REPORT
OF THE
SUPERINTENDENT OF THE NINTH CENSUS.

Hon. C. Delano, Secretary of the Interior:

SIR: I have the honor to submit the following report:

The enumeration of inhabitants at the Ninth Census of the United States, which, by law, was commenced on the 1st of June, 1870, was substantially completed by the 9th of January, 1871. At that date returns had been received covering 38,333,417 persons, leaving 224,954, as was subsequently determined, to be returned, more than one-half of whom, it is fair to assume, had then been enumerated. Yet, for this inconsiderable fraction of the population the country was obliged to wait seven and a half months. On the 23d of February returns had been received covering all but 92,266 of the population. The last returns from any of the former free States were received April 3, 1871, comprising 271 names to complete the township of Lodi, Athens County, Ohio. On the 9th of June the number of persons still to be returned was 18,606. On the 23d of June returns were received from the last county of Mississippi. On the 29th of July returns were received from the last county of Texas. On the 23d of August returns were received from the townships of Bowen and Wharton's Creek, Madison County, Arkansas, (304 names,) completing the enumeration.

These delays, most vexations and most discreditable in a national work of such importance as the census of the United States, were, as you are aware, absolutely unavoidable, with existing census machinery. All the authority and all the resources which the law intrusts to this office and to the Department were employed in abundant season to have secured the completion of the entire work within the time prescribed, but for the ineradicable defects of the act of 1850, under which, with few and slight modifications, the census of the United States continues to be taken. Until the law shall vest in the Department the same control over its agents at the census which is possessed by other Departments in respect to their agents, and by this Department in respect to all its other operations, it will never be practicable to determine, within six months, the period for the completion of the census, nor to provide that, when the work is supposed to be finished, some portion of the territory shall not be found which has not been covered by the enumeration, and in which the service must be organized at the last moment, without due preparation and at a great and increasing disadvantage. With sincere deference, I submit that it is not worthy of a great nation that its census should be so tardily and so loosely taken as is inevitable in the United States under existing provisions of law.

CONSTITUTIONAL POPULATION.

Aggregate.—The constitutional population of the United States (excluding, that is, "Indians not taxed" and the inhabitants of the Territories) upon the 1st of June, 1870, as finally determined by the complete census, was 38,115,641. The positive increase during the decade had been 6,931,897, a gain of 22.22 per cent.

The thirty-four States which were in the Union in 1860 were found to have been affected by the changes of ten years, as follows:

Alabama had increased from 964,201 to 996,992, a gain of 3.40 per cent.: its rank among the States being 16 instead of 13, as in 1860.

Arkansas, from 485,450 to 484,471, a gain of 11.26 per cent.: rank, 26 instead of 25.
California, from 379,994 to 560,247, a gain of 47.44 per cent.: rank, 24 instead of 26.
Connecticut, from 469,147 to 537,454, a gain of 16.80 per cent.: rank, 25 instead of 24.
Delaware, from 112,216 to 125,015, a gain of 11.41 per cent.: rank, 34 instead of 32.
Florida, from 140,424 to 187,745, a gain of 33.70 per cent.: rank, 33 instead of 31.
Georgia, from 1,057,286 to 1,184,109, a gain of 12.00 per cent.: rank, 12 instead of 11.
Illinois, from 1,711,951 to 2,559,391, a gain of 45.36 per cent.: rank, 4, as in 1860.
Indiana, from 1,350,428 to 1,689,637, a gain of 24.45 per cent.: rank, 6, as in 1860.
Iowa, from 674,913 to 1,194,020, a gain of 76.91 per cent.: rank, 11 instead of 20.
Kansas, from 107,206 to 304,300, a gain of 230.90 per cent.: rank, 20 instead of 33.
Kentucky, from 1,155,634 to 1,321,011, a gain of 14.30 per cent.: rank, 8 instead of 9.
Louisiana, from 708,002 to 726,015, a gain of 2.67 per cent.: rank, 21 instead of 17.
Maine had decreased from 628,279 to 628,015, a loss of 0.22 per cent.: rank, 23 instead of 22.
Maryland had increased from 657,049 to 788,894, a gain of 13.66 per cent.: rank, 20 instead of 19.
Massachusetts, from 1,231,006 to 1,457,301, a gain of 18.38 per cent.: rank, 7, as in 1860.
Michigan, from 749,113 to 1,184,059, a gain of 58.06 per cent.: rank, 13 instead of 16.
Minnesota, from 172,023 to 439,706, a gain of 155.51 per cent.: rank, 28 instead of 39.
Mississippi, from 791,305 to 827,922, a gain of 4.63 per cent.: rank, 18 instead of 14.
Missouri, from 1,182,012 to 1,721,205, a gain of 45.62 per cent.: rank, 5 instead of 8.
New Hampshire had decreased from 326,073 to 318,300, a loss of 2.38 per cent.: rank, 31 instead of 27.
New Jersey had increased from 672,035 to 906,006, a gain of 34.83 per cent.: rank, 17 instead of 21.
New York, from 3,880,735 to 4,383,759, a gain of 12.94 per cent.: rank, 1, as in 1860.
North Carolina, from 992,622 to 1,071,301, a gain of 7.23 per cent.: rank, 14 instead of 12.
Ohio, from 2,339,511 to 2,665,200, a gain of 13.92 per cent.: rank, 3, as in 1860.
Oregon, from 52,465 to 90,923, a gain of 73.30 per cent.: rank, 36 instead of 34.
Pennsylvania, from 2,906,215 to 3,521,951, a gain of 21.19 per cent.: rank, 2, as in 1860.
Rhode Island, from 174,620 to 217,353, a gain of 24.47 per cent.: rank, 32 instead of 29.
South Carolina, from 703,708 to 705,006, a gain of 0.27 per cent.: rank, 22 instead of 18.
Tennessee, from 1,169,001 to 1,358,520, a gain of 13.40 per cent.: rank, 9 instead of 10.
Texas, from 604,215 to 818,579, a gain of 35.48 per cent.: rank, 10 instead of 28.
Vermont, from 515,008 to 330,561, a gain of 4.90 per cent.: rank, 30 instead of 28.
Virginia had decreased from 1,506,318 to 1,225,163, a loss of 23.25 per cent.: rank, 10 instead of 5.
Wisconsin had increased from 775,881 to 1,054,670, a gain of 35.93 per cent.: rank, 15, as in 1860.

The loss of constitutional population in Virginia was due to the erection of fifty counties into the State of West Virginia, comprising a constitutional population of 442,014, as determined by the Ninth Census. Adding this to the population of the present State of Virginia, we have a total of 1,667,177, a gain of 4.44 per cent. upon the return of Virginia in 1860.

The State of Nebraska, admitted into the Union in 1864, was found to have a constitutional population, on the 1st of June, 1870, of 123,993.

The State of Nevada, likewise admitted in 1864, was found to have a constitutional population of 42,491.

White.—Of this aggregate of 38,116,641, the white population embraced 33,203,128, an increase of 6,512,318 during the decade, or 24.39 per cent.

The white population of the several States had changed as follows:

Alabama, from 529,271 to 521,584, a loss of 0.93 per cent.: rank, 21 instead of 18.
Arkansas, from 324,143 to 362,115, a gain of 11.71 per cent.: rank, 26 instead of 25.
California, from 323,177 to 409,424, a gain of 26.54 per cent.: rank, 22 instead of 26.
Connecticut, from 461,504 to 537,649, a gain of 16.84 per cent.: rank, 20, as in 1860.
Delaware, from 69,589 to 102,221, a gain of 42.84 per cent.: rank, 34 instead of 32.
Florida, from 77,746 to 96,627, a gain of 23.55 per cent.: rank, 35 instead of 33.
Georgia, from 591,550 to 638,926, a gain of 8.01 per cent.: rank, 16 instead of 17.
Illinois, from 1,704,291 to 2,511,096, a gain of 47.34 per cent.: rank, 4, as in 1860.
Indiana, from 1,335,710 to 1,652,637, a gain of 23.60 per cent.: rank, 5, as in 1860.
Iowa, from 673,779 to 1,188,507, a gain of 76.35 per cent.: rank, 8 instead of 13.
Kansas, from 106,390 to 346,377, a gain of 225.57 per cent.: rank, 28 instead of 31.
Kentucky, from 919,484 to 1,038,692, a gain of 12.99 per cent.: rank, 10 instead of 9.
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Louisiana, from 357,456 to 362,065, a gain of 1.29 per cent. : rank, 27 instead of 22.
Maine, from 626,947 to 624,869, a loss of 0.34 per cent. : rank, 17 instead of 16.
Maryland, from 515,018 to 605,497, a gain of 17.36 per cent. : rank, 18 instead of 19.
Massachusetts, from 1,221,432 to 1,443,158, a gain of 18.15 per cent. : rank, 7 instead of 6.
Michigan, from 736,142 to 1,167,282, a gain of 58.57 per cent. : rank, 9 instead of 12.
Minnesota, from 162,395 to 438,237, a gain of 165.73 per cent. : rank, 23 instead of 30.
Mississippi, from 335,899 to 382,896, a gain of 8.19 per cent. : rank, 25 instead of 23.
Missouri, from 1,063,489 to 1,603,146, a gain of 50.74 per cent. : rank, 6 instead of 7.
New Hampshire, from 325,579 to 317,697, a loss of 2.43 per cent. : rank, 30 instead of 24.
New Jersey, from 646,069 to 875,407, a gain of 35.37 per cent. : rank, 13 instead of 14.
New York, from 3,383,150 to 4,330,210, a gain of 13.01 per cent. : rank, 1, as in 1860.
North Carolina, from 629,942 to 678,470, a gain of 7.70 per cent. : rank, 15, as in 1860.
Ohio, from 2,302,805 to 2,601,946, a gain of 12.99 per cent. : rank, 3, as in 1860.
Oregon, from 52,160 to 86,929, a gain of 66.66 per cent. : rank, 36 instead of 34.
Pennsylvania, from 2,849,259 to 3,456,600, a gain of 21.32 per cent. : rank, 2, as in 1860.
Rhode Island, from 170,649 to 212,219, a gain of 24.36 per cent. : rank, 32 instead of 29.
South Carolina, from 291,300 to 289,667, a loss of 0.56 per cent. : rank, 31 instead of 28.
Tennessee, from 826,723 to 936,119, a gain of 13.23 per cent. : rank, 12 instead of 10.
Texas, from 420,891 to 504,700, a gain of 19.17 per cent. : rank, 19 instead of 21.
Vermont, from 314,360 to 326,613, a gain of 4.85 per cent. : rank, 29 instead of 27.
Virginia, from 1,047,299 to 729,089, a loss of 32.01 per cent. : rank, 14 instead of 8.
Wisconsin, from 773,983 to 1,051,381, a gain of 35.98 per cent. : rank, 11, as in 1860.

Adding the white population of the State of West Virginia to that given for Virginia, we have a total of 1,136,122, a gain of 8.48 per cent. over the return for Virginia in 1860.

The State of Nebraska, admitted since the last census, was found to have a white population of 122,117.

The State of Nevada, likewise admitted since the last census, was found to have a white population of 38,959.

COLORED.—The colored population of the States had been affected by general causes and the events of the ten years, as follows:

The United States, from 4,427,294 to 4,335,106, a gain of 9.21 per cent.
Alabama, from 437,770 to 473,510, a gain of 8.62 per cent. : rank, 3, as in 1860.
Arkansas, from 111,259 to 122,169, a gain of 9.81 per cent. : rank, 12 instead of 13.
California, from 4,080 to 4,272, a gain of 4.55 per cent. : rank, 29 instead of 25.
Connecticut, from 8,627 to 9,668, a gain of 12.07 per cent. : rank, 26 instead of 22.
Delaware, from 21,627 to 22,794, a gain of 5.40 per cent. : rank, 21 instead of 19.
Florida, from 62,677 to 91,689, a gain of 46.29 per cent. : rank, 14, as in 1860.
Georgia, from 403,938 to 545,143, a gain of 35.06 per cent. : rank, 1 instead of 2.
Illinois, from 7,625 to 28,762, a gain of 277.06 per cent. : rank, 19 instead of 23.
Indiana, from 11,428 to 24,500, a gain of 114.91 per cent. : rank, 20, as in 1860.
Iowa, from 1,069 to 5,762, a gain of 439.01 per cent. : rank, 27 instead of 29.
Kansas, from 627 to 17,108, a gain of 2628.55 per cent. : rank, 23 instead of 31.
Kentucky, from 236,167 to 222,210, a loss of 5.91 per cent. : rank, 10 instead of 9.
Louisiana, from 359,373 to 364,210, a gain of 3.85 per cent. : rank, 7, as in 1860.
Maine, from 1,327 to 1,066, a gain of 21.02 per cent. : rank, 31 instead of 27.
Maryland, from 171,131 to 175,391, a gain of 2.49 per cent. : rank, 11, as in 1860.
Massachusetts, from 9,002 to 13,047, a gain of 45.25 per cent. : rank, 24 instead of 21.
Michigan, from 6,709 to 11,849, a gain of 74.28 per cent. : rank, 25 instead of 24.
Minnesota, from 259 to 759, a gain of 193.05 per cent. : rank, 34 instead of 33.
Mississippi, from 437,404 to 444,201, a gain of 1.55 per cent. : rank, 4, as in 1860.
Missouri, from 118,503 to 118,071, a loss of 0.36 per cent. : rank, 13 instead of 12.
New Hampshire, from 494 to 580, a gain of 17.41 per cent. : rank, 35 instead of 32.
New Jersey, from 25,336 to 30,658, a gain of 21.01 per cent. : rank, 18, as in 1860.
New York, from 49,005 to 59,081, a gain of 6.28 per cent. : rank, 17 instead of 16.
North Carolina, from 361,522 to 391,650, a gain of 8.33 per cent. : rank, 6, as in 1860.
Ohio, from 36,673 to 63,213, a gain of 72.37 per cent. : rank, 16 instead of 17.
Oregon, from 128 to 346, a gain of 170.31 per cent.: rank, 37 instead of 34.
Pennsylvania, from 56,949 to 65,294, a gain of 14.65 per cent.: rank, 15, as in 1860.
Rhode Island, from 3,952 to 4,980, a gain of 26.01 per cent.: rank, 28 instead of 26.
South Carolina, from 412,320 to 415,814, a gain of 0.82 per cent.: rank, 5, as in 1860.
Tennessee, from 283,019 to 322,331, a gain of 13.59 per cent.: rank, 8, as in 1860.
Texas, from 183,821 to 253,475, a gain of 38.57 per cent.: rank, 9 instead of 10.
Vermont, from 709 to 924, a gain of 30.32 per cent.: rank, 32 instead of 30.
Virginia, from 545,907 to 512,841, a loss of 6.57 per cent.: rank, 2 instead of 1.
Wisconsin, from 1,171 to 2,113, a gain of 80.44 per cent.: rank, 30 instead of 28.

Adding the colored population of the State of West Virginia to that given for Virginia, we have a total of 530,821, a loss of 3.29 per cent. upon the return for Virginia in 1860.

The State of Nebraska, admitted since the last census, was found to have a colored population of 759.
The State of Nevada, likewise admitted since the last census, was found to have a colored population of 357.

Chinese.—Twenty-three of the States were found to contain "Chinese," which description for census purposes was held to embrace Japanese, (who are, however, distinguished in the tables of population,) but to exclude Hawaiians. The number reported in each State was as follows: Arkansas, 98; California, 49,310; Connecticut, 2; Georgia, 1; Illinois, 1; Iowa, 3; Kentucky, 1; Louisiana, 71; Maine, 1; Maryland, 2; Massachusetts, 97; Michigan, 2; Mississippi, 16; Missouri, 3; Nevada, 3,152; New Jersey, 15; New York, 20; Ohio, 1; Oregon, 3,330; Pennsylvania, 14; South Carolina, 1; Texas, 25; Virginia, 4.

Indians Taxed.—In the absence of any constitutional, legal, or judicial definition of the phrase "Indians not taxed," as found in the Constitution and in the census law of 1850, it has been held for census purposes to apply only to Indians maintaining their tribal relations and living upon Government reservations.
The broken bands and the scattered remnants of tribes still to be found in many States of the Union, though generally in a condition of pauperism, have been included in the enumeration of the people. By the fact of breaking away from their tribal relations they are regarded as having entered the body of citizens, and as subject to taxation from the point of view of the Constitution, although they may be exempted actually from taxation by local legislation or by the accident of pauperism. It has been held that it was not necessary that a member of this race should be proved to have actually paid taxes, in order to take him out of the class "Indians not taxed," but only that he should be found in a position, so far as the authorities or agents of the census can know, to be taxed were he in possession of property. His pauperism has been regarded as an individual accident, which cannot possibly affect his constitutional relations. Even where the lands formerly belonging to a tribe have been granted in severality, without the right of alienation or sale, and the land itself exempted from taxation, such special provisions have been regarded rather as an exception to ordinary legislation in respect to personal rights and personal obligations, made in the interest of the community, than as creating a class to be excluded from the enumeration of the people. The provisions of the Constitution in regard to the enumeration of Indians, being invidious and opposed to the general spirit of that instrument, and even more emphatically opposed to the spirit of recent legislation and of the late constitutional amendments, should be construed strictly and not liberally.

In 1860 the same principle appears to have been applied in determining the representative population of the States. Reference to pages 598 and 599 of the population volume of the Eighth Census will show that all the Indians embraced in the table of general population were included in the representative population of their respective States, except for the State of California.
The reason for excluding Indians in making up the representative population of California was undoubtedly found in the fact that in 1860 the Indians of that State were mainly upon Government reservations, some of which have since been abolished. There appears no longer to be any reason for treating the State of California exceptionally in respect to the Indians found upon its territory. To have made the treatment of this class at the census of 1860 consistent throughout, the 17,798 Indians of California should not have been included at all in the statements of constitutional population.

The number of Indians in each State returned under this construction, as forming a part of the constitutional population, was as follows for each State of the Union, except Delaware, in which State no Indians were found: Alabama, 98; Arkansas, 89; California, 7,241; Connecticut, 235; Florida, 2; Georgia, 40; Illinois, 32; Indiana, 240; Iowa, 48; Kansas, 914; Kentucky, 108; Louisiana, 569; Maine, 49; Maryland, 4; Massachusetts, 151; Michigan, 4,026; Minnesota, 600; Mississippi, 809; Missouri, 75; Nebraska, 87; Nevada, 23; New Hampshire, 23; New Jersey 16; New York, 439; North Carolina, 1,241; Ohio, 100; Oregon, 318; Pennsylvania, 34; Rhode Island, 154; South Carolina, 124; Tennessee, 79; Texas, 379; Vermont, 14; Virginia, 229; West Virginia, 1; Wisconsin, 1,206.
HALF-BREEDS.—Another question seriously affecting the return of Indians in the census is the treatment of half-breeds, in which term persons with any perceptible trace of Indian blood, whether mixed with white or with negro stock, are popularly included. How shall these be treated? Shall they be regarded as following the condition of the father or of the mother? Or, again, shall they be classified with respect to the superior or to the inferior blood? When it is considered how few of pure Indian race are to be found outside of Government reservations, and how variously mixed are even the camps and settlements, popularly known as Indian, in the older States of the Union, it will be seen that the decision of the question must affect in an important degree the numbers of this class to be returned in the census.

It has been held that in treating this question the Census Office is not to be concluded or in the least constrained by analogy from laws or judicial decisions relating to the former slave population of the country. The rule that the child should follow the condition of the mother was the bad necessity of a bad cause, which required every point to be construed against freedom. Something very nearly opposed to this would seem to be in accordance with the present spirit of our laws, as well as to be the dictate of common sense. The principle which has governed in the classification of persons of part-Indian blood in the present census has been as follows: Where persons reported as "Half-breeds" are found residing with whites, adopting their habits of life and methods of industry, such persons are to be treated as belonging to the white population. Where, on the other hand, they are found in communities composed wholly or mainly of Indians, the opposite construction is taken. In a word, in the equilibrium produced by the equal division of blood, the habits, tastes, and associations of the half-breed are allowed to determine his gravitation to the one class or the other. It is believed that this is at once the most logical and the least cumbersome treatment of the subject, in the manifest inexpediency of attempting to trace and record all the varieties of this race, especially considering the small and fast-decreasing numbers in which it is found within the States of the Union.

EMANCIPATION AS AFFECTING REPRESENTATIVE POPULATION.

But the statements presented above do not express the full measure of the political effects which have been wrought by the changes of the ten years ending June 1, 1870.

At each of the eight preceding censuses, the constitutional population of the United States has exceeded the representative population by a rate ranging from 5.34 to 7.37 per cent., by reason of the exclusion of two-fifths of the slaves from the basis of representation.

Assuming that the free colored population in 1870 would have borne the same ratio to the total colored population as in 1860, emancipation has added to the representative population of fifteen of the States existing in 1860, represented at present by sixteen States, in consequence of the organization of the State of West Virginia, in proportions varying from 0.61 to 29.88 per cent. In Alabama the effect of this change is to add 23.94 per cent. to the otherwise representative population; in Arkansas, 11.20 per cent.; in Delaware, 0.61 per cent.; in Florida, 23.38 per cent.; in Georgia, 22.36 per cent.; in Kentucky, 6.87 per cent.; in Louisiana, 23.42 per cent.; in Maryland, 4.80 per cent.; in Mississippi, 27.86 per cent.; in Missouri, 2.75 per cent.; in North Carolina, 15.46 per cent.; in South Carolina, 29.88 per cent.; in Tennessee, 11.09 per cent.; in Texas, 14.11 per cent.; in Virginia, 12.88 per cent.

The total effect of this cause is to add 13.92 per cent. to the otherwise representative population of the Southern States, and 4.60 per cent. to the otherwise representative population of the United States.

ACTUAL PRESENT REPRESENTATIVE POPULATION.

The joint result of the changes in the constitutional population of the several States, and of the emancipation of the slave population in the fifteen Southern States, is to increase the representative population of the Union to 38,115,641 as against 29,550,028,* being a gain of 28.00 per cent. over that of 1860, distributed as follows:

Alabama, from 790,199 to 996,992, a gain of 26.17 per cent.
Arkansas, from 391,064 to 484,471, a gain of 23.90 per cent.
California, from 362,196 to 560,247, a gain of 54.68 per cent.
Connecticut, from 460,147 to 537,454, a gain of 16.80 per cent.
Delaware, from 111,496 to 125,015, a gain of 12.13 per cent.
Florida, from 115,726 to 187,748, a gain of 62.23 per cent.
Georgia, from 872,406 to 1,184109, a gain of 35.73 per cent.

* The column for representative population as found upon pp. 598 and 599 of the population volume of the Eighth Census, contains an error of 100 in the State of Pennsylvania, which has here been corrected.
Illinois, from 1,711,951 to 2,539,391, a gain of 48.36 per cent.
Indiana, from 1,350,428 to 1,680,637, a gain of 24.45 per cent.
Iowa, from 674,913 to 1,194,020, a gain of 76.91 per cent.
Kansas, from 107,206 to 364,399, a gain of 230.91 per cent.
Kentucky, from 1,065,490 to 1,321,011, a gain of 23.93 per cent.
Louisiana, from 575,311 to 736,915, a gain of 26.35 per cent.
Maine, from 628,279 to 626,915, a loss of 0.22 per cent.
Maryland, from 652,173 to 780,894, a gain of 19.74 per cent.
Massachusetts, from 1,321,066 to 1,437,351, a gain of 13.38 per cent.
Michigan, from 749,113 to 1,184,059, a gain of 58.06 per cent.
Minnesota, from 172,023 to 430,706, a gain of 155.01 per cent.
Mississippi, from 616,652 to 827,929, a gain of 34.26 per cent.
Missouri, from 1,136,939 to 1,721,295, a gain of 51.52 per cent.
Nebraska, 122,998, admitted since 1860.
Nevada, 42,491, admitted since 1860.
New Hampshire, from 326,073 to 318,300, a loss of 2.38 per cent.
New Jersey, from 672,027 to 606,036, a gain of 34.33 per cent.
New York, from 3,880,735 to 4,382,759, a gain of 12.84 per cent.
North Carolina, from 589,197 to 1,071,361, a gain of 24.55 per cent.
Ohio, from 2,339,511 to 2,665,260, a gain of 13.92 per cent.
Oregon, from 22,463 to 90,923, a gain of 333.9 per cent.
Pennsylvania, from 2,906,215 to 3,521,951, a gain of 21.19 per cent.
Rhode Island, from 174,620 to 217,333, a gain of 24.47 per cent.
South Carolina, from 542,745 to 705,006, a gain of 30.01 per cent.
Tennessee, from 999,513 to 1,258,520, a gain of 25.91 per cent.
Texas, from 531,188 to 818,579, a gain of 54.10 per cent.
Vermont, from 315,098 to 330,551, a gain of 4.90 per cent.
Virginia, from 1,399,972 to 1,223,183, a loss of 12.49 per cent.
West Virginia, 442,014, organized since 1860.
Wisconsin, from 775,881 to 1,054,670, a gain of 35.93 per cent.

**APPORTIONMENT OF REPRESENTATIVES UNDER THE NINTH CENSUS.**

With a total representative population of 33,115,641, and with the number of Representatives in Congress fixed by the act of March 4, 1862, at 241, the application of the rule for apportionment prescribed by the act of May 23, 1850, is found to entitle the several States of the Union to representation as follows: Alabama, 6; Arkansas, 3; California, 4; Connecticut, 3; Delaware, 1; Florida, 1; Georgia, 7; Illinois, 16; Indiana, 11; Iowa, 7; Kansas, 2; Kentucky, 8; Louisiana, 6; Maine, 4; Maryland, 5; Massachusetts, 9; Michigan, 7; Minnesota, 3; Mississippi, 5; Missouri, 11; Nebraska, 1; Nevada, 1; New Hampshire, 3; New Jersey, 6; New York, 28; North Carolina, 7;

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*Be it enacted, &c., That from and after the third day of March, eighteen hundred and sixty-three, the number of members of the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States shall be two hundred and forty-one; and the eight additional members shall be assigned one each to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, Vermont, and Rhode Island.

Approved, March 4, 1862.

Sect. 25. And be it further enacted, That so soon as the next and each subsequent enumeration of the inhabitants of the several States, directed by the Constitution of the United States to be taken, shall be completed and returned to the office of the Department of the Interior, it shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Interior to ascertain the aggregate representative population of the United States, by adding to the whole number of free persons in all the States, including those bound to service for a term of years and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons; which aggregate population he shall divide by the number two hundred and thirty-three, and the product of such division, rejecting any fraction of a unit, if any such happen to remain, shall be the ratio, or rule of apportionment, of representatives among the several States under such enumeration; and the said Secretary of the Department of the Interior shall then proceed, in the same manner, to ascertain the representative population of each State, and to divide the whole number of the representative population of each State by the ratio already determined by him as above directed; and the product of this last division shall be the number of Representatives apportioned to such State under the then last enumeration: Provided, That the loss in the number of members caused by the fractions remaining in the several States, on the division of the population thereof, shall be compensated for by assigning to so many States having the largest fractions, one additional member each for its fraction as may be necessary to make the whole number of Representatives two hundred and thirty-three: And provided also, That if, after the apportionment of the Representatives under the next, or any subsequent census, a new State or States shall be admitted into the Union, the Representative or Representatives assigned to such new State or States shall be in addition to the number of Representatives herein above limited, which excess of Representatives over two hundred and thirty-three shall only continue until the next succeeding apportionment of Representatives under the next succeeding census.

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Ohio, 17; Oregon, 1; Pennsylvania, 22; Rhode Island, 1; South Carolina, 4; Tennessee, 8; Texas, 5; Vermont, 2; Virginia, 8; West Virginia, 3; Wisconsin, 7.

With a view to easier reference and verification, the process by which these results are obtained is indicated in the following table; and for the greater convenience, possibly, of members of Congress in discussing the effect of any enlargement of the representation, up to the limit of twenty-five per cent, the calculation has been repeated, in respect to each State, on the assumption of an increase in the number of members of the House of Representatives, successively, to 250, 260, 270, 280, 292, and 300:

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<th>STATES</th>
<th>241.</th>
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<td>Ratio: 1 to 148,584</td>
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<td>Ratio: 1 to 135,391</td>
<td>Ratio: 1 to 128,563</td>
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<td>Ratio: 1 to 119,120</td>
<td>Ratio: 1 to 112,563</td>
<td>Ratio: 1 to 108,160</td>
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<td>Ratio: 1 to 98,717</td>
<td>Ratio: 1 to 96,717</td>
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<td>Ratio: 1 to 97,871</td>
<td>Ratio: 1 to 95,503</td>
<td>Ratio: 1 to 92,707</td>
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<td>Ratio: 88,172</td>
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<td>Ratio: 86,027</td>
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*Subject to constitutional provision assigning at least one Representative to each State, whatever its population.
TRUE POPULATION.

The Territories.—The Constitution, as a matter of course, contains no requirement for any enumeration of persons outside the States of the Union. The census law of 1850, however, makes provision for enumerating the inhabitants of the several Territories upon the same terms as the inhabitants of the States; and such enumeration has been made in connection with the Ninth Census. The results will be found in detail in the several tables of the present volume, and in the aggregate, as well as with certain distinctions of race and color, in the table following.

Alaska.—No special provision of law exists for any enumeration within the newly acquired District of Alaska; nor was it found practicable to organize the census service there under the general powers conferred by the act of 1850, or as an incident to the operations of the Treasury or the War Departments. In order, however, to present the statistics of the true population of the country formally complete, that district has been included in the table following, the population of the several classes being there stated according to the best available data, consisting mainly of reports, nominal lists, &c., from officers of the Army on duty in that military department.

Indians not taxed.—It is to be regretted that the census law of 1850, while extending the enumeration required by the Constitution to the inhabitants of the Territories, should have followed the narrower rule of that instrument in respect to the Indian population. The phrase of the Constitution, "Indians not taxed," seems to have been adopted by the framers of the census law as a matter of course. Now the fact that the Constitution excludes from the basis of representation "Indians not taxed" affords no possible reason why, in a census which is on its face taken with equal reference to statistical as to political interests, such persons should be excluded from the population of the country. They should, of course, appear separately, so that the provisions of the Constitution in regard to the apportionment of Representatives may be carried out; but they should appear, nevertheless, as a constituent part of the population of the country viewed in the light of all social, economical, and moral principles. An Indian not taxed should, to put it upon the lowest possible ground, be reported in the census just as truly as the vagabond or panper of the white or the colored race. The fact that he sustains a vague political relation is no reason why he should not be recognized as a human being, by a census which counts even the cattle and horses of the country. The practical exclusion of Indians from the census creates a hiatus which is wholly unnecessary, and which goes to impair that completeness which affords a great part of the satisfaction of any statistical work. With a view, therefore, to reaching the true population of the country as nearly as is practicable in the absence of distinct authority for the appointment of assistant marshals to enumerate the several tribes and bands of Indians, inquiries were conducted extensively through the agents of the Indian Office during the year 1870, the result of which, it is believed, has been to secure a closer approximation to the true numbers of this class of the population than has ever before been effected.

The following table, therefore, in which these several elements, omitted from the enumeration, are made to appear, presents the ultimate facts of the population of the United States, so far as it is possible to reach them by all the agencies directly or indirectly at the command of the authorities of the Census. In this table, however, no attempt has been made to allow for omissions occurring in the enumeration of the classes of persons recognized by the census law and embraced on the schedule of inhabitants. It is one of the faults of the present system that not only will such omissions occur, but they occur so erratically and irrationally as to make it impossible to reach anything like a satisfactory estimate of their extent, or their distribution between classes of the population or sections of the country.
## TABLE OF THE POPULATION

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<tr>
<th>STATES AND TERRITORIES</th>
<th>Aggregate</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Colored</th>
<th>Chinese</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Out of tribal relations</th>
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<td>33,333,268</td>
<td>4,353,367</td>
<td>63,971</td>
<td>333,739</td>
<td>23,739</td>
<td>577,081</td>
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<tr>
<td>States</td>
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<tr>
<th>INDIAN. <strong>REMAINING TRIBAL RELATIONS.</strong></th>
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<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Male children</th>
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**Note:** The table continues with similar entries for each state and territory, indicating population statistics and demographic details.
RETARDATION OF THE NATIONAL INCREASE.

Undoubtedly much popular disappointment exists at finding the population of the country below forty millions, exclusive of Indians. But it must be remembered that nearly all who had made a special study of the laws of population were, before the enumeration, agreed in placing the total number of inhabitants in the neighborhood of thirty-nine millions. Those who looked for a higher figure, of whom the writer confesses to have been one, took counsel rather of their patriotism than of their judgment, and would have been troubled to give a solid reason for such an expectation. A few simple considerations will suffice to show that the argument was altogether with those who accepted the smaller number.

But for the war and for causes which, whether due to the war or not, came in at nearly the same time, the population of the United States might have been expected, according to ascertained rates of increase, to be in the neighborhood of forty-one and a half millions on the 1st of June, 1870. The rule of geometrical progression has, indeed, been invoked by some to prove that our population, but for the war, would have reached forty-two and a half millions. Geometrical progression is, however, attained in few things human, and maintained long in none. A better rule for finding the population of the country would have been by the use of the mathematical principle of differences, second differences being assumed constant. The following table, prepared by E. B. Elliott, esq., chief clerk of the Bureau of Statistics, exhibits the true projection of the population of 1870, according to the line of ascent from 1830 to 1860:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1830</th>
<th>1840</th>
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<td>First-differences</td>
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<td>6,838,428</td>
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<td>2,685,332</td>
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<td>2,685,332</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Excluding Indians, as previously.

It will require but a brief review of the notorious and palpable effects of the war to account for the loss of the three millions which make up the difference between the population of the country as projected from previous experience and the population reached by the census.

First. The retardation of increase in the colored population.

To make up the total of forty-one and a half millions we should have had to rely on the colored element for an increase of something like one million, which would have been their proportional gain in ten years, according to previous experience. This expected gain has been so far neutralized that we have instead but 438,179 as the increase of this portion of our population. Drawn largely from the plantations, where their increase was natural, rapid, and sure, to cities and camps, where want, vice, and pestilence made short work of the multitudes hastily gathered, inadequately provided for, and left for the first time to their own control, while so much of the impulse to procreation as depended on the profits of slave-breeding was withdrawn by the abolition of chattelism, it is only to be wondered at that the colored people of the South have held their own in the ten years since 1860.

Second. The direct loss by wounds and disease.

The losses of the Union armies are fixed by the Surgeon General’s Office at something over 304,000. This sum, however, embraces only those who died during their term of service. There were discharged 285,000, on account of the several causes of disability recognized by the medical authorities of the Army. Probably two-thirds of these were discharged for disabilities not immediately affecting the duration of life. It is probably fair to assume that the remaining third may be added to the direct losses of the Army from wounds or disease.

Tens of thousands were discharged to die; tens of thousands died within the first few months after discharge. Tens of thousands more lingered through the first or second year. If, in addition to these numbers, we allow for the accelerated mortality of the two millions of persons enlisted into the service of the United States who neither died in service nor were discharged for disability, but who carried out with them the seeds of disease contracted under the hardships and exposures of campaign, or returned to civil life with shattered constitutions though with no developed disease, 500,000 will surely be a moderate estimate for the direct losses among the Union armies.

The losses of the so-called confederate armies are less easily and satisfactorily determined. We know that the total number of men enlisted into that service was scarcely more than half the aggregate of enlistments on the Union side. But, as an offset, three things are notorious: First, the average term of service was much longer, being generally “for the war;” second, the material of the confederate armies was more completely and continuously used; third, a much larger proportion of the sick and wounded died, from the want of skilled medical and surgical
attendance, of proper medical supplies, and of stimulating and nourishing food. Without attempting to deal at all nicely with this subject, it is difficult to see how any one could, upon reflection, place the losses of the confederate armies at less than 350,000 men.

We reach, therefore, the total result of a direct loss to the male population of the country of not less than 850,000. Popular opinion would undoubtedly place this total much higher, and, in such a matter, popular judgments are quite as likely to be correct as judgments formed from the contemplation of statistical data necessarily partial and incomplete.

Third. The indirect loss by the war, in the check given to the increase of the native population.

For nearly four years an average body of a million and a half of men, from eighteen to forty-five years of age, were withdrawn from domestic life. Speaking roughly, one-half of these were unmarried men, who, on account of their military engagements failed to form marriage relations. The other half were married men, whose families were rarely increased by birth during the continuance of the war. The number thus withdrawn from domestic life for four years bore no small proportion to the total male population of the ages when marriages are formed and children begotten.

Fourth. The indirect loss by the war, in the check given to immigration.

For the four years preceding the war the accession by immigration aggregated 649,354; in the four years following the war, 1,163,128; during the four years of the war, only 553,605. Assuming for the middle period a mean between the first and last periods, we shall have a loss, from this source alone, of 352,000.

A fifth cause may be alluded to, namely, the notorious growth of habits of life in many sections of the country which tend strongly to reduce the rate of the national increase, and which, if persisted in, will make the showing of another census hardly so satisfactory as the present, even without a devastating war to account for the loss of hundreds of thousands in hospital and on the battle-field. No one can be familiar with life in the Eastern and Middle States generally, and in the Western cities, and not be aware that children are born to American parents as they were in the early days of the country. Luxury, fashion, and the vice of "boarding" combine to limit the increase of families to a degree that in some sections even threatens the perpetuation of our native stock. This tendency is not one that requires to be brought out by statistical comparisons. It is patent, palpable, and needs no proof.

There are still other indications that the United States, as they are passing “from the gristle to the solid bone of manhood,” are also losing somewhat of that rapid growth which is the characteristic of youth alone; and that we shall have to be content hereafter, as a nation, with something less than our former rate of increase. But this is not the place to dwell on such considerations. Enough has been adduced to account amply for the falling-off in the national rate of progress during the decade. Indeed, under such tremendous losses as the country has sustained, it is wholly wonderful that it should have held its own, and even made a positive gain in ten years of more than seven millions. Nothing but the irresistible vigor of our stock, the noble opportunities afforded by our expanding territory, and the provocatives of our bracing air and generous diet, would have sufficed to repair such losses and make such gains.

THOROUGHNESS OF THE ENUMERATION.

It is believed that the enumeration of the people at the present census has been as carefully and honestly performed, in every part of the country, as at any preceding period.* In no section has the percentage of loss, taking city and country together, been considerable. The field, on the whole, has been thoroughly cleaned, and, in the great majority of subdivisions, far more pains has been taken, under the stimulus of public criticism, than the Government paid for, or had reason to expect.

It is not claimed that the census of any State is perfect, for a perfect census cannot be taken in any State with the machinery established by existing laws. The omissions which have occurred, however, are probably not sufficient in any case to affect the practical result of congressional representation, although any degree of error, in a work of such a character, is excessively annoying to every person of the least statistical instinct.

* I cannot but believe, upon full consideration of all the information which it has been possible to gather on the subject, that the two practices of “farming out” subdivisions, and of “taking the census” at elections and on court days, instead of through the visitation by the assistant marshal of each dwelling-house in his subdivision, in turn, were general throughout the Southern States in 1850 and 1860, and not infrequent elsewhere. Both these practices are in direct violation of law and of the assistant marshal’s oath. Both are in the last degree destructive of all accuracy of enumeration. At the Ninth Census, the most stringent instructions were issued on this subject, criminal prosecution was threatened against all offenders, and general publication was made through the newspapers of the fact that such practices were illegal, and information was solicited of all violations of law in these respects. It is believed that this effort resulted, notwithstanding the absence of legal provision for the proper inspection of the census work during its progress, in the suppression, substantially, of these practices.
Complaints against the census, under the protracted system of enumeration, are a matter of course. Intelligent and candid persons will say, and persist in saying, that they and their families have not been taken, though all the time their names are found fully and fairly written upon the returns of the assistant marshal. This sort of complaint is to be expected; and no one who has had experience of these matters will give any credence to such statements. In the case of ninety-nine out of a hundred individual complaints of persons or families omitted in the enumeration, examination of the returns will prove the census right—the explanation being that, after failing, perhaps upon repeated trials, to obtain the information directly, the assistant marshal has obtained it as best he could, from neighbors, from relatives, from business partners, from family physicians, or even from family tradesmen; not a good way to obtain it, certainly, but under the American system often the only one open to the agent of the census.

The largest proportion of actual to reported omissions which was brought to the notice of the Census Office during the enumeration, (except in localities where, by reason of the flagrant delinquency of the assistant marshal a re-enumeration was ordered,) was in Hartford, Connecticut, where, out of twenty-one cases of complaint, it was found that in thirteen the names had actually been taken; in three instances individuals had been forgotten by employers or landlords, when making return of their households, no fault being imputed to the agents of the census; in the remaining five cases the names of the parties had been omitted by reason of their being out of town at the time their houses were visited by the assistant marshal. Out of many hundreds of cases investigated by the marshal of New York City, in all but five or six the names were found duly recorded on the lists of inhabitants, or else it was found, on inquiry at the residences indicated, that no such persons were known: the charges of omission having been made through the public press wholly for political effect.

Another class of complaints, entitled to more consideration, have been due to exaggerated and unreasonable expectations as to the population to be ascertained at the present census, particularly in regard to certain cities and sections. The internal changes of the United States for the last ten years have been so fierce and rapid as to put calculation at defiance. In the absence of definite information estimates as to the growth of cities and States soon become wild and extravagant. Cities vie with cities, and States with States, in their boasts of population and of wealth, like individuals bidding against each other at an auction, until the most palpable facts in the case are lost sight of, and the extravagances of competitors become a sufficient reason for even more extravagant estimates. Claims that perhaps were first made in a spirit of banter soon are taken as serious, and in the event people become angry to find that not true which was originally asserted only to irritate a rival.

It is worthy of remark in this connection that few, if any, serious complaints have been made in regard to the results of the census in cities of the second or third class. It has been mainly in the smaller cities, and in smart towns that aspire to be considered cities, as also in cities of the first class, disputing the supremacy of the continent, that these complaints have arisen. It is worthy of remark, also, in the same connection, that the complaints, in the great majority of such instances, have been not so much on account of the inadequate representation of the town or city itself, as of the superiority attributed to some immediate rival. If one will try to imagine any one of fifty enterprising western cities perfectly satisfied with the result of the census in respect both to its own population and to that of its neighbors, he will be in a fair position to decide on the degree of credit which should be attached to vague and unsupported complaints against the census.

RE-ENUMERATION OF NEW YORK AND PHILADELPHIA.

The severest test of the general accuracy of the Ninth Census that could possibly have been applied, was through the re-enumeration of the cities of New York and Philadelphia, under the provisions of an executive order.

Popular opinion had attributed to Philadelphia a population of at least 800,000 souls. There were not wanting intelligent persons who claimed for the city as many as 850,000 inhabitants. When, therefore, the progress of the census indicated the return of only a little over 650,000, great and not unreasonable disappointment and dissatisfaction were felt, to meet which the President, most fortunately, directed the census to be retaken. No complaints had been made in respect to the manner in which the United States marshal or his assistants discharged their duties. It was admitted that a better body of officers had never served the Government; but it was urged that the census, the usual inhabitants of Philadelphia absent from the city during the season when, by law, the enumeration was to be conducted, was so great as to reduce the population by at least one-sixth, if not one-quarter.

The re-enumeration was conducted in the fullest concord and cooperation with the city authorities—in my belief so much so as to render the agents of the census even unudly ready to admit names into their lists where there was reasonable doubt whether they had not already been taken elsewhere; the season was that in which the city realizes
REPORT OF THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE NINTH CENSUS.

its greatest population, and thousands are back for the winter who have country-seats at which they might properly be taken under the law: yet the gain by re-enumeration was but 10,745 on a former return of 657,277, or two and a half per cent.

In New York the vindication of the census was even more complete. The city authorities had there committed themselves to the deepest hostility against the census; and both the original enumeration and the re-enumeration under executive order were followed with eager and vindictive criticism, while every obstacle, short of actual physical resistance, was thrown in the way of the agents of the General Government. Yet the gain upon re-enumeration, after a most searching and comprehensive canvass, which I do not hesitate to pronounce a masterpiece of executive function, reflecting the highest credit on the distinguished officer who conducted it in person, was but 18,345, on an original return of 923,944,* being, as nearly as possible, two per cent.

Differences no greater than these between a summer and a winter enumeration of cities of the extent of New York and Philadelphia, and with such peculiar conditions in respect to industry and residence, prove conclusively that the United States marshals and their assistants overcame, to a remarkable degree, the difficulties attending the census of such a population in the summer months. In New York, especially, the result of the re-enumeration may fairly be taken as indicating the minimum of omission to be expected in the census of city populations under existing laws. I say minimum, because I feel assured that the degree of executive ability brought to the work in New York cannot be surpassed and will rarely be equaled.

THE ESSENTIAL VICIOUSNESS OF A PROTRACTED ENUMERATION.

In dealing so summarily with the charges that are made popularly and loosely against every enumeration, during its progress, I do not wish to be understood as asserting for the Ninth Census anything like absolute completeness. The real faults of the census are generally those that are not complained of. The individuals and classes of citizens making the loudest complaints, are commonly not those with respect to whom the census commits its errors. The cities and sections that are most noisy in their dissatisfaction are commonly those which are best taken, and for that very reason. It is in regions where apathy prevails in regard to the results of the enumeration, and it is in respect to individuals and families that neither write for the newspapers nor read them, that the greater part of the omissions of the census occur. Yet, in each and all, more of error inevitably enters, through the inadequacy of the provisions of the existing census law, than is pleasant to contemplate. The protracted system of enumeration is essentially vicious, and it is not possible to cure the evil by any course of administrative treatment.

By the census law of 1850 assistant marshals were allowed until the 1st of November to complete the enumeration of their subdivisions, and the Secretary of the Interior was authorized, at his discretion, to extend the time in certain districts until the 1st of January following. The provisions of law remained the same for the census of 1860, but the instructions of the Secretary of the Interior required assistant marshals to complete their returns on or before the 15th of August. This limitation was of course not authoritative, and no administrative correction could be applied to any assistant marshal who should take for his work the whole time allowed by law. By the act of May 6, 1870, the time for making returns on Schedule No. 1, was limited to the 10th of September, while the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to grant an extension not later than the 1st of October. The period, therefore, contemplated for the completion of the census was, in round numbers, one hundred days.

Now, where the enumeration of a people is extended over such a period of time, a de facto enumeration is or course impossible. The country must be content with an enumeration which affords, in its very nature, but an approximation, more or less inexact, to the real number of inhabitants. A definition of residence must be introduced into the law and the schedules; and it is inevitable that by the inherent vagueness of such definitions considerable numbers will escape enumeration. This is not a question of the strong or loose administration of the law. It is involved in the very provision of the law by which a period of one hundred days is taken. The most familiar illustration is that of a ward of a city. The enumeration commencing on the 1st of June, and being protracted until the 10th of September, a family moving on the 1st of July or the 1st of August from a portion of a ward not yet visited by the assistant marshal, into a portion of another ward where the assistant marshal has already made his rounds, will of course escape enumeration, unless the head of the family so thoroughly appreciates the importance of the census as to be at pains to hunt up the proper person and offer information, some portions of which are never given without considerable reluctance. It is assuming more than is fair, to suppose that one out

* The first published statement of the population of New York, by the original enumeration, was 923,485. The tabulation of the returns, by age and sex, discovered several hundred children born since the 1st of June, 1870. In addition, the registers of one or two large sailors' boarding-houses for the entire year had been, it is believed without fraudulent intention, copied by assistant marshals upon their schedules. The rejection of these classes, under the plain terms of the census law, reduced the population, as by the first enumeration, to the number mentioned in the text.
of a hundred of persons so situated will be at this trouble to perform a duty necessarily more or less unpleasant. When it is considered how many hundreds of persons in every large city, how many tens of thousands in a city like New York, not only live in boarding-houses, but change their boarding-houses at every freak of fancy or disgust, not to speak of those who leave under the stress of impecuniosity and therefore are not likely to leave their future address or advertise their residence, it will be seen how utterly unfitted is such a system of enumeration to the social conditions of the country at the present time. Of course, the extent to which this liability to omission will affect the results of the census depends entirely upon the stability of the population. In rural districts, where a family may be expected to reside, not only for the entire year but for a term of years, in the same house, the omissions on this account are not large. The danger here is mainly from the liability of assistants to overlook houses situated on by-roads, and cabins standing in the woods or in the fields. This liability, however, is not greater in an enumeration protracted over three or four months than in an enumeration taken on a single day. But wherever we have to deal with the population of cities and manufacturing towns, the percentage of loss becomes considerable.

It is commonly asserted that an exact enumeration is impossible in this country, and the Territories and some of the more sparsely-settled States are frequently adduced to prove the impossibility of taking all the inhabitants on one day. There are undoubtedly regions in which such an enumeration would require that nearly every man should be commissioned as an assistant marshal for his own family, on account of the great distance between settlements. But if this method has advantages over a protracted enumeration, conducted upon a factitious definition of residence, and attended with such difficulties as have been indicated, it is unquestionably practicable to obtain these advantages in the enumeration of ninety-nine per cent. of the population of the country at the present time, leaving the disadvantages of a protracted enumeration to be experienced only in respect to the remaining one per cent.

If the formation of subdivisions and the confirmation of assistants were vested in the Department, with proper discretion as to the use of special agents, it would be possible to take the census of every city and manufacturing town in the United States in a single day, and to complete the enumeration of all properly agricultural sections in a period not exceeding three days, allowing, if need be, for the completion of the purely mining States and the Territories, and perhaps for some portions of Texas, California, Kansas, and Nebraska, a longer period of time, not to exceed thirty days. Such an enumeration could be accomplished in the present condition of the settlement of the United States. It would cost little if any more than a census taken according to the present methods, and would be inexpressibly more satisfactory.

The fact that the better method of enumeration cannot be applied to the scattered portions of the population affords no reason for omitting to take advantage of it in sections of the country to which it is perfectly adapted.

With careful preparation the great city of New York might be canvassed in a single day, and so thoroughly as to omit hardly a single vagrant or criminal. When this is done in a city containing three and a quarter millions of inhabitants, it is idle to assert that any reason exists why it could not be done in a city of less than one million.

**Duplications in the Census.**

As an offset, in part, to the wholesale omissions which occur in a protracted enumeration from the causes indicated, there is undoubtedly a certain amount of duplication to be allowed for. The tendency to duplication, indeed, in theory exactly equals the tendency to omission; but there is a practical resistance in the former case, which prevents the names duplicated from reaching anything like the number of the names omitted. Most heads of families will decline being taken twice, and few assistant marshals would insist upon enumerating a family after being told that it had been taken in another subdivision. On the other hand, few heads of families which had been omitted would be at pains to look up the assistant marshal for the purpose of being duly enumerated. The cases where names are duplicated are, therefore, mainly of persons whose connection with families is slight or transient, as casual boarders, habitual travelers, and of persons having, from one cause or another, two distinct homes.

The most noteworthy class in which duplications occur is that of students. In preparation for the Ninth Census this matter received careful attention. By recovering the catalogues of a large number of educational institutions for the year 1859-60, and searching out the names of students upon the returns both for the college town, and the town of home-residence, as per catalogue, it was ascertained, in a sufficient number of cases to justify a general statement, that a very large proportion of the students of the country were taken twice at the last census. Cases of triplication, even, were found, where the student was reported once at his room in the college building, once in the family where he took his meals, and once at his own family home in another town or State. The following facts, taken at random from a large mass of memoranda on this subject, exhibit fairly the proportions of duplications and triplications, as developed by this inquiry. It needs to be repeated at this point that no students should, under the instructions of 1860, have been reported in the college or school town, except those whose own proper families were resident in the town:
Bowdoin College, Brunswick, Maine.—No students were found in the Brunswick return, except such as appear with families of the same surname.

Amherst College, Amherst, Massachusetts.—Of two hundred and forty-two names of undergraduates contained in the catalogue, one hundred and twenty-five are copied into the return for Amherst in a body, in alphabetical order, by classes.

Of the one hundred and twenty-five, five—four of whom are, according to the catalogue, residents of Amherst—are returned a second time by the same assistant marshal at their homes or boarding-houses as "students."

For the names of nine members of the senior class, who were returned with the body of students by the assistant marshal for Amherst, and whose residences, according to the catalogue, were in other towns, search was made in the returns for those towns. Of the nine, seven were found.

Wesleyan University, Middletown, Connecticut.—None of the names in the catalogue of students were found in the return for Middletown, except such as appear from the catalogue to be residents of Middletown.

Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.—Twenty-eight students named in the catalogue, whose residences, as therein stated, were elsewhere than at Cambridge, are enumerated as "students" in the Cambridge return, in families of a different surname.

Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire.—There appears to be no duplication in the return of those students of this college whose residence, according to the catalogue, is at Hanover. Such students appear in the Hanover return with their families, and not with the body of the students. The students who, according to the catalogue, are not residents of Hanover, are, with few exceptions, found in the Hanover return in an alphabetical arrangement by class, as if copied from a catalogue.

Of the senior class, sixty-four in number, fifty-seven are thus returned.

Of the seven not so returned, two resided at Hanover, and were enumerated with the families to which they belonged; three were returned at their homes in other towns; and concerning two it could not readily be determined whether they were so returned or not, their residences, per catalogue, being in States the returns for which were at the Government bindery.

Of the fifty-seven seniors who appear with the mass of students in the Hanover return, it was found that thirty-five were, and eight were also in the enumeration of the towns of their residence, as shown by the catalogue; and of twelve it was not determined, whether or not they were twice enumerated, their residences being in towns the returns for which were at the Government bindery.

Search was also made in reference to six members of other classes, and they were found to have been returned both at Hanover and at their homes in other towns.

Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Indiana.—The catalogue contains the names of one hundred and fifty-six students. Sixty-seven persons are consecutively enumerated in the Crawfordsville return as "students;" fifty-six of whom appear also in the catalogue. Of these fifty-six, twenty-two were also enumerated at their homes in other towns and eight of the twenty-two still a third time in their boarding-houses in Crawfordsville.*

In view of these results it was decided to change the instructions in use at the Eighth Census, so as to require students to be reported at their college homes, instead of at their family homes, as in 1880. No assurance was felt that this change would result in reducing the amount of duplication or triplication, but it was thought that the results could not well be worse, and that it might prove that the other plan was the one best adapted to secure a just return. I cannot candidly claim credit on account of the result of this change in instructions. So far as comparison has been made, by the use of college and school catalogues for the year 1870, the instances of duplication and triplication appear in about the same proportion as in 1860. As the instructions given in preparation for the present census were especially emphatic and clear on this subject, it must be inferred that the error is inherent in the nature of a protracted enumeration, and that the remedy can only be found in a de facto census.

It has not, of course, been possible to apply a similar test to other classes having an equal or greater liability to duplication, (i.e., casual boarders, habitual travelers, &c,) but it cannot be doubted, from common observation, that the number thus fictitiously added to the population of the country is considerable.

I desire not to be understood as regarding the duplication resulting from these causes as offsetting the loss by omission in any such sense as to be a matter of congratulation. Every error that occurs in the census of a country, or in any statistical result whatever, is to be regretted as an independent evil, hardly less where it balances

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* The following extract from a résumé of the arrangements made for the Swiss census of 1870, recently published by M. Max Wirth, chief of the federal bureau of statistics, shows that the duplication of the student population in the census is not peculiar to the United States.

**Il s'est rencontré aussi que des personnes jouissaient du droit d'étudier le même de séjour en plusieurs endroits, des propriétaires et des étudiants, par exemple. Un certain nombre de ces derniers étaient inscrits dans l'endroit où ils faisaient leurs études et dans la localité qu'habitaient leur famille."
another error than when it exaggerates the amount of error already existing. Two wrongs no more make a right in mathematics than in morals; and a falsehood in figures is none the more to be tolerated or excused because it may serve to conceal another falsehood.

OTHER DEFECTS OF THE CENSUS LAW.

Supervision by United States marshals.—It would be inexcusable in me to offer objection to the present plan of taking the census through the United States marshals, for any reason that should reflect upon the present incumbent of that office throughout the country, supported as I have been in my work by these officers far beyond what, under the circumstances, it was reasonable to expect of them. The considerations why the marshals of the several judicial districts should not be charged with the superintendence of the census are such as, with their recent experience of the service, must meet their own unanimous assent.

Without dwelling on the several considerations that United States marshals are appointed with reference to their fitness for quite other and separate duties; that the increase of their legitimate business since 1850 has rendered it impossible for them now to give that attention to the work which might once have been expected of them; and that the creation of the internal revenue system and the enactment of the election law have devolved upon them additional obligations still more exacting, until the whole body of their official duties has become so great as to be entirely inconsistent with their devoting an adequate share of their time and effort to an occasional and purely separate and independent work like the census—without dwelling on these considerations, it is sufficient for the settlement of this question that the formation of the judicial districts, to which the United States marshals are severally appointed, is determined by reasons altogether different from those which should determine the formation of census grand divisions.

Southern Florida, with its innumerable reefs and keys, is periodically strewn with wrecks. From the same facts, taken in connection with its proximity to the islands of the Gulf, it affords great facilities for smuggling. For these reasons it is most properly constituted a judicial district, and for that reason, most improperly, it is, by the law of 1850, constituted a census district, with 5,775 inhabitants, enumerated by a single assistant marshal, with a United States marshal to overlook the important operation. Northern New York, with nearly two and a half million, also constitutes a census district, and its six or seven hundred assistant marshals are all to be instructed and overlooked by one United States marshal. Delaware is a district, so is Massachusetts; Idaho is a district, so is Indiana. It is hardly necessary to say that if superintendence is of any account in census work, the superintendence which is provided by the law of 1850 must be of the least account possible.

The formation of subdivisions.—Here again the census law of 1850 contains a defect of the most serious character, which, so long as it remains unremedied, will always vitiate to no inconsiderable extent the results of a census taken under that law. It is that provision which leaves to the marshals of the several judicial districts the final determination of the census subdivisions, subject only to the proviso that such subdivisions shall not contain exceeding 20,000 inhabitants. This apparent limit is, in fact, no limit whatever, since, even at a protracted enumeration under the present system, subdivisions should never be allowed to exceed 10,000 inhabitants, and only among urban populations should they reach this limit.

The United States marshal, upon the inauguration of a new census, cannot be presumed to have any acquaintance with the requirements of the work, and he will naturally fail to appreciate the difficulties of enumeration for the reason that he has had no experience of them. He will be disposed, for his own convenience, to be charged with the instruction and superintendence of as few assistants as possible, while at the same time the political pressure brought to bear upon him will be in the direction of making large subdivisions, in order to give fortunate applicants as "good a thing" as possible. It is simply a matter of course that under this influence the subdivisions with which the enumeration commences will be far too few, and it will be found necessary in the middle of the work to introduce new and uninstructed assistants to take subdivisions hastily formed not with reference to any reason in the nature of the case, but from the urgent necessities of enumeration. Such has always been and always will be one of the main causes of embarrassment which beset a census taken under the law of 1850. No reason appears why the marshal should be trusted with the final decision of this most important matter. It is not after the analogy of other services, and it is manifestly to the detriment of this service. It is of course proper that each marshal should propose the details of the subdivision of his district, as being better acquainted with its peculiarities of settlement, occupation, &c., but it should be done under authoritative instructions in regard to the maximum of territory and of population; and the entire scheme thus prepared should be submitted for final approval at the Department. In the absence of any right on the part of the Department to direct this matter, it is perfectly idle to suppose that marshals generally will follow the recommendations of the Census Office, looking merely to the efficiency of the
service, against the strong personal and political urgency which dictates a different course. This is not the kind of control which would be trusted in any other department of the public service, and it is not to be expected that it should have any other than an unfortunate effect upon the completion of a work so difficult as the census. As the law stands, the matter of subdivisions is absolutely the business of the marshal. It is in no way the business of the Department, and representations addressed to marshals from the Department upon the subject can receive attention only by courtesy.

The appointment of assistants.—It cannot need to be seriously argued, at this stage of political science, that appointments to the office of assistant marshal should, on every account recognized as of importance in good government, be submitted, for confirmation or rejection, to the Department charged with the conduct and control of the census.

The compensation of assistant marshals.—Another and very important difficulty which was encountered in preparation for the recent census and during its progress, arose from the inadequacy of compensation under the provisions of the act of 1850. From first to last this interfered with the appointment of proper assistants, and still more embarrassed the work of enumeration by rendering assistants disinclined to resign upon the least excuse or none.

The act of May 23, 1850, established the following rates of compensation: For each living inhabitant, 2 cents; for each death reported as having occurred during the year preceding, 2 cents; for each farm, 10 cents; for each establishment of productive industry, (factories, shops, mines, mills, &c.,) 15 cents; for the social statistics of a subdivision or district, 2 per cent. upon the amount paid for the enumeration of the living inhabitants, ($400 for each million of people,) and mileage at 10 cents per mile, the number of miles to be ascertained by multiplying the square root of the number of dwelling-houses by the square root of the number of square miles in the subdivision.

By the first section of the supplementary act of August 30, 1850, it was provided that the Secretary of the Interior should be authorized, at his discretion, to give additional compensation to marshals and assistant marshals “at the Seventh Census of the United States,” in California, Oregon, Utah, and New Mexico. The benefit of this provision would, of course, extend equally to all States or Territories formed out of the territory covered by the act. Under this provision, additional compensation, to the extent of 100 per cent., was habitually given to the assistant marshals of the States and Territories named in the act.

It seems to have been assumed, at the Eighth Census of the United States, that this provision of law was still in force, and additional compensation was given to marshals and assistant marshals in those States and Territories, without the question of authority having been raised, so far as appears from the record. In preparing for the present census, the question arose whether this provision was still applicable. As it seemed impossible to maintain such a position for a moment, in view of the terms of the act of August 30, 1850, a communication was addressed to the Department from this office on the 30th day of March, calling attention to the fact that no provision existed for exceptional compensation even in the case of the Pacific States and the Territories; but it was not until the 9th of June, when the time for the commencement of the work had already passed without the marshals of some districts being able to find persons to accept the office of assistant, that additional compensation was authorized, and then only to the extent of 50 per cent. In consequence, the Ninth Census was taken without the advantage of exceptional provision for those outlying regions to even the extent authorized in 1850, although in the interval that had elapsed prices had risen 60 or 80 per cent., while those prices which especially determine the cost of travel, namely, horse-hire and hotel charges, had increased in still greater ratio.

In portions of the country, not named in the act of August 30, 1850, provision was made, by the resolution of June 9, 1870, for additional compensation over the rates of 1850 and 1860, but such provision was expressly limited in terms to subdivisions in which it should be rendered necessary by the “sparseness of the population.” The term sparseness of population was, of course, to be loyally interpreted to signify something less than the average of American settlement. To allow such addition in cities or in manufacturing towns, would have been a palpable violation of law, and not less so to extend this provision to thriving agricultural communities.

Such was the only provision for any increase of compensation, even in the most difficult circumstances, over the rates of 1850, at the beginning and through all the course of the enumeration at the Ninth Census. On the 3d of March, 1871, when the census of all the inhabitants of the country, except seventy or eighty thousand, had been completed, Congress authorized the increase of compensation, to the extent of 50 per cent., without respect to density of population, subject to a proviso fixing the maximum amount of compensation per diem. Under this authority such increase has generally been allowed by the Department, involving an expenditure in the neighborhood of $65,000.

The use of this vast sum for this purpose was just and right, and, in a large sense, necessary; but it is greatly to be regretted that the authority to expend it had not been given in advance of the enumeration, rather than when it had been substantially closed. Then it would have been used to improve the character of the census. As it is,
the money has been expended only to relieve hardship. Complaint and dissatisfaction have been remedied; but the census is little the better for it, although the expenditure of so large a sum, had it been authorized in advance, would have sufficed to effect a great improvement in the character of the service.

The main source of all this trouble lies in the fact that the compensation clauses of the act of 1850 are neither theoretically correct nor do they work practical justice. To their theoretical unsoundness we have the highest scientific testimony which can be adduced, namely, that of Professor Benjamin Peirce, Superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, who, after a thorough examination of the mathematical principle which is supposed to underlie this scheme of calculation, has pronounced it to be radically defective and vicious. For its practical injustice, it is sufficient to say that the per diem compensation for field-work to assistant marshals for the census of 1850 ranged from $1.06 to $3.32.

It has been urged that the rates of payment prescribed in the act of 1850 are compensatory in their nature; that, on the one hand, in dense settlements the amount received per capita for enumerating inhabitants makes the compensation of the assistant marshal sufficient, while, on the other, in sparsely populated regions the amount paid on account of mileage again sufficiently remunerates the census-taker. This is true in a degree for densely populated districts, and again for regions in the condition of certain of the present Territories of the United States. In cities, where the assistant has only to pass from doorstep to doorstep, the per capita compensation will enable a prompt and efficient man, with plausibility enough to quickly gain the confidence of families, and at the same time with a faculty of turning work off rapidly and with little ceremony, to earn from $8 to $12 a day. In certain of the Territories, on the other hand, where the population is altogether in a few important mining districts, or spread along the banks of rivers, it is possible for the marshals to form subdivisions, to which shall be annexed great uninhabited tracts, so that the assistant marshal, while only traveling a few hundred miles, may draw constructive mileage for a hundred thousand, 255,000 square miles forming a single subdivision in 1850. But in regions that lie between these two extremes, in certain of the mining States and Territories for example, where the population is not gathered into nuggets, but sprinkled over the territory like gold through the quartz of their mines, so that the assistant marshal has to visit every part of his subdivision, the possibilities of horseback travel will not allow of a sufficient extent of territory being embraced in one subdivision to yield any considerable sum on account of mileage, while the per capita compensation, at 2 cents a head, amounts to little or nothing. In such districts the allowances of the present law will hardly find food for man and beast. In the same way, though in less degree, in ordinary agricultural communities, both West and South, where the farm-houses lie a quarter or half a mile or more apart, all over the subdivision, an assistant marshal must use all his time between daylight and dark, and waste little upon the road, to enable him to earn the barest subsistence under the rates of 1850.

It would be impossible to find language too strong for the embarrassment which the service has suffered from this inadequacy of the provisions of law in respect to compensation. Probably not less than two thousand assistant marshals have been kept from throwing up their positions solely by the fear of incurring the penalty fixed by the fourteenth section of the act of 1850. Before the enumeration had well begun, it became necessary to refuse to accept resignations upon any plea whatever, except in cases of protracted sickness. In some districts a perfect panic arose when the difficulties of the work and the meagerness of the pay became known, and but for a rigid refusals to accept resignations, a general stampede would have occurred, which would have made it simply impossible to carry forward the work.

It need not be said that any service is conducted at enormous disadvantage when it is performed by unwilling agents. If any one will endeavor to conceive the revenue being collected through entire States by officers who are only retained in service through the fear of penalties for resignation, he may form some idea of the obstruction which the census has encountered from this among other causes.

In cases where death or the protracted sickness of an assistant made it absolutely necessary to fill a vacancy, the difficulty of providing for the continuance of the work has been extreme. Some districts have remained for weeks, and even for months, without a person being found of any condition or character who would undertake the duty. In single instances marshals have been obliged to compensate assistants out of their own insufficient fees. In one instance, even, it has come to the knowledge of this office that the marshal of a Southern State, after trying in vain by correspondence to find a single person, black or white, who would accept the office, has been driven to advertise for an assistant in the public prints. It is not at all improbable that this disgraceful incident may have repeated in other districts.