born outside Burma, are discussed in paragraph 33 of Chapter III. The proportion of the Indian population enumerated in towns is dealt with in paragraph 25 of Chapter II, and the sex-ratio of Indians in towns, in paragraph 26 of the same chapter.

4. Indians in districts.					
District.	Actual population (in thousands).			Percentage of total population which is Indian.	Percentage of total Indians of the province.
	Persons.	Males.	Females.		
Rangoon ...	213	172	41	53	21
Akyab ...	211	124	87	33	21
Hanthawaddy ...	67	46	20	16	7
Insein ...	44	31	13	13	4
Pegu ...	51	35	16	10	5
Pyapôn ...	34	26	8	10	3
Myaungmya ...	27	24	4	6	3
Bassein ...	24	20	4	4	2
Toungoo ...	30	20	10	7	3
Thalôn ...	34	23	11	6	3
Amherst ...	41	29	11	8	4
Mergui ...	9	7	2	6	1
Mandalay ...	38	27	11	10	4
Myitkyina ...	17	11	6	10	2
All others ...	179	139	40	2	18
Total ...	1,018	734	284	7	100

5. Indians classified by race.				
Race.	Actual population.			Per 1,000 persons.
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	
Bengali ...	65,211	48,682	16,529	64
Chittagonian ...	252,152	163,912	88,240	248
Hindustani ...	174,967	132,842	42,125	172
Tamil ...	149,888	93,435	56,453	147
Telugu ...	159,759	123,940	35,819	157
Oriya ...	62,585	58,905	3,680	61
Others ...	153,263	112,195	41,068	151
Total ...	1,017,825	733,911	283,914	1,000

6. Indians classified by religion.				
Religion.	Actual population.			Per 1,000 persons.
	Persons.	Males.	Females.	
Hindu ...	565,609	425,389	140,220	556
Muslim ...	396,594	271,514	125,080	390
Buddhist ...	12,600	9,778	2,822	12
Christian ...	30,135	18,015	12,120	30
Sikh ...	10,896	7,882	3,014	11
Others ...	1,991	1,333	658	2
Total ...	1,017,825	733,911	283,914	1,000



The occupations of Indians and the part they play in the economic life of the province are treated in paragraphs 80 and 81 of Chapter VIII.

In the enumeration schedules Indians were recorded as permanently or temporarily resident in Burma but the figures for these two classes were not compiled, partly owing to the financial stringency and partly because the figures were unreliable: a large proportion of the Indians had evidently suspected an ulterior motive and many who were only temporarily resident returned themselves as permanently resident.

**142. Indian Races.**—At the 1891, 1901 and 1911 censuses in Burma Hindus were classified according to their caste and Muslims according to their tribe. The results were so unsatisfactory that in 1921 this was abandoned and Indians were classified according to what was called their "race". The results were much more satisfactory and the same classification has therefore been used for the 1931 census. The 38 races for which figures have been compiled are given in Part I of Imperial Table XVII. This classification would, of course, be ridiculous for India: for one thing many of the names, *e.g.*, Chulia, Nursapuri and Kaka would not be understood. But it is very suitable for Burma since the names used are those by which Indians are known here.

The meanings of some of the names will probably be readily understood but there are others which need some explanation. Many of them appear to have been derived from the places in India from which the persons originally came. Chulias come from Madras Presidency and they speak Tamil; practically all of them are Muslims. According to the Census Superintendent of Madras the name may be a corruption of the word "Chola" which is the old Tamil name for the tract in which these people are mostly found. Tamil Muslims in Burma are sometimes called Lubbay, Ravuthar or Maricar. These names are known in Madras and the following information has been furnished by the Census Superintendent of that province:—

"The Labbais are found chiefly in Tanjore and Madura, but are present in most districts in the centre and south of the presidency. The origin of the Labbais is doubtful. In the beginning there was as with the Mappillas, a certain mixture of foreign blood but where this came from is far from clear. Tipu Sultan's invasions created many of them out of ordinary Hindus and the origin of the great bulk of the community is simply that of the Hindus around them. The fact that their normal house speech is Tamil illustrates this; so too the resemblance of several customs to those of their Hindu neighbours. They are however orthodox Musalmans. Most of them in this presidency are traders and betel vine growers. Many are fishermen, boatmen, etc., and some are engaged in weaving corah mats and others in diving at the pearl and chank fisheries of the Gulf of Manaar.

Ravuthar is a title or rather appellation used by Labbais and connected tribes. There is some doubt about Marakkayar (Maricar) but probably they are a distinct sept of similar origin to the Labbais, found in rather a more restricted area. The name is derived from the Arabic for a boat and to this day they remain predominantly connected with the sea.

Marakkayars usually consider themselves superior to Labbais and inter-marriage is not common. Both attach importance to the use of the Arabic character for educational and religious purposes and books where Tamil is printed in that character are of frequent occurrence. Their Tamil vocabulary has to some extent been modified by Arabic additions; this is more apparent among the Marakkayars than the Labbais."

As in 1921, enumerators were instructed to enter Chulia in the enumeration schedules if Lubbay, Ravuthar and Maricar were returned; the figures for these three races are therefore included in the figures for Chulias. The number of Chulias recorded in 1931 was 31,992 (23,269 males and 8,723 females) and all but 228 were Muslims. In addition there were 2,252 Muslims who returned their race as Tamil. The word Chulia does not appear in the Census Tables for 1921 although it must have been recorded in the enumeration schedules; the Chulias have evidently been classified as Tamils since the number of Tamil Muslims is given as 28,524. The Chulias in Burma are mostly shop-keepers and about 82 per cent were enumerated in the Delta subdivision; Rangoon alone contains 10,662 or one-third of the total number in the province, Amherst coming next with 2,883 or 9 per cent. Chetties are Tamils and have been classified accordingly.

The Kakas, Moplahs or Mappilas speak Malayalam; they also come from the Madras Presidency and are practically all Muslims. The Census Superintendent of Madras has furnished the following information about them:—

"The Mappillas (Moplahs) are confined to the West Coast, chiefly to the districts of Malabar and South Kanara. The first Mappillas descended from Arab sailors who married women of the country but the great majority of the Mappillas of to-day have next to no admixture of foreign blood; they are simply outcaste Cherumans who have turned to Islam. They speak Malayalam."



The persons recorded as Malabarīs also come from the Malabar district of Madras and speak Malayalam; the number recorded was 3,205, which included 2,376 Hindus, 571 Muslims and 206 Christians. The Malabarī Muslims are presumably the same as the Kakas. The Kakas and Malabarī Muslims in 1931 numbered 10,012, compared with 5,438 in 1921. The Kakas, like the Chulias, are shop-keepers (usually eatables and aerated waters) and they have spread to practically every district in the province; in Rangoon the number enumerated was 2,076.

Nursapuris or Narsapuris (the latter is probably the correct spelling) speak Telugu and they are mostly Muslims. The name appears to have been derived from the name of a taluk called Narsapur in the West Godaviri district in Madras. The persons originally called Narsapuris presumably came from this taluk but the name appears now to be applied to persons who come from the same neighbourhood. The total number of Narsapuris recorded was 5,049, which included 4,284 Muslims and 669 Christians; most of the Christians were enumerated in Pyapōn district. There were also 1,459 Muslims who returned their race as Telugu. Telugus are sometimes called Coringhis; this name appears to be derived from the name of a seaport in Madras Presidency from which they originally sailed for Burma. Deccanis come from the Deccan; they too are Muslims and they usually speak Hindustani. The number recorded was only 1,190.

Maimons (Memons), Khojas and Borahs are Muslims and come mainly from Gujarat. An interesting account of the Khojas and Memons will be found on pages 445 and 451, respectively, of the Baroda Census Report for 1931. Suratis come from the Surat district of Bombay and they too are Muslims. Gujaratis come from Gujarat, the total number recorded being 6,469; Hindus numbered 4,981, Muslims 990 and Jains 461. The Sindhis come from Sind; most of those recorded were Hindus.

The Konkani come from the Konkan coast of the Bombay Presidency, while Goanese come from Goa on the same coast. Separate figures have been given for Goanese and Konkani but in Imperial Table XV figures for speakers of Goanese have been included in the figures for speakers of Konkani since Goanese is understood to be a dialect of Konkani.

The Kumaunis are people from the three districts of Almora, Naini Tal and Garhwal in the Kumaun division of the United Provinces; there is probably very little, if any, difference between the Kumaunis and Garhwālis but they have been tabulated separately, in case there is any difference. Speakers of Kumauni and Garhwāli have, however, been included in the speakers of Central Pahari.

The cloth-selling money lenders known as Kabulis have been included in the figures for Pathans.

The Gurkhas come from Nepal. They have increased from 22,251 in 1921 to 39,532 in 1931, *i.e.* by 17,281 or 78 per cent. One-third were enumerated in the Shan States (8,203 in the Northern Shan States and 5,035 in the Southern Shan States), and one-third in Myitkyina and Katha (10,085 in Myitkyina and 3,125 in Katha); the remainder were scattered, the only other district containing a large number being Mandalay (3,377).

Chittagonians come from the Chittagong district of Bengal. It might be argued that the figures for Chittagonians should be included in those for Bengalis, but there is no harm done in giving separate figures for them. There is, of course, a certain amount of overlapping. This is evident from the fact that the Bengalis have dropped from 77,988 to 65,211 since 1921 while the Chittagonians have increased from 206,388 to 252,152; the combined figures show an increase of 32,987 or 11·6 per cent. According to the instructions issued at the 1921 census, the words *Kawtaw*, *Barua*, *Babuji* and *Magh* were given as alternative names for Chittagonian, and if any of these alternative names were returned, enumerators were required to enter the word Chittagonian in the enumeration schedules. The same instructions were issued at the 1931 census. It would, however, have been better if Maghs had been separately recorded. In Burma the word *Magh* is usually applied to the Buddhist cooks who come from Chittagong and they are also called *Barua* or *Babuji*. On the other hand in Bengal the word *Magh* is usually applied to the Arakanese. The Census Superintendent of Bengal has furnished the following information about them:—

"You will find details about the Maghs in Risley, Tribes and Castes of Bengal, Part II. I have tabulated no details of them because the name is used by two distinct peoples (a) the



tribes originating in Arakan and (b) the Chittagonian Buddhist Bengalis. Those whom you have are (b), since they call themselves *Barua*. The derivation of the name is not certainly known and the origin of the people you are dealing with is uncertain. They are said to be the result of the union of Bengali women with Burmese invaders whilst they possessed Chittagong, but this origin is repudiated by the caste itself and they derive themselves from Magadha, the modern Bihar. This derivation gives them an etymology for their name (from Maga or Magadha) and an explanation of the names which they have claimed in place of Magh, viz. *Magadhi* and *Rajbangshi* (= of the royal lineage). *Rajbangshi* however is a name claimed by many castes descended from the tribes which at one time or another had or are assumed to have had any sort of 'kingdom' in any part of the province, and is not recognised as a definite caste name for them. There are Buddhists in the Chittagong Hill Tracts who might get into Burma (e.g., the other Maghs) but I think you are safe in saying that all Buddhist Chittagonians in Burma are Maghs (i.e., *Barua* or *Bhuiya Maghs*) particularly if they speak Bengali and certainly such as cooks."

The word *Rajbansi* referred to above was recorded in the Akyab district and the Arakan Hill Tracts in 1901 but not at later censuses in Burma.

U San Shwe Bu, formerly Honorary Archæological Officer of Arakan, has sent me the following regarding the derivation of the word *Magh* :—

"It is quite certain the word originated in Eastern Bengal about the beginning of the 17th century where the Mohamedans applied it for the first time to the Arakanese who lived there. A manuscript in the Bodleian Library written by a contemporary historian, Shiab-ud-din Talish, throws a flood of illuminating light on the subject. He states that in the 17th century, owing perhaps to the evil influence exerted by the Portuguese who had been permitted to settle in the country in large numbers, piracy became the normal occupation of the Arakanese in Eastern Bengal. They infested the inland waterways and creeks and terrorised the riverine villages by pillage and plunder and carried off hundreds of people at a time for subsequent sale as slaves in neighbouring countries. They were so much hated by the inhabitants of those parts that they called the Arakanese pirates "Magh," an abbreviation of a word meaning 'a despicable dog.' The word therefore was originally a contemptuous term; but in course of time it came to be applied to the Arakanese both in the Chittagong district as well as in Arakan. ('Studies in Mogul India' Sarkar.)"

The total number of Chittagonian and Bengali Buddhists enumerated was 4,243 (3,317 males and 926 females) and it is interesting to note that there is now a Chittagong Buddhist Association in Burma, with headquarters in Rangoon.

I am also indebted to U San Shwe Bu for the following derivation of *Kawtaw* :—

"The word 'Kawtaw' originated in Lower Burma. All Chittagonian Bengalis were given this name by the Burmese people, first in Rangoon, later, elsewhere. It is very modern as it only came into being after the Annexation. In the Chittagong dialect the word 'Kawtaw' means 'how much.' This was invariably the first word used by a Chittagonian as a preliminary to some purchase in the Rangoon bazaar, and as the Burmese could not understand him at all he and his compatriots came to be known as 'Kawtaw Kala.'"

#### 143. Indo-Burman Races.—The Indo-Burman races include the

7. Indo-Burman Races.			
Year of Census.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1931	182,166	90,307	91,859
1921	125,262	61,751	63,511

the Zerbadis, the Arakan Mahomedans, the Arakan Kamans and the Myedus. The number of persons belonging to these races has increased by 56,904 or 45 per cent. It is pointed out in paragraph 141 that in 1921 a number of Arakan Mahomedans in the Akyab district—estimated at between 10,000 and 15,000—returned themselves as Indians. The increase is therefore reduced to between 30 and 35 per cent. The Arakan Mahomedans are mostly found in the Akyab district; the only other districts containing an appreciable number are Kyaukpyu (1,597) and Sandoway (1,658). They are properly the descendants of Arakanese women who have married Chittagonian Muslims. In Burma they are called *Yakaing-kala* (Yakaing-kala). They are recognised locally as a distinct race and they dress differently from the Arakanese and Chittagonians. The number recorded in 1931 was 51,615, which is more than double the number in 1921, namely 23,775. The reason for the large increase has been explained above.

The Arakan Kamans have increased from 2,180 to 2,686 and are practically confined to the Akyab and Kyaukpyu districts. According to paragraph 160 of the 1921 Census Report "they are descendants of the followers of Shah Shuja, son of Aurungzebe, who fled to Arakan in 1660 A.D. after the failure of his attempt to seize the Moghul throne. After the death of Shah Shuja they were



formed into a royal bodyguard of archers, and hence received their name. Their features are Indian, but their language, dress and manners are Arakanese."

The Myedus are descendants of Indian Muslims who came over to Burma from northern India in the time of Alaungpaya (see paragraph 158 of the 1921 Census Report). They have increased from 4,991 to 5,160 since 1921 and are practically confined to the Shwebo district.

The Zerbadis have increased from 94,316 in 1921 to 122,705 in 1931, i.e., by 28,389 or 30 per cent. In 1891, 1901 and 1911, the tribal designations were recorded in the enumeration schedules for Muslims and not the race, as at the 1921 and 1931 censuses. The figures for Zerbadis for the 1911 and previous censuses are therefore not reliable. According to the 1921 Census Report Zerbadi was a newish word in 1891, at which census only 24 Zerbadis were recorded; in 1901 the number recorded was 20,423 and this was raised to 59,729 in 1911. The word Zerbadi is applied to the offspring of marriages between Indian Muslims and Burmese women. Objection has often been raised against the use of the word Zerbadi, but no satisfactory substitute has been suggested. The majority of the Zerbadis are Muslims and the Zerbadi Muslims prefer to be known as Burma Moslems. The term Burma Moslem is not, however, a satisfactory substitute for Zerbadi since some of the Zerbadis are Buddhists or Christians. There has now been in existence for several years a society called the Burma Moslem Society. This society is an active body and in order to safeguard the interests of Muslims in the province are apparently desirous of amalgamating all Muslims who are permanently resident in Burma and it would extend the term "Burma Moslem" to include all such Muslims. A leaflet was actually issued by this society instructing all Muslims permanently resident in Burma to return themselves at the census as Burma Muslims. This was stopped at once and a *Press Communique* was also issued explaining that the instructions for the census did not provide for any entry such as "Burma Muslims." As far as is known no harm was done by the issue of the leaflet.

The large increase in the number of Zerbadis is partly due to the growth of racial consciousness, partly to better enumeration (it is probable that some of the Burmese Mahomedans recorded in 1921 were actually Zerbadis) and partly to the inter-marriage of Indian Muslims with Burmese women; in some cases the offspring of such marriages adopt the race of the father, and in other cases that of the mother, but as a rule they call themselves Zerbadis.

**144. Chinese Races.**—Figures for Chinese races are given in marginal table 8. Yünnanese

Muslims are usually called Panthays. They show a reduction in number. Most of them were enumerated in the Southern Shan States (438), Northern Shan States (125), Katha (241), Myitkyina (53) and Rangoon (67); the remainder were scattered. Yünnanese other than Panthays have

8. Yünnanese and other Chinese.				
Race.	1931.		1921.	
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
Panthay ... ..	685	421	1,076	441
Other Yünnanese ... ..	40,003	26,582	34,676	23,039
Chinese other than Yünnanese.	86,361	39,542	66,125	23,703
Total ... ..	127,049	66,545	101,877	47,183

increased by 15 per cent. Eighty-seven per cent of them (58,187) were enumerated in the Northern Shan States; most of the remainder were recorded in the Southern Shan States (1,026), and the districts of Myitkyina (2,270), Bhamo (2,116), Katha (1,431), Mandalay (549), Shwebo (213) and Rangoon (136).

Chinese other than Yünnanese are mostly Cantonese and Fukienese and they have increased by 36,075 or 40 per cent. This increase is largely, if not entirely, due to migration, since slightly less than one-third of these Chinese are females. Sixty-eight per cent of the Chinese other than Yünnanese were enumerated in the Delta subdivision; most of the remainder were enumerated in the Tenasserim portion of the Coast subdivision (15 per cent) and in the Centre subdivision (9 per cent). The numbers of Cantonese and Fukienese recorded were 33,990 and 50,038, respectively, but it is probable that most of



the "Other and unspecified Chinese", amounting to 41,875, were Cantonese or Fukienese. In the enumeration schedules Chinese were recorded as permanently or temporarily resident in Burma but owing to the financial stringency the figures were not compiled.

The Chinese population of each natural division is classified by birth-place in paragraph 34 of Chapter III. The proportion of the Chinese population enumerated in towns is dealt with in paragraph 25 of Chapter II and the sex-ratio of Chinese in towns, in paragraph 26 of the same chapter. The occupations of Chinese are discussed in paragraphs 80 and 81 of Chapter VIII.

**145. Europeans and Anglo-Indians.**—The following instructions regarding the enumeration of Europeans and Anglo-Indians were issued to all census officers above the rank of enumerator :—

"If a person says he is a European ask him what kind of European, whether Anglo-Indian, French, Italian, etc. Do not write *European*. If a person says his race is British ask whether he is English, Irish, Scotch, Welsh or Anglo-Indian; do not write *British*. For the purpose of the Census an Anglo-Indian is a person who is partly of European and partly of Burmese or Indian descent. Americans, Armenians, and Europeans who are not of British birth, such as Frenchmen, Italians, etc., should be asked if they are naturalised British subjects, and if so the words 'British subject' should be added after the entry for race."

The figures for Europeans and Anglo-Indians are given in Imperial Table XIX. The total number of Europeans recorded was 11,651 and of these 10,627 or 91 per cent, were British subjects (9,998 belonged to races of the British Empire) and 1,024, or 9 per cent, were foreign subjects.

Figures for the last three censuses are given in Table 9 below. It will be noticed that there were 13,443 Europeans in 1911, 8,665 in 1921 and 11,651

9. Europeans and allied races (including Armenians) and Anglo-Indians.											
Year of Census.			Europeans (including Armenians).			Anglo-Indians.			Total.		
			Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
1911	...	...	13,443	10,024	3,419	11,106	6,039	5,067	24,549	16,063	8,486
1921	...	...	8,665	6,300	2,365	16,688	8,458	8,230	25,353	14,758	10,595
1931	...	...	11,651	7,885	3,766	19,200	9,884	9,316	30,851	17,769	13,082

in 1931. Mr. Morgan Webb in paragraph 83 of the 1911 Census Report pointed out that it was probable that many Anglo-Indians had returned themselves as Europeans at that census. This is the reason for the very large increase in the number of Anglo-Indians and the very large decrease in the number of Europeans in 1921. Mr. Grantham also states in paragraph 162 of the 1921 Report that about 500 persons who were recorded as Europeans were classified as Anglo-Indians. The small number of Europeans in 1921 may also be partly attributed to the war. Many European Assistants of firms left the country during the war and it was not till after the census had been taken that they returned in appreciable numbers. It is significant that while male Europeans and Anglo-Indians decreased from 16,063 in 1911 to 14,758 in 1921, the females increased from 8,486 to 10,595. Since 1921, Europeans have increased by 2,986 or 34 per cent (males by 25 per cent and females by 60 per cent). This may be partly due to the more settled conditions which have prevailed since the war. Anglo-Indians have increased by 2,512 or 15 per cent. There is no doubt that the very large increase in the number of Europeans since 1921 is due to a bigger proportion of Anglo-Indians having been classified as Europeans in 1931, than in 1921. This can be seen from a consideration of the figures for birth-place. Of the 11,651 persons recorded as Europeans only 7,589 were born in Europe, America and Australia; 3,851 were born in India (including Burma) and the remaining 211 in other Asiatic countries and Africa. Practically all those born in Europe, America and Australia would be Europeans; of those born in India some would be Europeans (many would be young children) but the bulk of them would be Anglo-Indians. The number of Anglo-Indians who returned themselves as Europeans at the 1931 census would appear therefore to be between 3,000 and 4,000. This is very much larger than the corresponding number at the 1921 census (see paragraph 162 of the 1921 Census Report). If



figures for Europeans and Anglo-Indians are combined the increase since 1921 is 5,498 or 21·7 per cent. This is very much larger than the increase during the previous decade which was only 3·3 per cent; the increase since 1911 is 25·7 per cent.

Many of the persons who return themselves as Portuguese are not true Portuguese and the following rules which are the same as those adopted at the last census, were observed in classifying them : (i) domestic servants and ships' stewards and speakers of Kanarese or Goanese were treated as Goanese ; (ii) speakers of English or Burmese were treated as Anglo-Indians ; and (iii) speakers of Portuguese were treated as Portuguese if born in Portugal or Cape Verde and as Goa-Portuguese (which is a race in group Z) if born in Goa or other parts of India.



SUBSIDIARY TABLE I.—*Distribution by Race groups of the population of each district and natural division.*

District and Natural Division.	Total Population.	Number per 10,000 of the population belonging to the following race groups.										
		Burma.	Kuki-Chin.	Kachin.	Tai (Shan).	Mon (Talaing).	Palaung-Wa.	Karen.	Chinese.	Indo-Burman.	Indian.	Others.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
<b>PROVINCE</b> ...	14,647,497	6,573	238	105	708	230	120	934	132	124	695	141
<b>Burman</b> ...	12,856,207	7,335	127	70	252	262	4	856	100	141	763	91
<i>Delta</i> ...	5,435,058	6,689	17	...	82	159	...	1,742	158	74	1,036	42
Rangoon ...	400,415	3,071	8	...	16	9	...	81	765	314	5,318	419
Insein ...	331,452	7,028	8	1	190	32	...	1,135	163	33	1,328	80
Hanthawaddy ...	408,831	7,270	1	...	75	60	...	728	131	84	1,628	23
Tharrawaddy ...	508,319	9,037	25	...	60	...	...	525	53	26	270	3
Pegu ...	489,969	7,484	27	...	120	373	...	761	154	36	1,035	9
Bassein ...	571,043	7,099	17	...	11	9	...	2,261	110	64	422	7
Henzada ...	613,280	8,668	74	...	8	...	...	981	43	27	196	2
Myaungmya ...	444,784	6,510	...	...	5	3	...	2,663	165	35	617	1
Maubin ...	371,509	6,421	...	...	3	2	...	3,062	97	50	363	1
Pyapön ...	334,158	8,105	...	...	6	19	...	646	183	15	1,025	1
Toungoo ...	428,670	6,619	15	...	388	21	...	2,055	84	97	702	19
Thatön ...	532,628	2,564	...	...	138	1,166	...	5,280	94	122	633	4
<i>Coast</i> ...	1,845,301	5,222	303	...	150	1,354	...	772	108	453	1,478	160
Akyab ...	637,580	5,142	463	...	...	...	...	...	11	780	3,309	294
Kyaukpyu ...	220,292	8,839	814	...	...	...	...	...	6	143	196	1
Sandoway ...	129,245	8,784	652	...	...	...	...	3	12	392	154	3
Amherst ...	516,233	1,437	...	...	334	4,782	...	2,072	219	334	787	35
Tavoy ...	179,964	8,492	...	...	4	151	...	746	208	73	312	14
Mergui ...	161,987	6,203	...	1	644	20	...	1,358	237	438	571	529
<i>Centre</i> ...	4,823,979	9,390	185	2	14	...	...	22	27	113	233	14
Prome ...	410,651	9,126	340	3	21	...	...	113	58	37	298	5
Thayetmyo ...	274,177	8,977	832	...	1	...	...	3	25	40	119	3
Pakokku ...	499,181	9,488	444	...	1	...	...	1	10	7	47	3
Minbu ...	277,876	9,068	754	...	...	...	...	...	23	10	143	1
Magwe ...	499,573	9,546	47	...	...	...	...	...	3	26	25	335
Mandalay ...	371,636	8,046	121	27	124	...	...	22	85	443	1,015	117
Kyaukse ...	151,320	9,364	2	...	11	...	...	2	23	441	157	2
Meiktila ...	309,999	9,684	1	...	1	...	4	4	12	96	194	5
Yamethin ...	390,820	9,138	46	...	18	...	...	116	37	326	311	9
Myingyan ...	472,557	9,900	...	...	2	...	...	1	15	5	75	2
Shwebo ...	446,790	9,665	1	...	...	...	...	...	18	178	135	3
Sagaing ...	335,965	9,787	16	...	1	...	...	1	7	76	109	3
Lower Chindwin ...	383,434	9,904	1	...	1	...	...	1	12	11	67	3
<i>North</i> ...	751,869	4,009	120	1,173	3,265	...	67	8	128	33	427	769
Bhamo ...	121,193	2,599	4	3,856	2,852	...	25	14	210	55	259	126
Myitkyina ...	171,524	2,198	17	2,330	3,651	...	...	5	240	34	975	551
Katha ...	254,170	5,292	4	58	2,429	1	187	12	107	33	271	1,607
Upper Chindwin ...	204,982	4,768	419	2	4,222	...	...	2	12	20	260	294
<b>Chin</b> ...	192,655	124	9,628	...	...	...	...	1	4	...	116	127
Arakan Hill Tracts ...	21,418	1,051	7,585	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	233	1,130
Chin Hills ...	171,237	8	9,884	...	...	...	...	2	5	...	101	1
<b>Salween</b> ...	111,947	383	...	2	1,385	15	7	7,935	38	12	221	2
Salween ...	53,186	389	...	...	774	24	10	8,602	31	18	148	2
Karenni ...	58,761	378	1	4	1,937	7	4	7,332	43	6	286	3
<b>Shan</b> ...	1,486,688	1,282	...	430	4,691	...	1,151	1,199	434	9	219	585
Northern Shan States ...	616,458	766	...	1,026	4,683	...	2,000	7	982	7	345	184
Southern Shan States ...	870,230	1,646	...	8	4,697	...	550	2,043	45	11	130	869



## APPENDIX A.

### Burma Linguistic Map.†

The total population of each district is represented on the Linguistic Map at the beginning of Chapter X by a rectangle, on the scale of 500,000 persons to a square inch. The scale of the map is 50 miles to the inch. The original statistics on which this map is based are given in Part II of Imperial Table XV and for the purposes of that table selected indigenous languages were formed into five classes (see Note 8 on page 219 of the Tables Volume). The language recorded at the census was the mother tongue and the total number of persons who returned a mother tongue in one of these classes is represented by a strip of the rectangle drawn parallel to the base. These five classes are distinguished on the map by different kinds of hatching. Where the number of persons in one of these classes is numerically too small to be shown on the map, its figures are included in those for the remainder class "Others"; in some districts the class "Others" is itself too small to be shown on the map. The proportion speaking subsidiary languages in these classes has been shown by superimposing the appropriate hatching of the required length; in many cases the proportion is too small to be shown on the map. Only subsidiary languages belonging to the five classes of indigenous languages have been taken into account and no subsidiary languages have been shown for the remainder class "Others". The figures represented on the map are given in the Schedule below.

*Schedule for Linguistic Map.*

District or State.	Mother Tongue.		Percentage of Total.	Subsidiary Languages.	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages.
	Name.	Number of Speakers.			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Akyab ...	All Languages ...	637,580	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	329,028	51·6	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	47,973	7·5	Languages of the Burma Group.	36·9
	Others ...	260,579	40·9	...	...
Arakan Hill Tracts.	All Languages ...	21,418	100	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	18,665	87·1	...	...
	Others * ...	2,753	12·9	...	...
Kyaukpyu ...	All Languages ...	220,292	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	196,061	89·0	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	18,203	8·3	Languages of the Burma Group.	45·8
	Others * ...	6,028	2·7	...	...
Sandoway ...	All Languages ...	129,245	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	118,090	91·4	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	8,381	6·5	Languages of the Burma Group.	63·3
	Others * ...	2,774	2·1	...	...
Rangoon Town	All Languages ...	400,415	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	139,826	34·9	...	...
	Others ...	260,589	65·1	...	...
Pegu ...	All Languages ...	489,969	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	381,326	77·8	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	36,252	7·4	Languages of the Burma Group.	78·4
	Others ...	72,391	14·8	...	...

\* Too small to be shown on the map.

† Copies of the Racial and Linguistic Maps can be obtained from the Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery, Rangoon. The price of each, together with the connected Appendix, is Re. 1 per copy.



*Schedule for Linguistic Map—contd.*

District or State.	Mother Tongue.		Percentage of Total.	Subsidiary Languages.	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages.
	Name.	Number of Speakers.			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Tharrawaddy ...	All Languages ...	508,319	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	461,446	90.8	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	26,232	5.2	Languages of the Burma Group.	68.2
	Others ...	20,641	4.1	...	...
Hanthawaddy ...	All Languages ...	408,851	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	306,692	75.0	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	26,672	6.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	89.5
	Others ...	75,467	18.5	...	...
Insein ...	All Languages ...	331,452	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	237,621	71.7	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	36,802	11.1	Languages of the Burma Group.	88.2
	Others ...	57,029	17.2	...	...
Prome ...	All Languages ...	410,651	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	376,795	91.8	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	14,017	3.4	Languages of the Burma Group.	83.7
	Others ...	19,839	4.8	...	...
Bassein ...	All Languages ...	571,043	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	409,498	71.7	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	128,060	22.4	Languages of the Burma Group.	89.2
	Others ...	33,485	5.9	...	...
Henzada ...	All Languages ...	613,280	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	534,202	87.1	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	59,269	9.7	Languages of the Burma Group.	72.8
	Others ...	19,809	3.2	...	...
Myaungmya ...	All Languages ...	444,784	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	292,990	65.9	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	117,242	26.4	Languages of the Burma Group.	83.1
	Others ...	34,552	7.8	...	...
Mauhin ...	All Languages ...	371,509	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	240,394	64.7	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	113,476	30.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	90.4
	Others ...	17,639	4.7	...	...
Pyapôn ...	All Languages ...	334,158	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	273,180	81.8	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	20,780	6.2	Languages of the Burma Group.	89.3
	Others ...	40,198	12.0	...	...



## Schedule for Linguistic Map—contd.

District or State.	Mother Tongue.		Percentage of Total.	Subsidiary Languages.	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages.
	Name.	Number of Speakers.			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Salween ...	All Languages ...	53,186	100	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	45,737	86.0	...	...
	Others ...	7,449	14.0	...	...
Thatôn ...	All Languages ...	532,628	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	163,133	30.6	...	...
	Languages of the Môn-Khmer Groups.	56,775	10.7	Languages of the Burma Group.	77.0
	Languages of the Karen Group.	265,622	49.9	Languages of the Burma Group.	55.2
	Others ...	47,098	8.8	...	...
Amherst ...	All Languages ...	516,233	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	103,951	20.1	...	...
	Languages of the Tai Group.	16,818	3.3	Languages of the Burma Group.	52.0
	Languages of the Môn-Khmer Groups.	235,614	45.6	Languages of the Burma Group.	47.3
	Languages of the Karen Group.	106,544	20.6	Languages of the Burma Group.	44.0
	Others ...	53,306	10.3	...	...
Tavoy ...	All Languages ...	179,964	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	154,908	86.1	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	13,458	7.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	47.5
	Others ...	11,598	6.4	...	...
Mergui ...	All Languages ...	161,987	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	107,761	66.5	...	...
	Languages of the Tai Group.	12,420	7.7	Languages of the Burma Group.	16.8
	Languages of the Karen Group.	21,734	13.4	Languages of the Burma Group.	69.9
	Others ...	20,072	12.4	...	...
Toungoo ...	All Languages ...	428,670	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	288,640	67.3	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	87,891	20.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	54.6
	Others ...	52,139	12.2	...	...
Thayetmyo ...	All Languages ...	274,177	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	247,577	90.3	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	22,374	8.2	Languages of the Burma Group.	77.8
	Others* ...	4,226	1.5	...	...
Minbu ...	All Languages ...	277,876	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	253,980	91.4	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	19,359	7.0	Languages of the Burma Group.	74.6
	Others* ...	4,537	1.6	...	...
Magwe ...	All Languages ...	499,573	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	478,480	95.8	...	...
	Others ...	21,093	4.2	...	...

\* Too small to be shown on the map.



## Schedule for Linguistic Map—contd.

District or State. 1	Mother Tongue.		Percent- age of Total. 4	Subsidiary Languages. 5	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages. 6
	Name. 2	Number of Speak- ers. 3			
Pakòkku ...	All Languages ...	499,181	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	474,650	95.1	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	21,522	4.3	Languages of the Burma Group.	84.1
	Others * ...	3,009	0.6	...	...
Chin Hills ...	All Languages ...	171,237	100	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	169,243	98.8	...	...
	Others * ...	1,994	1.2	...	...
Mandalay ...	All Languages ...	371,636	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	316,593	85.2	...	...
	Others ...	55,043	14.8	...	...
Kyaukse ...	All Languages ...	151,320	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	148,379	98.1	...	...
	Others * ...	2,941	1.9	...	...
Meiktila ...	All Languages ...	309,999	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	303,817	98.0	...	...
	Others * ...	6,182	2.0	...	...
Myingyan ...	All Languages ...	472,557	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	468,332	99.1	...	...
	Others * ...	4,225	0.9	...	...
Yamèthin ...	All Languages ...	390,820	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	370,647	94.8	...	...
	Others ...	20,173	5.2	...	...
Bhamo ...	All Languages ...	121,193	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	32,142	26.5	Languages of the Tai Group.	18.9
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	48,180	39.8	...	...
	Languages of the Tai Group.	34,550	28.5	Languages of the Burma Group.	32.2
	Others ...	6,321	5.2	...	...
Myitkyina ...	All Languages ...	171,524	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	38,991	22.1	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	7.6
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	49,507	28.9	Languages of the Burma Group.	11.8
	Languages of the Tai Group.	62,126	36.2	Languages of the Burma Group.	61.6
	Others ...	20,900	12.2	...	...
Shwebo ...	All Languages ...	446,790	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	439,834	98.4	...	...
	Others * ...	6,956	1.6	...	...

\* Too small to be shown on the map.



*Schedule for Linguistic Map—concl'd.*

District or State.	Mother Tongue.		Percentage of Total.	Subsidiary Languages.	Percentage speaking subsidiary languages.
	Name.	Number of Speakers.			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Sagaing ...	All Languages ...	335,965	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	331,790	98·8	...	...
	Others * ...	4,175	1·2	...	...
Katha ...	All Languages ...	254,170	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	165,213	65·0	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	26,162	10·3	Languages of the Burma Group.	75·6
	Languages of the Tai Group.	48,037	18·9	Languages of the Burma Group.	81·6
	Others ...	14,758	5·8	...	...
Lower Chindwin	All Languages ...	383,434	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	380,183	99·2	...	...
	Others * ...	3,251	0·8	...	...
Upper Chindwin	All Languages ...	204,982	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	98,340	48·0	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	14,296	7·0	Languages of the Burma Group.	16·7
	Languages of the Tai Group.	86,672	42·3	Languages of the Burma Group.	76·2
	Others * ...	5,674	2·7	...	...
Northern Shan States.	All Languages ...	616,458	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	47,474	7·7	Languages of the Tai Group.	9·7
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	73,593	11·9	Languages of the Tai Group.	22·2
	Languages of the Tai Group.	289,132	46·9	Languages of the Burma Group.	7·2
	Languages of the Mon-Khmer Groups.	122,934	19·9	Languages of the Tai Group.	43·9
	Others ...	83,325	13·5	...	...
Southern Shan States.	All Languages ...	870,230	100	...	...
	Languages of the Burma Group.	143,926	16·5	...	...
	Other Tibeto-Burmese Languages.	75,473	8·7	Languages of the Tai Group.	28·0
	Languages of the Tai Group.	408,706	47·0	Languages of the Burma Group.	3·8
	Languages of the Mon-Khmer Groups.	47,831	5·5	Languages of the Tai Group.	75·1
	Languages of the Karen Group.	177,935	20·4	Languages of the Burma Group.	6·6
				Languages of the Tai Group.	8·4
	Others ...	16,359	1·9	...	...
Karenni ...	All Languages ...	58,761	100	...	...
	Languages of the Tai Group.	11,384	19·4	...	...
	Languages of the Karen Group.	43,077	73·3	...	...
	Others ...	14,300	7·3	...	...

\* Too small to be shown on the map.



## APPENDIX B.

### Burma Racial Map.†

The total population of each district is represented on the Racial map at the beginning of this Report by a rectangle which has been subdivided into smaller rectangles of different colours representing the population of the different race-groups. As far as possible, the rectangles have been placed within the boundaries of the districts to which they refer. The scale of the map is 50 miles to the inch and the population scale is 500,000 persons to the square inch. Under "Key to Race-Groups," a list is given of the race-groups which are represented on the map. Where the population of a race-group was too small to be shown on the map, its figures were included in the remainder group "Others." The smallest population that is shown on the map is about 600, which is represented by a rectangle '03" by '04". In two districts, Kyaukpyu and Thatôn, the group "Others" is too small to be shown on the map. The figures represented on the map are given in the Schedule below.

#### *Schedule for Racial Map.*

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100.)

District or State.	Race-Group.	Population.	Percentage of Total.
Akyab ... ..	All Races ... ..	637,580	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	327,872	51·4
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	29,516	4·6
	Sak Group ... ..	7,048	1·1
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	49,745	7·8
	Indian Races ... ..	210,990	33·1
	Others ... ..	12,409	1·9
Arakan Hill Tracts ... ..	All Races ... ..	21,418	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	2,251	10·5
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	16,245	75·8
	Others ... ..	2,922	13·6
Kyaukpyu ... ..	All Races ... ..	220,292	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	194,723	88·4
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	17,935	8·1
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	3,141	1·4
	Indian Races ... ..	4,321	2·0
	Others * ... ..	172	0·1
Sandoway ... ..	All Races ... ..	129,245	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	113,526	87·8
	Kuki-Chin Group ... ..	18,425	6·5
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	5,066	3·9
	Others ... ..	2,228	1·7
Rangoon ... ..	All Races ... ..	400,415	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	122,961	30·7
	Chinese Group ... ..	30,626	7·6
	Karen Group ... ..	3,226	0·8
	Indo-Burman Races ... ..	12,560	3·1
	Indian Races ... ..	212,929	53·2
	Others ... ..	18,113	4·5
Pegu ... ..	All Races ... ..	489,969	100·0
	Burma Group ... ..	366,691	74·8
	Tai Group ... ..	5,870	1·2
	Chinese Group ... ..	7,552	1·5
	Mon Group ... ..	18,292	3·7
	Karen Group ... ..	37,292	7·6
	Indian Races ... ..	50,726	10·4
	Others ... ..	3,546	0·7

\* Too small to be shown on the map.

† Copies of the Racial and Linguistic Maps can be obtained from the Superintendent of Government Printing and Stationery, Rangoon. The price of each, together with the connected Appendix, is Re. 1 per copy.



*Schedule for Racial Map—continued.*

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100).

District or State.	Race-Group.	Population.	Percentage of Total.
Tharrawaddy	All Races	508,319	100.0
	Burma Group	459,348	90.4
	Tai Group	3,050	0.6
	Chinese Group	2,687	0.5
	Karen Group	26,702	5.3
	Indian Races	13,740	2.7
	Others	2,792	0.5
Hanthawaddy	All Races	408,831	100.0
	Burma Group	297,222	72.7
	Tai Group	3,068	0.8
	Chinese Group	5,352	1.3
	Mon Group	2,453	0.6
	Karen Group	29,754	7.3
	Indo-Burman Races	3,422	0.8
	Indian Races	66,573	16.3
Insein	All Races	331,452	100.0
	Burma Group	232,929	70.3
	Tai Group	6,283	1.9
	Chinese Group	5,413	1.6
	Karen Group	37,630	11.4
	Indian Races	44,032	13.3
	Others	5,165	1.6
Prome	All Races	410,651	100.0
	Burma Group	374,755	91.3
	Kuki-Chin Group	13,951	3.4
	Chinese Group	2,371	0.6
	Karen Group	4,629	1.1
	Indian Races	12,239	3.0
	Others	2,706	0.7
Bassein	All Races	571,043	100.0
	Burma Group	405,378	71.0
	Chinese Group	6,280	1.1
	Karen Group	129,114	22.6
	Indo-Burman Races	3,662	0.6
	Indian Races	24,096	4.2
	Others	2,513	0.4
Henzada	All Races	613,280	100.0
	Burma Group	531,600	86.7
	Kuki-Chin Group	4,528	0.7
	Chinese Group	2,624	0.4
	Karen Group	60,189	9.8
	Indian Races	12,029	2.0
	Others	2,310	0.4
Myaungmya	All Races	444,784	100.0
	Burma Group	289,555	65.1
	Chinese Group	7,330	1.6
	Karen Group	118,425	26.6
	Indian Races	27,442	6.2
	Others	2,032	0.5
Mauhin	All Races	371,509	100.0
	Burma Group	238,550	64.2
	Chinese Group	3,610	1.0
	Karen Group	113,758	30.6
	Indian Races	13,471	3.6
	Others	2,120	0.6
Pyapôn	All Races	334,158	100.0
	Burma Group	270,850	81.1
	Chinese Group	6,106	1.8
	Karen Group	21,572	6.5
	Indian Races	34,236	10.2
	Others	1,394	0.4



*Schedule for Racial Map—continued.*

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100).

District or State.		Race-Group.		Population.	Percentage of Total.
Salween	...	...	All Races	53,186	100.0
			Burma Group	2,071	3.9
			Tai Group	4,119	7.7
			Karen Group	45,753	86.0
			Others	1,243	2.3
Thaton	...	...	All Races	532,628	100.0
			Burma Group	136,540	25.6
			Tai Group	7,363	1.4
			Chinese Group	4,982	0.9
			Mon Group	62,090	11.7
			Karen Group	281,232	52.8
			Indo-Burman Races	6,483	1.2
			Indian Races	33,697	6.3
			Others *	241	...
Amherst	...	...	All Races	516,233	100.0
			Burma Group	74,179	14.4
			Tai Group	17,236	3.3
			Chinese Group	11,287	2.2
			Mon Group	246,871	47.8
			Karen Group	106,957	20.7
			Indo-Burman Races	17,239	3.3
			Indian Races	40,602	7.9
			Others	1,862	0.4
Tavoy	...	...	All Races	179,964	100.0
			Burma Group	152,834	84.9
			Chinese Group	3,741	2.1
			Mon Group	2,717	1.5
			Karen Group	13,426	7.5
			Indian Races	5,615	3.1
			Others	1,631	0.9
Mergui	...	...	All Races	161,987	100.0
			Burma Group	100,478	62.0
			Tai Group	10,432	6.4
			Chinese Group	3,835	2.4
			Karen Group	21,990	13.6
			Indo-Burman Races	7,094	4.4
			Indian Races	9,257	5.7
			Others	8,901	5.5
Toungoo	...	...	All Races	428,670	100.0
			Burma Group	283,725	66.2
			Tai Group	16,633	3.9
			Chinese Group	3,582	0.8
			Karen Group	88,093	20.6
			Indo-Burman Races	4,176	1.0
			Indian Races	30,109	7.0
			Others	2,352	0.5
Thayetmyo	...	...	All Races	274,177	100.0
			Burma Group	246,126	89.8
			Kuki-Chin Group	22,803	8.3
			Indian Races	3,271	1.2
			Others	1,977	0.7
Minbu	...	...	All Races	277,876	100.0
			Burma Group	251,983	90.7
			Kuki-Chin Group	20,961	7.5
			Indian Races	3,968	1.4
			Others	964	0.3
Magwe	...	...	All Races	499,573	100.0
			Burma Group	476,878	95.5
			Kuki-Chin Group	2,348	0.5
			Indian Races	16,710	3.3
			Others	3,637	0.7

\* Too small to be shown on the map.



*Schedule for Racial Map—continued.*

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100).

District or State.	Race-Group.		Population.	Percentage of Total.
Pakôkku ... ..	All Races	...	499,181	100·0
	Burma Group	...	473,622	94·9
	Kuki-Chin Group	...	22,149	4·4
	Indian Races	...	2,367	0·5
	Others	...	1,043	0·2
Chin Hills ... ..	All Races	...	171,237	100·0
	Kuki-Chin Group	...	169,243	98·8
	Others	...	1,994	1·2
Mandalay ... ..	All Races	...	371,636	100·0
	Burma Group	...	299,011	80·5
	Kuki-Chin Group	...	4,507	1·2
	Tai Group	...	4,608	1·2
	Chinese Group	...	3,153	0·8
	Indo-Burman Races	...	16,459	4·4
	Indian Races	...	37,725	10·2
	Others	...	6,173	1·7
Kyaukse ... ..	All Races	...	151,320	100·0
	Burma Group	...	141,692	93·6
	Indo-Burma Races	...	6,667	4·4
	Indian Races	...	2,372	1·6
	Others	...	589	0·4
Meiktila ... ..	All Races	...	309,999	100·0
	Burma Group	...	300,188	96·8
	Indo-Burman Races	...	2,969	1·0
	Indian Races	...	5,999	1·9
	Others	...	843	0·3
Myingyan ... ..	All Races	...	472,557	100·0
	Burma Group	...	467,843	99·0
	Indian Races	...	3,551	0·8
	Others	...	1,163	0·2
Yamèthin ... ..	All Races	...	390,820	100·0
	Burma Group	...	357,133	91·4
	Karen Group	...	4,534	1·2
	Indo-Burman Races	...	12,730	3·3
	Indian Races	...	12,138	3·1
	Others	...	4,285	1·1
Bhamo ... ..	All Races	...	121,193	100·0
	Burma Group	...	31,502	26·0
	Kachin Group	...	46,727	38·6
	Tai Group	...	34,569	28·5
	Chinese Group	...	2,545	2·1
	Indian Races	...	3,136	2·6
	Others	...	2,714	2·2
Myitkyina ... ..	All Races	...	171,524	100·0
	Burma Group	...	37,697	22·0
	Lolo-Muho	...	5,949	3·5
	Kachin Group	...	39,964	23·3
	Sak Group	...	3,339	1·9
	Tai Group	...	62,622	36·5
	Chinese Group	...	4,112	2·4
	Indian Races	...	16,721	9·7
	Others	...	1,120	0·7



*Schedule for Racial Map—concluded.*

(Each percentage is given correct to the nearest decimal place and it sometimes happens that the sum of the percentages does not total 100).

District or State.		Race-Group.		Population.	Percentage of Total.
Shwebo	...	All Races		446,790	100.0
		Burma Group	...	431,816	96.6
		Indo-Burman Races	...	7,939	1.8
		Indian Races	...	6,015	1.3
		Others	...	1,020	0.2
Sagaing	...	All Races		335,965	100.0
		Burma Group	...	328,794	97.9
		Indo-Burman Races	...	2,538	0.8
		Indian Races	...	3,669	1.1
		Others	...	964	0.3
Katha	...	All Races		254,170	100.0
		Burma Group	...	134,501	52.9
		Sak Group	...	39,125	15.4
		Tai Group	...	61,750	24.3
		Chinese Group	...	2,715	1.1
		Palaung-Wa	...	4,751	1.9
		Indian Races	...	6,889	2.7
		Others	...	4,439	1.7
Lower Chindwin	...	All Races		383,434	100.0
		Burma Group	...	379,753	99.0
		Indian Races	...	2,570	0.7
		Others	...	1,111	0.3
Upper Chindwin	...	All Races		204,982	100.0
		Burma Group	...	97,745	47.7
		Kuki-Chin Group	...	8,589	4.2
		Tai Group	...	86,546	42.2
		Indian Races	...	5,329	2.6
		Others	...	6,773	3.3
Northern Shan States	...	All Races		616,458	100.0
		Burma Group	...	47,249	7.7
		Lolo-Muhso Group	...	9,562	1.6
		Kachin Group	...	63,229	10.3
		Tai Group	...	288,659	46.8
		Chinese Group	...	60,550	9.8
		Palaung-Wa	...	123,277	20.0
		Indian Races	...	21,253	3.4
		Others	...	2,679	0.4
Southern Shan States	...	All Races		870,230	100.0
		Burma Group	...	143,274	16.5
		Lolo-Muhso	...	74,859	8.6
		Tai Group	...	408,758	47.0
		Chinese Group	...	3,899	0.4
		Palaung-Wa	...	47,824	5.5
		Karen Group	...	177,831	20.4
		Indian Races	...	11,351	1.3
		Others	...	2,434	0.3
Karenni	...	All Races		58,761	100.0
		Burma Group	...	2,220	3.8
		Tai Group	...	11,383	19.4
		Karen Group	...	43,081	73.3
		Others	...	2,077	3.5





PLATE I.  
MARU FROM NMAI VALLEY.  
Shows Indonesian Strain. (Not typical.)



PLATE II.  
MARU GIRLS FROM NMAI VALLEY.







PLATE III.

KACHIN GIRLS FROM SHAN STATES.

Typical of Bhamo and Lashio Kachins.



PLATE IV.

NUNG HIGH PRIEST.

Upper Nmai Valley.







PLATE V.



YOUNG NUNGS FROM UPPER NMAI VALLEY.

PLATE VI.



PADAUNGS FROM KARENNI.









PLATE VII.  
BREK YOUTH.

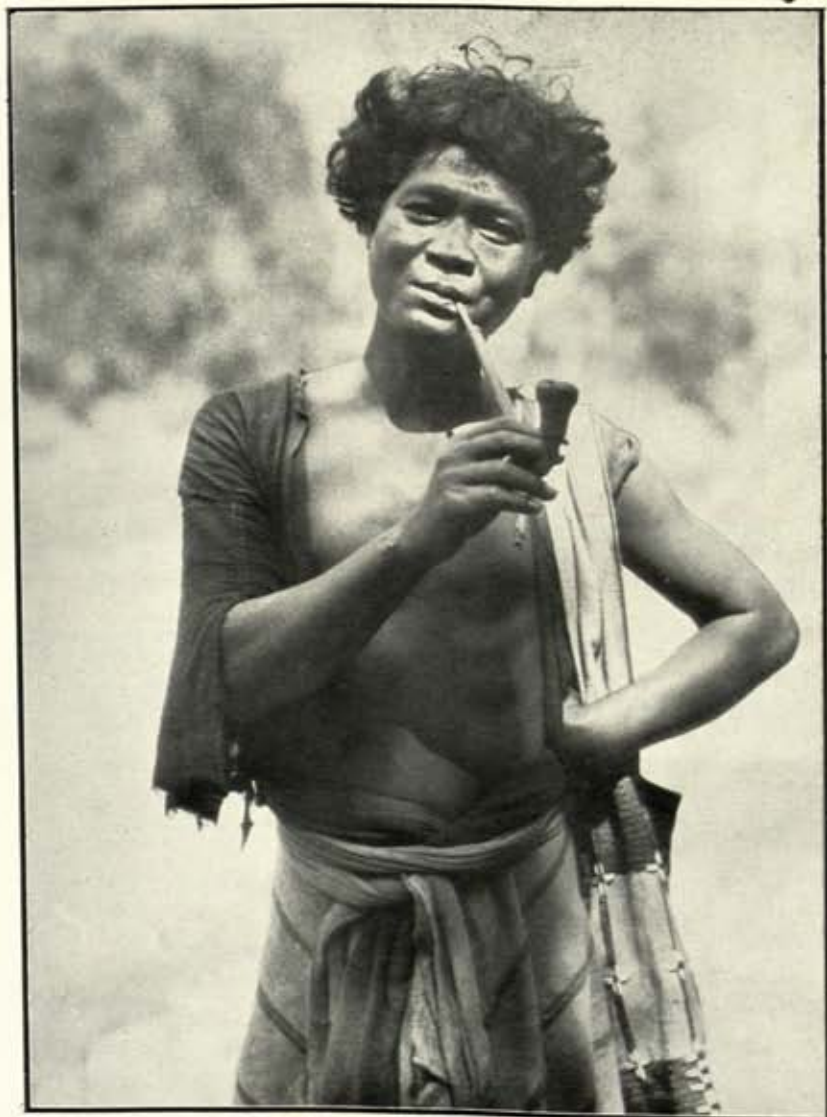


PLATE VIII.  
WA.







PLATE IX.  
MIAOS FROM SOUTHERN SHAN  
STATES.



PLATE X.  
MIAO FROM INDO-CHINA.









PLATE XI.  
KAWS (KENG TUNG STATE).



PLATE XII.  
KAW GIRL.









PLATE XIII.  
LAHU GIRL (KENG TUNG STATE).



PLATE XIV.  
BLACK LISU (LISAW).  
From Ahkyang Valley.









PLATE XV.  
YAWYIN (LISAW) FROM HPIMAW.  
Shows Caucasian Strain.

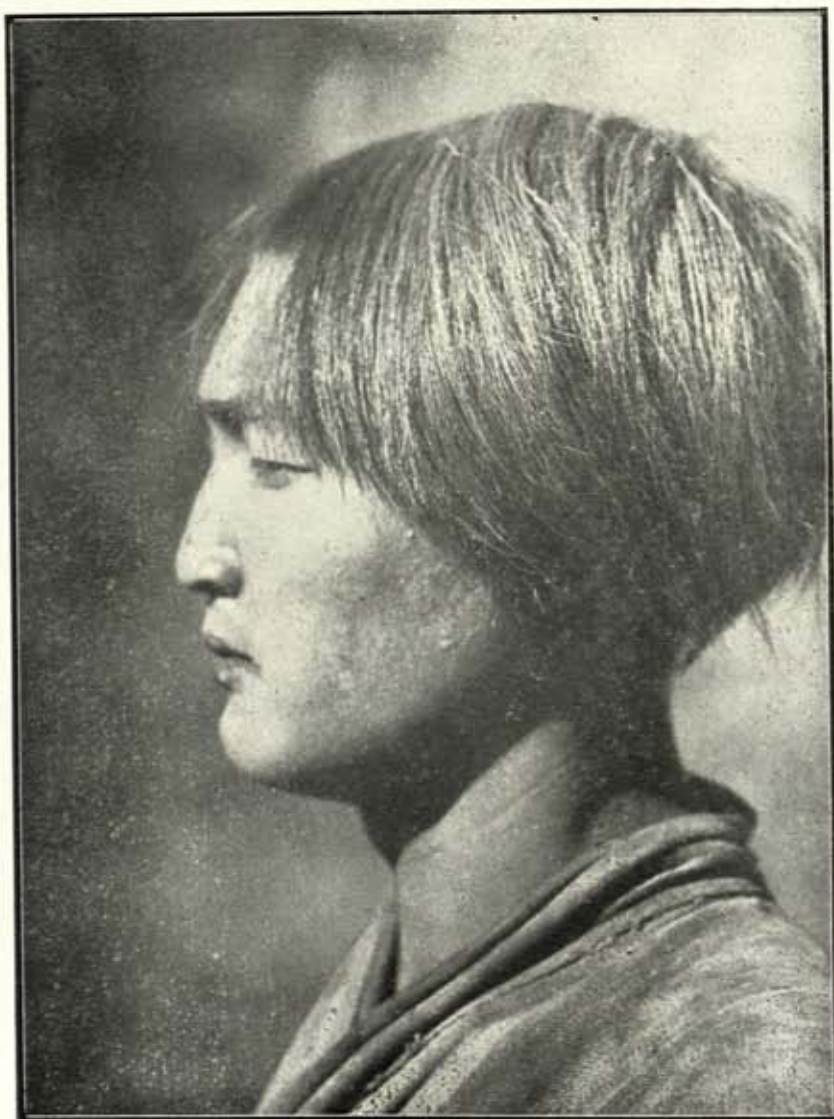


PLATE XVI.  
BLACK LISU (LISAW) FROM AHKYANG  
VALLEY.  
Shows Caucasian Strain.









PLATE XVII.  
YAWYIN (LISAW) FROM BHAMO  
HILLS.

PLATE XVIII.



LISAWS FROM SOUTHERN SHAN STATES.







PLATE XIX.



KUKI CHINS.

PLATE XX.

NGORN CHIN GIRL.

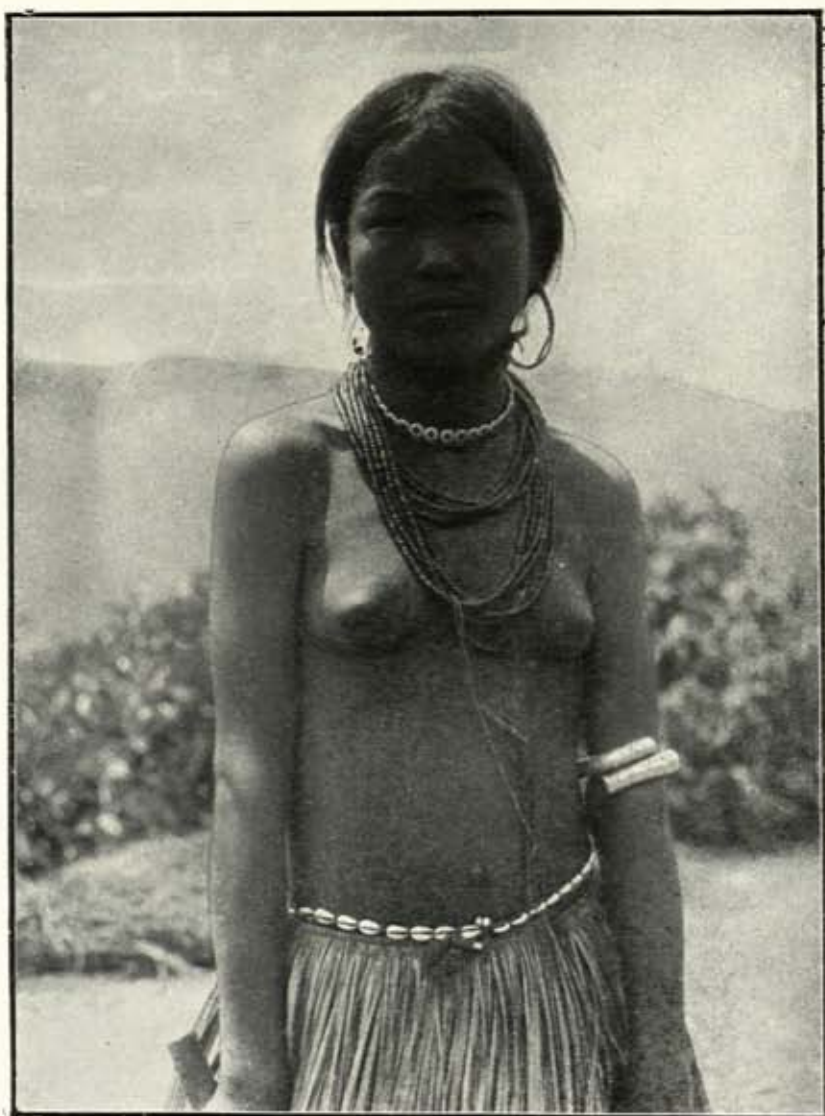








PLATE XXI.  
HAKA (LAI) CHIN.



PLATE XXII.  
HKAHKU KACHIN FROM TRIANGLE.









PLATE XXIII.  
HKAHKU KACHIN GIRL.



PLATE XXIV.  
PWO KAREN GIRL.







PLATE XXV.  
HKUN (TAI).



PLATE XXVI.  
SHAN.







## APPENDIX C.

### A Note on the Indigenous Races of Burma

BY CAPTAIN J. H. GREEN, F.R.A.I., I.A.

Up to the present time, language has been the only basis of classification of the races and tribes of Burma. Linguistic evidence, valuable as it is, when used as the sole basis is liable to lead, and in the case of the races of Burma, has, I think, led, to many errors in our racial classification. A linguistic connection definitely proves only a contact between the races, or the ancestors of the races in question or a contact between them and a third race. Language, however, does give us a hint regarding the probable migration of races as migrations of people and cultural waves are normally inclined to follow the paths of least resistance which are so often the paths of language affinities.

Some of the races or tribes in Burma change their language almost as often as they change their clothes. Languages are changed by conquest, by absorption, by isolation and by a general tendency to adopt the language of a neighbour who is considered to belong to a more powerful, more numerous or more advanced race or tribe.

To obtain more accurate knowledge of the inter-relationship and culture of our tribes, a study of ethnology, anthropology, and folk lore is of the greatest importance. Unfortunately, practically nothing, so far, has been done in this respect, and races are becoming more and more mixed, and the threads more and more difficult to disentangle.

The large number of languages and dialects has, I fear, frightened would-be students. The variety of dialects and the resultant complex classification have tended to exaggerate our difficulties. If instead of searching for language similarities we had concentrated upon searching for similarities in body measurements, customs, laws, arts, and religious beliefs, etc., we would find that the classification of our tribes into stages of cultural evolution would be considerably simplified. Such a classification would help the administrator and might indirectly save considerable friction and some punitive expeditions which are so often due to misunderstandings. For the administrator, a general knowledge of the culture of the people is, perhaps, of even greater importance than a knowledge of their language. I know of at least two cases where officers, who spoke the language of the people, got into trouble which finally necessitated punitive expeditions. Had an officer been transferred direct from the Colonial Service in Africa—where a training in anthropology is compulsory—and had he realised what state of culture the people had reached, such misunderstanding would probably not have occurred, although he knew not a word of the language.

The unreliability of the language test for race has again become apparent in this census. Atsis, Lashis and Marus appear to have decreased, whereas it is more probable that they have declared themselves to be Kachins. The Hkamti Shans who have migrated from Hkamti Long to Myitkyina have declared themselves as Shans. Many small tribes of the Shan States are recorded as Shans.

The classification of the indigenous races has been further complicated as the names now applied to them are not their own names, but those given to them by their neighbours. In many cases these originated as terms of abuse. The words "Kachin", "Chin", and "Karen" appear to be derived from three different pronunciations of the original Burmese word for the wild hill tribes "Kakhyen".

The Shans, in the presence of the hill tribes, often politely call them "Tai-Loi" or "Hkun-Loi"—which means "Hill Shan". They refer to the Kachins, however, behind their backs as "Kang"—Savages. The Kachin passes the same word "Kang" on to the Chins. The Kachins call the Lachikaw "Lashi"—which name we have adopted, whilst the Nungs call the Yawyin "Lashi". The Nungs call the Shans "Muwa", whilst the Kachins call the Chinese "Muwa", and so it goes on. In hardly any case are the people called by their own generic names. Generic names in some cases, however, do not exist.

*Racial Classification.*—During the last fourteen years, I have spent considerable time studying and living amongst the wild tribes of Burma. On our eastern frontier, I have visited almost all the tribes from Tibet to Tenasserim and on the west many of the tribes on the Assam border. I have measured several thousand tribesmen and have particularly interested myself in their customs, arts and crafts and their physical peculiarities. I realise that I have been merely scratching the surface: for what is fourteen years' spare time amongst about seventy tribes where one hundred and forty years' whole time employment would be none too much?

All along the eastern frontier, I have been impressed by the Indonesian character of the people (see Plates V and VIII) with undulating black hair often tinged with red, and with many cultural connections with the tribes of the Dutch East Indies, Malaya, Indo-China, Melanesia and the Philippines. So strong has been the evidence, that I doubt if Southern Mongol blood does preponderate in Burma, although it is certainly a strong element. I think it probable that at any rate, the tribes of the Shan States, the Nmai Valley, the Salween Valley and the Naga Hills are far more closely connected with the people of the south-east than has hitherto been considered to be the case.



The Nagas, the Nungs (Lolo-Muhso Group), the Nmai Valley tribes (Burma Group), the Bhamo and Shan States Kachins appear to me to be all related (*see* Plates I to XVIII). They all lie along a line of cultural migration. The House Horns, Types of Dance Poles, the Indonesian Loom, the Neck-tie Hoe, the Thorn-lined fish trap are prominent amongst many peculiar connecting links. Their physical characteristics are similar. They are all light-hearted people and very different from the Chins and Hkahku Kachins (*see* Plates XIX to XXIII), who are inclined to be sullen and are totally different in appearance. Culturally, I would also put them into the same category as the Kaws, Lahus, Was, Palaungs and Hill Karens.

In the case of the Kachins, I am of the opinion that the Hkahku Kachins from the Triangle, the Hukong Valley and from west of the Irrawaddy are a very different people from the Bhamo and Lashio Kachins although they all speak the same language. The two types of Kachins have often been described; one as being markedly Mongoloid, the other a taller type with long oval face, pointed chin and aquiline nose. These types are to some extent mixed south of Myitkyina but are separate further north. The former are the tribes of the Nmai Valley and the latter the Hkahku Kachins (*compare* Plates III and XXII).

The Nung is, in appearance and character, identical with the Maru. The Maru has been put in the Burma Group because his language shows a close connection with Burmese; few tribes are, however, less alike.

The Hill Karens are another group which, I suggest, has been misplaced (*compare* Plates XII and XXIV). Again in appearance, physique, and character they are very different from the Sgaw and Pwo, and, I think, are related to the Yangsaks and Yanglams with whom they are probably survivals of the Lawa tribes which once peopled the Shan States. Mr. Taylor's explanation—that both the Brek Karens and the Was have possibly absorbed a pre-Dravidian stock represented by the Veddas of Ceylon and the Sakai of Malaya—would also meet the case. The fact remains that, in spite of any small language connection with the plain Karens, for all practical purposes the majority of the small Hill Karen Tribes appear to be more closely related to the Palaung-Wa Group.

There also appears to be a close connection between the Nmai Valley people, the Bhamo and Shan States Kachins, and the Palaung-Wa Group and also some of the tribes of the Lolo-Muhso Group, such as the Kaw and the Lahu. This connection, which is to me obvious, may also be accounted for by the same explanation—that they have all absorbed elements of another stock, possibly pre-Dravidian.

A Caucasian strain appears amongst some of the Lisus and the Nungs (*see* Plates XV and XVI).

In the case of Chins, a distinct change in appearance and general characteristics appears to take place south of the Haka Subdivision.

To sum up, I think the following classification would be nearer the true racial classification judged by physical appearance, body measurements, culture, customs, technology and the temperament of the tribesmen. Language connections have been considered and have been rejected only when, in my opinion, other evidence is overpowering.



## Suggested Grouping of some of the Indigenous Races of Burma.

- There is a strong element in common between all these races.
- D.—Naga Group.
  - G.—Mishmi Group.
    - Nmai Valley Group—
      - Daru.
      - B8 Nung (Plate V).
      - B9 Tangsir.
      - B12 Khwinpang.
      - A13 Atsi.
      - A14 Lashi.
      - A15 Maru (Plate II).
      - E1 Bhamo District Kachins.
      - E1 Shan States Kachins (Plate III).
  - L.—Palaung-Wa Group (Plates VI to VIII).
    - Add N4 to N8, N10 and N12 to N16, Hill Karen Tribes.
    - B5 Pyin.
  - J.—Malay Group.
  - K.—Mon Group.
  - O.—Man Group (Plates IX and X).
  - B.—Lolo-Muhso Group.
    - B7 Kaw (Plates XI and XII).
    - B6 Kwi.
    - B4 Ako.
    - B3 Lahu (Plate XIII).
    - B1 Lisaw.
    - B2 Lolo (Plates XIV to XVIII).
- Some connection is apparent.
- E. } Kachin-Chin Group—
    - C. } E1 Dulengs.
    - E1 Hkahku Kachins (Plates XXII and XXIII) Kachins from west of Irrawaddy, Singhpos.
    - E2 to E9 Tribes.
    - C1 to C29 Chins (Plates XIX to XXI).
  - Southern Chin Group—
    - C30 to C45 Chins.
  - N.—Karen Group—
    - N2 Sgaws.
    - N3 Paku.
    - N9 Pwo (Plate XXIV).
    - N11 Taungthu—Doubtful. They may belong to the Palaung-Wa Group.
  - I.—Tai Group (Plates XXV and XXVI)—
    - Some of the Tai races show a connection with the groups D, G, etc., bracketed above.

NOTE.—The letters and the numbers given above refer to the racial classification given on pages 242 to 245 in Part I of Imperial Table XVII.



## APPENDIX D.

NOTES BY THE SPECIAL CENSUS ENUMERATORS ON THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE TRIBES INHABITING CERTAIN HILL-TRACTS IN THE AKYAB DISTRICT.

### PART I.—The Awa Khamis, Ahraing Khamis, and Mros in the Chin Hill Area (Saingdin), Buthidaung Township, by U Ba Thin, Assistant Township Officer, Buthidaung.

**Region.**—Buthidaung Chin Hill Area, which is generally known as Saingdin, is a hilly region, having a population of about 3,390, of which 1,729 are males. The principal races are: (1) Awa Khami, (2) Mro, (3) Ahraing Khami (or Aphyia Khami as they are generally known in the Arakan Hill Tracts), (4) Chaungthas and (5) Daingnets. The first two races appear to be the oldest tribes inhabiting this region but the Ahraing Khami, who are generally found in the northern part, are the emigrants from the Arakan Hill Tracts. After the migration of the Ahraing Khami, came that of the Chaungthas and Daingnets. The Awa Khami, Mro, and Ahraing Khami form the bulk of the population of Saingdin, which has an approximate area of about 230 square miles. The boundary may be described as follows:—

**North.**—The hilly region which forms the southern boundary of the Arakan Hill Tracts.

**South.**—A straight line drawn from Buthidaung towards the east reaching to the Tawphyia Range of Ponnagyun Township and intercepting the Saingdin Range and Saingdin Chaung near its waterfall.

**East.**—The Tawphyia Range which forms part of the western boundary of Ponnagyun Township.

**West.**—The Saingdin Range which lies a few miles west of the Kalapanzin river.

The Saingdin area contains 90 hamlets and each hamlet contains 2 to 20 bamboo houses. Almost all the hamlets lie on the high levels along the banks of two main streams and their feeders. The chief occupation of the inhabitants is *taungya* cultivation. Generally the villagers do not settle long in one place as the tribes have to move their hamlets in search of new hills for *taungya* cultivation. The old *taungyas* are abandoned for a period of 5 to 10 years after one year's cultivation. For this reason it is not surprising for one to find a prospering hamlet dwindled away in a few years' time and a new one established elsewhere.

The two main streams watering this Chin Hill Area are the Re Chaung and the Sit Chaung; the former lying on the west and the latter on the east. Both the streams take their sources from the northern hilly region which forms the boundary between Buthidaung Township and the Arakan Hill Tracts and meander southwards for about 30 miles between the cliffs and ranges before they finally meet near a village, called Tharungchaung. During the rainy season, both the streams flood very considerably and, not infrequently, the water reaches the tops of the trees growing on their banks, but after the rains, the water gradually subsides and in summer only shallow pools of water are left behind in the stream beds, especially at their sources. Besides, there are huge pieces of rock here and there in both the streams, making communications rather difficult in some parts. Canoes and bamboo rafts are the only means of conveyance for travel into the interior, either by paddling or dragging over the shallow water and rocks. The conditions of the feeders of these streams are still worse. They generally get dried up soon after the rains, leaving scanty pools, which supply water to the hamlets situated upon them. To reach these hamlets lying in the interior, one has to follow the beds of the streamlets generally and sometimes one has to wade through icy pools and frequently walk up hill and down dale until the barking of dogs and the crowing of cocks inform one that a hamlet is close by before it actually comes in sight. The sloping banks of the two streams and their main feeders are generally covered with *kaing* grasses; and the primitive tribes, especially the Ahraing Khami, the Mro and the Awa Khami, cultivate tobacco in the alluvial deposit, after clearing the *kaing* grass. Below their confluence, near Tharaungchaung, the main stream, under the name of Saingdin Chaung, flows southward between two hills for about a mile when it flows over five rocky terraces and thus forms a picturesque waterfall, which attracts a good number of visitors yearly for its delightful scenery. The last terrace being precipitous, prevents the tide coming up from the stream below. After leaving the waterfall, the Saingdin Chaung flows in a south-easterly direction and falls into the Kalapanzin river. Just near the waterfall a private bazaar is held on every Friday, when Indian Shopkeepers and Chaungtha miscellaneous goods-sellers assemble for the sale of dried fish, *ngapi*, salt, miscellaneous goods, etc., their customers being neighbouring villagers of the Saingdin area; but the majority of the tribes go over to Kundaing, Phaungdawbyin, Yinma, Kyaingdaung and Panze bazaars, walking over the hills for their supplies of *ngapi*, salt, etc.; this usually takes them four days. The exports, which chiefly consist of surplus paddy, tobacco, cotton, canes, and bamboos, generally pass through the bazaar near the waterfall.

4. According to the legend of the tribes inhabiting the Saingdin area, this hilly region was once reigned over by one Nga Maung Kadon, a giantlike man, and all streams and their tributaries had high and low tides, being connected with the Kalapanzin river until Nga Maung Kadon built up barricades of rocks and thus formed the present waterfall. It is said that Nga Maung Kadon built up the barricades of rocks in order to prevent the escape of a crocodile which had carried away his wife during his absence. No one could tell what had become of Nga Maung Kadon afterwards.



**Exogamous Clans and Classes, etc.**—The primitive tribes of Saingdni can be classed as follows :—

- (1) Awa Khamis.
- (2) Mros.
- (3) Ahraing Khamis.

The *Awa Khami* are divided into the following exogamous clans :—

- (1) Khatak, (2) Tanhtin, (3) Khaline, (4) Htala, (5) Kha Boeshai, (6) Wadinak, (7) Khattu, (8) Bawshin, (9) Lakhana, (10) Wakun, (11) Ladinak, (12) Shainak, (13) Khrainak, (14) Rashunak, (15) Khatu, (16) Salawnun, (17) Kawkyaing, (18) Ahsun, (19) Lun, (20) Pachanak, (21) Khwepi, (22) Ashaina, (23) Sakhin Tatin, (24) Salwenak, (25) Aungla, (26) Lahtaw, (27) Sakhitun, (28) Milona, (29) Mina, (30) Lupuna, (31) Laisurana, (32) Htaloenaw, (33) Sakkhi Khettu, (34) Htala Twi Ah, (35) Wakun Tribisaku, (36) Minaye.

*Mro*.—There is no exogamous clan among them though they are divided into four classes, viz., (1) Thwapetha, (2) Mwayzintha, (3) Tinchetha, (4) Kraitha.

*Ahraing Khami* are divided into five exogamous clans, viz., (1) Lettantha, (2) Kraitha, (3) Ahbaungtha, (4) Saingmalwaytha, (5) Linkhuktha.

*Awa Khamis* have related tribes in the hilly regions along the Kalapanzin river (Buthidaung Township), the Lemro Chaung (Myohaung Township), the Tawphya Chaung and the Yo Chaung (Ponnagyun Township), the Myothit Chaung (Maungdaw Township), the Mi Chaung (Kyauktaw Township), the Ragri Chaung and the Marit Chaung (Chittagong District) and Seindetmaw (Pauktaw Township), Akyab District.

*Mros* have related tribes in the hilly regions along the Ragri Chaung and the Marit Chaung (Chittagong District), the Kalapanzin Chaung (Buthidaung Township), the Myothit Chaung (Maungdaw Township), the Lemro Chaung (Myohaung Township), and the Tawphya Chaung (Ponnagyun Township), Akyab District.

*Ahraing Khamis* have related tribes in the hilly regions along the Ragri Chaung and the Marit Chaung (Chittagong District), the Pi Chaung, the Kaladan and the Mi Chaungs (Arakan Hill Tracts), the Yo Chaung and the Tawphya Chaung (Ponnagyun Township) of Akyab District.

There is no definite order of social precedence among the different clans and individuals of the Awa Khami, Mro and Ahraing Khami tribes in a strict sense ; a man generally becomes a leader because of his wealth and of his constant contact with Government officials and civilized people.

**Existence of Traditions of Origin.**—Very few could tell the traditions of origin of these tribes, but according to one or two of the oldest clans found here, it appears that the Awa Khami and Mro were the inhabitants of the hilly regions at the sources of the Kaladan, the Pi Chaung and the Mi Chaung streams in the Arakan Hill Tracts, while the Ahraing Khami were living further north at Saphodaung, which, it is said, forms the boundary between the Arakan Hill Tracts and the Shandu country. About 50 or 60 years before the conquest of Arakan by the British, the Ahraing Khami, owing to frequent invasions by the Shandu people, migrated to a hilly region, Pinnmudaung, supposed to lie between the Michaung and the Kaladan rivers, and later about 30 years after the conquest of Arakan by the British, the security prevailing under the British administration having impressed itself on them, the Ahraing Khami again migrated to the sources of the Pi Chaung, the Mi Chaung and the Kaladan river, which were then inhabited by the Awa Khami and Mro. The majority of the two latter tribes, in fear of the Ahraing Khami, in turn left their habitat to settle down in other hilly regions of the Akyab and Chittagong Districts (hilly regions of the Kalapanzin and Saingdin Chaungs in Buthidaung Township ; hilly regions of the Lemro Chaung in Myohaung Township ; hilly regions of Tawphya stream and Yo Chaung in Ponnagyun Township ; hilly regions of Myothit Chaung in Maungdaw Township ; hilly regions of Ragri Chaung and Marit Chaung in Chittagong District).

**Existence of Terraced Cultivation.**—There is no terraced cultivation in Saingdin.

**Existence of Megalithic Monuments.**—After leaving the waterfall and about 100 yards away from the confluence of the Re Chaung and the Sit Chaung streams, there is on the Re Chaung stream a megalithic stone, in the shape of a person in a recumbent posture, attached to a huge flat rock. It is said to have been erected by Nga Maung Kadon in memory of his wife who was traced there after being killed by a crocodile. In the Re Chaung and at a distance of about 24 miles from the waterfall, there are two pieces of rock in the shape of boxes resting on a huge mass of rock. This place is known as *Natseik*, and the people passing through, especially strangers to Saingdin, are in the habit of paying their respects by placing presents on these boxes, which lie close to each other. All the above three stones are single upright stones.

**Use of Stone for Seats.**—There are no stones used for seats.

**Use of Materials in Building.**—There are 737 houses in Saingdin, but none of them has any wall or roof of stone or wood. Almost all the houses are chiefly built of bamboos as these are easily available and less expensive. Very few houses have even got wooden posts. The hill tribes never think of having houses built of durable materials because they do not settle in any place permanently, as I have explained before. Moreover, in order to build a wooden house, it is customary among the Awa Khami and Ahraing Khami to hold propitiatory ceremonies of cattle-sacrifice for the evil spirits that are supposed to reside in wooden houses, and the people do not care to incur the ceremonial and building expenses, the latter being high. The social position of individuals is not indicated by the shape or material of their houses or by the pattern and colours of the clothes they wear. The majority of the men have partly adopted the costume of the Arakanese men.

**Ideas as to the Sun, Moon, Stars and Comets, etc.**—The Mro regard the sun as female and the moon as male. The Ahraing Khami and Awa Khami have no different



genders for them. All three tribes have very little or no knowledge of the different constellations, except Orion's Belt and the Great Bear and the star Sirius.

*Orion's Belt.*—The Awa Khami call this constellation, *Kalapapo*, because it resembles a man carrying two baskets on his shoulder. The Mro call it *Uraitikedawyaung* (3 steps of a stair). It is so named because it resembles 3 steps of a stair. The Ahraing Khami call it *Ayeyolokinyauk* (2 men carrying a hog). It is so named because it resembles 2 men carrying a hog.

*Great Bear.*—The Mro call this constellation, *Tabrikhare* (tiger), because it resembles a tiger, 4 stars forming the 4 legs and 3 other stars forming a tail. The Ahraing Khami call it *Kachidaung*. It means a square formed by 4 stars with a tail of 3 stars. The Awa Khami call it a Naga because it turns its head according to the seasons.

*Sirius.*—The Awa Khami call this star *Achimanye* (burning charcoal). It is so named because it resembles a burning charcoal. The Mro have no name for it. The Ahraing Khami call it *Kachitakike* (tiger's eyes). It is so named because it sparkles like the eyes of the tiger.

*Markings on the face of the Moon.*—The Awa Khami regard these markings as shadows cast by a banyan tree, which is supposed to grow around the moon. According to the Mro and the Ahraing Khami, the moon was brighter than the sun before, and the moon by its scorching heat had once killed a man, whose son in revenge defeated her (moon) in a duel and then besmeared her with the juice of the banyan tree. Thus the moon lost her power and heat. They regard markings on the face of the moon as juices of the banyan tree.

*Earthquake.*—According to the Mro, the earth is carried on the shoulders of a Naga residing underneath this earth and a beetle\* reports to the Naga that the human beings are no longer in existence and the Naga, in order to verify the report of the beetle, shakes the earth, thus causing an earthquake. Awa Khamis and some Ahraing Khamis stated that the earth is shouldered by 2 or 4 giants and that when they feel tired, they change shoulders and thus cause the earthquake. Some Ahraing Khamis said that there exists another world under the present world and that a post resting upon the nether world supports this upper world. The people living in the lower world, in order to find out if the people living in the upper world are living or dead, shake the post and cause the earthquake. It is customary among the three tribes to respond to an earthquake by saying "We are alive."

*Eclipses.*—According to the Awa Khami, the sun and moon had once borrowed rice from a "nat" called Sa Aung and they could not repay the rice; for this debt Sa Aung, when he finds an opportunity, seizes the sun and moon and swallows them. This causes an eclipse. During an eclipse, the Awa Khami beat gongs and scatter rice on the ground by way of helping the sun and moon to repay their debt and they also do not pound rice or do any other work, save household affairs, for a couple of days. A story given by some Mro and Ahraing Khami is that the sun and moon could not pay their taxes to the king of "nats," who arrests and keeps them in a dungeon for some time and thus causes an eclipse.

*Rainbow.*—The Awa Khami explain that once upon a time a boy, who was ill-treated by his grandmother, left her house for heaven and when he reached his destination, he spread out his loin cloth just to show his power to the old lady. The Awa Khami regard the rainbow as the loin cloth of the grandson in the heavens. The Mro regard the rainbow as a bridge, by which the "nats" from the heavens descend to the earth. The Ahraing Khami explain that the rainbow is a fairy who had a lover on earth before she became a fairy and that she appears in the sky as a rainbow to show herself to her lover.

*Thunder.*—It is explained by the Awa Khami that thunder is the beating of the drums of heaven. The Mro explain that it is the roaring of a cannon on the mountain in a competition between earthly and heavenly "nats." But some Ahraing Khami stated that it is the roaring of a heavenly gun by which the wicked on the earth are shot.

*Sheet Lightning.*—All three tribes explain that lightning is caused by the flashing of the daks of the "nats" in the heavens during the course of dances.

*Method of Disposal of Dead.*—Among the three tribes, the dead are disposed of either by burning or by burial. All persons who die of contagious or infectious diseases, particularly small-pox and cholera, are buried immediately and no form of shelter is erected over the grave. There is no practice among any of the tribes of erecting a stone cairn over the grave of the dead, and no custom prevails among them of disposing of the dead in trees, cliffs or *machans*. No tribe separates the head from the body. All three tribes cremate the corpses of those who have died of ordinary diseases and, after the burning ceremony, they collect the bones and ashes and store them up in a small hut built over the burning place, but certain clans of the Mro build the small hut, not over the burning place, but at the village landing-stage and store the bones and ashes for about 2 or 3 months. After this period, the bones and ashes are carried back to the original burning place where a fresh hut is erected for keeping the bones, etc. It is also customary among the Ahraing Khami to give a feast in honour of the dead at the grave after the harvest of *laungya* crops.

*Form of Coffin.*—All the tribes make the coffin with split coloured bamboos. It is rectangular in shape with a separate lid of the same materials but the Mro and certain Awa Khami, instead of a bamboo lid, use cotton rugs or blankets.

*Beliefs as to the ultimate Abode of the Dead.*—There is no belief among the Awa Khami regarding transmigration, the soul disappearing after death, but the Ahraing Khami and certain clans of the Mro believe in the transmigration of the souls of the dead into living beings, but certain Mros believe that there is no transmigration and that the souls of the dead disappear after death. There is no belief among any tribe here as to the transmigration of the dead into butterflies or other insects.

*Appearance.*—Generally the Awa Khami and Mro are of brown complexion, while the Ahraing Khami have a sallow appearance. All three tribes have straight hair. The Awa Khami generally crop their hair and few have got hair knots among the males. The females have their hair parted in the middle of the head, like the Hindu women, and they knot

\* According to Captain J. H. Green a similar belief exists among the Nungs of the Myitkyina District, [Census Superintendent.]



their hair at the back of the head. Males of the Mro and Ahraing Khami generally have their hair knot over the middle of the head, while the females tie up their knots at the back of the head.

*Eyes, Nose, Head and Physique in general.*—The eyes of the Awa Khami, Mro, and Ahraing Khami are generally straight and are black. The Awa Khami generally have flattened noses. The noses of the Mro and Ahraing Khami are chiefly straight. The heads of all the tribes, except the Awa Khami, are generally round with protruding foreheads. The heads of the Awa Khami are slightly oblong in shape with flat (receding) foreheads. Both sexes of all the three tribes are physically strong in general.

**Method of Sowing Seed.**—As stated above, the occupation of the hill tribes is *taungya* cultivation. They cultivate the hillsides by clearing the jungle, which takes them about a month. This is usually done in the month of January or February. About the month of March they generally burn the jungle they have felled on the hillsides and about the end of April they start sowing, placing the seeds separately in pits dug by spades which they usually make with a long handle from an old unserviceable *taungya*-cutting dah. The pits are then filled in with earth. About the months of June and July, the hill tribes, by means of adzes, have to weed grasses that grow near or around the paddy plants on 2 or 3 occasions in order to help the growth of the plants. The paddy generally ripens about the month of September, and the reaping is done by means of a small hand-sickle. The *taungya*-cutting dah has a cutting edge only on one side.

**Dancing.**—Both the sexes of the three tribes are accustomed to drinking *khaung* before or during their dances, which are performed to music. The chief musical instruments are the gong, cymbal, drum, brass plate, *nhyin* and *baw*. The musicians are all males, but in the dance both the sexes may join.

The Mro dancers, hand in hand, form a circle around the musicians and, to the strains of the music, they all dance round and round till they are tired. The movements of their dance are as follows :—

- (1) Feet kept together while in a standing position.
- (2) Half a step backward with the right foot, the left foot follows the right foot and thus both are together again as in (1).
- (3) Half a step forward with the left foot, forming an angle of about 70 degrees with the right foot.
- (4) Right foot moved to join the left foot and, when they are together, both the knees are half bent.

Again (2), (3) and (4) are followed.

Dancers and musicians of the Awa Khami and Ahraing Khami generally form a circle during the course of their dances, and to the sound of the music they dance round hand in hand. The movements of their dances are generally as follows :—

- (1) Feet together while in a standing position.
- (2) Right or left foot moves one step sideways and the other foot moves towards the first and when they are together the knees are half bent.

Again (2) is followed.

**Musical Instruments.**—The following is a list of musical instruments used by the three primitive tribes living here :—

1. Drums (big and small). These are just like Burmese drums.
2. Gongs.
3. Cymbals (big and small).
4. Brass plate.

5. *Nhyin*.—This is made of a dried gourd with one to seven bamboo pipes attached and it resembles the mouth-organ. The *Nhyin* is sub-divided into four kinds, namely :—

- (1) *Nhyingri* with 2 bamboo pipes.
- (2) *Nhyinlat* with 4 bamboo pipes.
- (3) *Nhyinuge* with 7 bamboo pipes.
- (4) *Nhyinto* with a single bamboo pipe.

The last is only used at funerals.

*Baw*.—This is like a *nhyin*, with one or two long bamboo pipes.

Almost all the above instruments, except the *nhyinto*, are used on the following occasions :—

1. Marriage ceremony.
2. Ear-boring ceremony.
3. *Taungya-pwe*.

**Weapons.**—The only weapons used at present are dahs and spears. The tribes seldom use bows ; no custom exists at present of taking the heads of enemies as trophies.

**Dress.**—The original dress of the male Awa Khami, Mro and Ahraing Khami consists of a loin cloth, a white turban and a white shirt with short sleeves. Awa Khamis wear black loin cloths while Mros and Ahraing Khamis have white loin cloths.

The females of these races wear knee-length skirts or "longyis" and the majority of them, that I have seen, wore jackets while others did not ; Awa Khami women wear a scarf instead over their breasts like a *Salwe* (scarf).

The men of these tribes have practically adopted the male dress of the Arakanese though there are a few still attiring themselves in the costume of their forefathers.

**Tattooing.**—No tattooing custom prevails among any of the tribes but persons of both sexes, who have the fancy, tattoo the arms and backs of the hands with one or two tattoo marks.



**Religion, Religious Rites and Sacrifices.**—All the three tribes are animists and they hold "nat-pwes" in honour of their "nats" at various times of the year. The chief occasions on which the "nat-pwes" are held by each tribe are described below :—

#### AWA KHAMIS.

**Before cutting new Taungyas.**—All the residents of a hamlet collectively buy a goat before any one commences *taungya*-cutting which is once a year; they also collect a fowl or two from each household. The fowls and the goat are gathered together in a house, the owner of which is called an *Indin*, and all the villagers, old and young, assemble in the house of the *Indin* and pray before the goat and the fowls for an abundance of crops and the good health of the community during the coming season. When this is over, the goat and the fowls are taken to a small hut (ခေ) built specially for the occasion on the bank of the stream. On the hut a bamboo tray with baked rice (ခေါင်ခေါင်) and flowers is placed, and around the hut are put up numerous bamboos. The fowls are cut over the hut allowing the blood to fall on the contents of the tray. The head of the goat is cut off and placed in the tray in honour of the "nats." The goat and the fowls are then cooked near the hut and an offering made to the "nats" with the head of the fowl, some goat flesh, and a plate of rice, by placing them inside the hut. The remaining meat and fowls are carried back to the house of the *Indin*, where all the villagers assemble again to enjoy the feast with *khaung* (liquor). After this ceremony the village is closed for 3 days, i.e., no villager is allowed to go out of the village and no outsider is permitted to enter it, and on the paths entering the village lengths of bamboo are stuck into the ground at both ends, forming arches. This is to remind outsiders that they are prohibited from coming into the village. If any one violates the custom by entering or leaving the village within these 3 days, he has to make good the expenses incurred for the "Nat-pwe." During this period of 3 days, the villagers should not do any but necessary household work. Three days after the feast, each household can start clearing a new *taungya*.

**Before sowing seeds.**—When the *taungya* burning is over, each household collects the different kinds of seed and grain to be sown in the new *taungya*. These are generally collected in a basket and a fowl killed over it, allowing the blood to fall on the contents. The liver of the fowl, after being cooked, is taken to the *taungya* with this basket. On arrival at the *taungya*, a big pit, surrounded by many smaller ones, is dug and the seed and grain are put into the pits. Then *khaung* and pieces of the cooked liver are spat out from the mouth over the seeds, etc., by saying *Phyo*, and all the members of the house make a prayer to the "nats" for a good harvest. The pits are then filled in with earth. After this ceremony, all the members of the house are seen busily sowing seeds and grain in various parts of the *taungya*. (A post, called *Ahbaungma*, is erected over the big pit—see following paragraph).

**Before plucking vegetables.**—Before any fruit or vegetable is gathered from the new *taungya*, each household has to slaughter either a fowl or a pig or a goat, according to their means, in the house and after cooking the same, the liver, a bottle or a gourd of *khaung* and a plate of rice are taken over to the *taungya* where all the members of the house pour *khaung* and pieces of liver from their mouths over the *Ahbaungma* post which is erected over the big pit at the time of seed-sowing.

A prayer is then made to the "nats" for a good paddy crop. A small hut is at the same time erected near the *Ahbaungma* post and an offering of rice, *khaung* and meat is made in the hut in honour of the "nats." After this offering, all the members of the house start gathering vegetables from the *taungya*, spitting out *khaung* and pieces of liver over the vegetables and fruits as they are plucked. They then return home with their baskets of vegetables and fruits, but, before entering the house, they have to bathe in the stream and on getting home they dress in their best clothes and cook the vegetables, etc. An offering is then made to the "nats" in the house. No one can eat any produce from his *taungya* before the performance of the above ceremony. Generally all the households in a village arrange to collect crops and vegetables from the *taungya* on the same day, and they are to be seen drinking *khaung* and feasting from house to house during this occasion. From this day, the owner can eat and sell his *taungya* produce.

**Reaping of Taungya Paddy.**—Before the reaping of *taungya* paddy is commenced, each household has to slaughter a fowl or a pig, according to their means, in the *taungya* hut and the chief member of the house sprinkles the blood of the animal killed over the paddy plants in honour of the "nats" and at the same time prays to them for a good yield of paddy from the *taungya* and for the good health of the members of the house. After this ceremony, the reaping of *taungya* paddy is started.

**Eating of new Taungya Paddy.**—Before the new *taungya* paddy is eaten, each household slaughters a fowl or a pig or a goat and a pot of rice is also cooked, the new paddy from the *taungya* being used. With the rice and the cooked meat, an offering is first made to the various "nats" in the *taungya* hut and a prayer, as before, is then made.

**Ya Pyapwe or abandoning the Taungya.**—When the reaping of the paddy crop has been completed, the paddy is stored up in the hut and from *taungya* rice *khaung* is brewed. Each household has to slaughter at least a fowl and a pig or more, if possible, and the blood is collected in different cups. Then all the members of the house join in pouring over the granary a mouthful of *khaung*, mixed up with pieces of the livers of the animals killed. They also sprinkle the bins and various baskets with the blood in honour of the "nats" and the usual prayer follows. This ceremony is done at the time of abandoning the *taungya*. (The granary remains in the disused *taungya*, until exhausted.)

#### MROS.

**After Birth.**—Soon after the birth of a child, four short bamboos, each measuring about a cubit, are fixed up on the bank of the stream, and a chicken is killed in honour of the "nats" and the blood poured over the bamboos which are set close together. A prayer is then made for the welfare of the child. The chicken is then thrown away.



*New Taungya Cutting.*—Before the cutting of a *taungya* is undertaken, all the residents of a hamlet collectively buy two goats in addition to two fowls gathered from each household. The villagers then build two small huts, one on the bank of the stream and the other inland. One goat is tied up near the hut on the bank of the stream and the other near the second hut. The fowls are kept in line between the two huts. All the villagers then pray to the "nats" to keep them in sound health and to give an abundance of crops during the coming *taungya* season. After this prayer, the goats and fowls are slaughtered one after another, starting from the bank of the stream. Their blood is sprinkled over the small huts and the water of the stream. The village is then closed for three days by fixing up bamboo arches over the village paths; the Mros, like the Awa Khami do not allow any one to enter or leave the village for a period of three days. If any one violates the rule, he has to pay compensation for all the expenses incurred. The goat meat is jointly cooked in the village, while the fowls are taken away by their respective owners. With the meat and *khaung*, they make an offering to the "nats" in the village before they commence feasting. This ceremony is done once in the year. After the performance of this annual ceremony, a household can start *taungya* cutting.

*Beginning of eating Taungya Vegetables.*—When the *taungya* vegetables and fruits have ripened, members of each household go over to their *taungya* and collect the different vegetables and fruits together with a few plants of paddy. On their return home, the paddy is put into the *khaung* pot while the vegetables and fruits are kept in a big basket. A fowl is then slaughtered and its blood sprinkled over the *khaung* pot and the vegetable basket. The fowl is then cooked with rice flour mixed with some salt and ginger. This rice is then mixed up with the *khaung* and, with this rice and fowl, an offering is made to the various "nats" supposed to reside at the staircase of the house and in the various baskets. When the offering to the "nats" is over, all the members put on their best clothes and empty the *khaung* pot and enjoy the rest of the meat and the fowl together with their neighbours. This "natpwe" is held on the same day by the different households in the village. A *taungya* hut is then erected in the *taungya*. After this ceremony, the villagers are free to gather the produce.

*Ya Pyapwe or leaving the Taungya.*—After the *taungya* crop has been reaped, members of each household kill a pig or more in the house and cook some pieces of pork in a bamboo tube which is taken over to the *taungya* together with some rice and *khaung*. On arrival at the *taungya*, all are then mixed up and offerings are made to various "nats" supposed to exist in the streams near the *taungya*, and at the same time members of the house pray to the "nats" for good health. On their return home, a feast is held with the remaining pork and *khaung*. Generally most of the residents of the village hold this "pwe" on the same day.

#### AHRAING KHAMIS.

*Beginning of Taungya Cutting.*—The Ahraing Khami, once in three years, buy a goat and a fowl with a subscription raised among the villagers and build a small hut near the river bank. An elder, chosen from among the villagers, prays to the "nats" for the good health of the community. The goat and the fowl are then slaughtered near the hut. A few pieces of mutton and fowl, after being cooked, are placed in the hut with a plate of rice in honour of the "nats" and the usual prayer for abundance and health follows. The village is closed for a day by placing bamboos arched across the paths leading to the village, and, like the Awa Khami and Mro, no villager may leave the village or no outsider may come into it on that day. If any one violates the rule, he has to compensate the village for all the expenses incurred.

*Beginning of eating Taungya Vegetables.*—Before any vegetable is plucked from a *taungya*, the members of each household should go over to their *taungya* and make a sacrifice of either a fowl, a goat or a pig in honour of the "nats"; the blood is sprinkled over the paddy plants and vegetables in the *taungya*. They then pluck the vegetables, pouring, at the same time, pieces of ginger and *khaung* from their mouths. The vegetables collected are brought home. This is done on the same day by all the households in a village. On their arrival at home they further sprinkle the vegetables with *khaung* and on the following day the village is closed for two days and no villager or outsider is allowed to leave the village or enter it during that period, as before. During the period of two days, the chief member of the house generally abstains from *ngapi* (dried fish) and fish. After this ceremony, people may make use of the vegetables from their *taungyas*.

*At the time taungya plants blossom.*—Generally rich Ahraing Khamis celebrate a feast in honour of the "nats" when the *taungya* plants blossom; numerous fowls, goats and pigs are slaughtered in the house, and, after being cooked, a few pieces of meat from each kind are taken to the *taungya* with a plate of rice and an offering to the "nats" is made accompanied by the usual prayer. They also perform a dance in the *taungya* and on return to the village they all gather around the *Khonedaing*, a post where cattle are tied up for sacrifice. A man, generally selected from among the relations of the *taungya* owner, spears the animals as the villagers dance under the influence of *khaung* around the *Khonedaing*. The relation, who spears the cattle, usually gets rewards of a gong, silk turbans and "loongyis" from the *taungya* owner. A good number of people and relations are invited from different villages to enjoy the feast and drink *khaung*. The heads of the cattle, goats and pigs slaughtered are preserved in the house for show.

#### AWA KHAMIS, MROS AND AHRAING KHAMIS.

They make sacrifices of fowls, pigs, goats, and cattle during the sickness of any member of the house. It is customary among the Awa Khami and Mro to consult a *Wephalisaya* or, in other words, a *Natsaya* (witch doctor) when any member of the house falls sick or gets hurt. *Wephali* is a piece of bamboo tied at both ends with a piece of string. When the *Wephalisaya* is consulted he puts up the *Wephali* on his fingers several times and finally declares that the sacrifice of a fowl, pig, goat or a cow, as the case may be, is required to propitiate the evil



spirit, which, it is said, has afflicted the sick person. People, according to their means, make sacrifices of the animals declared by the *Wephalisaya*. For the sacrifice, the Awa Khamis build a small hut near the bank of the stream and slaughter the animal or animals, and the blood is sprinkled over the baked paddy (ခေါင်ခေါင်) and other food prepared for the occasion and placed on the hut. The blood is also then put into the stream. The liver and the intestines of the animal killed are cooked in a bamboo tube and an offering to the "nat" is made with a plate of rice in the hut, accompanied by a prayer for the speedy recovery of the sick. Mros usually make a sacrifice of the animals either at the bank of the stream or near the hill as advocated by the *Wephalisaya*. They do not build a small hut when the sacrifice is to be made with fowls and pigs, but they do build the hut when the sacrifice is made with goats or cattle or with both. These people do not make any further offerings to the "nats" with the cooked meat but the blood is sprinkled over the hut or at the bank of the stream, a prayer being said for early recovery. In the case of the Ahraing Khami, there is a similar belief in consulting a *Wephalisaya* for sickness. When any member of an household gets sick, an egg is broken at the staircase of the house to propitiate the evil spirit supposed to have caused the sickness and, if this does not give any relief, a small hut is generally built on the bank of the stream, and either a fowl, pig or a goat, according to the means of the family, is slaughtered and the blood, after being collected, is sprinkled over the rice brought for the purpose and this is kept in the house in honour of the "nats." After this ceremony, a dance is held in the verandah of the house of the sick, and an offering of cooked meat, together with rice, is made to the "nats" in the house, accompanied by a prayer for the immediate recovery of the patient. When this sacrifice does not give a satisfactory result, the slaughtering of cattle and other animals follows; the cattle are generally tied to a post in the village, called *khonedaing*, and speared to the accompaniment of hilarity and dancing. All three tribes take to medical treatment as a last resort when they do not obtain a cure by means of their various customary sacrifices.

*Ear-boring Ceremony.*—No custom prevails among the Ahraing Khami to hold an ear-boring ceremony for their children, as the ear-boring of the children is done soon after birth, but the Mro and the Awa Khamis perform an ear-boring ceremony for their children by slaughtering cattle in honour of the "nats." The cattle intended for slaughter are tied up to a post in front of the house of the parent, who, carrying the child in one hand, spears the animal with the other hand and many villagers, who are present on the spot for this occasion, put the animal to death by cutting its head with axes. Mros dance around the carcass on the ground after drinking *khaung* but Awa Khamis carry the carcass up to the verandah of the house and perform their dances around it. It is customary among both races to sprinkle the walls of the house with a yellowish substance found in the intestine and to make an offering to the "nats" with the meat, liver, lungs, and intestines, cooked separately. The ear-boring ceremony is done soon after the dances. The children of the poor people in the village are allowed to do the ear-boring ceremony when a rich man celebrates the ear-boring ceremony for his children. Generally all the friends and relations are invited to enjoy the feast.

Almost all the "natpwes" of these three races are accompanied by dances in which both sexes, particularly bachelors and spinsters of the villages, join. Their amusements and social functions may be said to consist entirely of the "natpwes" described above.

**Marriage Law.**—It is the custom for the spinsters of a village to collect together in a house to sleep and the lads to come at night to make love and win their hands. Most of the marriages are arranged by the young couples themselves, and the parents or relations of the girl are kept in the dark. The girls generally follow their lovers at night and the parents seldom interfere, though a girl's parents may later make a demand for the dowry from the father or relations of the bridegroom. All the races, except the Ahraing Khami, are monogamous. Very few, ever, of the Ahraing Khami keep two wives. They may marry a second wife during the lifetime of the first wife, when the latter gives her consent. Apart from this, the husband has to pay a penalty to the father or brother of the first wife on his second marriage.

It is only when a girl refuses to follow her lover, that the parents of the girl are approached for the marriage. Among the Awa Khami, the man informs his prospective father-in-law, either personally or through a go-between, about marriage with the daughter and fixes a date for betrothal. The father of the girl may then consult his daughter and get her consent. If she raises no objection, the *khaung* pot and pigs are kept ready in the girl's house for the occasion. On the appointed day, the bridegroom's party, which generally consists of the bridegroom, his father, and a village elder, approaches the bride's father with a dah, 3 gourds of *khaung* and 3 fowls, one of which should be a crowing cock. On reaching the house of the bride, the crowing cock is set free to be kept as a pet in the house and, with the remaining 2 fowls and the *khaung*, a feast offering is given to the relations of the bride. The dah is handed over to the father of the bride. The bride's party then in turn offer pork and *khaung* to the bridegroom's party. The fowl should not be eaten by the bridegroom's party, and the bride's party should refrain from eating pork. If the bride's or bridegroom's party, through mistake, partake of the pork or the fowl, respectively, they are liable to pay a penalty of from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10. During the feast, the marriage dowry, which at a minimum consists of Rs. 30, 15 dahs, an axe and a spear, is asked for by the girl's father and the bridegroom's father has no option to bargain but to accept the dowry asked for. The bridegroom's party should stay for 3 days in the house of the bride and fix a date for the marriage, and on the day appointed, the bridegroom's party, with 30 fowls, 20 gourds of *khaung*, and the dowry, should visit the house of the bride. The fowls and the *khaung* are intended for a feast for the bride's party. The bride's party should slaughter a pig to feed the opposite party, and neither should eat what has been offered to the opposite party. The dowry, dahs, the axe and the spear, together with at least Rs. 10 in cash, should be brought and handed over to the bride's father. The payment of the balance of the money may be promised later. The bridegroom's party should stay for 3 days drinking *khaung* and feasting. On the fourth day, the bride is brought to the house of the bridegroom together with 2 pigs, given by the father-in-law to the bridegroom as a present. The new couple should stay for 3 days in the house of the bridegroom.



and on the following day they go to the house of the bride's father, where they stay for a day and then return to the house of the bridegroom.

In the case of the Mro, the bridegroom generally informs his father about the intended marriage, and the father, in company with his son and a few villagers, visits the house of the prospective bride with 3 fowls, a spear, and a dah. On their arrival, the spear and the dah are handed over to the bride's parents as presents and the fowls are given as food to the family of the bride. The bride's parents, in return, slaughter a pig and give a feast to the bridegroom's party. The pork should not be eaten by the bride's party and the fowls should not be eaten by the bridegroom's party. The father consults his daughter and gets her consent to the proposed marriage. After obtaining the girl's consent, the father demands a dowry. This consists of, at least, Rs. 100, a dah, and a spear. The two latter are payable on the spot but the money can be promised later if it cannot be paid immediately. The bridegroom's father may not bargain over the dowry asked for. After the settlement of the dowry terms, the bridegroom's party should stay for 3 days in the house of the bride, drinking *khaung* and enjoying the feast, and, on the 4th day, the bridegroom's party, together with the bride, leave for the bridegroom's house.

Among the Ahraing Khami, the boy informs his father about his marriage with the girl he has selected and his father, accompanied by two village elders, should approach the girl and get her consent first. The father of the girl is then consulted about the proposed match and he generally does not interfere, if the girl consents. He then demands a dowry, which at least consists of Rs. 100, 30 spears, 15 fowls, and 6 bottles of country spirit, and the opposite party, without bargaining, must promise to pay the dowry asked for. Both the parties in consultation fix a date for the marriage. On the day fixed, the bridegroom, together with his parents and some villagers, go to the house of the bride, taking at least 15 spears, 15 fowls, and 6 bottles of spirit. The remaining dowry can be promised to be paid later if the bridegroom is unable to afford to pay immediately. On their arrival at the house of the bride, a pig is slaughtered by the bride's party to give them a feast and the fowls brought by them are also killed to furnish a banquet for the bride's family and relations. Like the other two races the Ahraing Khami are also prohibited from eating what has been offered to the other party. The bridegroom's party stays for two days drinking *khaung* and feasting, and, on the third day, the bride is taken away to the house of the bridegroom.

The dowry, demanded by the father on the occasion of his daughter's marriage, is solely enjoyed by the girl's parents or her relations. On full payment of the dowry, the bridegroom gets presents of spears, gongs, silk turbans, and "loongyis," in proportion to the dowry paid, from the father-in-law. Generally it takes years for the bridegroom to pay back the balance of the marriage dowry, and in this case the bride's parents and relations have to wait until the others are in a position to pay. The liability for payment of the dowry to the girl's parents or relations descends from father to son, according to the custom of these tribes.

*Right and claim as to the property and children of a married couple on their separation, either by death or by mutual consent.*—On separation, either by death or mutual consent, the women of these tribes, according to their customs, cannot make claims on the estate or the children born of a marriage. All the property and the children, except the suckling baby, have to be left behind with the husband or the husband's close relations. The suckling baby is generally taken away by the woman at the time of her departure from her husband's house, but, as soon as the baby attains the age of about 3 or 4 years, it has to be returned to the father or his relations on payment of feeding expenses. The Awa Khami and Mro generally pay Rs. 10 for this, but in the case of the Ahraing Khami, the amount varies from Rs. 60 to Rs. 70. On separation by mutual consent or otherwise, it is customary for the married couple of the Awa Khami and Mro to exchange small branches of trees as tokens of their separation, but no such practice exists among the Ahraing Khami. They divorce each other in the presence of village elders. After the separation the married couple may re-marry if they like.

*Separation of husband and wife due to the fault of the wife before full settlement of the dowry.*—It is customary among the Ahraing Khami to forfeit the dowry promised to the father of the girl, but she will be entitled to Rs. 50 from the husband for the children, if any, left with the husband. If it is only one child, she is entitled to Rs. 30 or Rs. 35. In the case of the Mro and the Awa Khami, the women are not entitled to any money for the children left with the husband, but on the contrary, they have to pay a compensation of Rs. 30 to the husband. If the separation is due to the fault of the husband, the Ahraing Khami women get a compensation of Rs. 15, and they are also entitled to Rs. 100 if they leave behind, with the husband, 2 or more children. If they leave behind only one child, they are entitled to Rs. 60 to Rs. 70. The Awa Khami and Mro women are not fortunate enough to enjoy the same privileges as the Ahraing Khami women. They are only entitled to a compensation of Rs. 30 even if half a dozen children are left behind with the husband.

*Separation of husband and wife after part or full payment of the dowry.*—If the separation is caused by the fault of the woman, she, or her relations, have to return the dowry paid in the case of the Ahraing Khami. But, according to the customs of the Mro and the Awa Khami, the women have to pay a penalty of Rs. 60 and Rs. 30, respectively, apart from repayment of the dowry paid. If the separation is due to the fault of the man, the dowry paid is forfeited by the Ahraing Khami, but the Mro and Awa Khami, in addition to the forfeiture of the dowry, have to pay a penalty of Rs. 30 to the woman.

*Separation on the death of one of the married couple before full settlement of the dowry.*—On the death of the woman, before full settlement of her dowry, the man has to pay the unpaid dowry to the parents or relations of the woman. This custom prevails among the three tribes. If the man dies before the settlement of the dowry, the woman's parents do not get the unpaid balance of the dowry as it is considered that a fresh dowry can be demanded for their daughter on her next marriage. On the death of the father, the children remain with the relations of the father, but, in the case of the Ahraing Khami, the woman gets money from the relations of her deceased husband if any children are left behind with them.



**Enquiry on the Effect on Primitive Tribes of Contact with Civilization.**—The only primitive tribes here, as stated before, are the Awa Khami, the Ahraing Khami and the Mro. They have come into contact with the civilization of the Arakanese, both Buddhist and Mohamedan. But this contact does not appear to be as frequent as may be expected, because of the lack of good communications. To reach their villages, one has to engage a sampan or the like kind of conveyance specially for the purpose, and proceed by water part of the way, and then either walk across country or travel in canoes or rafts which have to be dragged through shallow water and rocky stretches in many places. During this irksome journey, which generally lasts for days, one is often liable to be infected by malaria unless one takes precautions particularly with regard to drinking water.

Disease and crime, which are common among the Arakanese, are at present alien to them. But it is sad to note that many of the men of these tribes have become victims of the opium habit. It is, I think, due to frequent visits paid by the Arakanese traders, who bring in opium just for the sake of alluring these tribes to work for them. Consequently, these people are prone to be lethargic and their natural incentive for work has deadened. Most of them are no longer possessed of ambition. They usually grow paddy, tobacco, and cotton. The paddy they grow is just enough for their own consumption. They do export tobacco and cotton but they are hampered by debt. Most of them have become indebted to the Arakanese people of Ponnyoleik, Pyare, and Lemro villages. When they grow their tobacco, cotton, and paddy, their creditors usually come and take away almost all their produce in settlement of debts and they are left with no option in the matter of disposing of their produce for a better price. They are a happy-go-lucky people. If they are in need, they approach their neighbours, the Arakanese people, and raise loans or *Dadaung* as they generally call them. They pay back to the Arakanese in kind with exorbitant interest. They do not care to come to the law courts to have the Usurious Loans Act applied to their cases. Probably they have the no idea of the existence of this Act.

These tribes do not leave their houses for the purpose of working as labourers and have to eke out a living in some way or another. Very few of them care to leave their hill tracts unless compelled by necessity. I have come across immense forests and land fit for cultivation which have practically remained untouched. Occasionally, these people cut bamboos and canes from the forests to meet contracts placed with them by the Arakanese people. Very few of them have cattle. I have seen 2 or 3 families using cattle for ploughing. Up to date, there is no indication of any minerals and no outsiders have applied for licenses for prospecting for minerals. I understand that an English firm has the intention of starting a mill for manufacture of pulp from bamboo which abounds in the area.

Each tribe speaks its own dialect. Most of them, I mean among the men, are acquainted with Arakanese, which is used for inter-tribal conversation. I have also noticed that some of them speak Chittagonian. Almost all are illiterate. Their region is conspicuous by the absence of schools for imparting any sort of education among them. It appears that no civilised people have attempted to introduce education among these tribes, but some of the Awa Khami and Mro show an inclination to acquire a knowledge of the Burmese language. Signs are not wanting to show that they soon will have a vernacular school of their own.

Most of the males of these tribes have given up the loin cloth of their ancestors and have practically adopted the dress of male Arakanese Buddhists. This is due to their contact with the male Arakanese Buddhists. The females have less opportunity of meeting the female population of Arakanese Buddhists, and hence they have not adopted the full dress of the Arakanese women but the majority of them have started imitating the Arakanese female in wearing a jacket over their bodies. Their *Thameins* (skirts) which are of knee length, still remain unchanged. This imitation of dress, I think, will be rather detrimental to their health as most of them are not in the habit of washing their clothes. If the washing habit is not acquired, I am afraid that the dirt will accumulate in their clothes and will cause ill-health.

In the days gone by, the people had no rooms and compartments in their houses and all the inmates ate, lived, and slept in one big room, which formed the house. At present, the majority of them have changed their ideas due to their contact with the Arakanese people. They have seen the Arakanese people with compartments in their houses and they have copied these. This is evident from the good number of new pattern houses in existence at present. The majority of people, who have constant contact with the Arakanese, have different rooms in their houses, which are generally small in size. These small and often congested rooms are destitute of ventilation generally, as the primitive tribes have no idea of sanitation and ventilation.

All of these tribes are Animists and, as such, they have celebrations on many occasions in honour of various "nats" which they believe to exist. They are still imbued with the idea that the incidents and events, whether good or bad, of their lives are willed by the "nats." They regard "nats" as omnipotent. In cases of illness, they take to medical treatment as a last resource. Their social functions and amusements are mainly connected with "nat-pwes." No missionaries or civilised people have settled in this region and so their beliefs and practices have not as yet undergone any drastic change. No doubt, some of them have notions of Buddhism and it is likely that they will be converted to Buddhism gradually in the near future. I have actually met some of them styling themselves Buddhists.

In former days, they followed the principle of "Might is Right" and "Tit for Tat" and they had no security and protection. Since the introduction of Penal Law by the British Government, they have gradually abandoned their old ideas. It is gratifying to note that they express a feeling of satisfaction with the advantages of protection and security afforded by the British Government, and that they are glad that their ancient customs have dwindled.

On the whole, the people do not seem to be discontented with the life they lead. They all appear to be optimistic. They are keen on having large families as they look towards their issue for support in their old age.



**PART II.—The Awa Khamis, Ahraing Khamis, and Mros in the Ponnagyun Chin Hills, Ponnagyun Township, by U Ohn Pe, Assistant Township Officer, Ponnagyun.**

**Region.**—The census operations were started on the 28th December 1930, along the Yo Chaung watercourse commencing from Taungminkala village. The last village along the Yo Chaung and the remotest at its source is Baidaung-khein-nan village. The operations at the last village were completed on the 12th January 1931. As it would have taken at least a fortnight to go back to Taungminkala on the Yo Chaung to start operations from Awrama village along the Tawpya Chaung watercourse, I crossed over Khaungdaing, which is the mountain barrier between these two chaungs (streams), to the source of the Taw-pya Chaung by the pass, which is locally known as the Khaungdan Pass. It is between Baidaung-u-taw and Baidaung-bo-lein villages. As the steepness of the mountain is just about the same as that of the funnel of a steamer, as the name of the mountain implies, and also because it is very high, my coolies and I had to sleep a night at the foot of the pass in a temporary shed built by us and to start ascending the mountain after an early breakfast at 6 a.m. next morning. The route on either side of the pass is very rugged, being strewn with stones and boulders of big and small sizes, very slippery, and sharp-pointed. On reaching the base of the mountain on the far side of the pass, the way lay through high elephant grass, which grows so thickly that it blocks and obscures the footpath. We did not encounter any wild elephant or tiger, though we saw the fresh foot-prints of several elephants, probably a herd of 30 to 40, and also tiger pug marks. It took from morning to night to reach Kyeni-in, which was the first village to be enumerated on the following morning, *via* Khaungdaing village, which belongs to Buthidaung Township. The operations along the Tawpya Chaung were started on the 15th January 1931 at Kyeni-in village. The operations along this chaung were completed at Awrama village on the 25th January 1931.

The country, both along the Yo Chaung and the Tawpya Chaung, is also very rugged and mountainous. The foot-path along the Yo Chaung lies on level ground only up to Thalu chaung village. Thence up to Baidaung-khein-nan village the foot-path is difficult. It is a hill track, at times not far from the water in the chaung below and at others very high up above it. A false step or a stumble might easily cause a fall over a precipice down into the water in the chaung below. Occasionally, the way lies along the dry stream-beds, where jumbled rocks necessitate jumps from rock to rock, which make the knees ache. The conditions of the path along the Tawpya Chaung are similar to the above from Kyeni-in to Kyauksaraung. Thence up to Awrama the path lies on even ground. On the mountains and in the valleys, bamboos of the smaller kind grow profusely. The "Wabo" bamboo does not grow there. Very rarely did I come across reserved trees, such as "Pyinma."

**Winter.**—It was so bitterly cold (in January) that we were unable to get a sound sleep at night. Europeans would probably appreciate the winter up here. In the morning, the sun was seen only at about 8 o'clock and its light disappeared at 4 o'clock in the afternoon. I even doubted the correctness of the time shown by my wrist watch.

**Waterfalls.**—On the way from Tandin-Mrochaung village to Agri village, both of which are situated on the Yo Chaung, there is a big waterfall. The water falls over a rock ledge, which is about 80 cubits high, to a lower ledge. Both are in the bed of the watercourse, which runs through rocks between hills. The fall of water is perpendicular. On the advice given me at Ponnagyun by U Aung Hla, Opium Licensee of Ponnagyun, before I set out on this long tour, and on further information from the Mros, who inhabit the neighbourhood of the waterfall, I worshipped the "nat" of the waterfall by sticking some gold-leaf on the rock and invoking the "nat" to look after us on our journey. I noticed a large amount of gold-leaf stuck on the rock.

There is a waterfall also between Wanway and Dapruchaung, which villages are situated on the Tawpya Chaung, but this waterfall is not as steep as the one in the Yo Chaung. Empty dugouts even can be dragged up this waterfall.

**People.**—Most of the inhabitants of the villages along both Chaungs are : (1) Awa Khamis' (2) Mros, and (3) Ayaing Khamis. Very few Yanbys, Arakanese, and Chaungthas were found. The manners and customs, etc., of the wild tribes, *viz.*, (1) Awa Khami, (2) Mro, and (3) Ayaing Khami are described below.

#### AWA KHAMIS.

There is no existence of divisions into different exogamous clans or groups of clans.

There is no existence of divisions into two or three groups or classes with a definite order of social precedence between these classes.

There is no existence of a chieftain class or clan from which chiefs are drawn.

**Organisation.**—This appears to be on the lines of democracy. If, in the case of a dispute between two persons, there is no witness, three Luyis (elders) are appointed to dispose of it. For example, a person accuses another of having stolen his money. The "Luyis" ask the first person whether it is true that he lost his money. The first person replies in the affirmative. Then the "Luyis" ask the second person whether it is true that he stole the first person's money. The second person denies the charge. Then the "Luyis" tell them to dive into a pool in a chaung, saying that he, who has lied, will appear at the surface of the water first. Both the complainant and the accused put their heads (not the whole body) into the water in the pool, each of them holding one of the two bamboo-poles held perpendicularly by two of the three "Luyis." The third "Luyi" watches the divers along with spectators from the bank of the chaung. If the complainant appears at the surface of the water first, he has to incur the following expenses :—(1) The least Rs. 15 and the most Rs. 50 for causing the accused to wet his hair, (2) the least Rs. 5 and the most Rs. 10 to each "Luyi" for disposing of the case. If the accused appears at



the surface of the water first, he has to incur not only the above-mentioned expenses but also to give the complainant the amount, which was alleged to have been stolen by the accused. It is believed that the person, who is dishonest, is made to appear at the surface of the water first by the "nat" piercing the nostrils with some pointed thing.

**Traditions of Origin.**—There is no existence of traditions of origin from the North, West, North-East, or South, etc.

There is no existence of terraced cultivation.

There is no existence of megalithic monuments.

There is no use of stone for seats.

**Use of Materials in Building.**—Bamboo is used for floors and walls; wood is used for posts and beams, and bamboo-leaf or thatch is used for roofs by the poor people. Men of means, who are scarce, use wood for floors and walls, and bamboo leaves for roofs. There is no restriction in the use of wood, or bamboo or leaves.

The social position of individuals is not indicated by the shape or materials of their houses, or by the pattern and colours of the clothes they wear.

**Ideas as to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, Comets, etc.**—They have no ideas about the sun, moon, stars and comets. They call the 7 stars towards the tail of the Great Bear "stars of 7 days' people." They cannot explain the meaning of "stars of 7 days' people." They have no names for any other stars. They take the markings on the moon as a banyan tree. They do not know the causes of earthquakes or eclipses. They think that the sun or the moon, as the case may be, is swallowed by a tiger whenever an eclipse takes place. They have no legends of the rainbow and of thunder or lightning.

**Disposal of Dead.**—The head, together with the body of the dead, is burnt to ashes. In the case of natural death, the head and the body are burnt one or two or three days after death according to the means the relatives possess to entertain visitors. In the case of death from contagious disease, the head and the body are buried; after one month the remains are disinterred and burnt to ashes. Coffins are made of strips of bamboos woven into the form of a coffin. No cairn or shelter over the grave is made.

They believe that man, after death, will enjoy the same kind of life in the next existence, but do not know in what form or shape that existence will occur.

**Appearance.**—This is the same as that of the Arakanese, complexion—majority are dark; sallow complexion is rare. Hair—straight and treated in the manner of the Burman and the Arakanese but without coconut oil. Both males and females keep long hair. They use pig's fat for hair oil. Eyes—straight and black. Shape of nose, head and physique in general—same as the Burman and the Arakanese.

**Method of Sowing Seed.**—This is done by broadcasting similar to the Arakanese custom. Paddy lands are ploughed with a "Te" or wooden plough with an iron tip. *Taungya* cultivation is done with "dahs."

**Musical Instruments.**—Gong, cymbal, blow-pipes made of bamboos and gourds, and oblong drums.

**Weapons.**—Spears, bows and arrows. There is no custom of taking enemies' heads as is done by those residing in the unadministered area.

Awa Khamis describe themselves as belonging to Awa Khami.

They call their language "Awa Khami."

They do not intermarry with any other tribe.

They have relations by blood or marriage only in the Ponnagynn Chin Hills.

**Dress.**—Males use Burmese jackets, which they call "Kha-ok" and which they buy from Indian hawkers, as coverings for the upper part of the body without any underwear. They (Awa Khami males) cover the lower part with a piece of black loin-cloth, the length of which is 8 cubits, the breadth being half a cubit, which they tie round the waist twice and pass it between the thighs with both ends hanging downwards at the front and at the back. This piece of cloth is called "E-nauk" in Awa Khami language. The head is wound with a piece of cloth of some colour other than black. They simply wrap this cloth round the head without covering the top hair. The length of the cloth is 2 cubits, while its breadth is  $1\frac{1}{2}$  cubits. This cloth is also bought from Indian hawkers. The cloth, which is wound round the waist, is made by themselves from the black yarn they buy from Indian hawkers. Men of substance wear wide earrings made of metal, which is an alloy of gold and silver.

Awa Khami females cover the upper part of the body with a piece of cloth just covering the breast and the back on the left side, leaving the right arm bare for free use. The breadth of this cloth is a little less than a cubit, while the length is a cubit and a span. The edge of the front part of the cloth is tied to the edge of the back part with a string over the right shoulder. This cloth is called "Yingan" in Awa Khami language. The lower part of the body is covered with a piece of cloth, the breadth of which is a cubit, while the length is 2 cubits. The cloth is wrapped round the waist. The breadth being only a cubit, the cloth covers only the upper thighs. When they move about, the left thigh is exposed to view. This piece of cloth also is called "E-nauk" in the Awa Khami language. Both the upper and lower garments are woven from the yarn bought from Indian hawkers. The lower cloth is kept in place by strings of beads, which number at least five. Some women of means add a string of copper pieces to the strings of beads round the waist. The beads and copper are bought from Indian hawkers. The strings for the beads are made by the Awa Khami women. The ends of the bead-strings are tied together in front of the waist. Unmarried young women wear silver bangles and anklets. They also wear silver earrings, which are hollow tubes about 3 inches in length. Grown-up women wear only earrings, and not bangles and anklets. Unmarried young women wear also necklaces made of coral or silver coins.

**Tattooing.**—No tattooing either by males or females.



**Religion.**—They worship "nats" whose names they do not know. When a member of a family is sick, they insert through the verandah of the house two bamboo poles tied parallel, the lengths of which are about 6 cubits, one end touching the ground, whilst the other is split to form tails hanging downwards. The bamboo poles are put up just under the apex of the roof of the house reaching to within a cubit of it. A live pig is then tied to the bamboo poles, where they pass through the verandah. The sick person then comes out of the room and kills the pig with a spear or a bamboo spike. Then the pig is cut into pieces and cooked. The pig curry and some cooked rice are then given to the sick person, the "nat" being invoked to forgive the sick person and to leave him that day. This is done in the belief that the "nat" is in the sick person. The remaining curry is then enjoyed by the other members of the family and villagers.

Again, "nat" worship is done at *laungya* cultivation. When the crops are in ear, bamboo poles of the above description are put up in the *laungya*. A live pig is tied to the foot of the bamboo poles and is killed by a woman from the house of the *laungya*-cutter, either with a spear or pointed bamboo. Then they cut the pig into pieces and cook it. Some pork curry with cooked rice is put on the top of the bamboo poles and prayers are offered invoking the "nat" to give the *laungya*-cutter a good harvest. The remaining curry is then eaten by the villagers.

**Religious Rites.**—When a villager dies, his dead body is washed with hot water. On the breast some money, according to their means, either a rupee or an eight anna piece is kept covered with a piece of cloth. The dead body is then placed in a coffin made of split bamboos. A fowl is killed and put into it with cooked rice. On the following morning after breakfast, it is carried to the grave, where it is burnt to ashes. Crying is not prohibited at the funeral. In the case of the death of a baby soon after birth, its body is wrapped with a piece of cloth and kept in a bamboo basket hung up in a tree till it finally decays and disappears.

**Marriage Law.**—The marriage may be contracted by the couple themselves with or without the knowledge and consent of the parents. If a lad kidnaps a girl to his parents' house, the parents take the couple with village elders to the house of the girl's parents carrying 3 fowls and some *khaung*. On arrival, the young man's parents ask the girl's parents what dowry they are prepared to accept. The dowry is then fixed and given. Sometimes, the dowry is as high as Rs. 100, the lowest being Rs. 30. After handing over the dowry to the girl's parents, the fowls are given to them and the *khaung* to the visitors to be enjoyed there. In return, the bride's parents give a pig to the bridegroom's parents to be eaten then and there. Then the couple with the lad's parents return to their house. The girl goes to her parents' house on visits, occasionally, but she never returns there permanently. If a lad agrees to marry on his own choice or on the advice of his parents, they go to the house of the girl's parents, where negotiations proceed. When they agree, they fix a dowry and appoint a date for the marriage. On the appointed day, the same procedure, as in the case of marriage by kidnapping, is carried out. The couple are then taken back to the house of the young man's parents. If the bridegroom or the bride breaks the promise of marriage, no action is taken if either party makes the plea that one does not love the other. If the couple separate owing to the fault of the wife, she has to return half of the dowry to her parents-in-law. If the couple separate owing to the fault of the husband, the wife leaves without paying any part of the dowry. When the husband dies, the wife is entitled to nothing—she has even to leave the issue of the marriage, if any, behind with the husband's father or with the brother (uncle).

**Dancing and Amusements.**—Awa Khamis dance in a group of about 15 persons. They cling to one another, side by side, by placing the arms round the necks or under the arm-pits of those on each side. They bend from one side to another, marking time with right and left legs in turn. In this way, they dance round. The groups may consist of men or women only or of both. They have no musical instruments. They dance only when they make a new platform in a house in their village. The dance lasts for a day and up to midnight. At this performance, there is a feast of *khaung* and curries of pork, fowls, and meat. They sing while dancing. The meaning of the songs cannot be ascertained.

There is no variation in the language from village to village, but it differs from that of other tribes (*vide* list attached).

#### MROS.

**Locally known as Taung-Mros.**—They informed me that their forefathers originally dwelt at the source of the Kaladan river. The present Mro inhabitants of Ponnagyun Chin Hills are the descendants of the Mro, who first came down to this area as they were afraid of the Shandus, who inhabit the upper reaches of the Kaladan river. There is no other kind of Mro here. They do not know when their forefathers started coming down here.

There is no existence of divisions into different exogamous clans or groups of clans.

There is no existence of divisions into two or three groups or classes with a definite order of social precedence as between these classes.

There is no existence of a chieftain class or clan from which chiefs are drawn.

Same as the Awa-Khami. (Connections in other areas).

There is no existence of tradition of origin from the North-West, North-East, or South, etc.

There is no existence of terraced cultivation.

There is no existence of megalithic monuments.

There is no use of stone for seats.

**Use of Materials in Building.**—The floors, walls, and under-roof of the houses are made of bamboos. The upper-roof is made of bamboo-leaves. In order to make the



floors, walls, and under-roof, bamboos are split lengthwise into wide plank-shaped pieces. Posts and beams are made of wood. There is no restriction on the use of wood or bamboo.

The social position of individuals is not indicated by the shape or material of their houses, or by the pattern and colours of the clothes they wear.

**Ideas as to the Sun, Moon and Stars, Comets, etc.**—They have no legends of the sun, moon, stars and comets. They do not know the Great Bear or any other stars. Neither do they know the markings on the face of the moon. They believe that the cause of earthquakes is that a supposed Dragon shakes the earth to find out whether people are still in existence. As regards the eclipse of the sun, their belief is as follows :—

Once upon a time, a woman of their tribe gave birth to a son without a father. As soon as the son was born, he dug out 7 rats from the ground and ate them. Then he asked his mother who his father was. Feeling ashamed of the non-existence of a husband, she falsely told her son that his father was devoured by a tiger. So the son went into the jungles and killed a tiger with a spear. He brought the tiger's head and slept a night keeping it under his head and beseeching it to show him his father at night. Though the day dawned, there was no sign of his father. So he asked his mother again as to why he could not see his father though he had killed the tiger and had slept with its head under his. His mother then gave him a new tale of an elephant having killed his father. So the son did the same acts as in the case of the tiger. When he did not see any signs of his father, he asked his mother again. Then his mother gave him a new story saying that his father died on account of the heat of the sun. So he told his mother and the people that he would go and wage a war against the sun and instructed them to watch and to follow him when they should see him fighting with the sun. With this belief the Mro raise cries as war songs whenever they see an eclipse of the sun. They believe that the moon, being the sister of the sun, the son of that woman went and waged war against the moon, when he found that he could not overthrow the sun.

They have no ideas of the rainbow, thunder and lightning. They believe that the thunderbolt is thrown by a powerful "nat" to a less powerful "nat" in charge of a certain tree, which the thunderbolt strikes. In the case of the death of a man from lightning, they think that the powerful "nat" strikes him with the thunderbolt as he was mischievous.

**Disposal of Dead.**—When a Mro dies a natural death, his body is placed in a coffin made of split bamboos woven into a basket as long as the length of the body. Then a pig is killed and its blood is poured over the coffin. The pork is offered to the visitors. The dead body is then carried to and burnt at the grave. The pieces of bone, which remain unburnt, are gathered and placed on a platform in the cemetery with *khaung* and other eatables for the deceased to drink and eat. In the case of unnatural death, the dead body is buried without any food or the killing of a pig. In the case of the death of a young person up to the age of 3 years, a dog is killed to show the way to the young deceased, and carried in the coffin with the child's body to the grave, where the corpse is burnt without the dead body of the dog. The pieces of bone, which remain unburnt, are then placed on a platform without *khaung* but with eatables. The dead body of the dog is thrown away in the cemetery. No stone cairn or any form of shelter over the grave is made. The head is not disposed of separately. In the case of unnatural death, the husband or the wife, as the case may be, will refrain from eating flesh or vegetables for 40 days after abandoning the house and all belongings for ever. He or she, as the case may be, will live on only rice and water in a hut specially built for the purpose. He or she, as the case may be, is not allowed to sit together with others, but may converse with them.

**Existence after Death.**—They have no ideas as to the ultimate abode of the dead.

**Appearance.**—As the Burmese and the Arakanese. Complexion—dark. Hair—straight; in the case of males, it is knotted on the top of the head, and in the case of females it is knotted at the back of the head. Eyes—straight and brown. Shape of nose—Same as that of the Arakanese and the Burmese. Physique in general—Look like Burmese opium consumers.

**Method of Sowing Seed.**—They cultivate *taungya* paddy by placing seeds separately in beds, which they dig with dahs, which have blunt heads and sharpened only on one side. They have no other implements.

**Musical Instruments.**—(a) A drum, which is a piece of hollow wood, the holes at both ends of which are covered with circular pieces of leather, which are tightened by leather strings pulled taut from each end of the drum.

(b) There are two kinds of flutes. One is of a small size, while the other is large. Both kinds are made of dried hollowed gourds. In the small kind, two holes are made one above the other on the side of the globe of the gourd. In the upper hole, two small pieces of bamboo-pipes are fixed, while in the lower hole three small but longer bamboo-pipes are fixed. The bamboo-pipes are attached to the gourd by means of wax. There is a hole at a distance of four fingers from the gourd on the upper side of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the right of the two fixed in the upper hole. So also is there a hole at the same distance on the lower side of the other bamboo-pipe. Over the exposed ends of both bamboo-pipes are placed two moveable bamboo tubes sealed at one end by the bamboo-knot and extending about 2 cubits from the ends of the fixed tubes. There is a hole at a distance of 10 fingers from the gourd on the right side, but somewhat on the under surface of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the extreme right of the three fixed in the lower hole of the gourd. Over the other end of this bamboo-pipe is placed a globe of dried gourd. There is a hole at a distance of 9 fingers from the gourd on the upper side of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the extreme left of the lower three fixed pipes. Over the other end of this bamboo-pipe is placed a moveable bamboo-tube. The bamboo-pipe, which is in the middle of the three, is placed simply to hold the two on either side rigid. To play the instrument, air is blown through the pipe fixed in a hole at the top of the gourd.



In the larger kind, three bamboo-pipes are fixed on the side of the globe of a larger sized gourd. There is a hole at a distance of a cubit from the gourd on the lower surface of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the extreme right side of the three. Over the other end of this bamboo-pipe, a globe of gourd is placed. There is a hole at a somewhat lesser distance from the gourd on the upper side of the bamboo-pipe, which is on the extreme left among the three. Over the other end of this pipe is placed a globe of gourd with a larger aperture than that of the other. The middle bamboo-pipe is fixed as before simply to tighten the two on either side. It is played in the same way as the smaller kind. Two of the larger kind are played when dancing takes place.

(c) A pair of cymbals.

(d) A gong.

They have no weapons. There is no custom of taking enemies' heads.

They describe themselves as belonging to the Taung Mro, because they live in hills.

They call their language "Taung-Mro" or "Mro."

Very seldom they intermarry with the Awa Khami, Ayaing Khami, Arakanese, Chaungthas, or the Burmese.

They have relations only in the Tawpya Chaung area.

**Dress.**—They dress as Awa Khamis, with the only exception that the females have no "Yingans." The young women wear silver bangles on the wrists as well as just above the elbows.

**Tattooing.**—There is no tattooing.

**Religion.**—They worship "nats" whose name or number they do not know. They worship the "nats" when there is sickness in their houses and when the crops in their *taungyas* are in ear. In both cases, a bamboo-pole of the same kind as described in the case of the Awa Khami is put up in the platform of the house concerned. Then a pig is brought up there and killed by any person. Then each member of the family ties a piece of the ear of the dead pig with a string on the right wrist. Then each member of the family, who is well, says "Phyauk. Ah-row-mi. Chin-nam kyu-mi. An-sa-pa. Pa-yon-la" equivalent to "I have made sacrifices of every description. May the sick person regain his (or her) health." Then the assembled villagers, including the sick person, enjoy the pork and the *khaung*, if available. The sick person does not drink the *khaung*.

In the case of worshipping the "nats" for success with the *taungya*, a pig and a fowl are killed over some plants or grain, which are cut and brought from the *taungya* and kept on the platform. Then a piece of the ear of the dead pig is tied to the right wrist of each member of the house concerned and they say prayers as "Phyauk. Pa-ka-ra-la. Ta-li-la. Tan-ga-la. Pi-ka-la" equivalent to "May we get an outturn from this *taungya* as much as 400 to 500 baskets." They then enjoy the curries with *khaung*.

They do not worship "nats" in the case of the death of a member of the family. Weeping is not prohibited at the funeral nor are women prohibited from following to the grave as in the case of the Mahomedans.

Luckily, a feast was performed in my presence on the morning of the 8th January 1931 at Agri village on account of the sickness of the wife of a householder. A young pig was caught. The husband killed it by a thrust with a sharpened piece of green bamboo. On the previous day, a bamboo-pole had been erected at the middle edge of the verandah of the house with 5 "Pha-bwas." They were made by scraping the pole between the 5 knots from the top of the pole making the scrapings hang down from the knots. Another pole was erected touching the apex of the roof in the centre with two "Pha-bwas." Another pole was erected on the ground in front of the first mentioned pole. After killing the pig, the "pha-bwas" at the lowest knot were besmeared with the blood of the pig. Then the pig was cut into pieces. A long piece of an ear was cut off from the pig and tied in the middle with as many strings as there are members of the household, after rubbing them first with turmeric (Sa-nwin) and then with lime. The blood, heart and lungs were put into a piece of green bamboo with some chillies and salt, and cooked by placing it on the fire. The other pieces of pork were cooked over another fire. When the contents of the bamboo were well cooked, they were taken out. Many pieces of leaves were cut, and on them some pieces of pork from the bamboo were placed with cooked rice. As no *khaung* was available, some yeast (fermented rice) was put into an earthenware pot with water. The elder brother of the householder drank some of this mixture and spat at the pieces of the leaves on which cooked rice and pork were placed, invoking the "nat" to release the sick woman from sickness as a feast was offered to him. Then the pieces of the leaves with rice and pork were thrust into the granary, which is inside the house, and at the corners of the house. Then the husband drank some of the mixture and spat at a cup, in which some cooked rice and pork had been placed in front of his sick wife. Then the husband besmeared the rice and the pork on the hair of his sick wife praying to the "nat" for the recovery of his wife from the sickness. The husband then touched the forehead of his wife with a piece of ginger, which also had been placed in the above cup. He then touched her forehead with two small sticks, on each of which was a piece of pork, obtained from the cup. The husband then fastened a string, in which a piece of the ear of the pig was already tied, on the right wrist of his sick wife. He then besmeared the mixture of lime and turmeric on the forehead, arm, and back of his wife. The same treatment was given to each and every member of the family. He then came out of the sick room holding a piece of leaf containing some rice and pork and which had been placed near the cup, as well as a tube of bamboo, containing some mixture in place of *khaung*. He then threw the contents of the leaf at the bamboo-pole, which was erected at the middle edge of the verandah, praying to the "nat" for the recovery of his sick wife. This ended the feast. Then the members of the family had a meal with pork curry.

**Marriage Law.**—The same as the Awa Khami.



**Dancing and Amusements.**—They believe that they will suffer from epidemics if they dance on other than the specified occasions. They dance by bending the knees to the beat of the drum. They also sing when dancing. They also dance, when a new platform is made in anybody's house in their village, when a new house is erected therein, and when their *taungya* crops are in ear. On every such occasion, a dog, one or more cows or bulls, one or more pigs, and many fowls are killed. The cow or bull to be sacrificed is tied to a post put up in the middle of the village. The dog, pigs, and fowls are killed in another place. They start dancing round the cow or bull to be sacrificed at nightfall after drinking *khaung* in their houses. They dance the whole night. The dog is eaten at night. When the day breaks, the brother-in-law of the person, on whose account the feast is made, gives Rs. 5 to the latter, who in turn gives him a turban. On receipt of it, the brother-in-law spears the sacrificed animal. When the animal is dead, it is taken to the platform of the house for the purpose of being cut up. The dancers, however, will not allow it to be cut until the "Lubyos" (bachelors) and the "Apyos" (spinsters) who danced are paid some money by the donor of the feast. When the money is given, they cut the animal into pieces, and cook and eat it with the pork and fowl curries. This ends the feast.

Their language does not vary from village to village but differs from that of the Awa Khami and the Ayaing Khami.

It may be interesting to mention here that there is a custom among the unmarried men and women to sleep together at night in a group in a house. They share blankets together.

#### AYAING KHAMIS.

There is no existence of divisions into different exogamous clans or groups of clans.

There is no existence of divisions into two or three groups or classes with a definite order of social precedence as between these classes.

There is the existence of a chieftain class, from which chiefs are drawn. A chief need not belong to that class or clan by both parents.

Same as the Awa Khami. (Connections in other areas.)

There is no existence of traditions of origin from North-West, North-East, South, etc.

There is no existence of terraced cultivation.

There is no existence of megalithic monuments.

There is no use of stone for seats.

**Use of Materials in Building.**—The floors, walls, and the under-roofs of the houses are made of bamboos. The upper-roof is made of bamboo-leaves. The posts and beams are made of wood generally. Very poor persons use bamboo posts and beams. There is no restriction on the use of wood or bamboos for walls and roofs.

The social position of individuals is not indicated by the shape or material of their houses, or by the pattern and colours of the clothes they wear.

**Ideas as to the Sun, Moon and Stars, Comets, etc.**—They have no knowledge concerning the sun, moon, stars and comets. They do not know about the Great Bear nor any other stars. About the markings on the face of the moon, they think that in the early ages of the world, both the sun and moon were very hot. So the people of those days put a banyan tree with its juice on the moon to keep off the heat from her and allowed only the sun to shine. They think that the phases of the moon are due to its being buried in the sky and appearing again. As regards an earthquake, they think that a man of supernatural strength from underneath the earth shakes it to find out whether or not there are still human beings on it. Believing this, they shout out, whenever an earthquake takes place, that they are still in existence. They think that this man of super-natural strength will turn the earth over, if they do not shout out. They do not know about eclipses. They call the rainbow "Saung-yat," and think that it drinks water like a human being. They do not know about thunder and lightning.

**Disposal of Dead.**—When a person dies a natural death, the body is bathed with cold water and kept on a mat after being covered with clothes. It is kept in this way for at least 5 days, and at the most 8 days, according to the means of the householder to entertain visitors. No action is taken to prevent the dead body from becoming putrid. During the abovementioned days, pigs, cows and fowls are killed and offered with *khaung* to the visitors. On the funeral day, a coffin is made from split bamboos, into which the corpse is put. On that day, the brother of the deceased, if a woman, asks his brother-in-law to give him compensation, for his sister's hair will be lost by being burnt at the cemetery. At least Rs. 5 and at most Rs. 15 is then given by the brother-in-law. No such demand is made in the case of the death of any other relation. New clothes are put into the coffin on the funeral day so that the deceased may wear them. The dead body is then taken to the cemetery and burnt there. The unburnt bones are gathered and kept in a small hut built for the purpose at the cemetery. In the case of death from an unnatural cause, the dead body is buried in the cemetery and never disinterred. In the case of death from inability to give birth or from child-birth, the whole house, including all the possessions, is abandoned by relatives and strangers alike. The husband will refrain from eating flesh and vegetables for 40 days and lives in a hut erected specially for the purpose. He will live on only rice and water. He is not allowed to sit with others but is allowed to speak with them. In the case of the death of a baby soon after birth, its body is wrapped with a piece of cloth and kept in a bamboo-basket hung up in a tree till it decays to nothing. No stone cairn or any form of shelter over a grave is made.

**Existence after Death.**—They believe that the deceased disappear for ever and do not return to this earth in a future existence.

**Appearance.**—Look like the Arakanese. Complexion—dark. Hair—straight. The males make knots on the top of the head, while the females make knots at the back of the head. Eyes—straight and black. Shape of nose and head—Same as the Arakanese. Physique in general—not stout.



**Method of Sowing Seed.**—Crops are grown in *taungyas* by separate placing of seeds. They make holes in the ground with *dahs*, which have no pointed tips. They have no hoes or any other implements.

**Musical Instruments.**—Drum, gong, and cymbal, which are of the same kind as those of the Burmese. Unfortunately, no flute is available, as these instruments are broken after every feast. They are made when a feast is about to take place. It is said that only one bamboo-pipe is fixed in a dried gourd to make a flute. A brass tray is also beaten at the dance.

**Weapons.**—They have no weapons. There is no custom of taking enemies' heads.

They describe themselves as belonging to the Ayaing Khami.

They call their language Ayaing Khami.

They intermarry with the Taung-Mro.

They have relations along the Pi Chaungbya and the Kaladan Chaungbya in the Arakan Hill Tracts.

**Dress.**—Males clothe their bodies the same as the Awa Khami, but the Ayaing Khami make the loin-cloths from cloth of any colour other than the black cloth which Indian hawkers sell. Ayaing Khamis call the jackets "Basu." The bands tied round the waist and between the thighs are called "Ni-na." They dress their heads as the Burmese with turbans or "gaungbaungs" bought from Indian hawkers. Ayaing Khamis call these turbans "Lupyaw." They wear wide earrings like the Awa Khami.

Girls and young women cover the breast with a piece of cloth woven by themselves from black yarn purchased from Indian hawkers. The breadth of this cloth is just about 5 fingers and forms a "V" shape on the chest by the inner edge of each end being fastened together. This cloth is used for covering the breast. They call this cloth "Ni-kauk." Grown-up women do not wear this cloth. They dress the lower part of the body as do the Awa Khami. The Ayaing Khami females wear silver bangles. Young women wear bangles not only on the wrists but also just above the elbows. Their earrings have the same shape as those worn by the Nepalese women.

**Tattooing.**—They have no tattooing.

**Religion.**—They worship "nats" in the same way as the Taung-Mro but they say prayers in their own language as "Phyauk. Kano. Kaso. Whaybo. Nura. Ne-ok" equivalent to "May the sick person recover. He will get no sickness henceforth. He will be all right." With the pigs, dogs are also killed and eaten at the house. If a person gets sick on a journey, his companion kills a dog and besmears its blood at the back of the waist of the sick person. The dog is then brought to the house of the sick person. It is cooked on the ground in front of the house and eaten by villagers there and not in the house.

In the case of worshipping "nats" for *taungyas*, the same procedure as that of the Taung-Mro is followed with the addition of killing dogs together with pigs and fowls. The prayer for *taungya* is "Phyauk. So. Ngu-shaw" equivalent to "May we get a good harvest."

They do not worship "nats" in the case of the death of a member of the family. Weeping is not prohibited at the funeral, nor are women prohibited from going to the grave.

**Marriage Law.**—Same as the Awa Khami, but the following are additional customs:—If a lad kidnaps a lass, the parents of the former have to give the latter's parents a pig and money, the most Rs. 20 and the least Rs. 15, as compensation for the loss of modesty. If there is a breach of promise of marriage by the lad or the lass, he or she, who is at fault, has to give the other up to Rs. 15 as damages.

**Dancing and Amusements.**—Same as the Awa Khami. Moreover, males dance singly like the Burmese clowns by raising and jerking the hands and legs and whistling sometimes.

Their language does not vary from village to village but differs from that of the Awa Khami and the Mro. The differences are shown in the list attached. All these tribes use the Arakanese language as the medium by which they converse with other tribes.

**Effect on specific Primitive Tribes of Contacts with Civilization.**—Some of the Awa Khami, Mro and Ayaing Khami males have now-a-days been wearing the Burmese turbans or "gaungbaungs," jackets and "loongyis." They purchase them from Indian hawkers. The females have so far adopted green shawls over their own short breast pieces, though they are still averse to wearing Burmese "htameins" (skirts) and "eingyis" (jackets), the reason being that they find their own skirts easier to wear for their hard daily work. If Arakan is well developed and railways are opened, I am sure that the Awa Khami, Mro, and Ayaing Khami will become more civilized just as the Karens in the Tenasserim Division. The Awa Khami, Mro and Ayaing Khami appear to me to be submissive and hospitable, and not obstinate like the Malays in the Mergui District. Though the Malays have become civilized in the form of their dress owing to their contact with civilized people, yet the Malays are still wild in their temperament. I asked an old Mro as to whether or not he was happy and content. He replied "What to do, if I am not happy here? I have no means to reach the civilized parts of the world, though I wish to go there." If, instead of recruiting the Indian coolies for the tin mines and rubber estates, these tribes are taken, they will have better opportunities of becoming more civilized.



*List of Awa Khami, Mro, Ayaing-Khami Languages compared with the English Language.*

English.		Awa-Khami.	Mro.	Ayaing-Khami.
Father	...	Pa-è	Ah-pa-oh	Nga-an
Mother	...	Nè	Ah-oh	Nè
Elder brother	...	Ya-ah	Ah-taik	Yaik
Younger brother	...	Napi	Nauk-ma	Ah-kè
Grandfather	...	Pi-ee	Ah-poo	Na-si
Grandmother	...	Pi-e	Ah-pi	Na-si
Great-uncle	...	Pat-pri	Ta-ran	Apoo
Uncle	...	Pat-kho	Ta-ran	Nay-to
Great-aunt	...	Na-i	Na-ko	Nain-hmoon
Aunt	...	Na-i	Na-ko	Nain-hmoon
Brother-in-law	...	Nat-kaung	Naik	Nai-sa
Sister-in-law	...	Kama	Yawla	Amauk
Cooked rice	...	Bu	Haum	Bok
Rice	...	Sarni	Me	Sonai
Cold water	...	Twì-dein	Twì-rwa	Twì-swè
Hot water	...	Twì-kabi	Twì-dayin	Twì-bi
Water	...	Twì	Twì	Twì
Fire	...	Man	Man	Man
Curry	...	An	Kan	An
Fowl curry	...	Ah-na	Wanga	Ah-ngan
Pork curry	...	Awna	Panga	Ayo-nga
Fish	...	Mwe	Dam	Ngo
Fish curry	...	Mwe-an-htaing-de	Dam-kan	Ngo-an-htau
One	...	Ha	La	Nga-hat
Two	...	Ni	Prai	Nho-rai
Three	...	Hton	Som	Hton-marai
Four	...	Bali	Tali	Palo
Five	...	Ba-ngat	Tanga	Pau-rai
Six	...	Taro	Taro	Taro
Seven	...	Shi-ri	Ah-ni	Sharu
Eight	...	Tayat	Yat	Tayat
Nine	...	Akaw	Taku	Takaw
Ten	...	Hashaw	Ha	Horai.

**PART III.—The Ledus in the Atet-Thanchaung and Auk-Thanchaung Village-tracts, Minbya Township, by U Sein Ogh, Assistant Township Officer, Minbya.**

Like Atet-Wetchaung and Auk-Wetchaung Village-tracts, the majority of these people residing in the Atet-Thanchaung Village-tract, are Ledus, with a small section of a different clan called "Twiship Chin." Their dialect is slightly different from that of the Ledus but the predominant language is Ledu, as both clans speak it.

Both these clans inter-marry with their own kind, and they have no connections outside the area in which they are now residing.

The men wear the ordinary Burmese costume but the conspicuous thing about them is the unusually wide earring holes, while the working attire is the loin cloth just sufficiently covering the private parts.

The women wear jackets somewhat like the ordinary Burmese "aingyi" and short skirts; but while at work they seldom keep on their jackets, whether they be unmarried or married. All the women, as I saw them, were tattooed on the face and, as I have ascertained, the prevailing custom is that they must be tattooed before they pass maidenhood. The tattoo marks are of one design and, as far as information goes, it is not supposed to be deviated from.

As regards their religion, they are all "nat" worshippers. But they have no fixed time for performing the religious rites. They approach their "nats" with some offering only when they get sick or when they are influenced by an undesirable "nat" (spirit); otherwise they leave the "nats" severely alone.

In a marriage, the bridegroom has to give the following presents to his bride-elect:—

1. One wild bull [mithun—a cross between the wild bull (saing) and the domestic cow.]
2. One white buffalo.
3. Seven gongs.
4. Five spears.
5. One pot of *khaung* (liquor).
6. One pig.
7. Rupees thirty.

Out of the abovementioned presents, the father-in-law of the bridegroom takes Nos. 1 to 4 of the presents and gives the uncle of the bride a gong and another one to the eldest brother



of the bride. Nos. 5 and 6 are for the enjoyment of the guests and the hard cash is taken over by the mother of the bride.

When the husband dies, his wife generally becomes the mistress of her brother-in-law. If there is no one to take her, she goes back to her own people. In the event of her second marriage, the widow gets nothing; but her father gets one spear and two gongs. If she has no father, the presents go to one of her brothers; if she has no brothers, the uncle of the widow takes the present.

As far as I have ascertained, the widow has no hold on the properties of her deceased husband. The properties, if any, are usually divided amongst the relatives of the husband, particularly the parents.

If a wife elopes with another man, the seducer has to give the husband the full set of presents given by him (husband) on his marriage. If the husband takes back his wife, the seducer has to give two gongs by way of compensation. If the man has nothing to give on the spot, grace is given to make good the compensation and in the event of his death, the liability extends to his descendants.

The man can marry as many wives as he likes and live with them in the same house.

As regards the amusements and the burial ceremony, my predecessor, U Tha Doe Aung, has given a full description of them in his report attached.

#### **PART IV.—The Ledus in the Atet-Wetchaung and Auk-Wetchaung Village-tracts, Minbya Township, by U Tha Doe Aung, Assistant Township Officer, Minbya.**

1. The people of these village-tracts state that they belong to the Ledu race.

2. They call their language "Ledu."

3. They intermarry with the Ledu race.

4. They have their relations only in the villages that are under the jurisdiction of the headmen of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung.

5. The men, in addition to any imported garments, have always a band of dark cloth (loin cloth) around the waist and between thighs just covering the sex-organs and whenever they have to cross a creek, they take off their clothes and swim across wearing the dark cloth. They put on earrings, some of which are white, round and shining and a little bigger than a silver coin, and some of the earrings are black in colour and as big as a copper coin; some of the Chins wear shining beads as earrings. Generally while the Chins are at work, they are almost naked. As for the women, they dress like an ordinary woman for the upper part, and for the lower part, their skirts reach to the knee. Some of the women who are over 30 years, if they are very poor, wear no dress for the upper part, when in their villages. As for the young girls, they wear shining beads of different colours around their necks.

6. There is no difference in the villages of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung Village-tracts, as regards tattooing, religious rights, sacrifice, marriage law, dancing, and amusements. All these are mentioned in a separate note.

7. There is no variation in the language in the villages of the headmen of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung.

**Tattooing.**—All the women in the two village-tracts of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung tattoo their faces between the ages of 12 and 15, *i.e.*, before their marriage. The tattooing of the faces in these two tracts is identical.

**Religious Rites and Sacrifice.**—The villagers in the two village-tracts of Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung have no religious rites and sacrifices. They are Animists.

**Marriage.**—If a man wants to marry a woman, he has to pay the following dowry:—

1. One wild bull.
2. One white buffalo.
3. Seven gongs.
4. Five spears.
5. One pot of *khaung* and one pig.
6. Rupees thirty.

Numbers 1 to 4 are taken by the father of the bride who will give one gong to the uncle of the bride, *i.e.*, brother of the bride's mother and one gong to the eldest brother of the bride. No. 5 is meant for the entertainment of those who are present at the wedding, and No. 6 is taken by the mother of the bride.

When the husband dies, the widow can be taken either by any one of the brothers of the deceased, or, if none of them takes her as his wife, she can be taken either by any one of the husbands of the deceased's sisters. If no one wishes to accept her as his wife, she, the widow, can go back to her relatives. If any one mentioned above accepts her as his wife, he has to give only a spear and two gongs to the father of the widow, and if she has no father, they should be given to any one of her brothers, and if there is no brother, they should be given to the uncle of the widow.

As for the properties left by the deceased, the widow gets nothing. These are divided amongst the family of the deceased.

If a man elopes with the wife of another man, he must pay all the dowry to the husband of the woman with whom he has eloped, and she can stay with him as his wife; but if the husband of the woman does not want the dowry but wants his wife back, the man who eloped has to return the woman together with two gongs as compensation. If the man who eloped cannot pay the dowry or the compensation, they can be claimed from him afterwards or even from his descendants.

A man may marry as many wives as he wishes and these wives can be kept in the same house.



**Amusements.**—The villagers of the Auk-Wetchaung and Atet-Wetchaung Villages hold festivals on three occasions and they are as follows :—

1. When a new house, such as a big bamboo house, whose posts are bundles of bamboos, or a house which is entirely built with "Thitkadoe" wood, or a long bamboo house whose length is 10 fathoms or a house called "Tha-li-ka" house, i.e., a house consisting of many small windows, is built, a festival is held.
2. If anybody chooses, before he starts *taungya* cultivation, to hold a festival for the success of his crops, he should hold it soon after the crops are reaped.
3. *Weaving festival.*—About 10 or 15 looms are worked by women. They have to make thread from the cotton and they have to extend the thread lengthwise preparatory to weaving and then they weave. All these things have to be completed in a day. All these are done by women.

When these entertainments are held, they kill cattle or a pig and eat the flesh washed down with *khaung* and dance with shields and spears, while some of the party beat the drums and gongs.

**Death.**—When a person dies, his corpse is kept at his house for three days and the people enjoy drinking *khaung* and dancing with *kyipwe* (pestles—for pounding grain). The corpse is burnt and after that the bones are picked out by the relatives of the deceased for the purpose of sending them to a specified hill called "Ah-yo-taung." Feasting the villagers is carried out after 5 days, if the deceased is a woman or after 6 days if the deceased is a man.



## APPENDIX E.

### Naga Tribes and their Customs

BY THE LATE MR. T. P. DEWAR, O.B.E., BURMA FRONTIER SERVICE.

#### PART I.—A general description of Naga Tribes inhabiting the Burma side of the Patkoi Range.

These notes deal with the Nagas inhabiting the Burma side of the Patkoi Range, whose villages are established in those mountain systems lying roughly within the following bounds :—The Namhpuk Hka the Tanai Hka, the western edge of the Hukawng Valley and the inhabited ranges to the north of these limits up to the Patkoi Range. The whole of this area consists of lofty mountains and low hills, whose altitudes range from nine thousand to a few hundred feet above the plains. The chief range is the Sangpan Bum, which lies due east of the Namhpuk Hka and runs from north to south. It is round the southern base of this great mountain that the Namhpuk flows to join its parent stream the Tanai or Chindwin River. In the north the range breaks into two, one range connecting it with the Patkoi, and the other, running in an opposite direction, gradually breaks up into subsidiary spurs which cease at the Tarung Hka, one of the main tributaries of the Tanai River. The summits of this T are the sources of those streams, which divide the spurs and subsidiary ranges. The chief streams are the Tarum, Tawa, and Namyung. The beds of the valleys are very low, particularly in the vicinity of the Sangpan Bum, where often the drop from hill top to stream bed is as much as three thousand feet.

Except for large tracts to the west of the Sangpan Bum, where intensive "taungya" or hill cultivation, practised by successive generations of Naga tribesmen, has converted the once luxuriant big tree forest into long grass and stunted tree growth, the whole area is densely covered with tropical evergreen forest. Further to the west of the Namhpuk similar grass covered hills and mountains were visible, bearing evidence of the systematic hill cultivation practised by the Nagas to eke out an existence. This area west of the Namhpuk Hka is densely inhabited by the Naga Tribes, who have been cut off from expanding to the east by the lofty precipices and rocky ridges, which are a marked feature of the southern half of the Sangpan Range. The western mountains are unmapped and unexplored, and extend up to the Patkoi Range. The chief streams are the Namhkao and Namcharing, tributaries of the Namhpuk, equally large if not larger than it. Such tribes as have crossed to the north and east have done so within the past three, four, or five generations.

At the higher altitudes the forests were of the same density as those in the lower hills, the place of many species of tropical trees being taken by oaks, a few stunted pines and a reed like bamboo. The boughs and boles of the bigger trees were covered with moss and festooned with lichen. Of flowering plants, the scarlet rhododendron, white primula, violets, orchids, and several species of the most beautiful red and purple berries grew along the paths.

At night heavy damp mists formed in the lower valleys, the higher ranges and the ridges being free, where the cold was sharp yet bracing and the atmosphere clear. Rarefied air, always so very trying to laden coolies, was experienced as low down as six thousand five hundred feet. The rainfall on the west of the Sangpan Bum appears to be considerably less than that on the east of the range, which in its turn is less than that which falls throughout the winter months over the low-lying Hukawng Valley. December, January and February are the finest months, in March the weather breaks up, and from April onwards the climatic conditions are practically the same as the monsoon. Over the open lands the rays of the sun are very powerful, even during the cold weather. The forests abound with several kinds of monkeys, sambur, barking deer, porcupine and wild pig, while leopards, tigers and bison are not uncommon. The rocky ridges and precipitous hill sides are the homes of the serow or wild goat. Of game birds there are several species of pigeons, the black pheasant, great peacock pheasant and jungle murgee (fowl). Ordinary bird life is plentiful, and gaudy butterflies were seen in large numbers. A bird named in vernacular "Ja wu," bird of gold, which from its description appears to be the beautiful Monal pheasant, is said to be found at certain spots on the Sangpan Range. Regarding this bird a curious story is attached. It is said that those who snare or kill it invariably die; such appears to have been the fate of those few persons who have taken its life in the past. The superstitious fears of the tribesmen have thus preserved this bird, which may be unknown to science. In the main streams the chief sporting fish taken were the black mahseer, barralus bola, and "chilwa."

At several places in the Naga Hills small Kachin settlements existed till quite a recent date, in fact at the time of writing a few households are living

**Kachin Settlements.** on the south-west of the Sangpan Bum in the Namhpuk Valley, also in the north in the Tarung Valley. The original history of how these Kachin families entered the Naga Hills is unknown. That they exercised considerable influence over the Nagas is abundantly proved in the present day by the descendants of the original families, who although they live outside the Naga Hills exercise a loose control over the Naga clans in their neighbourhood and also over several of the more distantly situated clans. It is probable that the Kachins in the zenith of their power pushed ahead into the wider and more favourable of the valleys, occupying the best sites, expecting an influx of their race which never came, and, being gradually surrounded by the Nagas, were cut off from returning and



were obliged to exercise such influence as they had acquired, craft and tact, to exist in their foreign surroundings. In the course of years, due to internal strife, the colonies gradually became weaker and weaker and eventually were obliged to leave the hills and return to their ancestral homes. Such is the history related of eight or nine households of Kachins, who, with their slaves, occupied a wide reach of the Namyung Valley above the confluence of its tributary, the Tahkam Hka. It is said that these Kachins quarrelled amongst themselves, the weaker having to leave the hills and seek refuge with relatives and friends, either in Assam or the Hukawng Valley. Eventually the few remaining households, distrusting the Nagas whose power was increasing, left the site fearing extermination. Early in the year 1926 a family of Kachins, called the "Laika Ni," living in the Namhpuk Valley, were attacked by their enemies the Htangan Nagas and, although they repulsed the attack with a certain degree of success, were obliged to return to the homes of their forefathers in the Muengyi country, south-east of the Hukawng Valley, a distance of about one hundred and fifty miles.

With an illiterate race like the Nagas who have no written language and documents, on which dependency could be placed for their origin, we are dependent for the origin and migration of the clans on the statements of the tribal elders now living. Knowledge which has come down to them from their ancestors has been handed down from father to son through successive generations. The most distant date they go back to is about ten generations, a period roughly calculated at 250 years. Several of the clans maintain that they formerly lived in the Hukawng Valley, mentioning sites now occupied by the Kachins, and situated in that part of the Hukawng lying to the west of the Tarung Hka and north of the Tanai Hka. It is said that the exodus took place from these sites, two routes being mentioned, one up the Tarung Valley towards the Patkoi Range, and the other down the Tanai River, through its upper and lower gorges, and thence round the southern base of the Sangpan Bum into the Namhpuk Valley. The Hkalak Nagas declare that they occupied their present sites on leaving the Hukawng, but they appear to be the only exception, for the hills and mountains due east of the Sangpan Range have with few exceptions been occupied within the past three or four generations by the surplus Naga population from the Namhpuk clans, who give two main reasons for leaving the Namhpuk Valley. The first is that they were starving, the second that their enemies, the Htangans, were constantly attacking them. The Pangaw and Pyengoo Nagas, who reside in the hills lying north and east of the confluence of the Namhpuk and Tanai Rivers, were the first to leave their ancestral homes at the headwaters of the Namhpuk. They migrated about ten generations ago, occupying their present sites with the permission of the Kachins to whom, according to the Kachin tribal custom, they gave presents. The Pangaw Nagas have intermarried freely with the Kachins, and, but for a few households who in appearance, dress, habits and customs, are practically the same as Kachins, may in the present day be considered an extinct clan. The Pyengoo Nagas, chiefly the men, have almost entirely adopted the Kachin dress, but they still observe many of the habits and customs of their ancestors. The validity of their long residence in their present hills is amply proved by their appearance, the familiarity with which they speak the Kachin dialect, and the statements of their neighbours in the Dalu Valley, the Shans and Kachins. If further testimony of this exodus from the congested Namhpuk Valley is required, it may be obtained from some of those clans who in the present day occupy sites on both sides of the Sangpan Range. Those on the west still retain their national costume, whereas those on the east have borrowed articles of dress from their more civilised neighbours, the Kachins and Shans.

It is only in certain of the localities visited, such as the Namhpuk Valley and the northern hills, that the Nagas have permanent villages they generally move to suit the lands they cultivate, new villages being established when all cultivable land in the vicinity of a site has been worked out—a period which may extend from two to eight or more years. Probably the main reason for these shifting villages is that there are extensive lands to cultivate, and that the best results can be obtained by cultivating fresh lands annually. In the course of years, with an increased population, permanency in the occupation of sites is likely to follow. A "Nat" ceremony is invariably performed at the establishing of a village, but since these temporary villages are moved on sudden sickness appearing, not much importance is placed on this ceremony which is entirely dispensed with by some of the clans. The highest peaks are selected to build on, consequently very few villages were found sheltered in the valleys.

The sanitation of a Naga village is primitive in the extreme. At fenced-in villages the pigs are depended on to act as scavengers. The droppings from cattle and pigs are everywhere. The refuse from houses is thrown just outside where it remains to gradually fall to decay. The narrow rocky ridge, on which many villages are built, is generally the main street. Houses, however, are not erected with any order or system, and are jotted down where and how it may please the owners to build them. Building material is plentiful in the neighbouring forests, except at some of the villages in the Namhpuk Valley where bamboos are scarce and have to be brought from long distances. In such treeless tracts houses are thatched with long rush-like grass, which grows abundantly where once evergreen forest existed. Paddy granaries are erected on the outskirts of most villages, and are used for the storing of valuables such as gongs, *dahs*, spare axes, etc. In the southern villages, east of the Sangpan Range, very frequently the granaries are built hidden away in the forest, close to the hill cultivation, and are subject to depredations by monkeys. Periodical visits are paid to such granaries, paddy and other edibles being removed sufficient for the requirements of the household for a stated time. The grain is made into loads, securely packed and bound before being placed in the granary, in order that it may be moved and hidden elsewhere should occasion arise.

The chief animals kept by the Nagas are cattle, buffaloes, pigs and goats, and, in certain villages, *mithun*. An old bull *mithun* fetches from Rs. 100 to Rs. 120. The buffaloes are short and sturdy and do not compare favourably with the animal from the plains. No use is made of any of these animals



which are kept solely for the purpose of offerings to the spirits worshipped by the tribesmen. Each family generally keeps a few fowls but no ducks were seen throughout the area visited.

In the Namhpuk Valley certain villages subject to attack from the west Namhpuk Naga

#### Fortified Villages.

Tribes have defences erected round them. Perhaps they do not envelop the whole village perimeter, the Naga considering a steep hill side or low wall of natural rock sufficient protection against attack. Such features are by no means uncommon, as the village site is carefully selected as a stronghold and is generally built on a rocky or shaly knife-like ridge or cone-shaped peak. The defences although not very stable are kept in a good state of repair. Where easy of approach a low wall of rock is built and above it is erected a palisade of stout stakes interlaced with rushes, brushwood, and spliced bamboos, the latter have their ends sharpened with the points sticking outwards. Such defences may be still further strengthened by a shallow trench on the outside, and inside the defences for several yards branches of trees up to four feet high are irregularly planted with all their offshoots pointed and sharpened. This second internal defence barrier needs to be carefully negotiated during the hours of darkness. The gateways are narrow and high with roughly hewn wooden doors of substantial thickness revolving on simple primitive hinges. At the sides and above the gateways especial care is taken to strengthen the defences as much as possible. On the inner sides the doors have two protuberant knobs carved from the natural block; these are bored, and, when closed for the night, a stout bar passed through the holes in the protuberances effectively secures the doors against being opened for a stealthy ingress. The village precincts are kept thoroughly cleared of undergrowth and scrub, all trees left standing have their lower branches lopped off up to a height of from twenty to twenty-five feet above the ground; thus the bole of the tree is kept clear and allows no cover for a skulking foe. A central house is invariably used as a lookout, and from it the various approaches to the village are visible. The village paths in the vicinity are highly planted with bamboo "panjis" (stakes), and on these tribesmen are mainly dependent against a sudden night attack.

Except it be in the more permanent villages the Naga does not seek for either durability

#### Naga Houses.

or comfort in the construction of his house. Saplings and bamboos are used for house posts and crossbeams, walls and floors are made from split bamboo and, being so badly put together, afford no protection against the elements. The roof is either of thatch, palm leaf, or the leaf used by the Kachins and known as "shingwe lap," according to the produce most easily obtained in the neighbourhood. In the south houses are small and fragile, consisting of one room with two entrances, one in front and the other at the back, and are built on piles three to four feet above the ground. In the northern villages the houses are larger and more stable in structure, with stouter house posts. One-half of the house length from front to back is divided into compartments, from three to six or more according to the number of families in residence. The other half is an open verandah or enclosed with bamboo walls, all rooms opening on to it. There are no windows, and but two entrances, the front and back. In each room a family lives. The fire place is in the centre of the room, a few logs are always kept burning or smouldering, and round these crouch those members of the family engaged in cooking meals or other indoor occupations. Even on the brightest day the interior of the house has a dull and gloomy appearance rarely free from acrid smoke. The long room or verandah has shelves for implements of husbandry, with other articles hanging from the roof. In this room many of the women pound the paddy in the wooden mortars raised a few feet above the floor. Others use the front porch, here also the mortar is raised well above the ground to suit the floor of the house on which the women stand when pounding the paddy. The reason given for not pounding the paddy on the ground is that it is very cold. These houses are also built on piles, which are of various lengths to suit the slopes of the hill sides or ridges on which they are built. All these houses have porches of varying depths to suit the size of the house. It is in this porch that the men sit near an open fire, either talking, consuming opium, or working on making ropes, fashioning *dah* handles, etc. The Naga is not too hospitable to his guests, and considers he has done sufficient for his visitors' comfort by permitting them to occupy this porch during the period of their visit. The porch is also used for storing baskets, etc., and it is here that the horns of animals offered at sacrifices or killed in the forest are hung from the roof or affixed to the house posts. Too often the front stair is but a notched tree trunk. A "nat" ceremony is held at the building of a new house, but this custom is not observed by all Naga clans. When the head of a family dies the room is vacated and the fireplace removed, the widow and children, if any living, go elsewhere.

The Nagas are animists or spirit worshippers; the chief spirits feared are: 'Mu' (the heavens), 'Ga' (the earth), 'Bum' (the mountains) and

#### Religion.

'Sawn' or 'Jawn' (the "nat" of Hades), said to have power over life and death. To such spirits altars are erected either at village sites, at lonely places along the side of roads, at the entrances to villages, or at the crossings of high unfrequented passes. The altars are frail in structure and being uncared for after the sacrifice to the spirit has been made soon fall to pieces. It is, however, to be noted that at some remote pass the altar site is maintained, some passing traveller erecting a new altar by the side of the old one, so that frequently one sees at such places several altars in various stages of ruin. The spirit of the mountain is generally appeased by the traveller placing an egg as an offering on the altar, while, more often than not, a twig plucked *en route* suffices. In many of the villages there is a "nat" house at which the community sacrifice to the communal spirits. Some clans hold these communal sacrifices at fixed times during the year and other clans only when occasion arises, such as once in two or more years. In villages where there are no "nat" houses the communal sacrifices are held at some recognised house or particular spot in the village. These "nat" ceremonies are held to ward off and cure sickness or disease, for a fruitful harvest, welfare of the village cattle, pigs, etc. The animals sacrificed vary amongst



the different clans, some sacrifice only cattle, pigs and fowls, others include buffaloes, dogs and goats. At a deserted village site a "phallic" worship stone, planted three to four generations ago, was seen. It was said that the offering used to purify houses in the village, at which women had died at child birth, was placed before the stone to fall to decay.

The Nagas are dependent almost solely on the success of the crops they cultivate for their subsistence, and, being a superstitious and uncivilised race, make sacrifices to the spirits they worship for a plentiful

**Nat Ceremonies.** harvest. At these "nat" sacrifices, which are held at fixed periods, they strive to appease the spirits with the blood of animals in the hope that the land will be blessed and be fruitful. They also recognise the necessity of a sacrifice after or about the time of the harvest as a thank-offering for the fruits of the land. The most propitious times at which these ceremonies are held are as follows:—At the annual clearing or cutting of the hill cultivation, at the time of preparing the land or just before sowing the grain, again after sowing or when the grain is sprouting, and later when the crops are about a foot high, or just prior to the forming of the ears of grain, or at the reaping of the harvest, or after its gathering, winnowing, etc. In some clans these are communal sacrifices, in others partly communal and partly independently done by each household or house-owner. At some of these ceremonies which last three days there is general rejoicing, when the village community indulges in feasting, drinking, and dancing. At other ceremonies which last a day or so, only the spirits are appeased, and liquor drunk. There is no rejoicing. Opium, a recognised necessity, is consumed at all these ceremonies. The Longri clan spend a month or more rejoicing every year after the hill cultivation has been cut. It is their custom for each house-owner to appease the spirits independently and to hold a feast to which all the villagers are invited. The next day is observed for rest, and on the third day another house-owner makes a sacrifice and gives a feast. This procedure is carried on till every house-owner in the village has made a sacrifice and held a feast. It is said that throughout this period no work of any sort is undertaken. Rather a curious sacrifice is held by the Mawshang Nagas. It is said that, when a tribesman acquires wealth, he entertains his relatives and connections by giving them a big feast at which he provides all the animals for sacrifice, accepting no assistance from others.

To perform their religious ceremonies and approach the numerous spirits, which they worship, in the orthodox manner the Naga makes use of Diviners, Praying Priests and Mediums. Some clans have no Mediums and employ only Diviners and Praying Priests. The Diviner's business is to discover the correct offering which will appease the offended spirit and remove the primary cause of the sickness, ill-health, etc. For his art he makes use of a species of bamboo or leaf, as is done by his neighbour, the Kachin. The Praying Priest supplicates the offended spirit and blesses the offering before it is sacrificed in order that it may be found acceptable. The Diviner may receive no payment for his services, the Praying Priest generally receiving the hind leg of a buffalo at a big "nat" ceremony. The Mediums claim to possess the power of metempsychosis during the period of their temporary trance, when they enter the form of a tiger and discover what is taking place at long distances. For these services they receive a small present in money or in kind. It is said that the proof of these supernatural claims is exemplified in the tiger's foot-print which has five distinct toe impressions exclusive of the pad of the foot, the ordinary foot-print having but four. Such belief is not uncommon amongst the Kachins as well.

In general features the Naga resembles the Kachin of the neighbouring tracts. He is

**Appearance.** more of the Aryan type, the features being pronounced, the nose longish and in many cases inclined to be aquiline. Physically he is built on a slimmer mould and in stature there is not much to choose between the two races. In cases where he still wears the tribal costume, the waist is contracted from earliest youth, with the result that the abdomen is frequently pushed upwards, and gives the body an unnatural bulge over the waist band.

The women are much shorter than Kachin women, have a stouter build, are well developed, and over a great part of the country are decidedly fairer with regular pronounced features. The hair is inclined to be wavy, very dark brown or blackish, with a decidedly reddish tinge easily distinguishable in certain lights. The scalp is well covered and even in advanced years there does not appear to be any tendency towards baldness, although the growth may become scanty. Over large areas both men and women wear their hair long; in some clans the women shave the poll, and the men wear a short crop. In the Namhpuk Valley the head dress of the males may briefly be described as follows:—

The head is shaved to about an inch above the ears and round the back of the skull. The front part of the remaining tuft is allowed to fall as a fringe, the back is kept much longer, is twisted into a bun and twined round a bone ornament, which rests across the nape of the neck. The bun is frequently further decorated with a strip of red cloth or goat's hair dyed red. Some of the women part their hair in the centre but do not plait it and in the remoter villages the hair is allowed to fall in matted unkempt locks. The eye is generally a very dark brown, but the shape varies. Some Nagas have large roundish eyes with the lids well opened and the eye-lashes long, in others the eye is narrow and the inner corner almost covered by the Mongolian fold, the eye-lashes being scanty. Little hair is grown on the face and such males as cultivated a beard had a very scraggy growth.

A very large percentage of the men in the villages nearer to civilization and along the route to Assam have adopted the style of dress worn by their immediate neighbours, such as the Shans and Kachins, and may briefly be described as follows:—

A tartan waist cloth, a jacket or shirt, white or coloured, sometimes both, a striped "gaung baung" or turban, and the "hkamauk" (Shan hat). In the northern villages frequently a heterogeneous collection of garments, borrowed from both the west and east of the Patkoi Range, is worn. A large white puggaree tied in the Indian fashion still further enhanced the incongruity of this adopted dress. The "gyi" string is worn in the remoter villages, and the person of the



male, when resting on a cold day, is enveloped in a cotton blanket. These blankets, generally black, dark blue, or a dirty white, rarely striped, are coarse in texture and are woven by the Naga women. The blankets are sometimes decorated with cowrie shells stitched on to form a border or cross lines over the surface on one side. Frequently a jacket or shirt is substituted for the blanket. The "gaung baung" is worn by some, entirely discarded by others, and very often its place is taken by the Naga helmet, or the "hkamauk." A rectangular piece of cloth, about a foot long and four to six inches wide and of the same coarse material and colouring as the blanket cloth, is worn suspended from the "gyi" string waist band and falling immediately in front of it. This sporran-like garment is known in the vernacular as a "shingup." On festivals and gala days the "shingup" may be adorned with a highly polished small brass gong, worn over the generative organs. The protuberance in the centre of the gong is pointed and hollow, and from it may stick out a tuft of coloured goat's hair, generally red, or may be suspended a few blue beads. On such special occasions may also be worn, the front entirely covered with cowrie shells, a "shingup" of coarse material.

Like the men in the villages nearer to civilizing influences the Naga woman has borrowed a few articles of dress from her neighbours, the Kachins. Chief of these is a gaudy strip of cloth or tartan, wound carelessly round the head to represent a turban, and the Kachin "ningwawt" or breast covering, a piece of cloth about eighteen inches wide, wrapped round the body and neatly tucked in over the bosoms. Those of the women in the habit of visiting the Shan and Kachin villages in their immediate neighbourhood have also taken to wearing the Burmese "aingyi" or jacket; such women, however, are considerably in the minority. The woman's skirt is two narrow pieces of coarsely woven and very durable cloth, stitched roughly together to form a width of about sixteen inches and of sufficient length to just go round the hips and allow a few inches of overlap. This garment is affixed at the top end by one or more safety pins, but where these are not available sharpened bamboo pins hardened in fire, or large jungle thorns, are substituted. The split of the skirt is on either side and slightly to the front. In different parts of the hills the colouring of the skirt changes. In the northern hills it is of a greenish hue with narrow red, blue, and white stripes, while in the central villages very dark blue, black, or once white skirts are worn. Amongst the southern villages on the eastern side of the Sangpan Bum, a more elaborate skirt is worn. The outer side is raised like huckaback, with a distinct pattern of greys and blacks, or it may be of one uniform blackish colour, relieved with orange and green stitches, worked on to it by hand at distant intervals. Amongst many of the clans no clothing is worn above the waist. When resting or on cold windy days, the women envelop themselves in a coarse cotton blanket similar to that used by the men. The blanket is generally discarded when performing outdoor pursuits or travelling between villages. In all the northern villages two broad pieces of cloth, suspended from the shoulders or neck and falling to within a few inches of the knees, are also worn. These are generally of the same material and colour as the skirt and are often decorated with brightly coloured strips of cloth stitched on to the surface at regular intervals, or are still further beautified by having the lower edges hung with similar strips of cloth or coloured cords. In addition to this chemise-like garment, the women often wrap round their bodies large cotton blankets.

Children up to the ages of eight or ten go about naked, or with only a strip of cloth worn round the loins. In the more distant villages, until maidenhood is reached, the bigger girls cover themselves with a blanket. It is said that the older boys do not wear the "shingup" and "gyi" string until they have attained puberty.

Both men and women wear necklaces. Those worn by the women consist of long strings of large beads, blue, yellow and white being the three colours most favoured. The women also wear a necklace of finely woven cane strips, into which are worked small glass beads of various colours; a similar necklace to this is worn by the men and fits the neck loosely. A hollow brass moulded necklace, which has along its front effigies representing the human skull, gongs and knobs, stiffly sticking out from it on slender bars, is much favoured by the males. It is said that the representation of the human skull is not emblematical of victims of raids, heads taken in war, etc., but solely for the sake of beauty and decoration. These effigies are also worn by the men suspended from a close fitting necklace of the large blue beads strung on coarse cord.

A cheap and neatly finished ring made from strips of cane of various widths and coloured red, black, and yellow, is worn by both men and women below the knee and above the calves. Black is the colour most favoured. Not many rings are worn and some people have them on one leg only. A more substantial ring also made from cane, to which small cowrie shells are affixed, appears to be exclusive to the males. Some of the women also wear large numbers of these rings round the hips just above the skirt line. Not meant to support the skirt they fit the body loosely. In the Nambuk Valley at Sanka Village a man was seen wearing about fifteen black cane rings round his waist. These rings were about a half-inch wide and a quarter-inch thick.

In a few clans the women wear two narrow circular welded coils of brass, about three inches in diameter. Amongst such women, due to years of constant use, the ear lobe becomes deformed and is dragged down several inches, the ornament eventually resting on the chest above the bosoms. Perhaps the commonest ear-ring favoured by the men in certain localities is made of brass, similar to the cog-wheel of a clock, but considerably exaggerated. The body of the wheel fits into the bored ear lobe, the hole often being large enough to admit a tube half an inch in diameter. A piece of brass wire, coiled at one end like a watch spring, or formed into a circle with a few beads strung on it, or even the bone of an animal, or a tuft of dyed goat's hair is used to ornament the ear. Such ear ornaments are common to both men and women. In addition to the ear-ring suspended from the ear lobe, men still further decorate the ear by wearing a second ear-ring at the top.



The women wear both armlets and wristlets of brass and of some whitish metal which resembles aluminium in colour. The wristlets worn by the men are generally of brass, but neither as heavy nor as large as those worn by the women. A narrow band, woven from the hairs of the tails of the pigs offered at sacrifices, is also worn by both men and women. In several clans these hair wristlets are symbolical that the wearers are married. They are also worn by many as charms to ensure good health. In one locality some men wear a few red cane rings round the wrists.

**Tattooing.** Tattooing of the body is not practised to any great extent. No tattooed women were noticed. Some of the men were tattooed with five parallel lines from the angle of the chin, downwards on either side of the neck. The upper body is tattooed with lines down the front and sides of the chest, abruptly halting at the waistband where the marks are more conspicuous than elsewhere. On the legs the only marks seen were coils, which looked like representations of snakes. The tattooing is done in early manhood; no tattooed male children were noticed.

**Fear of attack from the Htangan Nagas.** In many of the villages in the Namhpuk Valley, the tribesmen live in constant terror of attack from their enemies, the Htangan Nagas. All the village pigs, cattle, etc., enter and sleep within the defences at night. A watch is kept, the fighting men sleep with their arms by their sides ready for immediate action. Travelling after sundown is rarely undertaken and then only in a large party. No one leaves the village defences in the morning until the sun is well in the heavens; there is always fear of a lurking foe. The cultivation of the lands and hewing of wood is performed by parties sufficiently large for some member to detect an enemy in the vicinity. On the least alarm being raised such parties return to the village defences with as great haste and little delay as possible.

**Method of Fighting.** On the war path the Naga depends chiefly on surprise for a successful issue. When in large numbers he may attack in massed formation discarding all precaution and coming boldly forward. On arrival at close quarters the spear is cast and, should it take effect, the attacker rushes on his enemy and kills him with the *dah*. An attack is of very short duration and over almost as soon as it has begun. The shield is held in front of the body, slightly to the left, and struck against the left knee from time to time with a sharp tap, while the brave hops and prances, at the same time shouting execrations and yelling defiance to distract his foe. While retiring he rapidly plants bamboo "panjis" (stakes) in the ground in the hope that an attacker rushing carelessly forward may be spiked and go lame. Attacks on villages generally take place in the quiet hours of the night or a few hours before dawn, in order to give the attackers an opportunity of gaining safe territory before a pursuit can be organised. To lie in wait at some lonely part of a road, first spear and then kill travellers, be they men, women, or children, is a method frequently resorted to in the southern Namhpuk villages. When a party is on the warpath, the main body generally lies up in some lonely spot, a few scouts going out to spy out the land and later bring in information on which the attack is carried out.

**War Drum.** At certain of the fortified villages west of the Sangpan Range, where the tribesmen live in constant dread of attack from their enemies, a hollowed-out trunk of a tree is generally placed on the ground at some central spot in the village. The one at Kawlun is about twenty-five feet long and three feet in diameter. The victory is celebrated as follows:—The braves line up on either side of the drum holding in their hands wooden stakes or paddy pounders. With these they pound the drum together, with regular uniform strokes at the same time chanting their song of victory and shouting loudly. It is said that the sound carries very far, from five to six miles, and can be heard in the enemy villages across the Namhpuk Valley.

**Naga Helmet.** The tribal headdress of the Naga male is a cone-shaped helmet, still worn in those remoter villages where the tribesmen have not been influenced by their more civilized neighbours living in the plains. The foundation of the helmet is made from cane strips about a quarter of an inch in width. Except for two triangular shaped patches on the sides, the whole is covered by finely woven cane mats dyed red, with a pattern in yellow ochre picked out in front and behind. Similarly on the side mats small circles are picked out at regular intervals. A narrow binding with yellow cane strips disguises the junction of the mats and gives the helmet the appearance of being covered by an unbroken surface. The helmet is ornamented with the tushes of the wild boar both in front and behind, a feather or two from the tail of the great hornbill, falcon, or drongo, and sometimes a strip from the pelt of a bear, a few inches wide, stretched across the top of the helmet from side to side. A similar decoration, made from goat's hair and dyed red, is also used. Other decorations are flat circular pieces of brass, three to four inches in diameter, polished, and affixed to the sides of the helmet. One man had these brass plates in the shape of an old English battle-axe. The headman of one village still further decorated his helmet with the scalp hairs of two of his enemies, who he said had killed one of his sons. Some hats are made of hide, fit the head more closely, and resemble a Roman helmet. Some wear a chin strap of woven cane or string, and all helmets have a loop of woven cane at the top for carrying in the hand, or hanging up in the house when not in use. The hats worn by the braves are of interwoven cane, and fit the head more closely like a skull cap. They are not dyed or coloured, and are adorned like the helmets, including the scalp hairs from the head of some previously killed enemy.

**Dah.** Over a large part of the area visited the Naga has adopted the *dah* and scabbard of the Kachin. The tribal *dah* resembles the Kachin pattern but is not so long, and is worn by a belt round the waist along the back with the handle protruding over one or other of the shoulders, and always ready for immediate use and the downward cut. The scabbard is a flat piece of wood, about ten inches long and five inches wide. The *dah* slips into a depression carved out of the block and is kept in position by narrow strips of brass or steel let in crosswise above the depression. On



either side of the depression and at the foot, the scabbard is decorated with fine strips of brass hammered into the wood. The sides are generally carved with some simple pattern, such as lines and zig-zags. The waist band may be of hide, or closely interwoven cane, or finely woven cane strands dyed red. On either side of the scabbard are affixed either part of the tine taken from a sambar's antler, or serow horns, or imitations of these carved from wood. One end of the *dah* belt is permanently affixed to the horn or tine, the other is looped and slipped over the second horn or tine, when the *dah* is worn. The *dah* handle is of plain wood or bamboo and is rarely ornamented, though often bound with fine strips of cane or a band of steel. A very much larger *dah*, with a longer handle, is said to be used by warriors and on feast days; there is no scabbard, it is carried in the hand. *Dahs* are manufactured chiefly by the Risa and Rangsa Nagas; the blacksmiths sometimes decorate the blades with a simple pattern hammered on to it when forging the iron.

There are not many guns, and those seen were chiefly flintlocks. The large crossbow with poisoned arrows is not known in the country visited; it is said to be used by the western Naga Tribes living

**Arms.** The feathered spear is manufactured by the western Naga Tribes though here and there in the villages visited men may be found who have learnt the art from their neighbours. These spears are given as gifts at marriages, used on ceremonial occasions, and when paying visits of importance. A similar spear, without the feathers, is used to spear cattle offered at sacrifices, etc. One, two, or even three lighter spears are carried by the braves on the war path; they can be thrown up to thirty yards on the flat, but considerably further downhill. A small crossbow is often used to shoot birds. The shield is of tough hide, about three feet long and two feet wide, with handles about midway on the inside. To these handles are attached quivers which hold bamboo "panjis" (stakes), or the "panji" quivers may be suspended from the waist belt. The "panji" is about twelve inches long, made of bamboo, with both ends sharpened; it is hardened by scorching with fire. To the *dah* belt hangs an open-work bamboo basket, which is worn during a raid or when resisting an attack.

The ginning, spinning and weaving is done by the Naga women, who use crude and primitive appliances. The resulting cloth, although rough, is very strong and lasts for years. The dyes are obtained from jungle herbs and roots. The men weave hand fishing nets, snares, etc.; the twine used is made from the fibres of the Lakwi (Kachin) tree, and is pliant, strong and durable. Over the central area the forging of *dahs* is a well known industry. Spearheads and shafts are made at all villages where there is a blacksmith.

The brass ornaments, referred to elsewhere, are manufactured at Hkamla, a distant Naga village west of the Namhpuk River. The chief trade is with the low lying Shan and Kachin villages, where *dahs*, fishing nets, and Indian corn wrappings (kawpa lap) used in the manufacture of cigars, are brought down by the Naga tribes from distant villages to be bartered for salt, ready cash, or other commodities. Amongst themselves the Nagas chiefly trade in paddy which is exchanged for ornaments and beads.

Throughout the area the tribesmen practise "taungya" or hill-cultivation only. These lands may be cultivated two or more years in succession according to the fertility of the soil. Generally a fresh

**Cultivation.** cultivation is cut every year, but where an old one is cultivated for the second year in succession, the new cultivation is cut over smaller limits merely to supplement the produce from the old field. The hill-clearings are generally within a few miles of the village. Daily visits are made to the fields for the purpose of protecting the crops from destruction by wild animals. When the paddy is ripening, in many areas, monkeys are very troublesome, the fields being watched night and day. No cultivations are cut higher than an altitude of 6,000 feet. After the jungle is cut it is allowed to dry and then burnt, the ashes so formed being worked into the ground to fertilise the soil. The chief crops grown are paddy, maize, beans, yams, red and white pumpkins, and cotton. The poppy is also cultivated chiefly in the vicinity of the villages and in between the house sites, within securely fenced-in areas. Amongst some of the clans precedence is given to the headman's fields, which are sown and reaped first. Some clans cut all the fields in one place, others split into groups, and yet others clear lands where they please. In congested areas families have recognised fields which they work in rotation. The limits of these areas are bounded by natural features, such as minor watercourses, subsidiary ridges, rocks, etc. Disputes over lands are settled by the headman and village elders, according to the customs of the clans concerned.

Throughout the area the custom is for the several clans to clear and maintain annually only those roads which lead to the hill-cultivation. As the

**Roads.** hill-cultivation sites change almost annually, new paths have to be made, or where old fields are being re-cultivated after a rest of several years to give the jungle an opportunity to grow, an old path is but cleared and renovated. In the course of years the hill sides and minor ridges are interlaced with overgrown footpaths, needing but to be cleared. Thus this customary duty does not fall hard on the tribesmen. Inter-village roads are never cleared and consequently the worst part of a path connecting two villages will be found on either side of the recognised boundary between the two places.

The habit of only preparing the road to the hill-cultivations has led to the adoption of a linear measure used frequently by the tribesmen, it is:—One hill-cultivation distant, "Yi lam mi," in Kachin. From what has already been written, it is clear that no reliance can be placed on this measure of distance which may be anything from a few furlongs to two or more miles.

Throughout the area visited the Naga marries at an early age, the men between the ages of twenty and twenty-four, and the women between the ages of sixteen and twenty. Prior to marriage there is invariably familiarity between the sexes, and for this purpose separate houses are set apart at most

#### Marriage and Courtship.



villages, frequented nightly by the young people. In the larger villages there may be two or more houses for each of the sexes. These houses are also utilised to perform indoor occupations, for it is here that the young women gin, spin and weave, while the men fashion *dah* handles and scabbards, make snares, and weave fishing nets. The men visit the maiden's hut during the night where the young couples spend the time talking, working and making love to each other. The lovers also meet in some widow's house or granary, or while the women are pounding the paddy, or while performing outdoor pursuits. Amongst some of the clans, such as the Rasa and Kunga Nagas, once a woman has been promised to a man, the couple sleep at the same fireplace as the girl's parents and her younger brothers and sisters; the house is a large room with one fireplace only, at which the entire family sleep. One of the headmen when referring to this custom declared: "We Nagas know no shame," and another said that any remonstrance by the girl's parents is met by the couple replying: "When you were young you did the same." Amongst other clans it is considered shameful to make love in the presence of a relative of the opposite sex, and, to avoid this happening in the larger villages, several huts for the sexes are built. At a Ranu village in the Namlipuk Valley established on an exposed conical peak at an altitude of over 6,000 feet, where the cold was intense, the maiden's hut was a hole in the ground, eighteen feet long, fifteen feet wide, and five feet deep, a dome shaped roof of branches, twigs and clods of earth making it watertight, snug, and warm. The entrance, a small opening on one side, had a direct drop to the floor. The furniture consisted of a few roughly hewn planks, of an average width of one foot six inches, raised on trestles a couple of feet above the ground. The young people meet at this rendezvous after dark and disperse before dawn. There appears to be no marriage ceremony, the custom is for agents to go on behalf of the man and ask for the bride, she comes to the bridegroom's house the same day and a feast is then held, after which the couple live together as husband and wife. Amongst some clans wristlets are woven from the tail hairs of the pigs killed for the marriage feast and worn by the newly married, or the tail hairs may be suspended from a wristlet woven from the fibres of the Lakwe (Kachin) tree. It is said that amongst the Longkai and Mawshang Nagas, the newly married, should they not have known each other before marriage, very often after union live for months under the same roof without either talking to each other or sleeping together. But for one exception of Htangan Nagas living at the south-eastern base of the Sangpan Range, dowry is always delivered, either before, at the time of, or after union; or partly before and partly after union. In some clans there is a fixed scale, amongst others it varies according to the social standing or beauty of the bride, while some clans have adopted the Kachin custom of giving dowry throughout life. The Pyengoo Nagas give dowry once only amounting to three buffaloes, the bridegroom may help his wife's people by assisting at the annual clearing of the hill-cultivation for one or more years before marriage, and occasionally even after marriage.

With the Punlum clan a cotton blanket, as worn by the tribesmen, ornamented with a large number of cowrie shells, four or five pigs and some fowls are considered sufficient dowry. With the Rasa Nagas no dowry is delivered until the children from the union have grown up, when they give as many as three buffaloes to their mother's relatives. The only time amongst this clan when a man pays dowry is when the woman is barren; he then delivers a cow or its value. The Hkalak Nagas have adopted the Kachin custom, and in addition the bridegroom presents his wife's elder sisters with Rs. 10, and her younger sisters with Re. 1; should there be no sisters the money is given to the parents. Some of the other clans have adopted a similar custom substituting small presents for money.

Generally with the agents sent to ask for the bride presents and opium are sent; should the marriage offer be declined by the woman's relatives, then the man has to bear the loss of the gifts sent, invariably opium consumed at the time of the agent's visit or money spent in purchasing liquor. The Saukrang clan, however, reverse this custom, claiming a debt amounting to twice the gift sent by the agent when the parents refuse to give their daughter in marriage. The Tulum clan deliver dowry to the third generation for their brides, their neighbours the Longri clan varying the custom by delivering dowry of one kind at the birth of each child in the family descended from the union, unto the third generation. A custom which cripples those families where sons only are the result of the union. The Sangche clan, who give a fixed dowry for their brides, are obliged to give part of the dowry delivered for their daughters to their wife's relatives. Here also the custom hits those families hard where daughters prevail, as no assistance appears to be given by the wife's relatives when dowry is given for a bride for a son in the family. Amongst the Mawrang Nagas, where the scale of dowry is on the exorbitant side like that of the Tulum Nagas, very often a poor tribesman, unable to satisfy the claims for dowry, makes over a marriageable daughter to his wife's people, who give her in marriage and accept the dowry delivered for her in settlement of that due for her mother. These Nagas refer to their women folk as being of great value.

The Nagas marry with certain recognised families, thus reviving every second or third generation connection by marriage originally established by their ancestors, any breaking-away from this custom leading to a debt case with the family from whom the bride should have been asked. After marriage the newly married may build their own house, or occupy a separate room in the house, setting up an establishment independent of their parents.

Polygamy is practised only by the Pyengoo, Kuku and Myimu Nagas, who generally have two wives, very rarely three. Amongst the Lakai Nagas polygamy is extended to the headmen, but denied the tribesmen, this curious distinction and perquisite of office has come

down to them from their ancestors. Its origin is unknown. Some of the clans allow a married man to "collect" the widow of a deceased relative; she is not regarded as a second wife.

Divorce is recognised and permitted for various causes. In some clans a change of affection suffices provided the fickle one is willing to pay the other compensation amounting to a fixed scale. In other clans it is permitted but is not obligatory for the offence of adultery only, and with still others no divorce is allowed no matter how grave the offence may be.



Amongst the Htanghkaw and Macham Nagas, where after marriage there is a change of affections, the party seeking divorce gives the other a small gift. For instance, a woman desiring to divorce her husband gives him a spear and a *dah*, and should the man wish to divorce his wife, he gives her a pair of bracelets. The Hkangchu Nagas have a similar custom but with them the compensation to be paid amounts to fifty rupees. The Tulin and Longri Nagas only divorce their wives after adultery has taken place, and the co-respondent, if unable to pay the heavy damages recognised for this offence, is killed. Regarding the custom governing an unfaithful husband's conduct the tribesmen are silent. Amongst the Sangche, Langshin and Myimu Nagas either party may divorce the other for the offence of adultery. When the husband is unfaithful and is divorced by his wife, he has to suffer the loss of all the dowry he has delivered for her. When the wife is at fault and is divorced by her husband, the dowry he has given must be returned in full.

Widows are generally taken to wife by a near relative of the deceased husband, with some clans it is immaterial whether the man doing so is married or unmarried, with others only an unmarried relative of the deceased husband may take the widow to wife. The custom of the Longri clan is unique, for only a widower, a relative of the deceased husband, may take the widow to wife, and where there is no such widower relative she is compelled to remain single. Where no relative takes the widow some clans maintain that she must remain single, others hold that her relatives may give her in marriage elsewhere and accept further dowry for her. A few clans declare that any man can enter and live with a widow, who has not been collected by a relative and is obliged to live alone provided he acts towards her as a husband should. The custom amongst the majority of the clans regarding misconduct with a widow who has not been taken to wife by a husband's relatives, is that it is an offence, the debt incurred being appeased by varying scales of compensation, the greatest being that in which the full dowry given for the woman has to be returned *plus* one extra kind, the least being some small amount. The widow is generally collected by a husband's relative within a few months after she has become a widow, the time however may be extended.

Amongst the Nagas where familiarity between the sexes is recognised before marriage, the birth of illegitimate children is a common occurrence. **Birth of Illegitimate Children and Adultery.** The general rule is for a union of the parties in such cases, but here also there are exceptions which vary according to the customs of the clans concerned. Where union is not obligatory, a stigma generally rests with the woman who is the mother of an illegitimate child. In such cases a debt is claimed, the scale of damages varying with the clans to which the parties belong. Generally the damages to be delivered are of one, two, three or more kinds, custody of the child invariably remaining with the mother, and only being handed over to the father on payment of further compensation. With the Kunga Nagas the sum to be paid is extremely small, only Rs. 2, this however gives the man no claim on his offspring, which, should he desire, can only be attained by payment of a further sum of Rs. 20. Amongst the Risa and Hkangchu Nagas no debt is claimed, if after the birth of the child the parties do not care for each other; they merely separate, the woman returning to her parent's home taking the child with her. Where one of the parties still cares for the other, and that person's feelings are not reciprocated, the other party has to deliver compensation, which may amount to Rs. 100, according to the social status of the person jilted. It is thus obvious that inconstancy is not favoured by these clans, who consider it deserving of, to them, quite a severe punishment. In some clans where by the payment of certain compensation the father attains custody of his child, which being too young to be parted from its mother, has to remain with her, he is obliged to pay her extra for nourishing and tending it until the child is old enough to be weaned and come to him. When the mother of an illegitimate child gets married at a later date, should the father not have taken custody, the child does not necessarily follow its mother to her new home; it invariably remains with the woman's relatives. Pregnancy before union is always a time of grave anxiety on the part of the two concerned. Amongst some clans the man builds a hut for his mistress and cares for her until the child is born, in other clans the child is born in the house set apart for the unmarried women. Death at childbirth is always greatly feared by the man as it necessitates the payment of very heavy compensation to the woman's parents or relatives. In some cases the house has to be purified, and invariably the man has to arrange for the burial and pay all the funeral expenses. It sometimes happens that the man accused by the woman denies all liability, and unless she can prove him to be the father of her unborn child before her death, the responsibility for her burial rests on the community, who are obliged to make the necessary arrangements and bear the consequent expenses.

Adultery is always punishable, and as with other offences the scale of compensation varies with the clans. In most clans the co-respondent is held to blame and has to pay the compensation fixed for the offence. Amongst the Rangsa, Ranghku, and Longhkaï clans the erring ones are beaten, it is said sometimes so severely that they succumb to their injuries; compensation also has to be given. Amongst the Tulin, Sangtai, and Longri Nagas, this offence is regarded very seriously, the scale of compensation being fixed in the vicinity of Rs. 500, which if not paid leads to the death of the woman's lover. The Saukrang Nagas declare that the man must be killed; the woman is pardoned and continues to live with the husband. Amongst the Mawrang clan the wronged husband, not satisfied with the beating he gives the man and the large compensation he receives, visits the man's house, and, declaring that as the man has disturbed the peace of his home he also will ruin him, cuts the house with a *dah*, symbolical that he has killed the house spirit, overcome the house-owner and all the inmates of the house. A deed which is a grave offence, and which if committed under different circumstances could only be settled by the payment of heavy damages.

A feast is generally held at the naming of infants which takes place at varying periods after birth, according to the customs of the clan to which the parents belong. Amongst some clans the periods vary for infants of different sexes. For instance the Sangche and Myimu clans hold their ceremony for male and female infants three and two months after

#### Naming Ceremony of Infants.



birth respectively. With them, as with several other clans, the infant's head must be either shorn or shaved. Where no distinction is made with the sex of the infant, it is named from five days to a month after birth. With some clans the infant is named by an elderly relative, such as a grandparent, uncle, aunt, etc., with others the parents, either one or both, name the child. Amongst the poorer members of the clans, who cannot afford a feast, it is dispensed with and the infant simply named. The Sangtai Nagas sacrifice fowls only at the naming ceremony, holding that, should pigs be killed, the child dies. Generally only pigs and fowls are killed at this ceremony, but the Risa Nagas sometimes include dogs.

With the exception of a few clans, whose customs are noted separately, the dead are invariably buried, either under or in front of the houses or at the "nat" house in the vicinity of the village. As a general

#### Death Customs.

rule amongst such clans, women, who die at childbirth and persons who die by violence and accident or are killed by wild animals, are buried in the jungle. Regarding such deaths there are also exceptions. For instance, the Tulim Nagas do not bury such corpses but hide them in the jungle, where they are at the mercy of the denizens of the forest. The Longri clan who occupy a site a few miles from Tulim, make an unique exception by burying the corpse of the woman who dies at childbirth with her infant, should it not survive, under the house. After the disposal of the corpse there is merrymaking, when such animals as are obtainable are sacrificed the same night and a feast held. A few clans keep the corpses for a day or two before burial. The Pyengoo Nagas hold what they call the "Kawk-wa-bawk" ceremony, from three months to a year after the corpse has been buried. At this ceremony the spirit of the deceased, which is declared to be hovering in the vicinity, is despatched to the ancestral home of the tribe. The ceremony lasts two days, there is feasting and dancing, both inside and outside the house. With the corpse are buried articles of daily use, such as *dahs*, spears, etc., with males; and necklaces, baskets, weaving implements, etc., with female corpses. The Mawshang Nagas living in the north near the Patkoi Range have customs different to all other clans. They only bury the corpses of those, who die from epidemics, under the houses. Other corpses are cremated, those who die ordinary deaths in front of the houses, and those who die by violence, accident, etc., or women who die at childbirth, in the jungle. They bury the epidemic corpses at once, but cremate the others the day after death.

The Kuku Nagas, who are a mixture of Haimis and Htangans, observe two forms of disposing of the dead. One is practically identical with the general custom already described, the other is totally different. Briefly the rites observed may be described as follows:—After death the corpse is preserved by being smoked over a slow fire. It is then placed in a wooden coffin and conveyed to a charnel-house built close to the village. At a fixed date in the year, the heads from all the corpses for the preceding year are cut off and thoroughly washed and cleaned with hot water. The cleaned skulls are then taken by certain members of the clan to a secret shelving rock and there deposited with the skulls of previous years. The site of this shelving rock is kept secret and disclosed to only a few members of the clan. At this secret 'Golgotha' the collection of human skulls must be considerable, as Kuku or its immediate neighbourhood has been inhabited by the tribe for the past ten generations, roughly 250 years. The headless trunks are said to remain undisturbed in the charnel-house, where they gradually fall to decay. The Htanghkaw and Macham Nagas who also belong to the Htangan Tribes, wrap the body after death in a mat and place it in a small hut, just sufficient for the corpse; there it rapidly falls to decay, uncared for in its flimsy grave. These charnel-huts are built in one place by the village entrance.

The grave site is either in front of or under the house, and, owing to the rocky and shaly

#### Naga Graves.

nature of many of the village sites, is shallow and difficult to excavate. The site is enclosed by a low open work bamboo fence having a roof of thatch. The graves seen were partially filled in, the mats in which the corpse had been wrapped and covered being kept exposed. It would appear that the grave is filled in at some later date. The sites of long established villages, such as exist in the Namhpuk Valley, are neither more nor less than cemeteries. In front of the house the deceased's property is stretched on a frame work of bamboos and sticks, to gradually fall to decay. The following were noticed near a new grave site:—Naga helmet complete with boar tushes, feathers, etc., *dah* and scabbard, clothes, crossbow, spear, haversack, etc.

Amongst many of the clans the post of headmen is hereditary, in others it is entirely by

#### Headmen.

selection, and in some clans goes to a younger brother of the deceased headman, and, should he have no younger brother, then to a son or near relative. Headmen as a rule dispose of the more petty disputes which take place in their jurisdictions either themselves or with the help of tribal elders, for such they may or may not receive a fee; it is a recognised custom to pass a loving cup of liquor round at the close of a case and to consume opium during the discussion. In some clans the tribesmen help their headman to clear, sow, and harvest his lands, in others such assistance is only rendered when the headman makes arrangements to feed his tribesmen on the days they will assist him. Certain other perquisites are attached to the office, such as giving the headman part of the flesh of an animal killed in the forest or sacrificed at a "nat" ceremony, or some small gift at marriages, etc. These however are not recognised by all the clans. In a few clans the headman has the power of punishing the tribesman who disobey his orders, such punishment taking the form of chastisement or the imposition of a small fine. It is the headman, accompanied generally by a few tribal elders, who represents the clan on important occasions.

Crime amongst the Naga clans is invariably settled by the payment of compensation, this

#### Criminal Offences, Blood-feuds, etc.

is done even in the cases of blood-feuds, which have originated over some petty trouble and extended over a period of many years. With the settling of the bigger debt cases in this manner, the appeasing of certain of the tribal and family spirits has to be taken into consideration, and for this purpose, perhaps in addition to the recognised scale of award, some animal has to be given to appease the "nat" offended. A few instances may be quoted.



For the offence of theft from another's granary, amongst some clans the thief has to give a young boar for a sacrifice to the offended "nat" and thus purify the granary which has become contaminated by the intrusion of a person, not a member of the household to whom the granary belongs. Similarly, amongst some clans a woman may have to purify her body after the birth of an illegitimate child, should her lover not marry her and she be obliged to return to the home of her parents. A buffalo for sacrifice is generally awarded in such a debt case.

The more serious offences are :—Murder, confinement, incendiarism, theft, rape, and adultery, while those of a less serious nature are :—trespass, and the working of another's lands, mischief by cattle destroying standing crops, simple hurt and the like. For each of these several offences the scale of compensation varies and the amounts to be awarded may take the form of ready cash, or animals, or goods, such as guns, gongs, *dahs*, spears, wearing apparel and the like. Perhaps there is no such offence as rape of an unmarried woman, though once a woman is married, or has been left a widow, rape is a recognised offence and punishable by the delivery of compensation to the person harmed, be he husband of the woman or close relative of the widow. Theft is always considered a very serious offence, especially if it be from a house or granary, no matter how small and trivial the article stolen is. The Shangtai Nagas declare that the price of a slave, approximately Rs. 400, has to be given as compensation for breaking into another's granary. It may be that this clan has considerably exaggerated the scale of compensation, it being out of all proportion to the scales given by members of other clans. The reason for such severe punishment is not hard to find. The Nagas are a poor race who cannot afford to keep servants, their occupations are often of such a nature that they are away from their homes for several hours each day. It is therefore essential that during these periods of temporary absence from home their property should remain unharmed, hence the tribal law which imposes a severe sentence.

A few particulars were collected regarding some of the bigger blood-fends which exist in the Namhpuk Valley. In one case the debt originated between parties who were related by marriage; a bride refused to return to her husband; this led to a claim which not being fully satisfied resulted in attacks and counter-attacks. In another the theft of a gong from a granary was the original cause, and in yet another several Trans-Namhpuk clans united and attacked a Naga village because they held the tribesman of this village responsible for an epidemic of smallpox, which broke out shortly after the return of tribesmen who had visited Assam.

Owing to the depredations which are perpetrated on their standing crops in many areas by wild animals there is constant warfare with the denizens of the forest. Many and varied are the traps set by the tribesmen, and so skilful are they in this art, that even such animals as the serow, sambhur, barking deer, and pig are taken in the traps. Once the animals have been noosed, they are speared or shot on the spot, the meat removed and the skull brought in as a trophy and put up in the front porch. Smaller animals and birds are generally snared in the vicinity of the hill cultivations during hours of idleness, and such traps may be seen near the paths and fences of the fields.

The Pyengoo Nagas keep many decoy parrots by means of which, when parrots are flighting during the rains, large numbers up to a hundred or more are netted at a time. The net by which the birds are taken is stretched across a cutting made in the jungle at some prominent ridge or head of a stream over which the wild birds are in the habit of passing in their daily flight. The decoys are placed in the trees by the side of the cutting, by their calls they attract a passing flock, which swoops down, gets entangled in the net, and by their weight bring it down to the ground. They are then easily despatched by the snarers who are in hiding in the jungle close by. The flesh of these parrots is considered a delicacy. Sometimes other flighting birds are also accidentally taken in the net and meet the same fate.

Monkeys are caught in an ingenious trap made in the form of a cage with the trap door on the top. The bait is usually a yam placed on the ground inside the cage. From the trap door a string trails to the ground, close to the yam. The monkey jumps into the cage, takes the yam and, to get out, naturally endeavours to swing himself up by the string; this releases the trap door and makes him a prisoner.

The usual form of fish trap used is to erect a weir across a stream, with openings in two or more places at the entrances to which are placed funnel shaped bamboo tubes. Fish swimming down stream enter these tubes, which are too narrow for them to turn in and they must remain in the tube until removed by the fishermen. At one end of the weir may also be erected a chute of bamboo and cane, down which the fish swim into shallow water, where they are easily taken by the waiting fishermen. Hand and drag nets are also used in most of the larger streams. The fish taken in a weir are generally shared amongst those who have helped to build it. Amongst one clan it is said that the catch is always shared with other members of the clan, who for various causes have been prevented from accompanying the members of the fishing excursion.

Hunting and fishing are permissible within the village bounds, but these rights as a rule do not extend to an adjoining clan's lands, where permission must first be obtained and the spoils of the chase shared with the neighbouring tribesmen.

## PART II.—Notes on the Origins, Customs and Sub-tribes of certain Naga Tribes inhabiting the Burma side of the Patkoi Range.

*Lajawn Gam, Duwa of Lajawn Tract in the Dalu Valley.*—The Pyengoo Nagas are the only tribe of Nagas in my tract. We have been their overlords for the past four or five generations. I do not know how we became their overlords. It was during the time of Mogaung Wa, when the Hawseng ruled all the country. They are animists, who sacrifice buffaloes, pigs, etc. Their "nats" are not the same as those the Chingpaw worship. I do not know



what "nats" they worship. There are only four villages in which the Pyengoo Nagas live. The names of these villages are as follows :—

Ngakun Ga, Pangaw Bum or Kyan Ga, Kyina Ga or Pangaw Bum, and Prep Nawng Ga.

We are also, with other Kachin chiefs in the Dalu Valley, overlords to the Rasa Nagas living on the hills. Like the others I also collect paddy from them. They also help at the building of my house and assist at our marriage ceremonies with opium and such riches as they can give us. When my son was married about five years ago, they assisted by giving opium. This was when I requested them. They gave up to half a viss of opium, "Knam Ma Nga." When my son Nawng was married ten years ago, as I did not ask for anything from the Nagas, they did not assist at the marriage. We do not go up yearly and make demands from these Nagas, it is only when we are in want we make demands from them and they help us. They never refuse us, they assist us as much as possible. When my son La was married, over ten years ago, I invited the Kawlun and Kuku Nagas, and the Gawlun Nagas gave us a buffalo instead 500 Indian corn (Kawpa Lap) wrappings for rolling cigars. The Kuku Nagas gave us a bull. We sold the wrappings to a Shan at Dalu for a three-year old buffalo.

The Rasa Nagas from whom we have made demands with the other Kachin overlords live in the following villages :—

Wakshang, Hakon, Kumteng, Tekti Ga, Janhtang, Kum Ga, Hpunlum and Rasa Hangsang.

We never make demands from any other Nagas, the above are the only Nagas we make demands from. We visit these Naga villages as often as we wish to during the course of the year. Last year I visited Wakshang and Hakon villages and bought paddy there. I bought 20 baskets of paddy at the rate of "Jeik Masum" for a rupee (three-fourth basket for Re. 1). I did not demand the paddy as the whole of the Dalu Valley was starving.

We have never had any pitched battles with any of the Naga Tribes (Pyengoo and Rasa) as they are our friends.

It is now ten years since the Hkang Katsing have crossed the Namhpuk Hka and established a village at Htang Hkaw. They requested my permission to live at this spot and they gave me Rs. 100 and in return I gave them a *dah*. They are our friends and never have fought against us, nor have they attacked the Pyengoo Nagas and Rasa Nagas. I have sent my nephew Sao Ra to call them to meet you, but I cannot say if they will come in. They also are Animists. The wild Nagas at Htanghka are the only members of their tribe who have crossed the Namhpuk Hka and attacked the Pyengoo and Rasa Nagas living in the southern area. The wild Nagas, however, frequently cross the Namhpuk Hka and attack the Nagas living at Kuku and Kawlun. Last year and the year before the wild Nagas attacked the Kawlun villagers. They are said to have come across in parties numbering up to 100 persons. In one fight they killed two persons while one on their side was killed. I do not know for how long they were on this side of the Namhpuk (East). There is no fear of attack from the wild Nagas in the Pyengoo Tract and also in the Rasa villages. These Pyengoo and Rasa Nagas will not attack Government as they are friendly. I do not know any customs of these Nagas as they do not live cheek by jowl with us. Their villages are distant, two or three days journey.

We have never levied tolls on any of the Naga Tribes, and it is only when we are in want and make requests from the Nagas that they give us things. We have never taken anything forcibly from them. It is not because we fear, but there is no need as these Nagas are our friends.

## PYENGOO NAGAS.

### Sub-heads :

#### WANGOO AND LETMSI CLANS.

*Origin.*—Eight to ten generations ago they lived in the higher reaches of the Namhpuk Hka. As they were being attacked by their neighbours they came down to their present locality. They purchased the land from one Lajan Wa. About five generations ago they were conquered by the Lajawn family living in the Dalu Valley at Lakchang Ga. They delivered buffaloes, cows, *mithun*, etc., for the lands in the first instance. About forty years ago, one Ai Htwe Ngoo, declaring that he was the last of the Lajan family, claimed that there was remaining part of the price of the land, and was given the following as value for the buffalo he claimed :—Forty baskets of paddy, 3 *dahs*, and a young boar valued at Rs. 10, since the Lajawns have conquered these Nagas they have not demanded any tribute or other dues from them. The Kachins appear to have exercised a very loose rule, only asking for assistance when in want, or at the time of marriages in their family, building of houses, etc. Their claims have invariably been satisfied. In the same way the Nagas have in their turn asked for assistance from the Kachins and have received the same.

These Nagas state that they came from the Majoi Shingra Bum, the ancestral home claimed by the Kachins, and that in the dim past they and the Kachins were like elder and younger brothers.

*Festivals.*—The festival lasts for three days and takes place before the *taungyas* are cut.  
Oh-ha-he. There is dancing, music and drinking at which the whole village enjoys itself.

*Mawnrung.*—The festival lasts for three days and takes place at the time the paddy is being planted. There is neither music nor dancing. Only liquor is drunk and opium smoked and the flesh of sacrificed animals eaten.

*Pung Raw.*—This is a communal sacrifice held at the "nat" house, when pigs, dogs and fowls are sacrificed. The sacrifice is held twice yearly, once during the rains and again during the winter.

*Religion.*—They are Animists. They sacrifice buffaloes, dogs, pigs and fowls. Neither cows nor goats are sacrificed. No reasons are given for not sacrificing these animals but the mere statement that it is not the custom.



They have diviners (Nap Paw), praying priests (Twin Paw), but no mediums. Diviners receive no hire for their services, but praying priests at the bigger "nat" ceremonies receive the leg of the animal offered.

They have "nat" houses outside the village.

**Villages.**—These are moved to suit the lands being cultivated. A village site may be occupied from three to ten years according to the amount of suitable *taungya* land in its vicinity and the size of the village.

**Industry.**—They plant their own cotton, gin and weave it into cloth. They do not understand the silk industry and make most of their purchases from the Singaling Hkampti Shans.

**Roads.**—There is no custom to clear inter-village roads, only roads to the *taungyas* are indifferently cleared.

**Death.**—Elders are buried in front of the houses and others underneath them. At the time of death "nat" sacrifices are held and the corpse then buried. From three months to one year after death the final obsequies are performed. These are known as "Kawkwa Bauk." The ceremony lasts two days, there is dancing, drinking and opium consuming. The dancing is performed both inside the house and in the open. The corpse is not disturbed. The ceremony is held to send the deceased's spirit, which is said to be hovering in the vicinity, back to the place where go the spirits of all the dead. With the corpses are buried articles of daily use, for instance, with men their *dahs*, spears, etc., with women's necklaces, baskets, weaving implements, etc.

After death the spirit of the deceased is said to remain in the house, and the final obsequies are held to send it back to its ancestral home, said to be somewhere in the upper reaches of the Namhpuk Hka.

**Marriage.**—There is familiarity between the sexes before marriage. Dowry is given once only and amounts to from one to three buffaloes. It may be given before or after marriage. The marriage ceremony lasts one day. When a man is courting a maiden he generally helps to clear the *taungya*. Even after marriage he may continue to do so. Such assistance is apparently considered part of the dowry. After marriage the young couple separate from the bride's home and live in their own house.

When a child is born out of wedlock the man responsible may marry her; should he decide not to, he gives a buffalo or its value. He can then claim custody of the child. The woman is then free to be given in marriage elsewhere. A stigma is attached to the woman who is the mother of a bastard child. Where no man wants a woman she very often remains a spinster all her life. Apparently marriages are not arranged as is the custom with the Kachins. Polygamy is permitted and some men have two or more wives, they may be maidens or "collected widows."

**Adultery.**—In cases of adultery divorce is not obligatory. Persons may or may not divorce the other party so offending. The fine for such an offence is a pig or buffalo which is delivered to the injured party.

**Widows.**—A brother or near relative of the deceased may collect her. This is optional. Where no one has collected a widow any one may enter and live with her. There is no offence and no debt lies unless she has already been collected.

**Crops.**—The headman's fields are first sown and then the villager's. The same custom is observed in the reaping and harvesting, the idea being that the head should eat of the first fruits of the land.

**Headman.**—The appointment is not hereditary. It is by selection, a vacancy being filled by the tribesmen selecting the man most favoured in the village.

**Hunting, etc.**—The Pyengoo Nagas are great trappers and all along the paths in the vicinity of their villages and *taungyas* may be seen very ingenious traps for catching and snaring the smaller animals, deer, pig, monkeys, etc. The snares are made from the fibres of jungle trees and are very strong and pliable.

A trap for catching monkeys was made as follows:—

A square cage of stout poles with the door on the top. The bait was a yam placed on the ground. A string was suspended from the trapdoor and hung inside the cage. A monkey jumping in to take the yam would naturally haul himself up by the string, which would release the trap door and shut it. I understand that many monkeys are regularly taken. Monkeys commit great depredations amongst the crops and are regularly hunted and destroyed. Decoy parrots are kept in large numbers. During the rains when parrots are fighting, these birds are used as decoys. They are placed on the side by a cutting on the ridges, through which the parrots are known to fly at sunset and dawn. A fine net is stretched across the cutting, which is generally fifteen feet wide. When the decoys call, their wild brethren swoop down, fly through the cutting, crash into the net and with their weight bring it to the ground. These birds are then despatched by the trapper who is in waiting. The flesh is said to be a delicacy. As many as a hundred and more birds are said to be taken at one time. Other birds such as green and imperial pigeon which fly at dawn or sunset, are sometimes taken by mistake, as seeing the cutting in the hills, they fly through it and are in the net before they can avoid it. "Kailao" a decoy parrot.

**Taungyas.**—Generally cleared within a few miles of the village. Are carefully watched to ward off depredations by wild animals. The paddy is stored in granaries which are secreted in the jungle either close to the village or *taungya*. They are visited periodically, and only requirements for a few days taken. The paddy was seen in one granary packed into loads, ready to be moved at a moment's notice.

**Hkao Wing Hkao Wang Hkao Ting Hkao Sang.**—An expression amongst the Pyengoo Nagas denoting close connectionship in their clans through inter-marriage.

**Yi Lam Mi.**—This expression was frequently heard. It is a measure of length and denotes the distance of one *taungya* cutting from the village. An unreliable linear measure since with rare exceptions the hill cultivation is never cut the same distance from the village site.



## PANGAW NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They lived near the Pongye Bum, a peak of the Sangpan Range. There are now only a few houses left. They came down to this locality, near the Tanai Hka about ten generations ago. A few scattered houses in some of the Pyengoo Naga villages, four at Shirang Ga in the Laisai Kachin Tract, and a few houses at Manpang, a Shan village. The tribe is gradually turning Kachin.

*Religion.*—They are Animists, and perform the same "nat" sacrifices as the Kachins, with whom they inter-marry and observe the same laws as regards dowry, debts, etc.

*Marriage, Courtship, etc.*—Same as the Kachins, there is a maidens' chamber, and compensation according to the Kachin scale is given at the time when illegitimate children are born.

*Festivals.*—When the *taungyas* are cut they hold one called "Malee." This lasts one day, merely a "nat" ceremony at which there is no dancing.

To all outward appearances these Nagas are the same as Kachins, and hold the same death dance, etc., as their neighbours the Kachins.

## PUNLUM NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They are now living on the east of the Sangpan Range, but not so very long ago lived on the west of this range, and have been living in the Tarum Valley for about twenty years.

*Religion.*—They have a "nat" house and are animists. Communal sacrifices at the "nat" house are held once in two or three years according to requirements. Pigs and dogs are sacrificed to prevent sickness.

*Death.*—Customs are the same as with the Rasa Nagas. The Pyengoo, Rasa and these Nagas bury those who die violent deaths, such as being murdered, killed by a wild animal, fall from a tree, etc., in the jungle and not under the house.

*Marriage.*—No ceremony held, just a feast which lasts a day. Dowry is fixed and delivered after marriage either by the man or his descendants. Dowry consists as follows:—A cotton blanket as worn by the tribesmen, to which a number of cowrie shells are affixed as ornamentation, four or five pigs, and fowls. Divorce is the same as with the Rasa Nagas. Polygamy is not practised as a rule, but a man may collect the widow of a deceased relative. They inter-marry with the Rasa and Pyengoo Nagas.

*Villages.*—These are moved every four or five years to suit the hill cultivation. They are not permanent.

*Taungyas.*—These are cut, sown and reaped by the community at one time.

*Courtship.*—There are separate houses for the sexes. The young men visit the maidens' hut, the women never go to the young mens' hut. When a child is born out of wedlock the couple marry, but should they not do so the man pays compensation amounting to a buffalo.

*Industries.*—Like all the other tribes they weave their own cloth. They do not plant their own cotton but purchase same from the Kawlum Ni near whom they lived before coming to the Tarum Valley. All are addicted to the pernicious opium habit, even children are said to take the drug. This is the case with the Pyengoo and Rasa Nagas as well. All take liquor as well which they brew themselves. This is the same with the Pyengoo and Rasa Nagas.

## KUMGA NAGAS.

These Nagas have habits and customs more or less identical with the Rasa Nagas, their neighbours.

*Religion.*—They are Animists, sacrificing cattle, fowls, etc. There is no preference for sacrificing any particular animals.

*Marriage.*—The same as with the Rasa Nagas, they do not practise polygamy but the nearest male relative collects a deceased relative's widow.

*Divorce.*—There are divorce laws for persons who cannot get on and who do not love each other, also for those offending by committing adultery.

*Illegitimate Children.*—The man responsible generally marries his mistress. Should he not do so, he only pays her Rs. 2. She then retains custody of the child. Should he want custody, he pays her as much as Rs. 20 as compensation.

*Adultery.*—The penalty is more severe, as the man responsible has to pay up to Rs. 100.

*Death.*—The burials are the same as with the Rasas. Those who die violent deaths are buried in the jungle.

*Crops.*—There are no recognised customs, each person cutting, sowing and reaping, just as they please.

*Fishing.*—Occasionally the whole village goes out to fish. In such cases should some remain behind the catch is divided amongst all, including those who have remained behind. Probably a custom which has come down from the past, when it was necessary in an unknown and unsettled country to share and share alike.

*Industries, etc.*—Plant beans, yams, pumpkins, Indian corn in their *taungyas*. Trade their paddy with the Hkamla Ni from the extreme west who manufacture brass bracelets, earrings, necklaces, etc. They weave their own cloth and supplement with purchases made from the Shans.

Salt is generally purchased from the Shans; this is the case with nearly all the Naga Tribes living on the east of the Sangpan Bum.

*Villages.*—These are moved like the others from place to place to suit the lands being cultivated. This seems to be a practice observed by all the Naga tribes in this part of the hills. It is probably due to the fact that there are extensive unoccupied lands, and by moving about from place to place, the tribesmen have the least difficulty to get good harvests by always working new lands. Time will come, no doubt, when with an increased population residences will be more permanently established.



*Dress.*—That of the man is the same as that of the other Naga tribes and is so scanty and so well known that it needs no description. Perhaps the only difference with other tribesmen is that the blanket, made of cotton worn by these tribesmen and almost black, is generally well decorated with cowrie shells, and that the "Shingup" (Sporran) is of a dark colour. Some sporrans were seen decorated with cowrie shells, and others wore a small brass gong highly polished in front of their generative organs, on the outer side of the sporran. This flashing gong in the light of the night fires and torches acts as a magnet to catch the eye.

The women wear the same style of dress as the other Nagas and, like that of the men, the cloth used is dyed almost black. Their heads are clean shaved or hair worn very short. They wear heavy bracelets made of some white metal, and not so massive bracelets made of brass. They also wear enormous earrings made of brass, which in the course of the years cause the ears to be deformed, the lobes being dragged down several inches. They also wear round their waists enormous quantities of the ordinary black and red cane rings which one frequently sees worn by other races on the Frontier. With their short hair, large earrings, and dark clothes, this tribe forms a striking contrast to the neighbouring tribes, and from a distance look like an African tribe. They are a darker skinned clan than their neighbours which is more markedly pronounced by the dark clothes worn. They are neither comely nor attractive and, with their shorn heads and deformed ear-lobes, may well be classed as distinctly repulsive to Europeans.

#### RISA NAGAS.

*Origin.*—Formerly they lived north of Ranu Ga, but three generations ago owing to having unsuitable lands to cultivate they crossed to the east of the Sangpan Bum and are now occupying the following sites:—Sela Nok, Loilem Nok, and Lungkawng Nok. The villages may be said to be permanent. No. 1 has been occupied for 7 years, No. 2 for 30 years, and No. 3 for 20 years.

*Taungyas.*—No customs prevail, each person pleases himself. No divinations are performed prior to cutting the *taungya*. They are not cut in one place, some may cut away from the others, and yet again all may cut in one place.

*Roads.*—There is no custom to clear inter-village roads, but roads to the *taungyas* are maintained and kept cleared. When the whole village cuts in one place, then by the whole village; where in groups, by those using the road to the *taungya*.

*Death Customs.*—These are the same as with the Punlum and Kum Ga Nagas.

*Marriage.*—There are separate houses for the young people of the sexes in which all courting and love takes place. Such intimacy frequently results in pregnancy. There is no offence and the young couple generally marry. Should neither care for the other after the birth of the child no compensation has to be paid, and the woman returns to her parents' home, taking her child with her. Should one of the party care for the other, then the other is not bound to marry him or her, but has to give the jilted one a buffalo. Should the jilted one be of good birth, the compensation so paid may amount to Rs. 100. (The compensation is only delivered where one party does not reciprocate the love of the other.) At the marriage ceremony a feast is held at which are sacrificed as many as seven pigs, supplied by the bridegroom. The tails of these pigs are cut off after being offered and sacrificed. Bracelets, woven from the fibres of the Lakwi Hpun (Kachin) are then made, and to them are affixed the tails of the sacrificed pigs. These bracelets are worn by the husband and wife (newly married couple). It is not essential to wear such bracelets, and many do not do so. The Bracelets of sacrificed pigs are also worn by some of the tribesmen to ensure good health (Charm). The "nats" to be appeased are those of the mountain and the streams.

**NOTE.**—The fibres of the Lakwi Hpun are used for fishing nets, snares, etc. They are said to be very strong and durable.

*Naming Ceremony of Children.*—This takes place a week or so after birth according to the wishes of the child's parents. The parents name the child. There is a "nat" sacrifice and pigs and fowls are sacrificed, sometimes dogs also are sacrificed.

*Death at Childbirth.*—A woman who so dies is buried in the jungle and not under the house. It is necessary to purify the house. In cases of illegitimate children the man responsible has to perform the ceremony; but where the lover cannot be named by the woman, or will not disclose himself, or if named denies the responsibility, the community bury the woman and purify the house. The father of the child in an illegitimate case, and the husband in other cases, performs the ceremony (has it held).

*Religion.*—They are Animists.

*Festivals.*—They hold the Kadung and Sasu festivals the same as the other clans.

#### HTANGAN NAGAS.

*Clans—Htangkaw Nagas and Macham Nagas.*—The two clans mentioned above live at Htangkaw Ga, which is the only Htangan Naga (Wild) tribe living east of the Namhpuk Hka.

*Origin.*—Formerly the Machams lived at Tapsai and the Htangkaws at Longnauk, two Wild Naga village sites on the west of the Namhpuk Hka. Acting on the advice of their tribal priests, the two clans crossed to the east bank of the Namhpuk and entered territory belonging to Chaomawn La, the present Chaomawn Nawng's grandfather. They first settled at Hkawkawp where they lived for two years. Eight years ago they left Hkawkawp and came to their present site. They gave Rs. 100 to Chaomawn La, and the same amount to Lajawn Gam before occupying the site, as these two men were declared to be the owners of the land. Htangkaw Ga is on the south-eastern base of the Sangpan Bum, and north of Namhpuk Hka.

*Death Customs.*—After death the corpse is wrapped in a mat and then taken to a small hut built close to the village. The hut is just sufficient for the corpse. After being laid in the



hut the corpse gradually falls to decay. All these charnel-huts are built in one place by the side of one of the roads to the village. No other burial ceremonies are performed. Nothing further is done after the corpse has been placed in the charnel-hut.

*Marriage, etc.*—There are separate houses for the young men and maidens. The young men do their courting and love-making in the maidens' hut. Such intimacy generally results in the woman becoming pregnant, when the man marries her. Marriages are solely love affairs. No dowry is ever delivered. Divorce is permitted in cases where either party does not love the other. In such cases should the woman want the divorce, she gives the man a spear and a *dah*, similarly when the man desires to divorce his wife he gives her a pair of bracelets. Divorce is also permitted for adultery, but in cases where for such offence no divorce takes place, some small present such as a *dah*, spear or bracelets is given. Polygamy is not permitted, each man having only one wife. At the time a man is courting a maiden he does not do any work for his bride, such as helping in the fields, etc.

*Taungyas.*—These are cut in one place and no sacrifices or other ceremony held to consult the spirits as to where the year's fields are to be cut, sown and reaped. The following order is always observed in order that the harvest will be plentiful. The headman's fields are first sown, there is then a day's rest when the remaining fields are sown. It is the same when the harvest is reaped, the headman's first and then the remaining fields. The headman's paddy is also eaten first. Were this order of precedence not observed the harvest would not be plentiful. No action is taken against anyone who might err by not following the custom. It is stated that were any one to err in this manner, then the crops would be a failure that year. As regards the cutting and clearing, etc., no custom is observed, each person pleases himself.

*Roads.*—It is customary to clear inter-village roads, which are in regular use, but not roads which are rarely used, such as the road to Lapyep and the other Pyengoo Naga villages.

*Religion.*—There is a "nat" house at which sacrifices are held when there is sickness in the village. They do not keep slaves.

There are three "nat" sacrifices held in the course of the year as follows:—

*The first*, at the time fields are burnt. The sacrifice lasts a day. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed. There is no dancing. It is held for a plentiful harvest.

*The second*, at the time when the paddy is sown. It also lasts a day and pigs and fowls are sacrificed. There is no dancing. It also is held to ensure a good harvest. This "nat" sacrifice is known as *Auk Yao*.

*The third*, is held after the harvest has been reaped. It lasts three days and nights. There is dancing and general merry-making. Pigs, fowls, buffaloes, etc., are sacrificed. The dancing takes place at night. The sacrifice is held in order that the health of the tribesmen may be good. This is the communal ceremony at which the whole village attends. The ceremony is known as *Kaiwe*.

#### RASA NAGAS.

*Religion.*—Animists. Sacrifice cattle, pigs, fowls and goats to the "nats". They have a "numsheng" or "nat" house. Sacrifices at the "nat" house are only made when necessary. At such times a dog and a pig are sacrificed. It is not an annual sacrifice. The sacrifice is held after divining.

*Festivals.*—The festival is held at the time of sowing the paddy. It is not communal, each

*Sa Su.*

person sacrifices separately. Pigs, fowls or dogs are sacrificed according to the means of the person holding the festival.

Buffaloes and goats are not sacrificed. The festival is held and offerings made for the welfare of the crops. Lasts two days and two nights. Liquor is drunk and opium consumed. No work is done on these days. Strangers and others can attend, there being no objection. There is no dancing during the *Sa Su* festival and "nat" offerings.

*Kudung.*—Held after the paddy has been reaped. Also for the welfare of the crops. It is held whether or not the harvest has been a good one. Not communal, held by the individual separately. Dogs and goats are not sacrificed, but pigs and fowls are, buffaloes also should the individual have them. Apparently the person gives of his best to the "nats." Festival last for three days and three nights, liquor drunk and opium consumed. Visitors may take part, there are no objections. Dancing is held in the headman's house, near the cooking fire place, attended by as many gongs as possible.

*Rangnan.*—Lasts for a night, held about a month previous to the *Kudung*. There is no dancing, no animals are sacrificed, only opium consumed and liquor drunk.

*Panghka.*—Lasts for a night, held a month after the *Kudung*, only fowls are sacrificed. There is dancing with drawn *dahs* outside the houses. Liquor drunk and opium consumed.

*Death.*—The corpse is buried. The male members in the front porch where the paddy is pounded, women and children under the house, on the side opposite to that where the family sleep. Such animals, fowls, etc., are sacrificed as are in the household where the death takes place. No other ceremony held, such as is held, by Kachins (Mang Brue).

*Other Sacrifices not held.*—None are held at the establishing of new villages or the building of new houses. Neither are the "nats" consulted nor offerings made to them at the cutting of the *taungyas*.

*Marriage.*—No dowry is delivered at the time of the marriage which is generally arranged through a go-between. The agent is sent and the woman comes to her lover's house and is considered married to him. Only when children are born and they grow up, do they deliver dowry for their mother. The dowry amounts to from one to three buffaloes. It is only when a woman is barren that her husband gives dowry for her, a cow generally. Marriage also follows the birth of an illegitimate child. Failure to marry in such cases leads to a debt which is settled by the delivery of a buffalo to the woman wronged or jilted. After marriage the couple may live with the woman's people or build their own house. Hence where children are many and do not leave the roof after marriage, houses are big with many fire places. Generally a man, his wife and their unmarried children live together. Young men marry when they are about twenty and women 16 to 18.



*Courtship*.—This takes place in front of the house where the women pound the paddy, there being no maidens' chamber, the Rasa Naga house being one large room without any partitions dividing it up into rooms. Courting also takes place between the young couples while performing outdoor pursuits. When a woman has been promised to a man, the couple generally sleep at or near the same fire place as the girl's parents. The Naga has no shame. Should the parents remonstrate, the couple turn the tables by saying "when you were young you did the same." There are several fire places in the house.

*Widowhood*.—The widow is generally married by one of her husband's brothers, but should there be no brothers of the deceased husband, or should there be and they do not care to marry her, she may then marry whom she pleases. Scale of dowry holds the same, and is given by children born from both unions or, if woman is barren, by the husband.

*Adultery*.—Divorce is permitted for such defilement of the marriage bed. No blame is attached to the respondent, whether husband or wife in the case, the co-respondent is always held to blame, and pays compensation amounting to a buffalo, or its value Rs. 40 to 50.

*Taungyas*.—No customs observed as regards cutting, sowing and reaping, each tribesman carrying on independently.

#### RASA NAGAS (*Living at Angsein*).

*Offences*.—Offences such as theft, etc., are settled by four or five elders who know the amount of penalty to impose. It is not considered an offence to falsely accuse one by lying. No compensation is either demanded or paid. In cases of hurt where one person beats another, should he not retaliate, others come round and console him. No debt arises and no compensation is paid. It is the same when one cuts another with a *dah*. Should the man cut retaliate by cutting his opponent, since each has had a cut at the other, there is no debt. In cases of one man murdering another, the compensation to be delivered is as follows:—a buffalo, the value of a slave, and a gong. Just these three kinds and no more.

*Habits and customs*.—The same as the Rasa Nagas whose habits and customs have already been recorded.

#### KUKU NAGAS.

NOTE.—The Kuku Nagas are descended from Htangans and Haimis, who have intermarried: as will be seen later, the village is divided with respect to the observation of certain ceremonies.

*Tribes west of Namhpuk*.—The Haimis living across the Namhpuk are called Nansa, and live in the following villages:—Lumlu, Chawang, (old and new) Miku, Tongche, Rangchi, Rara, Gaha, Chikun, and Chikwang.

*Death Customs*.—Two forms of burial are practised at Kuku. The descendants of the original Haimi clans bury their dead and observe the same customs as their relatives, the Rasa Nagas. The descendants of the Htangan Nagas smoke the corpse after death and place it in a coffin, after which it is removed to a charnel-house in the vicinity of the village. On one day every year the final obsequies of all the village dead are performed at one time. Briefly this is as follows:—The heads are removed from the bodies of all those who have died during the year, they are thoroughly washed and cleaned with hot water. Later, after they have been cleaned and dried a day or two, they are taken to a secret shelving rock, known only to a few members of the clan and never disclosed to others. Here they are placed with the skulls of all the dead of the tribe. It is said that at this secret Golgotha there are very many skulls, the accumulation of very many years' dead. The headless trunk remains undisturbed in the charnel-house where it gradually falls to decay. Kuku site has been occupied for ten generations and the skulls for this period are stored at the Golgotha referred to above. When the tribe leaves a site it is for one not far from the site left. The charnel-house in such cases remains uncared for and gradually falls to decay.

*Taungyas*.—No custom is observed, but all are cut in one place, after which each household cultivates as it pleases. No custom regarding the clearing, sowing, etc., of the headman's fields first. After the harvest the paddy is brought back to the village and stored in the granaries, which are built just outside the village huts and practically surround them on all sides.

NOTE.—Looking at a Naga village from some distance very often the granaries look like a ring of huts round the village, or then again they may be all on one side of the village. Generally they are in clusters but always a short distance away from the village, built where suitable land is available.

*Marriage*.—There is no proper ceremony, but a feast, at which pigs and fowls are sacrificed, is held. Dowry is given sometimes before and sometimes after the bride has joined her husband. The scale is fixed; for a bride from a good family the man has to give a buffalo; for a bride from an ordinary family a cow is sufficient. In addition, presents are given to all the brothers and sisters of the bride, the men getting a cloth blanket each, and the women bangles or bracelets, or some similar gift. No other dowry is given. Courting before marriage takes place in the houses which are built by the young people. Separate houses are built for the men and separate houses for the women. It is in the latter house where they meet. In large villages many such houses are built in order that relatives may avoid making love in the presence of relatives of the opposite sex. Were this to happen it would be bad, being considered very shameful. When a woman becomes pregnant, the man generally marries her; it is not good if he does not do so. Should he fail to do so he pays compensation amounting to a buffalo.



*Polygamy.*—This is permitted and many men have more than one wife, though the number rarely exceeds two. *Divorce* laws do not exist; the punishment for the offence of adultery is one buffalo. Here, quite a large amount.

*Festivals.*—There are two held yearly, known as (1) "Ukyao", (2) "Kaiwe". The first is held at the time of sowing the paddy and the second after the harvest has been reaped. The first is a "nat" sacrifice for a plentiful harvest, when there is no dancing, the second is a thanks-offering as the whole village make merry. Both sacrifices last two days, and are communal; pigs, fowls and even buffaloes being sacrificed, as much as the village can afford to offer to the "nats". At the second there is dancing at night. Any one may attend these "nat" sacrifices.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

There is a "nat" house at which communal "nat" sacrifices are held yearly. Buffaloes, pigs and fowls are sacrificed, as much as the whole village can afford.

*Headmen.*—They are not hereditary but are selected by the tribesmen when a vacancy occurs. He has powers to order them to perform various duties. Disobedience to orders given by a headman is punishable by the headman himself who may punish the offender in various ways, even going so far as beating him.

*Roads.*—Those between villages are not cleared, the community must help to make the road to the season's hill cultivation and it is only this road which is kept up.

*Subservience to Kachins.*—They are subordinate to Chaomawn Nawng, whose grandfather La lived on the Namhpuk Hka not far from Kuku on the hill. They give their overlord such presents as gongs and money when marriages take place in the Chaomawn family, and, when visited by members of this family, they feast them with pigs and fowls and give them small presents, such as feathered spears.

*The Kuku-Rawngkun Blood Feud.*—The Rawngkun are Htangans living west of the Namhpuk. Formerly they and the Kuku clan used to inter-marry. But some years ago one of the Kuku women who was married to one of the Rawngkun Clan returned to Kuku to her parents and refused to rejoin her husband. There was thus a debt which remains unsettled up to date. The Rawngkuns have killed thirteen of the Kuku Ni. Four years ago the Kuku Ni went across to attack their enemies, were ambushed and lost two men. Three years ago Kuku village was attacked, when two women and a child were killed. Last year the village was again attacked, no one was killed, but the village granaries were burnt down.

The Kukus, who live in constant terror of attack, spike all entrances to their villages at night with the usual Panjis, *i.e.*, hardened bamboo spikes, about nine inches long, sharpened at both ends, and placed by or on the path with one sharpened end sticking outwards. Any one walking along such a path would receive a severe wound, and, were the spike poisoned, death would naturally follow, since no antidote for the poison used is known. The bamboo points are hardened by being placed in the fire for a short while.

Rawngkun is also known as Rawngkawng; these tribesmen live at Tola-wang. The headman of Kuku states that they first killed five Kukus, and that, when the Kukus counter-attacked, they lost two men. That after this the debt was settled and the Kukus gave the following as compensation in settlement:—10 *dahs*, a pearl shell (Shanun Tut), Rs. 10 in cash, and a Shingup or Gyi String. Three years ago after the debt had been settled they again attacked Kuku and killed three (see above). It is said that they attacked on this occasion because the Kukus had been friendly with Government by assisting the surveyor who went into the Namhpuk Valley. The Rawngkuns are helped by Nansa, Wanglawng, and Yawngtai, all Trans-Namhpuk villages. They offer assistance to government in the way of coolies, guides, etc. They declare that they are starving on account of being in constant terror of being killed, they are unable to cultivate their lands properly, and so are obliged to supplement their paddy supply with produce from the jungle such as wild yams, etc. Tola-wang is said to have 140 houses, and is two days from Kuku.

#### KAWLUM NAGAS.

*Relations with Trans-Namhpuk Tribes.*—There are four villages of Kawlum Nagas as follows:—Kawlum, 40 houses; Kama Ga, 20 houses; Pumbasu, 40 houses; and Chipa Longan, 40 houses. All these villages are close together and on this side of the Namhpuk Hka.

Four years ago they were attacked by the Nangsa and Wangtaw Nagas who killed sixteen men. Then again two years ago the same clansmen attacked Kawlum, burnt down the whole village, and killed two persons. Last year again at the time of sowing the paddy they came across to attack but were seen and returned. The reason given for these attacks is because the Kawlum clansmen helped a surveyor, by name Roy, who with coolies supplied by them was able to cross the Namhpuk and enter or reach their territory. They repulsed the surveyor, and in order to save his party he was obliged to keep one of their clan as a hostage. He recrossed the Namhpuk and entered the home of the Laika Ni, a Kachin hamlet on the east of the Namhpuk. The Kachins afforded this surveyor shelter, and for this they were attacked by the Pounyo Ni and were obliged to leave the area and return to the Muengyi country from which they originally came. This happened during the time the slaves were being released in the season 1925-26. The fleeing Kachins were met by me in the Tanai Gorge when I was going down to Dalu in the month of February 1926.

The Trans-Namhpuk Nagas are said to attack towards sunset. They have no guns and use spears, *dahs*, etc. The engagement lasts a very short while, when, after killing such persons as they can or succeeding in burning down houses, etc., they immediately retire and recross the Namhpuk.

*Habits and Customs*—the same as with the Punlum and Rasa Nagas who formerly lived in this locality and only crossed to the east side of the Sangpan Bum within the past twenty years. It is said because they felt that their enemies west of the Namhpuk were becoming too strong for them.



## RANU NAGAS.

*The habits and customs* of these Nagas are the same as with the Galawn and Rasa Nagas.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*The Ranu-Ranchi Blood Feud.*—The Ranu tribesmen have enemies across the Namhpuk Hka at Ranchi. About ten years ago one of the Ranchi tribesmen stole a gong from a granary at Ranu. On the owner requesting its return, the Ranchi men refused to return it. At that time one of the Ranu guns was at Galawn and this gun was also seized by the Ranchi men and wrongly retained. Awaiting their opportunity the Ranu men seized a Ranchi tribesman while he was at Galawn and held him for the following ransom: One feathered spear, a cow or an 8-span gong, a *dah*, a 5-span gong, a blanket with cowrie shells and a Naga hat with boar tushes. The ransom was paid and the hostage released after being kept in captivity for ten days. The Ranchi tribesmen then lay in wait and killed two Ranu men eight years ago on the *taungya* road. Three years ago the Ranu men killed one of the Ranchi tribe somewhere on the road between Kuku and Kawlum. The Ranu Chief was one of those attending His Excellency the Governor's Manao, and on his return he sent a message to the Ranchi Chief suggesting that peace should now be declared. The Ranchi Headman declined to accept the offer and stated that they would now attack more than ever. Consequently, in 1925 they killed one of the Ranu maidens whose age is said to have been 12 years.

The Ranu Tribesmen are subordinate to Ningmoi Hka of Laisai Tu Ga, Dalu Valley.

## GALAWN NAGAS.

There are three villages as follows:—Katawng Ga, Lari Ga, and Souma Ga. The villages are close together. The total number of houses is from 40 to 50.

*The habits and customs* of these Nagas is the same as the Kawlum and Rasa Nagas.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

## RANGSA NAGAS.

There are four villages lying north of the Dalu Valley on the east of the Sangpan Bum. They move their village sites to suit their cultivation, at least this is what is stated; but judging from the size of the villages, I am inclined to think that the sites are more or less permanently occupied.

*Taungyas.*—No custom exists, each person clears when and where he pleases. The same as regards the clearing of inter-village communications. There are no rules, only *taungya* roads are maintained.

*Marriage Customs.*—These are the same as with the Risa Nagas, with the exception that these Nagas follow the custom of the Kachins by giving dowry for the brides throughout life. They do not practise polygamy, each man generally having only one wife; the collection of a deceased relative's widow is permitted, like the Kachins. In case a child is born out of wedlock the young people marry but, where they do not marry, the man generally pays as much as Rs. 100 to the wronged woman.

*Adultery.*—The erring one is generally beaten by the innocent party even unto death. The co-respondent is also beaten, even unto death, by other members of the tribe. The way of the wrongdoer is hard. In some cases where they are not beaten they are fined and have to pay compensation.

*Religion.*—Like the others of this locality they are animists.

## RANGHKU NAGAS.

*Their habits and customs* are the same as with the Rangsa Nagas who are their Mayu Shawi, i.e., their relatives by marriage. They also are animists. Like the Rangsa Nagas people who die violent deaths are buried in the jungle and not under the houses.

Pigs and fowls only are sacrificed at the building of new houses and establishing of new villages.

## RANGHKU NAGAS (living at Sumri near Saukrang).

They have been living here for many generations and declare that they were the first clan to cross the Sangpan to this locality. They originally lived in the Hnkawng Valley. They are subordinate to the Ningmoi family by whom they were conquered. They have given this family the following gifts: Twenty baskets of paddy, 4 buffaloes, one slave, Rs. 10 in cash, one 8-span gong, 20 beads and Rs. 10 in cash for beads. These were given to the present Ningmoi Gam's ancestors.

## HKANCHU NAGAS.

Originally, they lived on the west of the Sangpan Bum and migrated to the east three generations ago, as they were starving on that side, not having sufficient lands to cultivate.

*Their habits and customs* are the same as those of the Risa Nagas who are their Mayu Shawi (connections by marriage). Polygamy is not practised but the collection of a deceased relative's widow is permitted, as is the case with the Kachins.

*Divorce.*—This is permissible for the offence of adultery, for which offence the compensation to be delivered is a buffalo. Where one party does not wish to divorce the other a divorce can also be effected by the payment of compensation amounting to fifty rupees to the unwilling person.

*Religion.*—Like the remainder they are animists.

## LONGHKAI NAGAS.

*Their habits and customs* are the same as with the Rangsa and the Rangchu Nagas who are their Mayu Shawi.



*Marriage.*—It is said that sometimes after marriage, should the young couple be strangers or not care for each other to any great extent they may live together for months under the same roof without sleeping together, up to a year or more. Seems quite extraordinary, but I see no reason for them to have made the statement; a lad I met long before I entered the hills, who belongs to one of these clans, told me the same thing.

#### WANGA NAGAS.

*Religion.*—They are animists who sacrifice buffaloes, pigs, etc.

*Marriage.*—They give dowry for their brides. There is no marriage ceremony, just a feast at which are present the parents of the contracting parties. The go-betweens or agents, of whom sometimes there are more than one, are given one rupee each. Divorce is not practised and polygamy is not permitted. The collecting of widows is permitted, but not by married men, only by unmarried men.

*Courting.*—This generally takes place at some widow's house in the village, but where there is no such house, there is a house built in the village where the young people meet at night. The man generally marries the woman when she becomes pregnant or has an illegitimate child by him. In cases where he does not do so he gives compensation amounting to a buffalo. He then has custody of the child, for which, if too young to be parted from its mother, he must pay the mother for nourishing and tending. When a woman dies at childbirth of an illegitimate child, the man responsible has to arrange the funeral and pay all expenses. Where the man is unknown and does not declare himself, the village community arrange and pay for the funeral. In such cases it becomes communal.

*Burial of the Dead.*—After death the corpse is buried at the "nat" house, and the bereaved relatives then return home, when a merry-making or wake is held and buffaloes, pigs and fowls are sacrificed. There is no difference as regards the corpses of those who die by violence, at childbirth, or by accident; all are buried at the "nat" house.

*Taungyas.*—There are no customs, each does as he or she pleases.

*Roads.*—Only roads to the *laungyas* are maintained.

*Post of Headman.*—This is hereditary and when vacant devolves on the son, and when there are no sons on a near relative. The tribesmen do not assist the headman, but he settles their disputes and sometimes receives a fee from them. (Lu ai shara mung nga ai, N'lu ai shara mung nga ai).

*Naming Ceremony of Children.*—This is held when the child is about a week old. The father gives the child its name. At this ceremony only fowls are offered to the "nats."

#### RANCHI (*Trans-Namhpuk Hka*).

The village consists of 200 houses and it is said that the road is good enough for mule transport. They complain against the Lacham Htangan Nagas who attacked them last year and killed six women.

The headman makes no mention of the blood feud with Ranu and declares that the tribesmen killed near Kuku about five years ago were killed by the Htangan. Ranchi was heard of before I arrived at Ranu; very probably he will have a different tale when next met by a Government official. Their habits and customs are the same as those of the Rasa Nagas. They also are Haimis. Like all the others most, in fact all, the men take opium, women consumers are few, at Ranchi it is said there are only two.

East and west of the Namhpuk in this locality, the opium is cultivated on quite a large scale and is grown on the hills as well as in the Namhpuk Valley.

#### CHAWANG (*Trans-Namhpuk*).

There are two villages, old and new, in the former there are 100 houses and in the latter 150 houses. They are Haimis. Their habits and customs are the same as the Kawlum and Rasa Nagas.

They have enemies at Micham, the Htangan Naga village across the Namhpuk. The Micham have attacked since Roy "Du" visited their village and killed 8 males and 1 female. They also have been to attack the Michams but only succeeded in burning down part of the village. They also have a blood feud with the Haimis living at Toche. The feud originated within the past ten years. The Toches have killed 20 of them and they have been able to kill two of the Toche tribesmen. Amongst the 20 killed were 6 Kachins who assisted the Chawang tribesmen when they went to attack the Toche villagers. Toche is said to have from 20 to 30 guns. The Micham tribesmen do not possess guns but use spears and cross-bows, the tips of the arrows are smeared with poison.

#### MAIHKU (*Trans-Namhpuk*).

The Maihkus are of the Haimi tribe. Their habits and customs are the same as the Kawlum Nagas. Apparently they have no enemies and since there are 16 guns in their village the Htangans have never attacked them. (*A pleasure awaiting them.*)

#### HKALAK NAGAS.

They call themselves Hkalak Sangdung Gara Nagas and declare that they do not belong to the Haimi tribe.

*Origin.*—Formerly they lived near Kantao in the Hukawng Valley and from there moved to the hills where they have been living for the past five generations.

*Religion.*—They are animists. No "nat" house now although there used to be in the time of their forefathers.



*Festivals or Nat Sacrifices.*—Held at the time when they are preparing to cut the season's *laungya*. The ceremony lasts one day; pigs and fowls are sacrificed. Each house holds the ceremony independently.

*Mawn Pwe.*

Held in order that the paddy crop may be a success.

*Wang Yang.*—This is the same sacrifice as the Mawn Pwe but is held by the community and buffaloes are sacrificed. This communal "nat" sacrifice lasts five days. It is only when the village cannot afford to hold the Wang Yang that the Mawn Pwe is held independently by each household.

*Cham Yak Tawk.*—Held at the time when the paddy is sprouting. It lasts one day; fowls only are sacrificed and liquor drunk. Sacrifices are also held at the establishing of new villages and the building of new houses. On these occasions pigs only are sacrificed.

*Marriage.*—No ceremony is held but, on the day the bride comes to the man's house, liquor is drunk and the flesh of fowls and pigs, offered to the "nats," consumed. A merry-making only, apparently. Dowry is given for the bride throughout life as is the custom with the Kachins. In addition Rs. 10 is given to the bride's elder sisters and Re. 1 to her younger sisters, should she not have any, the money Rs. 11 is given to her parents. Inter-marry with other clans.

*Courtship.*—There is no recognised place for the young people to meet, such as separate houses or a maiden's chamber. It is declared that there ought not to be intercourse between sexes prior to marriage. When illegitimate children are born the man pays compensation, if he does not marry the woman, up to Rs. 80. After this the child goes with the mother. When such a woman becomes pregnant her parents turn her out of their house and her lover builds her a hut. Should she die at childbirth the hut is discarded; there is no need to purify it or even the whole village. The man responsible has to pay compensation amounting to Rs. 500. Such cases occur very rarely.

*Naming Ceremony.*—This takes place at childbirth when there is a "nat" ceremony and the new born infant named. No recognised names as with the Kachins.

*Divorce.*—Only practised when the parties do not love each other. Adultery is punishable by payment of compensation of four main kinds, such as a gong, a gun, money, and a buffalo, and the delivery of other petty gifts such as *dahs*, spears, etc. Also permitted when adultery takes place. In such cases it is optional and left to the husband and wife concerned, who may or may not divorce each other.

*Polygamy.*—This is not practised, and the collection of widows although allowed is only taken advantage of generally by unmarried men.

*Taungyas.*—There are no recognised customs, each person or house sowing, cutting, reaping, etc., as they please. No custom for the whole village to cut in one place.

*Burial of the Dead.*—All are buried under the houses except those who die through violence, childbirth, or accident. These are buried in the jungle. Children dying at childbirth are also buried in the jungle.

*Purification of Houses.*—This takes place when a woman dies at childbirth, only the house in which the death takes place is purified and not the whole village.

*The Post of Headman.*—This is hereditary. The headman receives a small fee for settling disputes. He is also given small presents at marriages, and on other occasions of importance. For instance, at the time of a marriage he generally gets Rs. 5.

*Cleanliness.*—It is incumbent that the body be washed three times during life, once at birth, again at marriage and the third and last time at death. Baths are only taken very rarely on occasions when crossing a stream on a hot day. The Naga apparently never makes it a habit of going for a bath. He washes his clothes on those rare occasions when he takes a bath.

Their over-lord is the Shingbuiyang Chief whose ancestors conquered them. They give

Over-lord him gifts generally once a year, a buffalo, a gun, or a gong.

They also assist at the building of a new house by the chief, or at a marriage, death ceremony, etc.

#### GASHAN NAGAS.

They and the Hkalak Nagas belong to the Rangpan Tribe.

*Customs and sacrifices.*—The same as the Hkalak Nagas. Subordinate to the Shingbuiyang Chief, assist at the clearing of the hill cultivation, building of new houses, at marriages, etc. Only when requested is the assistance given.

#### LAKAI NAGAS OR (Lokai Nagas) : see below.

They belong to the Haimi Tribe.

*Origin.*—They lived west of the Sangpan and east of the Namhpuk near Galawn, but twelve years ago came to the locality where they now are. Formerly, about six generations ago, they were known as *Hlangans*.

*Their religion, habits and customs* are the same as those of the Hkalak Nagas but for the following exceptions.

Separate houses are built by the young people in the village where the courting takes place. When an illegitimate child is born and the man fails to take the woman, he pays compensation according to the scale paid by the Kachins, approximately Rs. 60.

*Marriage.*—Headmen only are permitted to have two wives. This perquisite has come down to them from the time of their ancestors. The tribesmen are not allowed to have two wives.

*Headmen.*—They get small fees for trying cases, but do not receive any presents at marriages and other important functions in the clan.

*Offences.*—For the offence of theft from another's granary, no matter how small the quantity of paddy stolen, the scale fixed is Rs. 50, in addition a young boar must also be delivered to purify the owner's granary, which has become defiled by the intrusion of one, not a member of the household.



*Naming Ceremony.*—This is performed about a month after birth ; pigs and fowls are offered to the "nats." Only the families concerned are invited to be present.

*Taungyas.*—New ones are cut every year, and the old year's cultivation also worked for the second time.

Opium habit as with the other clans, both men and women, if consumers, indulge in the habit.

#### SANCHING NAGAS.

They came from the same locality as the Lakai Nagas, and their habits, customs and "nat" ceremonies are the same.

NOTE.—The four clans Hkalak, Gashan, Lakai and Sanching are gradually being merged into one tribe as they frequently inter-marry.

#### LAKAI NAGAS.

They are subordinate to Singbwi Yawng Hkum whose ancestors came across the Sangpan at their request and helped them to conquer their enemies. When the Kachins helped them they did not have any casualties although, when they went with the friendly Nagas to attack their enemies, they lost eight men. They gave the Shingbuiyang Chief a viss of rupees (Rs. 140) as dowry for a bride a few years ago.

*Boundaries.*—They have fixed boundaries for the village as well as for each household. One village cannot work the other's lands without express permission, in cases where this is done contrary to custom, a small fine is imposed, say Rs. 5 or a 5-span gong. Should a whole neighbouring village do so, the fine is a buffalo.

*Hunting Customs.*—No offence is committed by a neighbouring tribesman killing game within their limits. He has to divide the flesh with them. When an animal is only wounded and later surrounded and killed, the head is always given to the hunter who first kills it. These customs prevail in all villages in the locality.

*Origin.*—They have lived here (Longra or Lakai Ga) for ten generations. They used to live down the Namhpuk near Kuku and came up from there. Prior to that they cannot say from where their ancestors came.

Kushu Ga, the only Naga village situated low down in a valley seen on the tour, is of the same clan and consists of a few hamlets low down in the valley east of this village towards the Sangpan.

#### RANGPAN TRIBE.

#### TULIM NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They and the other Tulin villagers lived in the Hukawng Valley near Kantao, but about four generations ago they left the valley and came to their present site in the Hills.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Festivals.*—This "nat" ceremony is performed after the undergrowth in the *taungyas* has been cleared. It lasts three days ; only pigs and fowls are sacrificed ; their flesh is eaten and liquor drunk. There is no dancing. The ceremony is held for a good harvest.

*Kujung.*—This ceremony lasts for two days ; it takes place after the fields have been cut and before they are burnt. Pigs and fowls only are sacrificed and liquor drunk ; there is no dancing.

*Sa Hfang.*—It takes place before the paddy is sown. It lasts for two days, and those, who have, sacrifice pigs and fowls. There is no dancing.

*Kankong Ku.*—It takes place after the paddy has been sown and lasts for two days. Pigs and fowls only are sacrificed, and there is dancing. Liquor also is drunk.

*Pue Vi.*—It is held after the paddy has been harvested, and lasts for two days. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed and liquor drunk ; there is no dancing. Those, who have cattle, sacrifice them.

NOTE.—All the above sacrifices are communal and held by the whole village at the same time, even though the *taungyas* are cut in different places.

*Marriage.*—There is no ceremony. In the first instance the man sends agents to ask for the bride ; these persons carry with them opium and presents to the value of Rs. 30. If the girl's parents agree to the match, there is a feast the same night by which the betrothal is cemented. Later the man gives dowry for his bride, and she then comes to him and they live as man and wife. Should the girl's parents object to the man, then he loses all he had spent in sending agents to ask for her. Dowry is given unto the third generation. Polygamy is not practised. The collecting of widows is permitted but only by an unmarried relative of the deceased husband.

*Adultery.*—If discovered, the man is invariably killed. He can however get off by paying compensation, which amounts to about Rs. 500. When the lover pays compensation the man can take back his wife. When he kills the lover or no compensation is paid, he generally divorces her.

*Naming Ceremony.*—Four or five days after birth a feast is held and the child named.

*Courtship.*—In houses where there are maidens, there is generally a maiden's chamber. When a girl becomes pregnant, she has to leave the house and live elsewhere with her lover, who has to take care of her. In the event of her dying, he is obliged to arrange for her burial, and pays compensation amounting from two to three hundred rupees. Should she live he pays less compensation and has the custody of the child ; the woman returns to her parents. If he won't pay the compensation he can be seized and even killed. There are no bastard children in the village as they have all died. The mothers of such children are still living.



**Headman.**—The post is hereditary. At marriages in the village it is the custom to give the headman a present of money, and in return he assists at the marriage. It is also customary to assist the headman at the clearing, sowing, and reaping of his fields.

**Taungyas.**—These are only worked for one year. It is customary to clear inter-village roads.

**Burial of the Dead.**—The dead are buried under the houses, and after the corpse has been disposed of, there is a merry-making when such animals as are available in the family are killed. Animals sacrificed are buffaloes, pigs, etc. Liquor is drunk. People who die violent deaths, by accident, or at childbirth, are not buried but hidden away in the jungle and are at the mercy of the denizens of the forest.

They are subordinate to Shingbuiyang Nawngkhum and assist at marriages in the family, building of new houses, etc. At marriages Rs. 100 or a viss of rupees is generally given.

#### SANGTAI NAGAS.

**Origin.**—Very many years ago they lived down the Namhpuk Valley in the vicinity of Kuku and Kawlum, and have been living in their present locality for about five generations.

**Religion.**—They are animists.

**Festivals and Marriages.**—the same as the Tulum Nagas.

**Courtship, etc.**—There are separate houses for the young people. When a woman becomes pregnant she lives in the hut for the women, where her child is born. At birth of the child the man has to pay compensation amounting to Rs. 200, a *mithun*, and a gun. The custody of the child remains with the mother. In the event of her dying the man is frequently killed unless he pays very heavy compensation called in Kachin "Bawng Ja".

**Naming Ceremony.**—This takes place within a month after birth. Only fowls are sacrificed; it is said that if pigs are sacrificed the child dies.

**Nat Houses.**—There are none. "Nat" sacrifices are held at the establishing of new villages and the building of new houses. Such animals, etc., are sacrificed as can be afforded by the village or the individual.

**Headmen.**—The post when vacant goes to a brother or son. It is customary to assist the headman at the clearing, sowing and reaping of his fields, and also by giving him liquor and the flesh of animals at "nat" sacrifices.

**Taungyas.**—These are worked only once.

**Roads.**—It is customary for the whole village to clear the *taungya* road, but not inter-village roads.

**Death Customs.**—These are the same as those of the Tulum clan, with the exception that those who die by violence, accident and childbirth are buried in the jungle some distance from the village.

**Offences.**—For breaking into another's granary the compensation to be paid amounts to the value of a slave, i.e., Rs. 500. They declare that they are subordinate to Shingbuiyang Nawng Hku and have given him three slaves, a cow, etc. This was a very long time ago (his ancestors). They give necklaces, gongs, etc., when this chief demands these articles.

#### SAUKRANG NAGAS.

**Origin.**—They formerly lived near Kantao in the Hukawng Valley and from there worked their way to Hanyam Bum on the East of the Namhpuk Hka, somewhere south of Kawlum. From this hill they worked their way up to their present site, which they have occupied for the past five generations.

**Religion.**—They are animists.

**Festivals.**—Those held are the same as with the Tulum Clan.

**Marriage.**—Agents are sent to ask for the bride with twenty "rawngs" of opium. Of these twenty "rawngs," ten are used by the elders as their fee, and the other ten given to the bride's people. If they are not agreeable to the marriage, they have to return twenty "rawngs," i.e., double the amount they have received. Should the father of the woman be agreeable, then the same day the girl comes to the man's house. There is a feast when pigs and fowls are sacrificed. Wristlets are made from the tails of the pigs sacrificed and are worn by the couple in token that they are man and wife. No other ceremony takes place.

**Dowry.**—Should the bridegroom be able to afford it he gives Rs. 120 to his wife's people the same day, Rs. 100 to her parents and Rs. 20 to her cousins. Then later he gives another Rs. 50 and a 7-span gong. No other dowry is delivered, but should the man himself marry from another family, or one of his descendants take a woman from another family, other than the one his father has taken a woman from, he has to pay compensation amounting to Rs. 50.

**Widows.**—These are collected but only by unmarried relatives. If there be no one to collect her, she must remain single. For misconduct with an uncollected widow the compensation to be paid amounts to Rs. 100.

**Polygamy** is not practised.

**Adultery.**—When this offence is committed the man is always killed and the woman pardoned. Should the guilty couple elope they are followed, discovered, the man killed and the woman brought back by her husband, who pardons her and she continues to live with him. The man cannot get off by paying compensation.

**Naming Ceremony.**—This is held five days after a child is born, when pigs are killed and a feast held at which the child is named.

**Courtship.**—There are separate houses for the young people of the sexes where they meet and make love. When a young woman becomes pregnant she continues to live in this house and it is here that her child is born. Should she die at childbirth, or should he not take her to wife, he has to pay compensation. Should he take her to wife he pays the usual dowry for



her to the parents. Three months (or two) after the birth of such a child the woman is escorted back to her parent's home, and the child goes with her, unless the lover pays extra compensation for his child, when he gets custody of it.

*Nat House.*—There is none ; sacrifices are held at building of new houses and establishing of villages.

*Headmanship.*—The post is hereditary and when vacant goes to a son ; in the event of there being no sons the post goes to the nearest relative. When an animal is killed in the forest it is necessary to give the headman a leg. It is also customary to help the headman in clearing, sowing and reaping his fields ; on these occasions the headman treats the helpers to liquor.

*Death Customs.*—The dead are buried under the houses with the exception of those who die by violence, accident, or at childbirth when they are buried in the jungle. On the night of the burial there is a feast when a pig is sacrificed.

*Offences.*—For ordinary theft or for breaking into a granary the compensation to be paid is Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 according to the gravity of the theft.

*Roads.*—Only *taungya* roads are cleared, not inter-village roads.

*Boundaries.*—Like all villages there are defined boundaries. Each household has its own *taungya* lands ; to work another's is punishable with fine. The bounds of such lands are marked by petty streams, rocks, trees, etc.

They are subordinate to Shingbuiyang Nawng Hkum but have not given him any presents for two generations, the last time they gave this family a gift was in the time of the present chief's grandfather when a slave was given.

### Attacks to which Saukrang Village has been subjected by the Naga Tribes living on the west of the Namhpuk Hka.

#### HANGPAWN OF SAUKRANG GA (*Statement*).

Five years ago the Nahim tribesmen, who are Htangans and live across the Namhpuk Hka, killed four of our women when they went to sow the paddy. A year later the Gachun tribesmen, who belong to the Kuwa tribe, killed four men near the *taungyas* close to the Namhpuk Hka. The fourth man was only wounded and managed to escape from them but died in the jungle. We found him the next day when the *taungyas* were visited.

Three years ago the Nahim tribesmen came while we were all away in the *taungyas* and the village was undefended, except for a few braves. On this occasion they killed one brave, one old man, one old woman, and three children. About two hundred people came to attack the village, ten, however, came to the village, the remainder stayed down in the stream. This was in the day time. Two years ago they again attacked the village in the day time. The raiding party consisted of braves from the following villages : Nahin, Kyetsan ; Tamko, Langpan, Yangnaw, Gachun, Humkoo, Lingting, and Rawnghun. They were unable to enter the village and, while they were retiring, we followed and attacked them. At this time they killed four of our braves.

Last year when a party of men and women was returning from Galawn, where they had gone to purchase paddy, they were attacked by a raiding party from Nihku and one maiden was killed.

There is said to be no debt and that these attacks are perpetrated solely to destroy the Saukrang people. The tribesmen fear that they will be attacked because they have made the roads and welcomed Government. *One of the reasons given for attack is that a few years ago after the Saukrang people had returned from paying a visit to Assam, there was an outbreak of small-pox and they were blamed for bringing the epidemic to these hills.*

#### RANGPAN TRIBE.

##### SANGCHE NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They declare that they have been living in this locality for one generation only, having come from the area north of Tulin and west of the Sangpan. Cannot state from where they came prior to that. They were starving north of Tulin Ga.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Festivals and Nat Sacrifices.*—This is a communal feast which lasts for seven days, and may be attended by anyone who cares to do so. It is not necessary to be invited to it. There is feasting, but no dancing. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed, liquor drunk and opium consumed. After this, fields are reaped.

*Mye.*—This also is a communal feast which lasts for two days. It is held after the whole village has sown the paddy. No animals are sacrificed ; only liquor is drunk. At night the young people dance.

*Samya Taw.*—This lasts for three days and is held during the rains just prior to the grain forming in the paddy plants. Pigs and cattle are sacrificed, if obtainable. There is a feast but no dancing.

**NOTE.**—These festivals are held in order that the harvest may be plentiful.

Three generations ago they held the Wang Yang Pwe but they do not hold it now.

*Marriage.*—There is no marriage ceremony ; an agent is sent for the bride and, should she and her parents be agreeable to the union, she then comes to the man's house. A feast is held at which pigs and fowls are sacrificed. From the hairs of the tails of the pigs killed a wristlet is woven which is worn by the woman. It is not essential to wear the wristlet throughout life and it is discarded once it breaks.



*Dowry.*—This consists of five kinds as follows and is given after the union of the couple :—A buffalo, a gun or Rs. 100, and three gongs. Later in life should there be female children, when they are given in marriage, part of the dowry, given for them, has to be given to the woman's parents.

*Polygamy.*—This is not practised and the collection of widows is permitted only by an unmarried relative.

*Divorce.*—This is permitted in cases where the parties do not love each other, and for the offence of adultery. When a man divorces his wife the dowry he has given for her has to be returned to him. When the wife divorces the husband he loses the dowry. This is the case when adultery takes place. The erring one is thus punished.

*Misconduct with an Uncollected Widow.*—This is punishable by the payment of compensation amounting to the dowry which has been given for her *plus* one extra kind.

*Misconduct with a Married Woman.*—This is punishable by the payment of compensation amounting to seven kinds.

*Naming Ceremony.*—For sons three months after birth. For daughters two months after birth. The child's head is shaved or shorn. A feast is held at which pigs and fowls are sacrificed.

*Courtship.*—In big villages there are separate houses for the young people of both sexes. When a woman becomes pregnant, the man either takes her to wife, or he pays her Rs. 30 to cleanse her body before she returns to her parents' home. Her child is born in the hut and she is cared for by her lover. When the man does not marry the woman he has no claim on the child, which goes with its mother. In such cases when the couple meet, they look the other way and take no notice of each other.

*Nat Houses.*—There are none. No "nat" sacrifices are held, either at the building of new houses or the establishing of new villages. Village sites are moved to suit the lands being cultivated.

*Taungyas.*—These are cultivated twice only if the lands are good, otherwise a fresh *taungya* is cut yearly.

*Headship.*—The post is hereditary and goes either to a son or a near relative. No assistance is rendered to the headman at any time, but when he tries cases he receives a small fee; for instance, should he fine a person Rs. 10 he receives Rs. 2. Elders are selected by the parties.

*Offences.*—For breaking into a granary or other offence the punishment is awarded according to the discerning powers of the offender. For instance a child is not punished so heavily as one of maturer years.

*Death Customs.*—Corpses are kept for three days and then buried under the houses. The night of the burial there is a feast, when buffaloes, pigs, etc., are killed according to the wealth of the deceased. People who died by violence, accident, or women at childbirth, are buried at once in the jungle and the feast held.

*Roads.*—No customs prevail regarding the maintaining of inter-village roads, only roads to the *taungyas* are cleared.

*Boundaries.*—There are none. Should others come and work lands in their immediate neighbourhood they are stopped if seen, but should they have sown their paddy before discovery, no action is taken. No action is taken against tribesmen, who are not members of the tribe, hunting in the neighbourhood of their villages.

They are subordinate to the Shingbuiyang Nawng Hkum whom they refer to as their Mong Du. The family helped their ancestors to overcome their old enemies the Htangan, and since then have become their overlords. At S. H. Hkum's marriage they gave him Rs. 300.

#### LANGSHIN NAGAS.

*Origin.*—A generation ago they lived in the upper reaches of the Namhpuk Hka, and then moved to their present sites. They cannot state where their ancestors lived.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Festivals.*—These are the same as those of the Sangche Nagas; all are held for the good of the crops.

*Marriage.*—There is no ceremony. An agent with an escort is sent to ask for the bride. The agent is given Rs. 5 and each member of the escort Re. 1 or Rs. 2. Dowry is given once only for brides and consists as follows :—One 8-span gong, one 7-span gong, one buffalo and three pigs. Small sums in lieu of presents are also given to each of the bride's cousins (female), should she have any. A wristlet woven from the tail hairs of the pig sacrificed is worn by the bride.

*Polygamy.*—This is not practised. The collection of widows is permitted but only by an unmarried relative.

*Divorce.*—This is permitted and custom as to the return of dowry is the same as the Sanche Nagas.

*Adultery.*—The compensation to be delivered amounts to a cow or a buffalo. Misconduct with an uncollected widow is not considered an offence. For raping her the man has to pay compensation according to the gravity of the offence; there is no fixed scale.

*Naming Ceremony.*—There is no fixed period, the infant's head is shaved and a small feast held when fowls are killed. The infant is then named.

*The following customs are the same as the Sangche Nagas—*

Regarding huts for the young people.

Illegitimate children

New houses and villages.

Appointment of headmen.

Death customs.

Clearing roads.

Boundaries.

Hunting.



*Headman.*—Should the headman ask for assistance to clear his fields, etc., he is helped. There is no fee for trying cases, but should the headman act as go-between he receives the same as any other go-between.

*Taungyas.*—If the lands are good they are cultivated a second year, otherwise a fresh *taungya* is cut.

They state that they are subordinate to S. N. Hkum but have given him no gifts; the last time they gave a gift was Rs. 20 (twenty) to his father. Subordinate to him on account of help given their ancestors to overcome their enemies.

#### MAWSHANG NAGAS.

*Origin.*—Formerly they lived about three marches from Ngalang Ga at the headwaters of Namhpuk Hka, which area they left on account of the lands being worked out. They have been living on their present sites since the time of their fathers.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Festivals.*—Three are held for the success of the crops; these are not properly observed and sometimes no animals are offered. The first takes place when the paddy fields are burnt, the second when the fields are sown, and the third when the paddy is eaten. The first and third last for one day only. The second lasts for three days and on the three nights the young people dance for a short time only. When a man has become wealthy he holds a feast at which buffaloes, etc., are sacrificed. He holds this feast to give his relatives and connections a good time.

*Marriage.*—An agent is always sent to ask for the bride. Should he bring back a favourable reply on his return, the man's parents and relatives go and bring the woman, when a feast is held, at which pigs are sacrificed and liquor drunk.

*Dowry.*—If this is given at one time, it amounts to a buffalo, an 8-span gong, a 7-span gong, a 6-span gong, and three old gongs. In addition the sum of Rs. 30 has to be given to the uncles and aunts of the bride from her mother's side. After the marriage the young couple do not live as man and wife at once, and it may be months before they sleep together although they may live for this period under the same roof. Should the woman not care for the man and have another lover, the lover can marry her provided he gives the dowry which the husband has given, *plus* one extra kind. Dowry according to the above scale, if not given at once, can be spread over a period of years even unto the second generation.

*Divorce.*—This is permitted. For the offence of adultery the man is beaten and has to pay very heavy damages. It is declared that compensation to be paid is so much that this offence is never committed. Men are afraid to misconduct themselves with another's wife. The woman is not punished.

*Polygamy.*—This is not allowed. The collection of widows by a near relative is permitted, but only unmarried relatives. Misconduct with a widow, provided the man enters and lives with her and looks after her children, is not a serious offence, and he is not heavily fined, but, should he not do so, he often has to pay compensation amounting to the dowry which has been given for her.

*Courtship.*—There are no customs of maiden's huts and no free love is permitted between the sexes prior to marriage. When such love takes place and a child is the outcome, the man either takes the woman to wife or he pays compensation amounting to Rs. 50. He then has no claim on the child which goes with its mother. When such a woman is given in marriage, the child does not go with her to her new home, as her husband has no claim on the child which remains with her uncles and aunts.

*Nat Houses.*—There are no proper "nat" houses. A small sacrifice is held and liquor drunk at the building of new houses but not at the establishing of new villages. Villages are moved to suit the lands being cultivated.

*Taungyas.*—If the lands are fertile they are cultivated two years in succession, otherwise they cultivate a new area every year.

*Headmanship.*—This is hereditary, no assistance is rendered to the headman at any time, unless he feeds those assisting him in his fields, etc.

*Offences.*—Theft the same as with Mawrang Nagas. For raping a married woman, the compensation to be delivered amounts to the dowry which has been given for her. For raping an unmarried woman one has to pay Rs. 30.

*Death Customs.*—Only those who die of epidemics are buried under the houses. Those who die ordinary deaths are cremated in front of the houses and those who die by violence or accident or childbirth are burnt in the jungle. Corpses are cremated on the day following death; in cases of epidemics they are buried at once as these tribesmen have sense enough to know that by keeping the corpse there is a likelihood of the epidemic spreading. A feast is held on the night that the corpse has been disposed of.

*Purification of Houses.*—When a woman dies at childbirth the head of the tailless monkey Ningrao is used to purify the house, and many guns fired to drive away the evil spirit.

*Boundaries, Fishing, Hunting.*—There are no customs.

*Taungyas.*—*Taungya* roads only are cleared. *Taungyas* are cut in one place if the land is good; if not, the individuals please themselves.

Subordinate to Shingbuiyang Nawng Hkum, have given similar presents as the others, and reasons for becoming subordinate to his family the same.

#### MAWRANG NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They have been living on their present sites for about one generation. They lived about four marches southwards in the upper reaches of the Namhpuk and left that area, as their lands were worked out. Their old sites are now occupied by the Htangans.

*Religion.*—They are animists.



*Festivals and Nat Sacrifices.*—This is held when the paddy is about a foot high. It lasts

*Sam We.*

two days; there is feasting and drinking but no dancing. Pigs and fowls are chiefly sacrificed, but those, who can afford it, kill cattle. The "nat" sacrifices are to the land spirit for the good of the crops (N'Ga nat Hpe ya).

*Yang H'paw.*—It is held the day before the paddy is sown and lasts one day only. There is no dancing; pigs, fowls, and cattle are sacrificed by those who can afford them. This sacrifice is also for the welfare of the crops.

*Saling Kawk.*—This is held after the paddy has been reaped and lasts two days. There is no dancing, but the people sing. Pigs, fowls and cattle are sacrificed. It is the thank-offering for the harvest.

*Mul.*—This is held after the paddy is sown. No animals are sacrificed. Lots of liquor is drunk, and many are said to get drunk.

*Marriage.*—Agents are always sent to ask for brides even if the man is marrying into a family from which none of his ancestors have taken brides. Dowry is paid throughout life, and in cases when the man is poor goes on unto the third generation. In such cases the man makes over a daughter to his wife's people and they give her in marriage and accept the dowry which is given for her and which really ought to go to the father of the girl, but which he loses since he has not been able to deliver sufficient dowry for her mother. It is said that women are valuable (Numsha Gaw Reng Ai Bawk Re).

*Polygamy.*—This is not permissible, chiefly because no one is wealthy enough to deliver dowry for two women.

*Divorce.*—This is not permitted.

*Adultery.*—This is punishable by the payment of compensation which is very heavy:—approximately, a buffalo, a gun, and 7 or 8 gongs. To rape a married woman is a very serious offence and compensation to be delivered is a buffalo, Rs. 100, cattle, etc. The husband beats the offender and, declaring that as he has ruined his home and that he also will ruin the other, he cuts his house with a dah (N'Ta Sat Kan Ai). It is permitted to collect widows but only by unmarried relatives. A small amount has to be paid as compensation for misconduct with an uncollected widow. If there is no one to collect her, then her relatives can come forward and give her in marriage elsewhere and accept dowry for her, or any man may enter and live with her. It is not considered an offence to do so.

*Naming Ceremonies of Infants.*—For girls, this takes place within the month following birth, for sons, in the following month. The heads of the infants are shaved and the name is always given by an elderly male relative, such as a grandfather, uncle, etc. A feast is held at which are sacrificed what the parents can afford. Poor people do not have a feast; they simply name the child.

*Courtship.*—There are no separate houses for the young people, who do not have any sexual intercourse before marriage. It is considered a very shameful thing to have an illegitimate child; the mother generally neglects it and it dies. When an illegitimate child is born the man has to pay compensation ranging from Rs. 50 to Rs. 60. (Houses for the unmarried were seen at Ngalang Ga, and I fear that all that is stated above has been grossly exaggerated.)

Villages are moved to suit *taungyas*, but not so frequently as the Pyengoo villages. They look more stable. "Nat" sacrifices are performed at the establishing of new villages and building of new houses.

*Nat Houses.*—These exist.

*Headmanship.*—This is not hereditary and goes to the most suitable man in the village when a vacancy occurs. It is not customary to assist the village headman with his fields, but should he feed the people on the days he requires help they turn out and work for him.

*Death Customs.*—These are same as with the Sangche Nagas, with the exception that the corpse is buried as soon as possible after death takes place.

*Offences.*—Theft is punishable according to the gravity of the offence. In some cases the thief may receive only a warning not to steal in future, in others he may be beaten, and yet in others he may have to pay compensation amounting to as much as a buffalo.

*Boundaries, Hunting, Fishing, etc.*—These are the same as with the Sangche Nagas.

*Taungyas.*—These may be worked for three years if the land is good. Generally, they are only worked for one year. It is not necessary for the village *taungyas* to be cut in one place. Each person cuts where he pleases.

*Roads.*—Only roads to *taungyas* are maintained, and not those between villages.

*Opium Habit.*—Like all the other Nagas, both men and women are addicted to this drug. They also are subordinate to S.N. Hkum, whose family helped their ancestors to overcome their enemies. From the time of the present Chief's grandfather they have given them gifts. They have given the present chief Rs. 140, a viss of rupees.

#### MYIMU NAGAS.

*Origin.*—They have been living in the present locality for one generation only. They left the lands west of the Namhpuk because they had no lands to work.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*The following customs are the same as those of the Sangche Nagas—*

*Festivals.*

*Dowry.*

*Divorce.*

*Punishment for misconduct when married.*

*Naming ceremony.*

*Unmarried people.*

*Headman, trying of cases.*

*Burial of the dead.*

*Cutting of Taungyas.*

*Polygamy.*—This is permitted. Even married men collect a relative's widow.



*Nat Sacrifices.*—These are held at the building of new houses and the establishing of new villages. Cattle, pigs and fowls are sacrificed according to the wealth of the village or the individual holding the sacrifice.

#### LONGRI NAGAS.

*Origin.*—There are three villages belonging to this clan living on the further side of the Patkoi Range in Assam. They have occupied their present site for from 10 to 20 generations. Formerly they lived in the Hukawng Valley and from there gradually worked their way up the Tarung Hka, the main tributary of the Tanai, and thence downwards to the side they now occupy.

*Religion.*—They are like the other animists.

*Festivals and Nat Ceremonies.*—The following are held and it is said all are for the welfare of the crops :—

*Ya Bin.*—Held before the *laungya* has been cleared and lasts for two days. Fowls only are sacrificed and liquor drunk.

*Koi Yawng.*—Held a day after the *laungyas* have been cleared and lasts a full month. No work is done throughout this period. Each house sacrifices separately, each sacrifice lasts a day. The next day is devoted to rest. Pigs and fowls are sacrificed, and liquor drunk. There is dancing on each night that a sacrifice is held, that is, every alternative night.

*Sa H pang.*—Held a day before the paddy is sown. Lasts for two days and pigs and fowls are sacrificed.

*Moi Pwe.*—Held after all the paddy has been sown and lasts for five nights. On all these nights there is dancing. At this "nat" ceremony only pigs are sacrificed.

*Marriage Customs.*—On the day the woman is asked in marriage the man has to give 20 "rawngs" of opium. Should his request be granted, a feast is held, at which a pig is sacrificed. The hairs of the tail are woven into bracelets and are worn by the couple on their left hands as symbolical that they are man and wife. They live together after this. On the night of the marriage Rs. 20 is given to the bride's people; the dowry which has to be given at this time is of two kinds, Rs. 200 and a buffalo. Later, dowry is given at the birth of each child, one present, or one kind, unto the third generation.

*Widows.*—They are collected only by relatives of the deceased husband; where none such exists, the widow remains single. Misconduct with a widow is punishable by the payment of compensation amounting to the amount of dowry which had been given for her.

*Courtship.*—There are separate houses in the village for the sexes. Each sex visits the other in the house so set apart, but love-making only takes place in the house built for the females. On a woman becoming pregnant the man has to marry her and pay the usual dowry. Should she die at childbirth, the man has to pay very heavy compensation, as the woman's people accuse him of having obtained their daughter by deceit or craft. They immediately visit him with a force to kill him, and to escape death, he has to give them a present of Rs. 20 or an 8-span gong, and give them assurances that he will follow the custom by giving the full compensation.

*Adultery.*—This is punishable by the payment of very heavy compensation which, if not paid, results in the man being killed, and the woman divorced.

*Naming Ceremony.*—Ten days after the birth of the child there is a naming ceremony, when a feast is held, the child named, and a present given as dowry by the father to his wife's people.

*Nat House.*—There is none. "Nat" sacrifices are held at the establishing of new villages and the building of new houses. At these sacrifices such animals are sacrificed, as the individual or village can afford; cows, buffaloes, pigs, fowls, etc.

*Headmanship.*—This goes at death to a younger brother, but where none exists, to the headman's son. The headman generally gives the tribesmen liquor when they assist him to cut, sow and reap his fields. He also receives a fee such as a piglet or opium for trying cases.

*Theft.*—Theft from another's granary is punishable by the payment of compensation amounting to Rs. 100 or more, according to the status of the person owning the granary. According to the same scale a pig or a buffalo is to be given for sacrifice to purify the granary which has been contaminated by the intrusion of a person not a member of the household. Ordinary theft is punishable according to the decision of the elders trying the case.

*Death.*—The disposal of the dead is the same as with the Tulum with the following exception; women who die at childbirth, and their infants if dying at the same time, are buried together under the house—apparently the only persons who are buried under the houses.

#### TRANS-NAMHPUK NAGAS.

*KUWA TRIBE OF NAGAS.*—The following villages belong to this tribe :—Gahki, Gahkun, Bongtai, Gaman, Gala, Nukpa and Gahuk.

*Religion.*—They are animists.

*Influence over them by Kachins and other Naga Chiefs.*—They declare that they were assisted to overcome their enemies by Shinbuiyang's father, and that since then some of them are subordinate to his family as well as to the Tulum and Longri Nagas. They appear, however, to have broken away from most of these ties and some declare that they are independent and no longer subordinate to these other tribesmen (Kachins and Nagas). Shingbuiyang does not wish to exercise any sway over them as he states that they live much too far away and will not carry out his orders.

*Dowry.*—This is given once only for the bride.

*Polygamy.*—This is practised and even married men collect the widows of deceased relatives.



*Dead.*—The dead are buried under the houses.

*Taungyas.*—These are cut in one place. This is very probably done for safety, since there are enemies all round. The same "nat" ceremonies and feasts are held as those of the Tulum Tribesmen.

**RANGPAN TRIBE OF NAGAS.**—The headmen from the following villages came across to pay their respects :—Dongai, Maitai and Gawchung.

All these villagers are animists. Gawchung declare that they came from the Hukawng Valley and that their habits and customs are identical with those of the Hkalak Nagas. They declare they are subordinate to S.N. Hkum who says that they do not carry out his orders and so he does not wish to rule them.

**HTANGAN NAGAS.**—Headmen from the following villages came in to see me :—Sangri and Lumnu.

They are animists.

At Sangri they have blood-feuds with the Galawn and Gapawn tribesmen ; from both these villages they have killed six men each and have lost one man to each village, a strange coincidence and very probably a lie endeavouring to make out that they are superior men to the Galawn and Gapawn people.

**HAIMI NAGAS.**—Only tribesmen from Gaha or Hahang came across. They declare that there is another village called Cherang, or Sherung.

### THE NAGA TRIBES, SUB-TRIBES AND VILLAGES.

TRIBES.	SUB-TRIBES.	VILLAGES.
<i>East of the Namhpuk Hka.</i>		
Pyengoo	... Wangoo	... Lapyep, Ritu, Ngakun.
	Leinsi	... Pangaw.
Haimi	... Pangaw	... Shirang.
	Rasa	... Janhtang, Ngalang, Tektu, Hakon, Wakshang, Angsein.
	Kumga	... Kum Ga.
	Kawlum	... Kawlum, Kama, Bumbasu, Chipa, Longan.
	Punlum	... Punlum Ga.
	Kuku	... Kuku.
	Wanga	... Tara Zup, Tamat, Tara Ga.
	Galawn	... Katawng, Lari, Somra.
	Ranu	... Ranu.
	Risa	... Sela Nok, Loilum Nok, Lungkawng Nok.
	Rangsa	... Gagaw. Nawsing, Sanglum Dung, Gunshu.
	Ranghku	... Samtik, Wahku, Sumri, Timung or Ranghku, Hsamshu, Sumri (west Sangpan).
	Hkangchu	... Lingnuk. Nok, Chiwawt.
	Longhkai	... Chammi, Lomrang.
	Lakai or Lokai	... Lahku, Longra.
	Sanching	... Sanching or Sanra.
Rangpan	... Mawshang	... Kaichu, Pantsun, Ritu, Langhpi, Maihtawng, Ngalang, Nawng, Laza.
	Sangche	... Tagap, Hashang, Yure, Hpaket, Sharakawng, Hkumpitu, Hkahtang, Nathkaw, Lungkan, Changrang.
	Langshin	... Tarung, Talik, Pyebuk, Langshin, Tagap, Rehkao.
	Myimu	... Htamyung. Yawngyit.
	Hkalak	... Hkalak, Gawchung.
	Gashan	... Sanhtang.
	Tulim	... Tulim, Hkamkhio or Hkamhkaw, Manpe, Longtang or Lungkan, Tulim on the Pathkoi Range.
	Longri	... Longri Ga.
	Sangtai	... Sanka.
	Saukrang	... Saukrang.
	Mawrang	... Kumpa, Chanrang, Ngalang, Namlip, Kaiche, Namlip Hku, Lungtang, Tagung.
Htangan	... Macham and Htanghkaw.	Htangkaw. Some live at Kuku.
<i>West of the Namhpuk Hka.</i>		
Haimi	...	Ranchi, Chawang (old and new) Mihku Hahang or Gaha, Sherung.
	...	Samse.
Htangan	...	Sangri Lumnu.
Rangpan	...	Dongai, Maitai, Sanri.
	...	Dongai, Maitai, Sanri.
Ku Wa	...	Gahki, Gahkun, Bongtai, Gaman, Gala, Nukpa.



## APPENDIX F.

### Note on the Peoples of Burma in the 12th—13th Century A.D.

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(The references are numbered serially and are given at the end of this Note.)

The information contained in this note is mostly obtained from the original inscriptions of the Pagan dynasty, numbering in all over three hundred.<sup>1</sup> In some cases it has been possible to collate it with contemporary Chinese sources,<sup>2</sup> but not all the frontier tribes mentioned by the latter have been considered since this would carry the discussion too far afield. It appears safest, to begin with, to consider old Burma as seen from within, *i.e.* in the early Mon and Burmese inscriptions. The information gleaned is of course stray and incidental, not always proportionate to the importance of the people concerned; thus the Burmese and Mon writers of the inscriptions say more of others than of themselves. But even this scanty and scattered information seems worth collecting. How far the old terms are used in a racial or a linguistic sense, is a moot point.

1. **MRANMĀ**, *i.e.* the Burmans.—The word is always written with an *-n* in old Burmese, but the spelling **mrānīmā** appears at least as early as 1342 A.D.<sup>3</sup> In Burmese the word first occurs in 1190 A.D.<sup>4</sup> Ninety years earlier, in 1101-2 A.D., a Mon inscription<sup>5</sup> mentions them under the name *mirmā*, in connection with the building of Kyanzittha's palace: at the ceremonies held on this occasion there was *mirmā* (Burmese) singing, *rmēñ* (Mon) singing, and *tircul* (? Pyu) singing; there were present also Burmese and Mon experts in house-building, wearing loin-cloths (*sirpūñ*), white hairbands, white *kuchom* shirts, and other articles of clothing (*sukkhū cindrow* and *sukkhū ulār*) which are now difficult to explain. The Chinese word for Burma—*Mien*—does not appear till 1271 A.D.<sup>6</sup>; if this represents, as seems likely, the first syllable of *mrānīmā*, the *mr* in the latter word must already have been pronounced like *my*; if so, the *-ir* in the Old Mon form of the word is merely a Mon infix.

The phrase "land of the Burmans" (*mrānīmā prāñ*) occurs in one inscription, probably dated 1235.<sup>7</sup> The part they peopled was clearly central Burma, from about Sagu and Taung-dwingyi to the upper Mu valley and below Tagaung on the Irrawaddy. Including lands of conquest (*nuiññāñ*), Narapatisithu claimed in 1196 to rule eastwards beyond the Salween, westwards to Macchagiri and Patikkara, northwards to Takon (Tagaung) and Na-choñ-khyam (near Bhamo)<sup>8</sup>. In 1292 Na-choñ-tiwa is given as the boundary (? to the north) of Klawcwa's kingdom, Taluinsare and Tawai (Tenasserim and Tavoy) to the south, and possibly the Salween to the east<sup>9</sup>; this latter inscription registers a claim rather than a fact.

The first extant dated inscription written (partly) in Burmese is the Myazedi inscription of Pagan,<sup>10</sup> c. 1113 A.D., at the very beginning of Alaungsithu's reign. Previous kings of the dynasty used Pali, Sanskrit or Mon as the language of their records. Alaungsithu's main inscription, the Shwegugyi of 1131 A.D. is in Pali (and Sanskrit)<sup>11</sup>; but about six original inscriptions in Burmese may perhaps be ascribed to his reign.<sup>12</sup> The first king to use Burmese for his own inscriptions seems to be Narapatisithu, whose Cūlāmañi inscription (1183 A.D.) survives probably in copy,<sup>13</sup> and Dhammarājaka inscription (1196-8) in original<sup>14</sup>; over thirty other Burmese inscriptions may belong to his reign. During the remaining reigns they multiply, totalling altogether over 300 original inscriptions in Burmese down to 1300 A.D.

The word *mrānīmā* occurs in these applied to slaves dedicated to pagodas<sup>15</sup>; it is found contrasted with *kulā* (Indian) slaves at Pagan etc.,<sup>16</sup> and *cakraw* (? Karen) slaves at Sagu.<sup>17</sup> In 1198 Narapatisithu dedicated as many as 500 *mrānīmā* and 500 *kulā* slaves to the Dhammarājaka.<sup>18</sup> The Burmese slaves mentioned in other inscriptions<sup>19</sup> include musicians: *pañtyā*, who were women, and *cañ sañ*, drummers, who were men.

2. **PYU**.—The "Names of the Pyu" have been discussed on p. 90 of Vol. XXII (1932) of the *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, where most of the evidence relating to the Pagan period is given. The provisional conclusions are as follows:—(a) the old spelling in Burmese appears to be **pyū**<sup>20</sup> rather than **prā**<sup>21</sup>, (b) this, and the Chinese *p'iao*, represent the name applied to them by peoples to the north of Burma, the Burmans, Chinese and probably also Nan-chao, (c) they themselves, and the people south of them, the Mons and Javanese, employed a name like \**t'ulcul* (according to the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*)<sup>22</sup> or *tircul* (according to the Mon palace-inscription of Kyanzittha)<sup>23</sup>.

The Pyu people and language must have undergone rapid absorption or disappearance during the Pagan period. Not more than two inscriptions in the peculiar script and language deemed to be Pyu, seem to belong to it. It is true that there are three Pyu inscriptions now at Pagan. One of these, Stone 96 at the Pagan Museum, has been moved there from Halingyi in Shwebo district<sup>24</sup>; it belongs therefore, presumably, to the pre-Pagan period. Of the others, one (in duplicate) is the Myazedi, dated c. 1113 A.D. The other is Stone 3 at the Pagan Museum, with two faces, Chinese and Pyu respectively, both illegible. It is not certain that the two faces belong to the same date; but if they do, the date is likely to be between 1287 and 1298, when, following the capture of Pagan by Āsān-tāmūr, Mongol-Chinese influence was paramount at the Burmese capital. If so, the use of Pyu in preference to Burmese may perhaps be attributed to the Chinese love of learned archaism.



This also may explain the frequent use of the term in Chinese texts dealing with the Mongol conquest, especially with reference to places on the China frontier. *P'iao-tien*,<sup>25</sup> 'native district of the Pyu,' was a *chün-min-fu* on the direct route between Nan-tien and the 'Town at the Head of the River,' i.e. Koñcañ (Kaungsin) near Bhamo; it was the route followed by Prince Sängqüdär in the invasion of 1283-84; Huber identifies it with the "route along the right bank of the Nam-ti and Ta-ping, which goes to Bhamo by San-ta and Man-waing."<sup>26</sup> *P'iao-shan*,<sup>27</sup> in P'ing-mien Road, was perhaps further south; we are told that it submitted to the Mongols about 1260 A.D., and that it was inhabited by Pai-i or Shans. The *P'u-p'iao*, or *P'u* and *P'iao*,<sup>28</sup> were tribes on the Burma frontier west of Yung-ch'ang and the Mekong; they were overrun by Nāsir ed-Dīn's invasion of 1279 A.D., which got as far as the 'Town at the Head of the River'. In Jan. 1271 "chieftains of three tribes of the 'Gold Teeth' and P'iao kingdom, A-ni-fu-lo-ting and A-ni-chao, came to make their submission, and offered as tribute three tame elephants and nineteen horses"<sup>29</sup>; these P'iao were doubtless also on the frontier. Elsewhere, in the biography of Ch'ieh-lieh in the *Yüan-shih*,<sup>30</sup> the phrase 'P'iao kingdom' seems to mean Pagan.

The late Mr. Taw Sein Ko's derivation of the name *Pukam* (Pagan) from "Pugāma = the village of the Pu or Pyu tribe,"<sup>31</sup> though "irrefutably confirmed" according to Mr. Duroiselle "by the Bodh-Gaya inscription (1295 A.D.) in which the king is styled the *Pu-ta-thein-min* or the Chief of one hundred thousand Pu, that is, the Pyus",<sup>32</sup> seems questionable.

3. *ဝေဝ် SAK* and *KAMRAM*.—Among the oldest inhabitants of Burma the Chronicles mention, besides the Pyu, the *ဝေဝ် Kam-yañ* and the *Sak* (Thet). The word *ဝေဝ် kahrām* occurs once in a Pagan inscription<sup>33</sup> which speaks of the dedication of "128 Kamram slaves." The reading is clear, and the inscription (of which the obverse only has been published) looks original, but the dates in it are so wild that one has a certain hesitation in accepting its unsupported evidence. *Kahrām*, moreover, may be the name of a place rather than a people.

The Saks are still recorded in the present Census, under 'Language' as well as 'Race,' as surviving in small numbers in Akyab district. The name occurs half a dozen times in the Pagan inscriptions,<sup>34</sup> and there is no reason to doubt its ethnic sense. One of the three villages of slaves dedicated in the Myazedi inscription of c. 1113 A.D. is *Sak Munalon*. It is characteristic of the spelling of this inscription to write *lon* for *lwan*; so the village in question may safely be read "Munalwan of the Sak." The name *Munalwan* is not uncommon in the inscriptions,<sup>35</sup> but the place remains unidentified. In one case it seems to be described as "Munalwan down stream," sc. below Pagan; but the reading is scarcely legible at present. One of the peaks of Mt. Turañ (Tuywindaung) near Pagan was called, in the Pagan period<sup>36</sup> as now, Mt. *Sak-cuiw*, i.e. "ruling the Sak." A common old Burmese ministerial title was *Mahā-sak-thit*, which seems to mean "Terror of the Sak."<sup>37</sup>

4. *ဝေဝ် SAW* and *ဝေဝ် KANTŪ*.—The name *kantū* (= Kadu) is frequent in slave names in the inscriptions, from 1198 A.D.<sup>38</sup> onwards. The majority of the Kadus, as shown in the present Census, are to be found in Katha and Myitkyina districts; their language is classified in the Sak Group; but the difference in their totals under "Race" (36,400) and "Language" (20,305) shows that their language is gradually disappearing. It is probably yielding to Burmese. In the Pagan period they were further south, in the neighbourhood of Tagaung and the upper Mu; and it is probable that they were only gradually conquered by the Burmans in the course of the dynasty. The northernmost of the Burmese *kharuñ* (ဝေဝ်) was Toniplun (Taungbyongyi) in Mandalay district. Beyond this there were various *tuik* (ဝေဝ်) under Burmese control, especially along the Mu in Shwebo district. *Thipe' syañ*<sup>39</sup> (modern Tabayin, west of the Mu) was largely peopled, it appears, by *Saw Kantū*, or *Saw* and *Kantū*. In 1246 we read of "Saw Kantū headmen coming from the place Thipesyañ" to Pagan in connection with a sale of land. In Nātonmyā's reign Prince Rājasū made a dedication of land in the presence of certain Kantū, from whom it had presumably been bought.<sup>40</sup> Several of the Pagan royalty, including queen Phwā Jauw of Minwaing, had lengthy negotiations over purchase of Sāuw (= Saw) land with the Saw officials and *asañ* (athi); all these, whether Saw or Saw Kantū, had titles similar to those in use in the more Burmese parts of the country.<sup>41</sup>

But the centre of the Kadus was doubtless on the Irrawaddy round about Tagaung, the *Sañthway prañ* (Thindwè) of an old Burmese inscription<sup>42</sup>. In 1196, in the Dhammarājaka inscription<sup>43</sup>, King Narapatisithu claimed to rule as far as Takoñ (Tagaung) and Nā-choñ-khyam (Ngahsaungchan, near Bhamo) in the north. It is the first Burmese mention of the north of Burma, and it suggests that by this date the Kadus had, partially at least, submitted. Other inscriptions<sup>44</sup>, misdated and not original, give "Kantū Nā-nā-kri, the tract where fire burns on water" as the northern limit of Narapatisithu's kingdom. In 1228, according to an original inscription<sup>45</sup>, king Nāton Skhiñ (sc. Nātonmyā) gave his general Lakkhanā Lakway "a reward for bravery in fighting the Takoñ (Tagaung) war"; the war may have marked the final conquest of the Kadu. In 1236 the name Koñcañ (Kaungsin, near Bhamo)<sup>46</sup> first appears; thenceforward it was strongly held by Burmese *Mahāsaman* or governors, down to Dec. 9th, 1283<sup>47</sup> when the Mongols captured Koñcañ, including doubtless Nā-choñ-khyam *mruw* or fortress.

Thereafter we owe our fullest accounts of the Kadu to the *Yüan-shih*, where they are called *Chien-tu*.<sup>48</sup> After the fall of Kaungsin the Burmans still put up some resistance—not at Malè as the Chronicles state, but further north at Tagaung:—"all the rebel barbarians relied on Ta-kung town of the Chien-tu to resist our great army. Again he [sc. Yagantegin, the Mongol general] sent Buddhist monks to proclaim the consequences, good or evil (of their behaviour); but they were murdered. Thereupon he directed his army to advance both by water and land, and fought and stormed (the town). The Chien-tu, 'Gold teeth' etc., twelve towns in all, submitted. He ordered the general Ho-tai and wan-hu Pu-tu-man to garrison them with 5,000 troops." The capture of Tagaung doubtless occurred in Jan. 1284. On February 5th it is mentioned in the court-annals: after the capture of Kaungsin the Mongols "sent envoys to deliver a summons to the Burmese king, who made no reply. T'ai-kung town of the Chien-tu was their nest and hole; so we advanced both by water and land and attacked



T'ai-kung town and captured it. Therefore by this time all have submitted." All this part centering round Tagaung was thenceforth organised by the Mongols as a province of China, called Chêng-mien<sup>50</sup>, lit. "Expedition to Burma province"; it probably extended beyond Malè (Chinese *Ma-lai*) down to Ngasingu (Chinese *A-chên-ku* etc.) in the north of Mandalay district. One of the chief officials, Ch'ieh-la or Ch'ieh-lieh (the name is probably a transcription of *Kärät*, a Turkish tribe in S. Mongolia, Nestorian in religion), reported on July 27th, 1291 :—"Chien-tu land produces abundance of gold; a foundry might be set up, and the people of the neighbourhood ordered to refine the gold for payment to government. The Emperor approved." Chêng-mien province was formally abolished on April 4th, 1303, but much of it must have lapsed already to the three Shan Brothers after the retreat of the Mongols from the siege of Mraucūn (Myinzaing) in April 1301.

Of the slaves called *kantū* in the Burmese inscriptions, one "came from a Tagaung garden"<sup>51</sup>, one was an umbrella-maker<sup>52</sup>, one a maker of loin cloths<sup>53</sup>. King Klacwā's elephant, which he gave to the monk Mahākassapa, "came from Kantū."<sup>54</sup> The name also occurs in connection with places in central Burma. We read of "Kantū-sac (new Kadu) paddy-fields in Mlacsā" (Myittha, i.e. Kyauksè district),<sup>55</sup> and again of "Mapancara Kantū paddy-fields" north of Minbu<sup>56</sup>. "Kantū-hoñ (old Kadu) paddy-fields and slaves" are mentioned, the names of the latter being Burmese in appearance<sup>57</sup>. In 1207 Nātonmyā made a large dedication of land bounded on the south by the Nhamphai river, on the east by the land of Kantū-Pyū Hill, on the north by Nāmsā *tuik*.<sup>58</sup> Kantū, and Kantū village, occur elsewhere also as place-names<sup>59</sup>.

5. *ၵၵ KHYAÑ* and *ဝေ YAW*.—The word *Khyañ* (Chin), without 'tonal' marks, has several senses in Old Burmese, and it is not easy to say if one of these is ethnic. *Khyañtwañ* and *Khlaitwañ* (Chindwin), however, occurs more than once<sup>60</sup>, in a geographical sense, with reference to the valley perhaps rather than the river. *Yaw*, and *Yaw-ñ* ("entering-in of Yaw")<sup>61</sup>, are similarly used, in a geographical, perhaps, rather than an ethnic sense.

6. *RAKHUIN*.—Arakan or Arakanese. In spite of the accounts given in Burmese Chronicles about Alaungsithu's conquest of Arakan—the earliest evidences of which appear to be the late 15th cent. "Yakhaing minthami echin" of the Arakanese poet Aduminnyo<sup>62</sup>, and a few non-original inscriptions<sup>63</sup>—there is very little mention of Arakan in old Burmese. The name occurs from an early date in slave-names<sup>64</sup>. In 1299 A.D. we read of slaves dedicated at Pagan by a *rakhuin sū* Nā Pok Sañ, and of an Indian slave dedicated by a *rakhuin* Lakyāphrac, the latter presumably a minister.<sup>65</sup> The earliest Burmese inscriptions of Arakan seem to be later than the fall of Pagan.<sup>66</sup>

7. *CAKRAW*.—It is tempting to identify this name with the modern Sgaw (Karen). It has even been suggested that the ominous words *ငါးမော့* which, according to the Chronicles, heralded the fall of Śrīkṣetra,<sup>67</sup> refer to an invasion by the Cakraw or Sgaw. However this may be, the Cakraw of the inscriptions were found much further north than the Karens to-day; they were south of the Mranmā, apparently along the Irrawaddy from Sagu (Minbu district) southwards. In a dedication of 1242 A.D., after a list of 25 "Mranmā slaves from Caku" (Sagu), comes a list of 31 "Cakraw slaves from Caku"; their names are quite Burmese, and the list includes four masons (*ṣuran*).<sup>68</sup> Several inscriptions mention the "Cakraw island to the west of Prañ" (Prome).<sup>69</sup> In a later inscription recording a dedication at Calāñ (Salin) in 1353 A.D., there are mentions of a Cakraw canal (*mroñ*), a Cakraw deserted village (*rwā chuiw*) etc., probably in the neighbourhood.<sup>70</sup> It looks as if the Mranmā, in the early days of Pagan, may have ousted the Cakraw from the rich Salin-Lēgaing-Sagu area, the "Six Kharuin" of the inscriptions,<sup>71</sup> and pushed them south.

Another inscription<sup>72</sup> refers to some land in Santōñ (Thindaung) *kharuin* north of Kyauksè which was dedicated in 1244 A.D. to Mahākassapa :—"the Cakraw on garrison duty a Chiptōñ claimed this rain-land as their own. Thereupon the two chief ministers Caturāṅkapuil and Acalapharac, brought with them all the *kalan* and *samṣyañ* of the Cakraw garrisoning Chiptōñ and came into the presence of the reverend Mahākassapa at his monastery. Investigation was made and the case tried, and the Cakraw garrisoning Chiptōñ lost the case and Mahākassapa won it." Chiptōñ was presumably an outpost on the foothills overlooking the north of Kyauksè district. The passage shews that the Cakraw were enlisted by the Burmans for military service, far away, presumably, from their original home; and also that they had their own officials, yet these named according to the Burmese system.

8. *TONSŪ*.—Literally a "hill-person," this word in modern Burmese means either a farmer or a Taungthu, the latter a people speaking a language akin to Pwo Karen. The word is pure Burmese; and it was almost certainly used in an ethnic sense in the Pagan inscriptions, even as today, though perhaps more vaguely. It occurs frequently in slave-names, prefixed as well as suffixed. In one inscription we find "Nā Kantū, Nā Cakraw, Nā Tōñsū"—three ethnic terms one after the other. The earliest mention of the name is in 1165 A.D. There is very little evidence by which to locate them.

9. *RMEÑ* or Mon.—The former is the Old Mon form of the word, from which, as Dr. Blagden says, "the modern form *Mon* is (through the medieval *Rman*) quite regularly derived."<sup>73</sup> One may safely postulate, though it does not occur, an alternative Old Mon form \**rmāñ*, from which the Pali name for the country of the Mons, *Rāmaññadesa*, found in the Kalyāṇi inscription (1476 A.D.),<sup>74</sup> has been formed. The Old Mon form *rmeñ* occurs four times in Kyanziththa's palace-inscription<sup>75</sup>; the passages have been summarised above, under *Mranmā*. At least a hundred and twenty six *Rmeñ*, including sons of chiefs, were present on this occasion, taking active part in the ceremonies.

The Burmese Chronicles plainly imply that Anorathā and Shin Arahan brought pure Buddhism from Thaton. This view is difficult to reconcile with the evidence of this inscription, which shews a mixed ceremonial proceeding under the very eye of the *mahāthera* Arahan. There was certainly recitation of the Buddhist *saraṇasīla* and quasi-Buddhist *ṣaritta*. But *Nār* (Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇu) is worshipped a dozen times in the course of the proceedings, and the Nāgas and Indra at least once. Shin Arahan himself holds a conch, the symbol of Viṣṇu, while he recites Buddhist prayers. Kyanziththa claims to be a



reincarnation of Viṣṇu, and makes the Buddha prophesy as much. Gavampati, the so-called patron saint of the Mons, is frequently referred to, sometimes as "my son" by the Buddha<sup>76</sup>; his statue is placed beside that of the Buddha; Anorathā is said to have carved an image of him<sup>77</sup>; but he is really a pre-Buddhist Shaivite deity, the "lord of oxen," and perhaps a god of drought and wind.<sup>78</sup> In the Nanpaya of the captured Mon king Manuha, the chief sculptures left are those of Brahma. Almost next door to Kyanzitha's palace, stands to this day a temple of Viṣṇu, the Nat-hlaung-kyaung. Shaiva symbols and statues, though found at Pagan, are rare compared with Vaishnava; but the trident is still to be seen on the old glazed plaques at the Shwezayan pagoda at Thaton. Dr. Blagden's words on the palace-inscription are worth repeating:—"The great importance attached to the Brahmans, and the syncretism which is involved by their co-operating in harmony with Buddhist monks in the ceremonies here described, may be considered worthy of notice, though the phenomenon is in no way singular, being in fact characteristically normal in Siam and Camboja to this day. It seems probable that these Brahmans were Vaishnava and it would appear that some of them came from the Mon country. It is, at any rate, quite certain that Mon notables took a fair share in the transactions connected with the building of the palace alongside of the Burmese ones; and it is clear that, though members of a conquered race, they had a recognized status and were by no means merely hewers of wood and drawers of water."<sup>79</sup>

Of the eleven Old Mon inscriptions so far edited in *Epigraphia Birmanica*, nine at least belong to the reign of Kyanzitha (c. 1084—1113 A.D.). A number of Pagan temples (*kā*), of distinctive shape and fresco-colouring, with short ink inscriptions in Mon as yet unedited, can also probably be attributed to this reign, or one of the early reigns of the dynasty.<sup>80</sup> The majority are near Myinpagan. Kyanzitha's finest temple, the Ānanda, has a long series of glazed plaques with Old Mon legends, still partly unedited.<sup>81</sup> It is evident that this king, probably in an attempt to restore the unity of Burma after the troubles following the death of Anorathā, made special, and indeed unique, efforts to impress and conciliate the Mons. All his extant inscriptions are in Mon, and they were set up not merely at Pagan, but also at Prome and probably other places in Lower Burma. At Tavoy plaques have been discovered with Old Mon writing, undated, offered by "the *sambeñ* Anantajeyyabhikrān who holds Dawāy, subject to king Sri Tribhovanādityadhammarāc"<sup>82</sup>—a king difficult to identify, but obviously a king of Pagan. Another Mon inscription,<sup>83</sup> belonging probably to one of the later reigns, is found at Kyauksè, set up by a *mahāthera* when he "came to dwell at Klok-Sayon," two old villages in the neighbourhood,<sup>84</sup> and built a *baddhasīma* after "informing the *mahāthera* of Bukām and the king there." Finally a two-faced inscription, Stone 68 at the Pagan Museum, still remains to be edited in *Epigraphia Birmanica*; it is undated, and consists of a list of slaves dedicated, perhaps, in the latter half of the dynasty.

The language of these inscriptions is intermediate between that of the oldest Mon inscriptions, of Siam (the octagonal pillar of San Sung, Lopburi, on the lower Menam), which may belong to the 7th—8th century, and the 15th century Mon inscriptions of Lower Burma. Though older in type, it approximates fairly closely to the language of the seven Mon inscriptions of Lamphun (Haribhūñjai), in the hills north of Siam, belonging to the first half of the 13th century.<sup>85</sup> Sanskrit and Pali words are plentiful, but very few Burmese words are to be found, apart from *grī*=great, *leñ*=(?) small. The 15th cent. inscriptions on the other hand are full of borrowings from Burmese. In the Pagan period the influence is rather of Mon on Burmese. Burmese script, despite linguistic affinities, is based on Mon rather than on Pyu; and the following Old Burmese words may be cited as evidence of borrowing from Mon:—

*kyaksare* (<Old Mon *kyāksrī*)=magnificence. It also means, in Old Mon, a special architectural feature. It is now wrongly written in Burmese ကြာသေ့ *kraksare*.

*kyaktañuiy*=some precious substance applied to the spires of pagodas and the walls of brick monasteries.

*kmay*=widow (Mod. Mon *kmaai*).

*samñhlā*=betel leaf (15th cent. Mon *sablu*, Mod. Mon *jablu*).

*kaḍuñ*=a tube, or measure for betel nuts (15th cent. Mon *kḍoñ*, Mod. Mon *kḍuiñ*).

And very likely also:—

*clec* (Old Burm. *calac*, Mod. Burm. *culac*, Mod. Mon *klai*)=an ornamental doorway, etc.

*īraḥ* (Old and Mod. Burm. *carah*), which seems to have meant, not a rest house, but a building for alms-distribution.

*sambeñ* (Old Burm. *sambyañ*; cf. *cāp sumbañ* on the Lopburi pillar)=a high official. Possibly also *kalan*, an official usually coupled with *sambeñ*, both in Old Mon and Old Burmese inscriptions.—The above words sufficiently indicate some of the directions in which the Mons influenced the Burmans. The Pyu, on the other hand, took their word for 'gold,' *tha*, from Old Mon *thar*.

The Burmese name for the Mons is Talaing, Old Burm. တလိၼ် *tanluin*. Phayre's and Yule's derivation of the word from Teliṅga, a variant of Kalinga, a vague term for the east and south of India, still holds the field; the same word, *kēling*, *kaling*, *kling*, is used to denote Indians generally in Malaya, Siam and Camboja. *Tanluin*, we must assume, was a word used at first indiscriminately by the Mranmā of Central Burma for the inhabitants of Lower Burma, whether indigenous or settlers from India; and as the alternative word, *kulā*, attached itself more particularly to the latter, the meaning of *tanluin* would seem to have got limited to the former. How far this process was complete in the Pagan dynasty, is a moot point.

When we consider how important the Mons must have been in the civilising of the Mranmā, it is surprising how rarely they are mentioned in Old Burmese. The reason probably is that during the period when Mon influence was dominant, i.e. the first half of the dynasty, there are few Burmese inscriptions. When these begin to predominate, from



Narapatisithu's reign onward, a reaction against Mon influence seems to have set in. This is probable in itself; and it is supported by the Mon Kalyāṇī inscription of 1476 A.D.; but this inscription is none too trustworthy for the Pagan period; and we must not forget that Nātoṇmyā's *dharmarājaguru* (?Dhammavilāsa) was probably a Mon, for he was born at "Molaṇā village to the east of Tala" (Dalla).<sup>87</sup>

The earliest sure mention of the word *tanluin* occurs in 1204 A.D.<sup>88</sup> Earlier mentions—of a "Tanluin fishery" in 1082, and a "Tanluin sage got" by Kyanzitha "at the time of the utter destruction of the Tanluin kingdom of Ussala," and dedicated to a pagoda built at Parim his birthplace in 1107—occur in old, but not original, inscriptions.<sup>89</sup> The name, as usual, is most frequent in slave names. The prefix *Yā* points generally, it seems, to a Mon female name. Apart from these, one "Lady (*skhiin*) Uim Tanluin Sañ" was probably a lady-in-waiting at Klawcā's court.<sup>90</sup> One "Nā Tanluin Sañ" was a secretary (*cakhi*) to the prime minister (*mahāsman*) in 1277.<sup>91</sup> The presence of a Mon colony in Kyauksè is shewn, not only by the Mon inscription mentioned above, but also by three references in Burmese inscriptions, between 1211 and 1262, to the "Tanluin main village" (*tanluin rwa ma*) in Khamlū *kharuin*, near the junction of the Samon and the Myitngè.<sup>92</sup> We also read, in 1301, of "Tanluin paddy fields above Caku (Sagu), with produce of 100 textiles (*pucañ*)."<sup>93</sup>

The exact date of the revolt of the Tanluin at the end of the dynasty is difficult to fix. It had probably begun before 1293, at the beginning of which, somewhat gratuitously, Asaṅkhaya claims on behalf of Klawcā that the Pagan monarchy extended south to Taluinsare and Tawai (Tenasserim and Tavoy).<sup>94</sup> At the end of that year Klawcā confers a reward for bravery on Rājasāṅkraṁ "after the revolt of the Tanluin and his capture of Tala *mruin* (Dalla fort)."<sup>95</sup> In 1296 a reward was also conferred on the headman Anantajayapakraṁ "for bravery in the fight resulting in the capture of Tala."<sup>96</sup> But the revolt was obviously in the main successful; Chinese texts<sup>97</sup> shew us the new "Têng-lung," i.e. Talaing, kingdom sending an independent embassy to Mongol China in 1298, and that too *via* Pagan:—"Yünnan province had previously sent Kuan-chu-ssü-chia as envoy to the Têng-lung kingdom. The king of that kingdom sent two of his maternal uncles, Wu-la-ho and Wu-tu-lu-hsin-ho (Uttara-singha) to follow Kuan-chu-ssü-chia and go to the Gate of the Court. In the 2nd month they reached P'u-kan. The king of Mien, T'ieh-mieh-ti (Adhipati), ordered K'o-wa-li to take troops, ascend the boat, bind with ropes and carry off Wu-la-ho and Wu-tu-lu-hsin-ho, and plunder the goods that were sent as tribute; and off they went." Kuan-chu-ssü-chia, who was probably a Tibetan in the Mongol service (? dGon-ju-sgya), was allowed to proceed to Tagaung. Explanations followed later; the three Shan Brothers, who had meantime dethroned Klawcā and placed Conac on the throne, put all the blame on the former, needless to say. Thenceforward for a long time we read practically nothing of Lower Burma. The first mentions of Muttama (Martaban) occur in 1314 and 1327 A.D.<sup>98</sup>

10. **KRWAM, KRWAM** (𑄓𑄘𑄢𑄟) = Cambojan (cf. 15th cent. Mon *krom*, Mod. Siam. *khôm*).—The word *kurwam*, which occurs more than once in Old Burmese, may be a variant.<sup>99</sup> The name probably stands, not so much for the Khmers of Camboja proper, as for the Mon-Khmer peoples of Lower Siam, who, from about 1000 A.D. down to the coming of the *Syam* in the latter half of the 13th century, were subject to the Cambojan empire of Angkor. The name is frequent in slave names, from 1190 A.D. onwards, occasional in names of witnesses or donors.<sup>100</sup> Several times it is prefixed to the name, doubtless in an ethnic sense.<sup>101</sup> One slave was a musician, another a cowherd, another a female *kī sañ*, another the grandson of a *kuld* or Indian.<sup>102</sup> A princess, daughter of Uccanā's chief queen Sumlūla, was called *Acaw Krwam Skhiin*, 'Mistress of the Krwam'; she built a temple at Minnanthu in 1248 A.D.<sup>103</sup> The monastery of *Krwam Skhiin* is mentioned in 1263, attached to Mahākassapa's site at Minnanthu<sup>104</sup>; but the meaning here may be 'a Cambojan monk.' In 1299 we read of 34 male Indian *yan sañ* (? weavers) and 11 female *kī sañ*, "slaves of the *Krwam Skhiin*, given to queen Caw by the king her husband saying 'Let them weave and wear *ui-tak* shawls (*tampak*).'"<sup>105</sup> We read finally, in two inscriptions, of land "given as a reward for bravery to the *krwam* Nā Pu-tat by the Bodhisattva Nātoṇmyā, when at the elephant-review in the Hall of Pleasance (*kwansāya*) he was knocked by an elephant and broke his leg"; Nā Pu-tat subsequently sold this land (150 *pai*) to the Pagan ministers.<sup>106</sup>

11. **LAWA**.—Query = Wa? The name occurs, once at least, in 1190 A.D., in a slave-name.<sup>107</sup> And there are frequent references, from 1198 A.D., to a "Lawa village" in Sañtoṇ *kharuin*, to the east of Sañthway canal.<sup>108</sup> The Chronicles wrongly attribute the digging of the canal to the Mongols in 1301 A.D.<sup>109</sup>

12. **SYAM, SYAM** (𑄓𑄘𑄢𑄟) = Shan, Siamese.—The modern Burmese spelling, *ရှမ်း* *rham*; obscures the connection between these words. Long before Khubilai's capture of Ta-li Fu in 1253 and his general Uriyangkhadai's campaigns across Yünnan set the Thai migrating south, and led to the fall of the old Mon kingdom of Lamphun (Haribhūñjai) in N. Siam, and to the founding of the first independent Siamese kingdoms—Yonakarattha (Chieng-mai) and Sukhodaya (Chinese *sien*, i.e. *syam*), the word *syam* or *syām* occurs in Cham, Cambojan and Burmese epigraphy. In Burmese it first occurs in 1120.<sup>110</sup> The word is frequent in slave-names, prefixed as well as suffixed, including a weaver, turner (*panpwa*), drummer (*cañ pañdyā*) and devotee (*sulāw*).<sup>111</sup> An official, *sambyañ* Syam, made a dedication in 1241.<sup>112</sup> Several inscriptions mention a place-name *Mun Syam*, which is difficult to locate unless it was in Mun (or Muin) *kharuin* north-west of Kyauksè.<sup>113</sup> Finally one may just mention the problem of the word *Khanlī* in Old Burmese, very common from the first in place-names and proper names. The place, or one of the places, appears to have been near Sagu. The word ought to be Shan—*khamlī* = place of gold; but it is difficult to explain the presence of Shans in these parts so early.<sup>114(a)</sup>

13. **TARUK**.—The word is rare in Old Burmese, but it is always so spelt, and is never confused with the place-name *Talup* = Old Myingyan. The alternative form, *Tarak*, found in the Chronicles, probably goes back to a misreading. Whether *Taruk* in Old Burmese ever means, as it does today, the Chinese, is highly questionable. The name *Cinā* occurs once in a slave-name in 1179 A.D.<sup>115</sup>; "30 Cin slaves" are mentioned in 1266<sup>116</sup>; and whatever be the



original meaning of *ဝေါက်ဆာင်*, a certain *Pokpo Ramah* was one of the repairers of Caw Rahan's *sima* at Turanton in 1212.<sup>116</sup>

In the inscription of 1285 describing Syan Disāprāmuk's peace-mission to China,<sup>117</sup> *Taruk* ought to mean the Mongols. The "Taruk king" is Khubilai Khan, the *khan mañkri* and *ude* of later inscriptions,<sup>118</sup> living at *Tayta*,<sup>119</sup> Chinese *T'ai-tu*, "the great capital," which, as the *Yüan shih* shews,<sup>120</sup> was the name applied from 1272 to the new *Khanbalig*, "city of the Khan," built in 1267 by Khubilai on the actual site of Peking.

Pelliot would prefer to derive the word *Taruk* in origin from *Ta-li-kuo*, the old kingdom of Nan-chao;<sup>121</sup> and support for this view is obtainable from the Hlédauk inscription<sup>122</sup> which describes how, c. 1110-11 A.D., "the donor of Rhwekū, Ma-uin-khyamsā Satawrhañ, . . . marched to fight a Taruk army" near Toiplan (Taungbyongyi), a few miles north of Mandalay; it seems that the Taruk retired, their general's son being killed. In 1110-11 there can be no question either of Mongols or the Sung invading Burma; the only possibility is Nan-chao; and there is nothing to wonder at if Nan-chao should make one last effort to retain her old grip on north Burma, nor if the northern limit of the Burmans at that date extended only to the point where the hills close in upon the plain in the north of Mandalay district. But the inscription, though old, cannot belong to this period; its reverse, which seems to be a continuation of the obverse, is not dated, but contains a reference to *Turukple mañkri*, i.e. Narasihapati, "the king who fled from the Taruk", *sc.* the Mongols. The conclusion seems to be that if the Nan-chao troops are called Taruk, it is not in their own right, but by reflection from the Mongols, to whom the term properly belongs. If so, Phayre's derivation from the word *Türk*<sup>123</sup> (old Turk. *türk*, Chinese *t'u-chüeh* from the Mongol plural *türkü*) is not lightly to be rejected. Turkish tribes (*e.g.* the *Käräits*) must have formed a large element in the 'Mongol' forces, outnumbering perhaps the Mongols proper. It is quite possible that the Burmans were unable to distinguish them, and applied 'Turk' to both. It must be added, however, that Pelliot hints, without defining, phonetic objections to this identification.

The next mention of the word occurs in 1327 A.D., when the *Krak-yak ceti* (Shwegyetyet pagoda, Amarapura) is described as "famous from the land of the Taruk (*taruk prañ*) to Muttama (Martaban)."<sup>124</sup>

14. *KULĀ*.—Of all the peoples, native and non-native to Burma, the one most commonly mentioned by far in these inscriptions is the *kulā*, or Indians. The word is almost certainly derived from Pali or Sanskrit *kula* = family, caste. It means "the caste-people." Dr. Blagden is doubtless right in tracing the first part of the name *Goḷamallikanagara*, in the Kalyāṇī inscription, to "Goḷa (or Gaṇḍa) . . . the people of Eastern Bengal"; but perhaps he errs in adding: "Their name has become the Mon and Burmese appellation for all foreigners from the west."<sup>125</sup> *Kulā* occurs several hundred times in the Pagan inscriptions; it is four times written *kalā*, and once *kuilāh*;<sup>126</sup> but it is never spelt with an *o* or a cerebral *l*.

Pagan's main debts to India are obvious and vast:—the Three Gems of Buddhism, together with the Brahmanic cults and Naga worship which preceded or accompanied them; all the main features, and many details, of her architecture; her script; the Pali *Tiṭṭaka* and law books, which formed the basis of her literature and gave a new dimension to her thought. How far Indian social and political influence went, is difficult to define; titles of royalty and officials are predominantly Indian, but this may not mean very much; and the fact that the Mraṇmā called the Indians "caste-people" in distinction from themselves, points to obvious limits in their influence. And we must allow for modifications of it due, not only to the Burmese character and temperament, but also to those of the Mons and Pyu, who to some extent transmitted it.

The word *kulā* is most frequent, as usual, in slave-names, both suffixed (where it may mean little or nothing) and prefixed (where it has an ethnic sense). One slave is called *kulā phlā*, or "white *kulā*."<sup>127</sup> One *kulā* slave was dedicated in 1299 A.D. by an Arakanese.<sup>128</sup> These patient Indian slaves must have had a potent cultural influence. The professions of some of them are mentioned, and enable us to form some idea of the arts they practised or introduced at Pagan. Many were musicians and dancers, including drummers (usually men), *panṭyā* (usually women), trumpeters and nautches<sup>129</sup>; music doubtless played a larger part in the religion of Old Burma than it does to-day. One dedication of 50 *Kulā* slaves includes drummers, trumpeters, *panṭyā*, carvers in wood or stone (*panṭu*), painters (*pankhī*), blacksmiths (*panphay*), and masons (*puran*).<sup>130</sup> Indo-Burman architecture and sculpture at Pagan are not purely Buddhist; Vaishnava influence is seen, not only in the Nat-hlaung-gyaung, but also in the special *sikhara* so common on the Pagan temples<sup>131</sup>. The material is nearly always brick; and the Burmese word for brick, *ut*, like the Siamese *ith*, is probably derived from Pali *itthaka*; the brick monastery was such an innovation to the Pagan Burman, that he regularly calls it (*kulā kloñ*), "Kulā monastery."<sup>132</sup> Two inscriptions mention the dedication of *Kulā* weavers (*yan sañ*), in one case as many as 116 of them.<sup>133</sup> We read also of *Kulā* spinners (*khrañ ṇay sañ*) male and female,<sup>134</sup> chair-makers (*kūlāsānā phway*)<sup>135</sup>, elephant-owners (? *chañ panthā*)<sup>136</sup>, chiropodists or barbers (*laksañ thuiw*)<sup>137</sup>, gardeners (*uyān coi*)<sup>138</sup>, oil sellers (*chi sañ*) female and male, rice-cooks (*thamañ sañ*)<sup>139</sup>, clerks (*cakhi*)<sup>140</sup>. Some "wild *Kulā*" (*kulā ruin*) appear in a Pagan dedication.<sup>141</sup>

These slaves were sometimes dedicated in large numbers. In 1198 Narapatisithu dedicated 500 Mraṇmā and 500 *Kulā* slaves to the Dhammarājaka<sup>142</sup>. In 1294 Klawcwā dedicated the land "eaten by the 700 *Kulā* of Krañtū," including probably the *Kulā* themselves.<sup>143</sup> Another inscription dedicates 78 Pagan slaves, *Kulā* and Mraṇmā; names are given, and include over 60 *Kulā*. Another of 1229 mentions by name over 50 *Kulā* slaves at Kukhan (Pakhangyi), and a *Kulā* village probably in the neighbourhood<sup>144</sup>. There was a *Kulā* village also at Sapriy above Prome<sup>145</sup>. Twice we read of *Kulā* slaves at Yhanpuw shipping-port (*sañphaw chip*), perhaps the chief port of Lower Burma and the *Henbuiw* of the Myazedi; ten of these were gardeners.<sup>146</sup> In another inscription 367 *Kulā* are dedicated in five groups (*sañ*), including "66 for the price of an elephant, 44 for the price of a horse" etc.<sup>147</sup> An undated inscription with archaic spellings mentions the dedication of 100 slaves of three



racess—"Yasichiy one race, Kuilah one race, and white J . . . one race"; the readings however are doubtful.<sup>148</sup>

The very names themselves of these Kulā slaves are interesting.<sup>149</sup> A large proportion are Indo-Aryan, e.g. Ramanā, Lakkhi, Kaṅkā, Maddi, Kwantañ (=Koṇḍañña) etc. But a good number also are Dravidian, proving that a considerable proportion at least, if not the majority, of the Kulā slaves at Pagan were from S. India, and presumably came to Burma by sea: e.g. Nāci (Tamil *nācci*=lady); Āci (cf. Malayalam *acci*=cowherd woman); Umiyandi, Naimmandi, Kutthandi etc. (query Kanarese *anli*=elder sister); I (Tamil=fly or bee); Pāri, Pāri (query Tamil *peri*=great); Kanū (Tamil=apple of the eye); Kuppay (Tamil=dirt); Malaru (Tamil *malar*=blossom); the suffix *-nambī*=the faithful, a title said to be used by Vaishnava families especially; Cakkamā, Apāya, Apyā, Nāyan etc. Some names betray the place of origin of these slaves:—Baḍagā (Tamil=northerner); Puloli (a place near Jaffna in Ceylon); Kawarī (from the R. Kaveri); Sinkhuil (from Ceylon), Tipuri, Napāli etc.

References to Ceylon (Sihaladīpa, Island of the Lion) are rare and call for special mention. The main source for the relations during the Pagan dynasty is the 13th cent. Ceylon history, the *Cullavamsa*.<sup>150</sup> Here we find (i) that Anorathā sent help to Vijaya Bāhu I (fl. 1055—1110) in his struggle against the Cojas, and later despatched a chapter of monks to render possible the ceremony of valid ordination, "so that the religion . . . which had been darkened throughout Laṅkā began now to shine forth", (ii) that the great king of Ceylon Parakkama Bāhu (fl. 1153—86) had a quarrel, arising partly out of the export of elephants from Burma, with the king of Rāmañña or Arimaddana, sc. Pagan; he sent a large fleet which raided the ports Kusumi and Papphala, and even the capital, where the Tamil general Ādicca killed "the king of Rāmañña"; the quarrel was appeased by the intercession of Ceylon monks.—It is not impossible to connect this story with the fall of Kulā-kya or Narasū, as told in the Burmese Chronicles, (iii) Parakkama Bāhu's successor, Vijaya Bāhu II (fl. 1186-7), "wrote with his own hand in Pali a letter of great merit and sent it to the King of Arimaddana . . . he made a great friendship with that king . . . and gave delight to the monks that dwelt in Laṅkā and in Arimaddana." Contemporary inscriptions in Burma tell us that Narapatisithu in 1196 A.D. dedicated to the Dhammarājaka "four out of the thirty relics received from the hand of the Sinkhuw king, after he had caused them to be asked for . . . sending again to the island of Sinkhuw. These he enshrined on a stone-mat together with the lion-relic."<sup>151</sup> The evidence of the Pali-Mon Kalyāṇi inscriptions of the Mon king Dhammaceti (1476 A.D.) relating to Narapatisithu's reign, receives little or no support from contemporary inscriptions. In 1235 a "Skhiñ Siñkhuw" was witness to a Pagan dedication.<sup>152</sup> In 1278 the monk Tamalin receives an offering "on the occasion when the Ceylon pilgrim (*Sinkhuir-rok*) Dīpaṅkarā sent the holy relics."<sup>153</sup> Finally there are references to the introduction of Buddhism in Ceylon by Mahinda<sup>154</sup>; the story is finely illustrated in fresco in one of the porches of the Sakyamuni temple, Chaukpala, Nyaung-u.

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## REFERENCES.

1. Most of these inscriptions are in Burmese, and are listed serially in Duroiselle's *A List of Inscriptions found in Burma*, Part I (Rangoon Government Press, 1921), where references will be found to the six volumes in which they are published. For the sake of brevity, these inscriptions are referred to below by their serial number in the *List*, and the date according to the Burmese Era of 638 A.D. is often added; thus "*List* 123a<sup>20</sup>, 552s." means that the reference in question is to line 20 of the first face of the inscription listed under the serial number 123, the date of which is 552 Burmese Era = approximately 1190 A.D. Most of the Old Mon inscriptions have been fully edited in *Epigraphia Birmanica* (*Ep. Birm.*) published at Rangoon Government Press. Reference is sometimes made to the *Selections from the Inscriptions of Pagan* (*Sel. Inscr. Pag.*) by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce (Rangoon British Burma Press, 1928). Many inscriptions remain unpublished, and are therefore referred to according to their present site, which is often at Pagan Museum (*Pag. Mus.*) or the Patodawgyi, Amarapura (*Pat.*).

2. The chief Chinese sources utilised have been the *Yüan-shih* (Y.S.) or Dynastic History of the Mongols (which is cited after the pageing of the 1884 T'ung-wên-shu-chü edition), and the *Yüan-ch'ao-chêng-mien-lu* (C.M.L., cited after a manuscript copy from the *Shou-shan-ko-ts'ung-shu*). The latter work has been translated into French by Huber in tome IX (pages 664—680) of the *Bulletin de l'Ecole française d'Extrême-Orient*. Obligations are due to Prof. Pelliot for help in the transcription of Central Asian names.

3. *List* 524a<sup>2</sup>, 704s. Possibly also at *List* 772b<sup>2</sup>, 694s.
4. *List* 123a<sup>20</sup>, 552s.
5. *Ep. Birm.*, Vol. III, Part I, Inscr. IX, B<sup>42</sup>, D<sup>14</sup>, H<sup>12</sup>.
6. Y.S. ch. 210, f. 1 r<sup>o</sup>.
7. *Pag. Mus.*, Stone 43W<sup>1</sup>, 597s.
8. *List* 154a<sup>6</sup>, 558s.
9. *List* 387<sup>1</sup>, 654s.
10. *Ep. Birm.*, Vol. I, Part I.
11. *List* 66, 1053S. = 493s. The inscription may not be original, as U Mya has pointed out.
12. *List* 51, 52, 64, 72, 81, etc
13. *List* 113, 545s.
14. *List* 154, 558-560s.
15. *List* 357a<sup>10</sup> etc.
16. *List* 123a<sup>20</sup>, 552s.; 145a<sup>11</sup>, 559s.; 210<sup>2</sup>, 592s.; 234<sup>11</sup> 13; 227<sup>11</sup> 21, 598s.
17. *List* 260<sup>11</sup> 13, 604s.
18. *List* 149<sup>5</sup>, 154a<sup>20</sup>, Dhammarāj. W. cella S.<sup>5</sup>—560s.
19. *List* 123a<sup>20</sup>, 145a<sup>11</sup>.
20. *List* 273a<sup>7</sup>, 569s.; 262<sup>23</sup>, 604s.; 332b<sup>5</sup>, 633s.; 701b<sup>11</sup> 2, 663s.; *Pag. Mus.*, Stone 72<sup>23</sup>, 661s.
21. *List* 359<sup>6</sup>, 638s.
22. Ch. 222C, f. 9 r<sup>o</sup>.
23. *Ep. Birm.*, Vol. III, Part I, Inscr. IX, B<sup>42</sup>.
24. v. *Rep. Sup. Arch. Surv. Burm.*, 1915, p. 21.
25. Y.S. ch. 61, f. 29r<sup>o</sup>; 210, f. 2r<sup>o</sup>, 4r<sup>o</sup>; 122, f. 13v<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of Ai-lu).
26. *B.E.F.E.O.* IX (1909), p. 666 fn. (translated).
27. Y.S. ch. 61, f. 28r<sup>o</sup>.
28. Y.S. ch. 10, f. 20r<sup>o</sup>; 61, f. 26v<sup>o</sup>; 210, f. 2v<sup>o</sup>; 125, f. 5r<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of Na-su-la-ting).
29. Y.S. ch. 7, f. 6v<sup>o</sup>.
30. Y.S. ch. 133, f. 13v<sup>o</sup>.
31. *Burmese Sketches* (Vol. I), p. 20.
32. *Rep. Sup. Arch. Surv. Burm.*, 1916, p. 22. *List* 405<sup>20</sup> 10.
33. *List* 237a<sup>20</sup> (*Pag. Mus.*, Stone 48E.).
34. *List* 51<sup>20</sup>, 52<sup>26</sup> (cf. Mon A<sup>20</sup>, B<sup>24</sup>; Pyu A<sup>20</sup>, B<sup>20</sup>); 383a<sup>20</sup>, 384b<sup>11</sup>, 18, 26, 653s.; (?) 340<sup>3</sup>, 634s.
35. *List* 230<sup>25</sup>, 234<sup>5</sup>, 7, 8, 14, 23, 597s.; 227<sup>23</sup>, 598s.; 267<sup>12</sup>, 605s.; 311<sup>20</sup>, 628s.
36. *List* 218<sup>4</sup>, 596s.



37. *List* 230<sup>31</sup>, 597s.; 307a<sup>10</sup>, 624s.; 334<sup>13</sup>, 634s.; 354b<sup>34</sup> 636s.; Adhi{hān<sup>9</sup>, 672s., etc.
38. *List* 153<sup>4</sup>, 560s.
39. *List* 329<sup>5</sup>, 550s.; 173<sup>6, 7</sup>, 571s.; 287a<sup>25, 27</sup>, 599s.; 270a<sup>19, 27, 29, 31, 33</sup>, 608s.; 349<sup>23</sup>, 625s.; 351<sup>16</sup>, 636s.; 354a<sup>28</sup>, 637s.
40. *List* 237b<sup>17</sup>.
41. *List* 363b<sup>31, 37</sup>, 601-604s.; 270a<sup>19, 29</sup>, 608s.; 354a<sup>28</sup>, 637s.; 369<sup>34, 35</sup>, 639-643s.; 417<sup>12, 18</sup>.
42. *List* 376<sup>13</sup>, 647s.
43. *List* 154a<sup>9</sup>, 558s.
44. *List* 82<sup>4</sup>, 1250 etc.
45. *List* 333<sup>1</sup>, 590s.
46. *List* 350<sup>11</sup>, 598s.; 479N<sup>34</sup>, 599s.; 333<sup>6</sup>, 607s.; 349<sup>5</sup>; 409b<sup>2</sup>, 661s.
47. C.M.L.
48. Y.S. ch. 13, f. 1v<sup>o</sup>; 16, f. 18v<sup>o</sup>; 133 f. 4v<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of Yeh-han-ti-chin); 149, f. 23r<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of Yeh-lu-t'u-hua). This Chien-tu is not to be confused with another, apparently near the Plum Range in Kuang-tung ((e.g. Y.S. ch. 131, f. 2r<sup>o</sup>; 132, f. 7v<sup>o</sup>).
49. Y.S. ch. 13, f. 2v<sup>o</sup>, 8v<sup>o</sup>; 14, f. 9v<sup>o</sup>-10r<sup>o</sup>, 16v<sup>o</sup>, 17v<sup>o</sup>; 20, f. 14r<sup>o</sup>; 21, f. 4r<sup>o</sup>, 5v<sup>o</sup>; 210, f. 5r<sup>o</sup>; 132 f. 16r<sup>o</sup> (Biog. of T'ieh-mu-erh-pu-hua).
50. *List* 262<sup>13</sup>, 604s.
51. *thī sañ. List* 258<sup>6</sup>, 604s.
52. *phukhrañ sañ. List* 701a<sup>10, 28, 31</sup>, 663s.
53. *List* 270b<sup>17</sup>.
54. *List* 149<sup>6</sup>, 154a<sup>29</sup>, 560s.
55. *List* 213<sup>11</sup>, 593s.
56. *List* 257<sup>12, 15</sup>, 259<sup>20, 22</sup>, 604s.
57. *List* 273a<sup>7</sup>, 569s.
58. *List* 273a<sup>11</sup>, 569s.; 287<sup>20</sup>, 599s.; 748<sup>8</sup>, 628s.
59. *List* 339<sup>2</sup>, 634s.; Lemyethna Minnanthu Stone II S. <sup>22-23</sup> (probably before 595s.); *Pag. Mus. Stone* 72<sup>24</sup>, 661s.; *List* 163<sup>10</sup>, 566s. (query original).
60. *List* 236b<sup>8, 13</sup>, 561s.; 273a<sup>12</sup>, 569s.
61. v. May Oung, *Old Historical Ballads*, p. 6.
62. *List* 26; 42.
63. *List* 380b<sup>8</sup>; 145a<sup>27</sup>, 559s.; 333<sup>14</sup>, 633s.; *Pag. Mus. Stone* 74E.<sup>9</sup>, W.<sup>10</sup>, 578s.
64. *List* 409b<sup>20, 27</sup>, 661s.
65. e.g. the Zaidi-byin inscription, Sandoway district.
66. v. *Hmannan Yazawin*, Vol. I, p. 209.
67. *List* 260<sup>13</sup>, 604s.
68. *List* 229<sup>2, 5</sup>, 595-7s.; 525 (= 1308)a<sup>14</sup>; Nga Hkwe-nyo Gu fragm.<sup>3</sup>
69. *List* 1391<sup>2, 3, 6</sup>; 562 a, b *passim*, 714s.
70. *List* 273a<sup>10</sup>, 569s.
71. *List* 270a<sup>5, 6, 7</sup>, 606s. For other mentions of Cakraw, see *List* 357a<sup>12</sup>, 638s.; 507<sup>3</sup>, 702s.
72. *List* 81a<sup>16</sup>, 527s.; 152<sup>10</sup>, 560s.; 197<sup>14</sup>, 588s.; 245<sup>14</sup>, 597s.; 357a<sup>12</sup>, 638s.; 701a<sup>17</sup>, b<sup>13</sup>, 663s.; etc.
73. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part I, p. 5.
74. v. Taw Sein Ko, *The Kalyāṇī Inscriptions*, Govt. Press, Rangoon 1892, p. 1, etc.
75. Face B<sup>14, 42</sup>, G<sup>23</sup>, H<sup>12</sup>.
76. v. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. I, Part II, Inscr. IA<sup>22</sup>, IIC<sup>4</sup>, etc.
77. *List* 23; 27.
78. v. Przyluski, *Le Concile de Rājagṛha*, pp. 239-256.
79. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part I, pp. 4-5.
80. e.g. the Ananda, Patothamya, Nagayon, Abēyadana, Nanpaya, Kubyaukkyi of Myinpagan, Kubyaukngè of Wetkyi-in, Pyatsa Shwe (Pg. 584), Pg. 228, Pg. 418 etc.
81. All the Mon plaques except those at ground level have been edited by Mr. Duroiselle in Vol II of *Ep. Birm.*
82. *Rep. Sup. Arch. Sur. Burm.* 1924, pp. 38-40.



83. No. XI, *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part I, p. 70.
84. cf. *List* 174a<sup>12</sup>, 573s.; 384a<sup>32</sup>, 653s.; 388<sup>28</sup> (query original); *Pag. Mus.* Stone 18E.<sup>7</sup>, W.<sup>9</sup>, 582s.; *Mg. Yon Ku* No. 11<sup>7</sup>, 633s.
85. One face (the west) is edited inadequately, as *List* 1253, at *PPA* 197.
86. v. "Les Inscriptions Môn du Siam" edited by Dr. R. Halliday, *BEFE-O.*, tome XXX, 1930, Nos. 1-2.
87. *List* 185a<sup>14</sup>, 560s.
88. *List* 165<sup>4</sup>, 566s.
89. *List* 32<sup>3</sup>, 444s.; 49<sup>5</sup>, 469s.
90. *List* 325<sup>27</sup>, 604s.
91. *List* 369<sup>10</sup>, 639s.
92. *List* 307a<sup>12, 17</sup>, 624s.; *Pag. Mus.* Stone 82<sup>6</sup>, 573s.; *ibid.* Stone 115<sup>4</sup>, 622s.
93. *List* 701a<sup>3</sup>, 663s.
94. *List* 387<sup>2</sup>, 654s.
95. *Pag. Mus.* Stone 72<sup>6</sup>, 655s.
96. *List* 412<sup>18</sup>, 658s.
97. *C.M.L.*
98. *List* 452<sup>27</sup>, 675s.; 477<sup>5</sup>, 688s.
99. *List* 172a<sup>13</sup>, 570s.; 258a<sup>11</sup>, 603s.; 23<sup>16</sup>; 113<sup>10(?)</sup>.
100. *List* 123a<sup>24</sup>, 552s.; 153<sup>10</sup>, 560s.; 192<sup>7</sup>, 587s., etc.
101. *List* 254<sup>19</sup>, 603s.; 75<sup>6</sup>, 617s.; 344a<sup>12</sup>, 635s.
102. *List* 123a<sup>24</sup>; 269<sup>22</sup>; 409b<sup>20</sup>; 311<sup>33, 26</sup>.
103. *List* 276a<sup>2</sup>, 610s.
104. *List* 322<sup>12</sup>, 625s.
105. *List* 409b<sup>13, 19</sup>, 661s.
106. *List* 75<sup>6</sup>, 617s.; 344a<sup>1</sup>, 635s.
107. *List* 123b<sup>13</sup>, 552s.
108. *List* 149<sup>9</sup>, 154b<sup>2</sup>, 560s.; 245<sup>31</sup>, 597s.; 292<sup>14</sup>, 617s.
109. *Hmannan Yazawin* Vol. I, p. 402.
110. In l. 6 of the reverse of an inscription now in the *Pag. Mus.* S. room, recently discovered in Ko Toe's field, S.E. of the Nagayon, Pagan. Cf. *BEFE-O.*, t. iv, pp. 235-6.
111. *List* 208<sup>10</sup>; 409b<sup>22</sup>; 701a<sup>13, 26</sup>; 234<sup>9</sup>.
112. *List* 254<sup>18</sup>, 603s.
113. *List* 384a<sup>3</sup>, 626s.; 383a<sup>4</sup>, b<sup>16</sup>, 631s.
- 113a. See e.g. *List* 97<sup>10</sup>, 537s. (query original); 80<sup>13</sup>; 554s.; 258<sup>3</sup>, 604s.; 394<sup>2</sup>, 651s. etc.
114. *List* 363a<sup>11</sup>, 541s.
115. *List* 311<sup>20</sup>, 628s.
116. Caw Rahan Thein, Tuywindaung, l. 12, 574s.
117. *List* 376, 647s.—*Pag. Mus.* Stone 110, E. face. Originally from the Mingalazedi.
118. *List* 422<sup>4</sup>, 665s.; 564a<sup>3</sup>; 565a<sup>3</sup>; 1014a<sup>2</sup> etc.
119. *List* 376<sup>19</sup>.
120. *Y.S.*, ch. 57, f. 3 r<sup>o</sup>.
121. *BEFE-O.* t. iv, p. 161, fn. 1.
122. *List* 50 a, b. *Scl. Inscr. Pag.* pp. 4-8.
123. *History of Burma*, p. 8, fn.
124. *List* 477<sup>4</sup>, 688s.
125. *Ep. Birm.* Vol. III, Part II, p. 185, fn. 12.
126. *List* 242a<sup>24</sup>, 325<sup>18</sup>, 334<sup>3</sup>, 344a<sup>3</sup>; *Pag. Mus.* Stone 25<sup>20</sup>.
127. *Pag. Mus.* Stone 74E.<sup>12</sup>, 578s.
128. *List* 409 b<sup>27</sup>, 661s.
129. *List* 123a<sup>13, 20</sup>, 552s.; 122<sup>12</sup>, 552s.; 145 a<sup>12</sup>, 559s.; 206<sup>20</sup>, 591s.; 222<sup>22</sup>, 595s.; 242 a<sup>24</sup>, 599s.; Monastery S. of Shwezigôn II<sup>6</sup>, 600s.



130. *List* 222<sup>29</sup>, 595s.
131. For non-Theravādin Indian influence at Pagan, see Nihar-Ranjan Ray, *Brahmanic Gods in Burma* (Calc. Univ. Press), and "Note on Bodhisattwa Lokanātha and other Mahāyāna Gods in Burma". "Kulā nat land south of Mronchuim" occurs at *List* 371<sup>10</sup>, 618s.
132. See *Journ. Burm. Res. Soc.* Vol. X, pp. 1—4, "The Monasteries of Pagan" by W. Braxton Sinclair.
133. *List* 276a<sup>21</sup>, 610s.; 409a<sup>24</sup>, b<sup>22</sup>, 661s.
134. *List* 409b<sup>20</sup>, 661s.
135. *List* 242a<sup>24</sup>, 599s.
136. *List* 186<sup>6-8</sup>, 584s.
137. *List* 223<sup>8</sup>, c. 595s.
138. *List* 186<sup>7-10</sup>, 584s.
139. *List* 409b<sup>20, 21, 22</sup>, 661s. Note that the *kulā pay* (= gram, chickpea, lentil), as shown by plaques now in the *Pag. Mus.*, was known at Pagan from the beginning of the dynasty.
140. *List* 354b<sup>11</sup>, 637s.
141. *List* 409a<sup>24</sup>, 661s.
142. *List* 149<sup>5</sup>, 154a<sup>20</sup>, etc., 560s.
143. *List* 394<sup>11</sup>, 656s.
144. *List* 206<sup>4, 11</sup>, 591s.
145. *List* 344a<sup>3</sup>, 617s.
146. *List* 186<sup>7</sup>, 584s.; 311<sup>22</sup>, 628s. For Yhanpuiw, Hyanpuiw, Henbuiw v. Myazedi-A<sup>31</sup> B<sup>26</sup>; 185a<sup>17</sup>, 560s.; 186<sup>1</sup>, 584s.; 196<sup>22</sup>, 587s.; 276a<sup>20</sup>, 610s.; 311<sup>22</sup>, 628s.; 404a<sup>8</sup>, 640s. etc.
147. *List* 237b<sup>13</sup>.
148. *Pag. Mus.* Stone 25<sup>20</sup>.
149. For Indian slave-names, see e.g., the follg. inscriptions: *List* 123a<sup>19</sup>, 175a<sup>3</sup>, 186, 206, 210, 234<sup>4</sup>, 236a<sup>19</sup>, b<sup>1</sup>, 231<sup>7</sup>, 247<sup>6, 11</sup>, 409b, 701a, b. The writer is indebted to Dr. Barnett of the British Museum, and to his colleague Mr. Jembunathan, for help on this subject.
150. Ch. LVIII, LX; LXXVI, 10—75; LXXX, 6—8.
151. *List* 154a<sup>20</sup>, 558s.
152. *Pag. Mus.* Stone 43W<sup>13</sup>, 597s. (?)
153. *List* 378a<sup>20</sup>, 640s.
154. *List* 354b<sup>20</sup>, 637s.



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