

# Census of India, 1911

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## BURMA PART I.—REPORT

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powerful and widespread race is due to Indian immigration. Just as in the past the Burmese tribes assimilated what was essential and what was advantageous from the immigrant Indian, and evolved a highly individualised racial existence from the amalgamation, there is reason to believe that the present phase of Indian immigration is strengthening rather than weakening the hold of the Burmese on the province. It is true that they have lost for the time being a portion of its urban industry, but it has still to be demonstrated that the loss is more than temporary. It is more than compensated by the remarkable manner in which they have availed themselves of the opportunities afforded by the colonisation of its available wastes. The dispersal of the Burmese population over its unoccupied portions is a far sounder basis of future permanence and stability than would have been obtained by a larger concentration in its towns for the purpose of sharing in its urban and industrial development. In the course of the discussion on urban population in Chapter I of this report, it was demonstrated that the increase of the Buddhist or indigenous population has been tending towards agricultural pursuits, the percentage of town dwellers diminishing from 67 to 61 per cent. between 1901 and 1911. There is perhaps no more stable form of population than a peasant proprietary firmly established on the land. In the meantime, the Indian immigrant has been concentrating in the towns, more than a half of the Indian population being town dwellers in the main portion of the province comprising the natural divisions of the Central Basin and the Deltaic Plains. It would be contrary to experience to anticipate that a comparatively small town population with a disproportionately large number of males will succeed in affecting to any considerable extent the racial existence of a widely dispersed rural community. It is interesting, in view of the concern now being generally felt as to the continued existence of the Burmese race, to consider the view, previously obtaining, that it would be to the mutual advantage of both Burma and India to colonise the unoccupied areas of Burma by the surplus population from the most congested districts of India. A brief review of the previous policy and its results is of considerable importance not only in indicating its marked divergence from the present point of view but also in estimating the future possibilities of Indian immigration and its effects on the population of the province.

**76. Assisted Indian Immigration.**—For some time subsequent to the annexation of Pegu by the British in 1852, the policy of the Government was to intervene actively to promote the migration of cultivators from India to Burma. It was considered to be a mutual advantage to relieve the congestion of the most densely populated districts in India, and to introduce new crops, new methods of cultivation and much needed population into Burma. Repeated attempts were made to encourage such migration by direct action, but they were all unsuccessful. The whole subject was reconsidered by the Famine Commissioners in 1888, and their recommendations were embodied in the Circular of the Government of India in the Revenue and Agriculture Department, No. 96F.—6-59, dated the 19th October 1888. While adhering to the general principles of relieving specially congested tracts in India by transferring the indigent population of those parts of Burma, and of promoting the wealth of Burma by developing the cultivation of tracts lying waste and unproductive, it was considered that such attempts should in future be made by private capitalists, as personal supervision and continuity of effort were essential to success. Rules were framed and published in Revenue Department Notification of the Government of India, No. 521R., dated 24th July 1889, to carry out the recommendations. Only two estates were formed under these rules, as follows:—

- (i) a lease expiring in 1953 of 27,506 acres to Mr. Mylne at Kyauktaga in the Pegu District with an option of renewal for 63 years at a rent equal to two-thirds of the ordinary revenue on land cultivated and of similar renewals in perpetuity,
- (ii) a grant of 15,000 acres in 1894 to Rai Jai Prakash Lal Bahadur, C.I.E., at Zeyawaddy in the Toungoo District, the revenue after 1994 being two-thirds of the ordinary rate.

In the meantime the attitude of the Local Government towards Indian immigration was rapidly changing. The extraordinary extensions of cultivation effected by the Burmese emigrants from Upper Burma in the delta districts, demonstrated that it was not essential for the progress or prosperity of the province to colonise its waste areas by means of settling Indian immigrants upon the land. Indian labour was required, but rather in the direction of preparing the crops for

export after they had been reaped, than in introducing new crops or in extending the area under cultivation. It was determined that the system of agriculture most suited to the province was that of the peasant proprietor, in which the cultivator held his land direct from the State in small plots, sufficient for supplying the full requirements of family life, and not too large for cultivation by the members of the family without recourse to assistance by outside labour. The settlement of Indian labour on the land introduced new and complicated relations of landlord and tenant, contrary to the ideals towards which the efforts of Government were consciously directed. It attempted in a petty, cumbersome and ineffective manner what was being accomplished expeditiously, effectively and on the largest scale by the indigenous population. It was supplying an unfelt want partly by deflecting labour from where it was urgently needed. In 1908, the Local Government caused an enquiry to be instituted into the working of these estates, from which it appeared that the object of the concessions had not been realised to any considerable extent. In the case of the Kyauktaga grant, the grantee was no longer recruiting from the congested districts in India referred to in the circular, but was engaging for cultivation ordinary coolies who had come over, mostly from Madras to labour on public works, and who would have been more usefully employed, so far as Burma was concerned, if they had continued on such work. On both the grants, the immigrants were paying somewhat high rents to the grantee, and they did not appear in some cases to be living under ordinary sanitary conditions. They had introduced no new kinds of cultivation and had failed to adapt themselves to the climate and manner of life prevailing in Burma.

The total population settled on the two estates is less than 10,000. On the Kyauktaga grant the majority of the settlers are of agricultural castes from the

Grant or lease.	Persons.	Males.	Females.
Kyauktaga ...	4,415	2,589	1,826
Zeyawaddy ...	5,065	2,800	2,265
Total ...	9,480	5,389	4,091

United Provinces, the district of Fyzabad supplying the greatest number from any individual district. On the Zeyawaddy grant the majority of the settlers are from Behar, the Shahabad District supplying 3,494 of the total. In both grants the immigrants live in self-contained Hindu villages, influencing but little, and influenced but little by, the Burmese life surrounding

them. They have maintained their caste system and rules with greater success than the majority of Hindu immigrants into Burma who are necessarily brought more closely into contact with the disintegrating influence of Burmese life and opinion.

**77. Nature of demand for Indian immigration.**—The results of these two efforts to establish an Indian peasantry in Burma confirms the opinion that the natural attraction of Burma for the Indian immigrant is not its agricultural possibilities. With the exception of the agricultural immigrants from Chittagong into the district of Arakan, few Indians come to Burma with the intention of embarking in agriculture. The economic demand of Burma is not for agricultural but for urban labour, not for the raising of a crop, but for its disposal, and for the supply of the agricultural population of the province with their general requirements. It is true that the extension of cultivation in the past has proceeded so rapidly that a large portion of the extended area has been necessarily mortgaged to pay the expenses of transformation of wild jungle into culturable land. Owing to this necessity, Indian money-lenders have obtained control of large areas of cultivated land. It is also true that the purchase of land is a favourite form of investment with Indian merchants and traders who have made their money in non-agricultural industries in the larger towns of the province. This possession of land by Indian

landholders has stimulated to some extent the cultivation of the land by Indian cultivators. But the number of Indian agriculturalists among the total population is extremely small. Reference must be made to Imperial Table XVD and to Subsidiary Table No. VIII of Chapter XII of this report for a complete analysis of the impression made by the Indian on the agriculture of Burma. Hindus and Mahomedans combined do not amount to more than 3·3 per cent. of the total agricultural population, using the term in its widest sense. Or, putting the same facts in another way, the percentages

Agriculturalists by religions.	
Religion.	Percentage of total agriculturalists.
Buddhist ...	89·6
Atenist ...	0·3
Hindu ...	1·1
Mahomedan ...	2·3
Total ...	100

of the Hindu and Mahomedan populations of the province supported by agriculture

are 23.5 and 46 respectively. The percentage for Mahomedans is unduly increased by the inclusion of Akyab where there is a large indigenous agricultural Mahomedan population. Excluding these, about one quarter only of the Indian population of the province is concerned with agriculture.

**78. Decline in Indian Immigration.**—Quite apart from the statistics of birth-place it is possible to obtain a broad general view of the extent of extra-provincial migration by means of the records of the numbers of immigrants passing through the Port of Rangoon. Mr. Lewis obtained from the Customs authorities statistics for the period between March 1891 and February 1901 shewing a total of 1,092,762 immigrants and 813,554 emigrants giving an excess of 279,208 for the decade. The marginal statement compiled for the corresponding period of the past ten years 1901 to 1911, shews that the amount of immigration has just about doubled, and the amount of emigration more than doubled in the later of the two periods. The surplus migration remaining in the province, nearly 100,000 more than the surplus for the earlier decade, would indicate that Burma is offering an increasing field for immigration. But a closer inspection of the figures shews a decided decline in the last few years of the decade. From 1901 to 1908 there was a remarkable uniformity in the annual gain to the province by migration, the figures departing for one year only, that of 1904-05, from a narrow range between 44,000 and 50,000. In the year 1908-1909 there was a remarkable change, the number of emigrants leaving Burma being greater than the number of immigrants arriving, possibly a unique experience in the history of the province since it came under British administration. In 1909-10 migration resumed its wonted general direction but at a greatly reduced gain to the population of the province. In 1910-11 a further recovery was made, but the resultant gain is still less than a half of the normal annual gain at the commencement of the decade. It is not that the number of immigrants have become less. They fell slightly from 1907-08 to 1908-09 but since then they have arrived in greater numbers than ever before recorded. It is the large increase in the number of emigrants which has produced so marked a change in the character of the migration. Emigration has doubled in the second five years of the decade as compared with its first five years. As the Port of Madras contributes more than half the immigrants to Burma and receives more than half its emigrants, an examination has been made of its migration statistics to see if they correspond to the movement of figures for the Port of Rangoon. A general correspondence can be detected, but it is marked to a certain extent by the figures for Madras being compiled for the calendar year, which changes in the middle of the migration season. The correspondence is best seen in the surplus population remaining in Burma as the resultant of the two movements. The disturbing effect of the different annual periods is largely eliminated when the differences of the two movements,

Migration through Port of Rangoon.			
Year.	Immigration.	Emigration.	Surplus.
1901-02	145,217	97,320	47,897
1902-03	149,384	105,280	44,104
1903-04	165,555	115,770	49,785
1904-05	167,102	98,221	68,881
1905-06	213,230	165,191	48,039
1906-07	248,756	200,085	48,671
1907-08	249,521	201,915	47,606
1908-09	230,750	235,007	-4,257
1909-10	259,462	253,349	6,113
1910-11	269,217	247,627	21,590
	2,098,194	1,719,765	378,429

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Migration between Burma and the Port of Madras.			
Year.	Immigration from Madras.	Emigration from Madras.	Surplus.
1901	84,529	54,488	29,841
1902	80,916	64,345	16,571
1903	100,645	81,265	19,380
1904	127,622	83,721	43,901
1905	124,565	90,216	28,149
1906	152,207	135,354	16,853
1907	105,614	93,793	11,822
1908	119,742	89,516	30,226
1909	151,587	112,827	18,760
1910	133,495	125,984	7,511
	1,160,522	937,508	223,014

Emigration has doubled in the second five years of the decade as compared with its first five years. As the Port of Madras contributes more than half the immigrants to Burma and receives more than half its emigrants, an examination has been made of its migration statistics to see if they correspond to the movement of figures for the Port of Rangoon. A general correspondence can be detected, but it is marked to a certain extent by the figures for Madras being compiled for the calendar year, which changes in the middle of the migration season. The correspondence is best seen in the surplus population remaining in Burma as the resultant of the two movements. The disturbing effect of the different annual periods is largely eliminated when the differences of the two movements,

Gain by migration in first and last five years of decade 1901.			
Surplus measured by.	1901-05	1906-10	Decline.
Migration through Port of Rangoon.	258,706	119,723	-138,983
Migration from Port of Madras.	137,842	85,172	-52,670



instead of their absolute numbers, are compared. Comparing the gain of population to Burma by migration in the first five years of the past decade

Emigrants from Madras to Straits Settlements.	
1901	27,950
1902	19,622
1903	22,900
1904	28,249
1905	40,900
1906	52,306
1907	62,537
1908	58,778
1909	48,719
1910	85,015
Total ...	447,036

with that for the second five years there is a marked decline recorded. This decline has proceeded concurrently with a marked increase in the emigration from Madras to the Straits Settlements. This emigration has advanced from 27,950 in 1901 to 85,105 in 1910, the greatest advances taking place in the second half of the decade, when Burma began to be seriously affected. The rubber industry of the Straits Settlements is a formidable competitor with Burma for labour from Madras, in several ways. It has introduced a large and rapidly growing demand tending to deflect in a different direction that portion of the supply which would in the past have been available for increased immigration into Burma. It has also induced a large emigration from Rangoon to the

Straits, many of the emigrants from Madras coming to Rangoon for the busy season and then proceeding to the Straits Settlements when the off season

Migration to and from Madras Port 1901-1911.				
		Immigration.	Emigration.	Surplus.
				Actual. Per cent.
Burma ...		1,160,522	937,508	223,014 19
Straits ...		447,036	215,887	195,149 44

arrives, instead of returning as formerly back to Madras. It is to this triangular migration that the large increase of emigration from Rangoon in the past five years is largely due. Moreover the Straits Settlements retain a much larger proportion of their immigrants than Burma. In the ten years from 1901-1911 Burma re-

tained only 19 per cent. of the total immigrants arriving from the Port of Madras, whereas the percentage of immigrants arriving within the same period from the same port, who were retained in the Straits Settlements, was 44.

But it is not only to external influences such as the deflection of labour from Madras to the Straits Settlements that the change in the resultant migration between India and Burma is to be attributed. The decline in the number of Indian immigrants absorbed into the province has occurred concurrently with the decline in internal migration described in paragraph 74. To a certain extent they are both manifestations of the same operating forces. The tendency towards the equalisation of economic conditions within the province has made it necessary for the inhabitants of the majority of the districts of Burma to seek to absorb their natural increases of population locally, and to depend less than formerly on migration. But this can only be done by entering occupations formerly relinquished entirely to immigrant Indians. In Upper Burma there are indications that concerted action is being taken by the Burmese to prevent the Indian coolie from establishing himself in many localities. Contracts are now being accepted and performed by Burmese labour which formerly would have been given as a matter of course to Indian contractors employing Burmese labour. This tendency is but in an elementary stage, but with a steadily increasing economic pressure it may be expected to gain force. Among other influences tending to reduce the demand for Indian labour, the strenuous attempts made by the Local Government during the latter part of the decade 1901-1911 to discourage transfers of recently extended cultivation to large land holders, and to encourage extension by small holdings sufficient for the needs of one family, must be mentioned. The use of Indian labour in agricultural operations is fostered by large holdings, whereas small holdings given to *bona fide* agriculturalists tend to confine agricultural extensions to the members of the indigenous races. It has been seen that one of the causes of the reduced migration from Upper to Lower Burma is the withdrawal of capital at a time when extension of cultivation can only be effected by increased capital expenditure. But the effect on Indian cultivators has been greater than on immigrants from Upper Burma. The Burman immigrant is affected only by the lessened rate of extension. The Indian immigrant is affected not only by the lessened rate of extension, but also by the fact that he is almost entirely excluded from participation in the extensions under the later restrictions. The decline in Indian immigration manifested by the migration

records of the Port of Rangoon must therefore be attributed to the operations of two distinct forces working concurrently in the same direction. Simultaneously with an increased demand for Indian labour in the Federated Malay States, there has been a tendency towards a reduced demand for such labour in Burma. The latter has been due largely to the fact that the abnormal activity succeeding the annexation of Upper Burma has quietened down, and a period of more steady progress has now commenced. The natural increase of the population is able to cope with the modified conditions now obtaining, without recourse to outside assistance to the extent that was formerly necessary. Under the double stimulus of an increased attraction in another direction, and a gradual though slow limitation of its sphere of utility in Burma, migration from India, measured by the surplus of immigration over emigration, has declined considerably during the past few years.

**79. Comparison of birth-place with shipping statistics.**—Although the statistics for migration into the province through the Port of Rangoon for the

period of 1901-1911 shews a net gain to the province of 378,429, and although by far the greater portion of this surplus is from India, the statistics for birth-place shew but a trifling increase of 77,746 in the number of persons born in India.

As the proportion of immigration from India as recorded in the birth-place statistics is about five times the immigration from countries other than India, it is legitimate to assume that about five-sixths of the surplus of 378,429 is due to migration from India. On this assumption, the gain to the population of the province by migration from India should have been somewhat over 300,000.

It seems almost impossible to reconcile so large an initial gain with the final resultant of 77,746. The explanation is to be found partly

Gain of population by migration through Port of Rangoon.			
Year.	Immigration.	Emigration.	Surplus.
1901-1911	2,098,194	1,719,765	378,429

Year.	Born in India.	Increase.
1901	415,953	...
1911	493,699	77,746

in the exceedingly high death-rate among the majority of the immigrants from India, and partly in an actual recorded decrease in the immigrant Indian population of the Akyab District, which will be separately considered. If the figures for Akyab District be excluded the number of persons born in India increased by 107,679, from 342,221 in 1901 to 449,900 in 1911. A reference to Subsidiary Table III of Chapter II of this volume shews that Rangoon has the high death-rate of 41.28 per cent. for the decade 1901-1911. The principal contributory to this high rate is the large number of immigrant Indians congregated therein. They are mostly new to the climate, they have hard, long, and monotonous labour to perform, they are ill nourished, living penuriously with a view to saving the greater portion of their wages, and they are housed in barracks, which however efficiently kept and inspected, are but a poor substitute for home life. Such conditions produce an abnormally high death-rate amongst them. Even when steadied by the more normal rate of the ordinary population of Rangoon, the resultant is as high as 41.28 per cent. for the decade on the initial population. The surplus of immigration over emigration must not, therefore, be counted as a net gain of population to the province. In a great measure it is needed to maintain the numbers at a stationary level, and it is not until the large proportionate loss by death has been made good that an addition to the population by migration occurs. The net gains for the period 1901 to 1908 are much less than the surplus calculated in the first marginal statement of the preceding paragraph. But in 1908 the number of Indian immigrants was subjected to a double depletion. Instead of there being a surplus of immigration to compensate for the loss by death, there was a surplus of emigration to add to the loss by death, and to cause a marked reduction in their numbers. In the period from 1909-1911, there has been a partial recovery, and for the two years prior to the Census, immigration has exceeded emigration. But the excess has not been sufficient to cover the loss by death, and the number of Indian immigrants resident within the province must have progressively declined since 1908. It is to this loss for the past three years that the slight degree of increase in the number of immigrants from India is to be attributed. Had the enumeration taken place in 1908, an increase commensurate with that between 1891 and 1901 would have been recorded.

### 80. Seasonal migration between Chittagong and Akyab Districts.—

There are many reasons for a separate treatment of the migration between India and the Akyab District. It differs materially from the remaining immigration into Burma in that it comprises the only appreciable overland migration between Burma and India. (Every year, there is a periodic migration of coolies from Chittagong to assist in agricultural operations in Akyab. The amount of migration fluctuates greatly, falling to very small dimensions after a good season, and rising considerably

after a bad season, in Chittagong. Only a comparatively small number remain permanently behind in Akyab, the majority returning to their homes in Chittagong after the reaping of the crops.) The marginal statement shews a marked fall in the number of immigrants from India since 1909, due principally to a decline in the number of immigrants from Chittagong.

Immigration into Akyab District.			
Year.	From Chittagong.	From rest of India.	Total from India.
1911	30,521	13,278	43,799
1901	54,843	18,889	73,732
1891	54,734	6,421	61,155

The later date on which the Census was taken in 1911, the 10th March against the 1st March in 1901, must have had a considerable effect in reducing the numbers recorded. The first half of March is the period when the immigrants are returning to their homes in large numbers after the completion of harvest operations. A postponement of the record by ten days in the busiest portion of the emigration season would cause a marked reduction in the number of immigrants to be entered. But this could not account for the whole of the large decrease recorded, and the principal cause of the greater portion of the decrease is still to be considered. It is impossible, to test the records of birth-place by any recorded statistics of actual migration. [There are three main routes, one entirely by sea, by the steamers of the British India Company, one partly by land to Maungdaw, and thence by the steamers of the Arakan Flotilla Company, and the third entirely by land. No records of persons using the two latter methods of travelling are kept. Coming to Akyab, the majority of the immigrants travel by one of these two latter methods, not having sufficient means to pay for a passage by steamer direct to Akyab. On returning to Chittagong, the majority return direct by sea, partly because they have the means to pay for their passage, and partly because, if they have so far succeeded

Emigration by British India Steamers between Akyab and Bengal.		
Year.	Immigrants.	Emigrants.
1901	11,983	17,130
1902	15,227	27,807
1903	14,343	20,807
1904	14,774	19,702
1905	16,348	19,989
1906	19,292	20,976
1907	23,135	30,630
1908	36,421	41,503
1909	36,717	46,886
1910	36,623	55,888

in evading assessment to Capitation Tax, they are certain of escape, once they are on board. Accepting the figures for migration by sea as being a partial presentation of the total movement, it is seen that while the immigration for the past three years has remained stationary, emigration has largely increased. It would be perhaps too great an assumption to accept this tendency to increased emigration compared with immigration as typical of the whole. But the search for the cause of the increased emigration by sea has revealed a credible explanation of the general decline in the returns of persons in the Akyab District, recorded as being born in Chittagong. It is to be found in

the following extract from the Land Revenue Administration Report for Burma, for the year ending 30th June 1907 :—

"The number of persons assessed to capitation-tax rose by 24,620, a gratifying increase above the figures (5,575) of the previous year, and rather above than below the average increase of the preceding seven years, while the demand rose by Rs. 92,416, or somewhat less than that average. More than the entire increase in the number of assesses and almost the entire increase in the revenue demand were due to the energetic enforcement by the Deputy Commissioner, Major Stone, of the decision to assess systematically the Chittagonian coolies who visit Akyab District, annually, to work as agricultural labourers. The exact figures are 25,323 and Rs. 91,857, respectively. Mr. Houghton, the Commissioner of Arakan, to whom the thanks of Government are due for bringing the matter to its notice, observes that great as the increase is, the present figures are not much higher than those which would have been attained if the rate of increase prevailing between 1897-98 and 1901-02 had been continued. It was apprehended that a serious shortage in the labour supply might result from this policy, but the check on immigration proved only temporary. Two beneficial results are said to have accrued from the temporary check. Premature reaping, to which the Arakanese are prone, and excessive employment of hired labour, were somewhat diminished. Some mistakes were made at the start in carrying out the new policy. Thus, some of the immigrants, who usually come with only money for travelling expenses in their possession, were taxed immediately on arrival, and those who admitted to having wives in Chittagong



were assessed as married men at the higher rate of Rs. 5. The Steamer Companies, who do business between Chittagong and Akyab, complained with special reference to the system of assessment on arrival that their passenger traffic fell off. The Commissioner subsequently directed that the immigrants should not be assessed until they had been employed, and orders were also passed for the assessment of coolies whose wives were in Chittagong at the unmarried rate. The Deputy Commissioner remarks that these Chittagonian coolies come to Akyab, only when crops fail in Chittagong and work is scarce, and that changes in contemplation in Chittagong may provide them in a few years with sufficient work at home. Compared with the figures in Akyab, all other changes are insignificant."

In this extract, the decline and even the extinction of this migration is foreshadowed. Apart from the extra revenue received, the check on immigration resulting from the stringent assessment of the Capitation Tax is considered to have produced two beneficial results. It does not seem that any further explanations concerning the decline in the number of immigrants from Chittagong are needed. The migration is seasonal, and consequently the later date of the Census of 1901, at a time when the immigrants were returning to their homes, resulted in a smaller record; it is fluctuating, so that marked changes in numbers were to be anticipated; it has been subjected in the past few years to a heavy taxation from which it had hitherto been largely exempt; its diminution is considered to be productive of beneficial results by the local authorities, and the stringent assessment of the tax is stimulated by other than purely revenue considerations; its decline was foretold four years before the Census was taken; and finally, so far as the records of actual migration are available, they suggest that emigration is proceeding more rapidly than immigration. Apart entirely from a genuine decrease, it is probable that immigrants, fearing assessment to the tax, avoided being entered in the enumeration records.

**81. Abnormal age and sex distribution of Indian immigrants.**—In discussing the general influence of Indian migration on the province of Burma, it is necessary to draw attention to the remarkable disparity in the numbers of the sexes of the immigrants from India. A detailed discussion of the conditions and results of such disparity is, however, more pertinent to Chapters II and VI of this Report dealing with the "Movement of the Population" and "Sex", respectively. Reference should be made to these Chapters for a consideration of the disparity as it affects these phenomena, respectively. Similarly, the age distribution of the immigrants by which the population of the province between 15 and 45 years of age is unduly increased, can be discussed more suitably in Chapter V, specially devoted to a consideration of the ages of the inhabitants of the province, than in a Chapter dealing with the broad aspects of migration.

Persons born in India.	
Sex.	Numbers.
Male ...	423,169
Female ...	70,530
Disparity...	352,639

**82. Chinese immigration.**—Of the 88,626 persons recorded as being born in Asiatic countries other than India, 75,365 were born in China. It is possible by a combination of the figures recorded in Imperial Tables XI and XIII, to arrive at the number of Chinese immigrants, and the number of persons born in Burma claiming to be of Chinese race. The figures are approximate only, for it is not a fact that the Chinese in the province, not born in China, must necessarily have been born in Burma. Moreover, the crude figures from the Imperial Tables require modification to allow for extensions of census limits, and to enable the comparison to be made over identical areas for the years of comparison. In 1901, the inclusion of the Shan States was responsible for a small portion of the increase in the numbers of the Chinese recorded, and in 1911, the extension of Census limits to Kokang and West Manglun brought considerable numbers of Chinese on to the records. It is necessary to exclude the Specially Administered Territories if a comparison extending beyond the current census is to be attempted. Effecting this exclusion, it is seen that

Chinese Population of province.			
Year.	Total.	Born in China.	Born in Burma.
1911	122,834	75,365	47,469
1901	62,486	43,328	19,158
1891	41,457	23,060	18,397

Chinese Population of Burma Proper.			
Year.	Total.	Born in China.	Born in Burma.
1911	83,762	62,178	21,584
1901	57,780	40,216	17,564
1891	41,457	23,060	18,397



their small numbers. Their caste system is in a state of disintegration. More than a quarter of their numbers are casteless, to use a term which describes their condition better than the term "outcast." They are without a caste, not because they have been excluded from participation in the benefits of a caste organisation, but because caste has ceased to be a necessary portion of their social and economic equipment. If membership of a caste be considered as an essential condition of inclusion in the term Hindu, then large numbers returned as Hindus in Burma, are Hindus in name only. Indeed, the majority of the Hindus in the province are ripe for absorption by the indigenous Buddhist races. The process is continually

Hindus in Burma, 1911.		
Males ...	366,700	
Females ...	75,588	
Disparity ...	231,112	

in operation, but it is being continually obscured by the large amount of immigration from India. It is not only the casteless portion of the Hindu community which is being assimilated. The excess males, numbering 231,112, are either temporary immigrants or are likely to intermarry with women of Burmese race. In the former case, they do not add to the permanent strength of the Hindu community, and in the latter case, though they may retain their outward adherence to Hinduism, the process of absorption, which may take two or three generations to complete, has already commenced. The continuance of Hinduism in Burma on any but the most limited scale is dependent on a high rate of immigration into the province. It has been seen that during the past few years, the flow of Indian immigration, or rather, the net gain to the province by immigration, has been reduced. Should any development occur by which the amount of immigration should continue to be reduced appreciably, the Hindu community in Burma is not established on a sufficiently stable basis to resist absorption by the Buddhist races. Buddhism arose as a protest against the Brahmanic system of caste, and experience in Burma demonstrates that it operates as a disintegrating influence on the caste of the members of the Hindu community settled in the province. But for the fact that Hinduism has in the past received constant additions to its strength from India, the processes of disintegration and absorption would have proceeded at a more rapid pace. Even fortified by immigration, Hinduism remains a passive rather than an active force in the province. Its numerical strength is far in excess of the real amount of vitality it possesses. Many of its members are Hindus in name only, some having no caste at all, and others claiming castes to which they are not entitled. "Hindu" in Burma is a general term used to denote those persons of Indian birth and parentage who do not belong to other religions, rather than to describe a person holding membership of a recognised caste. It is a negative, or a remainder category, comprising numerous elements not actively belonging to it, except in the negative sense that they can be more easily entered under the designation "Hindu" than under any other term of classification. As such its influence and importance are not proportionate to its numbers.

**92. Mahomedanism.**—The Mahomedan population of Burma differs in many important particulars from its Hindu population. Most important of all the points of difference is the resistance offered by Mahomedanism to absorption by the Buddhist races. This is principally manifested in the race and religion of the issue of mixed marriages. Whereas the children of mixed marriages between Hindus and Burmese tend to become assimilated by the Burmese in the first or second generation, the children of mixed marriages between Mahomedans and Burmese, generally adopt the Mahomedan religion, and as members of the Zerbadi community live an independent racial life. One consequence of this is, that whereas the Hindu community is with few exceptions a modern community, the immigration of previous generations having been absorbed by Buddhism, the Mahomedan community has a much more lengthy association with the province. Throughout the whole length of the coast line of Burma, but more especially in the Akyab and Mergui Districts, are to be found indigenous Mahomedans, scarcely differentiated from the neighbouring Arakanese or Burmese in dress and speech and customs, the descendants of immigrants to the province many generations ago, yet who maintain their Mahomedan religion unaffected by the strength of their Buddhist surroundings. In considering the variation of the Hindu population, it was necessary to point out that of the three contributaries to its increase, immigration, natural increase, and intermarriage with the Burmese, the first was the most important factor. But with the Mahomedans, although it is impossible to obtain a quantitative estimate of the three constituent elements

of the increase, it is certain that natural increase among the Mahomedans themselves and intermarriage with the Burmese have far more effect on the variation than is the case with the Hindus.

Natural increase by the excess of births over death is greater because the disparity of the sexes is less. In 1901, there were 119,347 Mahomedan females in Burma compared with 48,544 Hindu females at that date, and the natural increase must necessarily have been greater among

the Mahomedans, especially as they form a rural and an indigenous population to a greater extent than the Hindus. As for intermarriage with the Burmese, the greater excess of Hindu males giving opportunities for a larger degree of intermarriage, would suggest that of the increases of Hindu and Mahomedan populations by this contributory, that for the Hindus would be the greater. But this *a priori* deduction needs to be discounted by two facts. The first is that a very large proportion of the excess of Hindu males consists of temporary immigrants, who do not intermarry and do not contribute to the increase of population. The second is that of the children of such intermarriages, those of Mahomedan and Burmese parentage with very few exceptions go to increase the numbers of Mahomedans, while only a minority of those of Hindu and Burmese parentage are to be counted as Hindus.

Over 52 per cent. of the Mahomedan inhabitants of Burma dwell in the districts of the Coast Ranges where they form 14.72 per cent. of the total population. This high percentage is principally due to the number of Mahomedans in Akyab (186,323) where they comprise 33.66 per cent. or over one-third of the population of the district.

Indeed, in this one district, 44 per cent. of the Mahomedans of the province are congregated. Mergui and Amherst Districts also show the comparatively high proportions of 8.81 and 6.22 per cent. of their total population as being Mahomedans. In the Deltaic Plains, only Rangoon, with 18.62 per cent. of its

population returned as Mahomedan, rises above the provincial percentage of 3.47. In the Central Basin, the two districts of Mandalay and Yamethin contribute half the Mahomedan population of the whole division. The increase in the Mahomedan population varies from 17 per cent. in the Coast Ranges to 37 per cent. in the Deltaic Plains, with a provincial increase of 24 per cent. This is about double the natural rate of increase. However, it is difficult to use the term natural rate of increase with respect to a population comprising a large excess of males, who intermarry readily with the women of another community. It is possible by utilising the statistics of the Zerbadi community to demonstrate the large effect produced by intermarriage with the Burmese, on the increase of the Mahomedan population. It is responsible for nearly a half of the total increase for the decade 1901-1911. The remaining increase must be distributed between immigration, and the natural increase of the Mahomedan population not affected by intermarriage. It is impossible to estimate their respective proportions, but it is obvious that compared with the part played by immigration in the increase of the Hindu population, it occupies but a subordinate place in the increase of the Mahomedans of the province.

In considering the distribution of the Mahomedan population between urban and rural areas, it is necessary to consider separately the figures for the province when Akyab district is included, and when it is omitted. The effect of its large

Mahomedan population.					
Year.	Population.	Percentage of total population.	Increase.		
			Actual.	Per cent.	
1891 ...	253,640	3.33	...	...	...
1901 ...	339,446	3.28	85,806	34	...
1911 ...	420,777	3.47	81,331	24	...

Mahomedans in Burma.		
Sex.	1901.	1911.
Males ...	220,099	271,428
Females ...	119,347	149,349
Disparity...	100,752	122,079

Zerbadis in Burma.		
Year.	Number.	Increase.
1901 ...	20,423	...
1911 ...	59,729	39,306

Distribution of Mahomedan population.				
Area.	Actual numbers, 1911.	Percentage of total population.	Increase per cent., 1901-11.	
Province ...	420,777	3.47	24	
Central Basin ...	61,927	1.51	26	
Deltaic Plains ...	127,043	2.93	37	
Northern Hill Districts	7,575	1.14	30	
Coast Ranges ...	221,010	14.72	17	
Specially Administered Territories.	3,202	.21	35	

Actual variation in Mahomedan population, 1901-1911.	
Increase of Zerbadis.	39,306
Remaining increase.	42,025
Total increase ..	81,331

Mahomedan rural population is so great, that, if included, the rural exceeds the urban population, the latter being only 35·15 per cent. of the total Mahomedan community.

Area.	Actual population.		Percentage of		
	Urban.	Rural.	Urban to total Mahomedan population.	Urban Mahomedan to total Urban population.	Rural Mahomedan to total Rural population.
Province ...	147,907	272,870	35·15	13·11	2·48
Province (Akyab excluded).	132,376	94,489	58·35	13·14	·90
Central Basin ..	33,669	28,258	8·00	8·84	·73
Deltaic Plains ...	80,138	46,905	19·05	13·90	1·24
Northern Hill Districts.	3,348	4,247	·80	11·12	·66
Coast Ranges ...	39,752	190,258	7·31	21·73	14·60
Specially Administered Territories.	...	3,202	...	...	·21

but if Akyab be included the percentage rises to 2·48.

93. Comparison of Hindu and Mahomedan Populations.—In his Census Report for 1901, Mr. Lewis makes the following comments on the respective rates of increase of the Hindu and Mahomedan communities in Burma:—

"The Hindus have increased within the past ten years at the rate of no less than 63 per cent., and of every ten thousand persons inhabiting Burma Proper, 303 on an average now profess the Hindu faith. The rise of 63 per cent. is lower than that which took place during the preceding decade (77 per cent.), and when compared with the 1872—81 figures (140 per cent.), dwindles into comparative insignificance. As it is, however, it is nearly double the Mahomedan rate of growth during the same decade. Everything points to the fact that the Hindus are gradually asserting their vast numerical superiority, and that, when their prejudices against sea voyages have been overcome, they are bound to outstrip all other competitors. In 1872 the number of Musalmans in British Burma was nearly three times as great as that of Hindus. Year by year during the past thirty years the disparity has been reduced; Census after Census has shown that the Hindus were creeping up. They are still behind the Mahomedans in number, and, so far as one can judge at this stage, they are not likely to have passed them even at the next decennial enumeration, but there seems to be no question that, unless the resources of the country first give out, they will in the end out number them."

Year.	Hindus.		Mahomedans.		Excess of Mahomedans.
	Numbers.	Increase.	Numbers.	Increase.	
1891 ...	173,432	...	253,640	...	80,208
1901 ...	285,484	112,052	339,446	85,806	53,962
1911 ...	389,679	104,195	420,777	81,331	31,098

though with reduced intensity. The Hindu and Mahomedan populations are both increasing at a slower rate than formerly, but the Hindu increase still maintains its lead both absolutely and relatively. It has diminished the superiority of the numbers of Mahomedans, but is still 31,098 behind. It is at present highly questionable whether the same tendencies will continue for the ensuing decade. The changes in migration observable during the past few years, if continued, will affect the Hindu population adversely to a much greater extent than the Mahomedan population is likely to be affected. The Hindu community is less firmly established. Its increase is more dependent on a continuation of a highly abnormal distribution of population which is rapidly being modified. It is more liable to adverse external influences and to internal disintegration. Now that the era of rapid transition succeeding the annexation of Upper Burma has closed, and a period of more steady progress set in, it is probable that the rate of increase of the adherents of the two religions will tend to approximate, and even that the Mahomedans may increase at a more rapid rate than the Hindus. Unless conditions change, it is not probable that the Hindus will be equal to the Mahomedans in numbers by the date of the next census.

94. Christianity.—The number of Christians in Burma on the date of the census was 210,081, an increase of 42 per cent. on the number returned in 1901. This rate of increase is nearly double of the rate of increase for the previous decade.