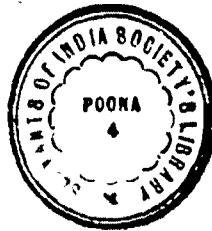


**SOME PROBLEMS
OF
BIHAR ABORIGINALS:**

**A Memorandum Submitted to the Tribal and
Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas
(other than Assam) Sub-Committee at
their sitting, at Patna.**

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SOME PROBLEMS OF BIHAR ABORIGINALS

PART I—INTRODUCTORY AND EXPLANATORY.

In this section I shall deal with some preliminary matters. I understand that a demand for a separate province consisting of the Chhota Nagpur division and the Santal Parganas district, had been pressed in representations made to the Constituent Assembly. This claim is obviously based on the assumption that the five districts of the Chhota Nagpur division, and the district of Santal Parganas, are inhabited mostly, if not entirely, by aboriginals. While aboriginals are more numerous in some of these six districts than in the other ten districts of Bihar (though—according to the census of 1941—in the districts of Champaran, Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Purnea, they are in fairly large numbers, their number in Champaran being 52,676, in Bhagalpur 68,174, in Monghyr 37,571, and in Purnea 92,450), to say that they are in majority in the six districts of Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, is by no means accurate or correct. If the question of carving out a separate province for aboriginals inhabiting these six districts be examined carefully and impartially, it will appear that the claim set up for them of their possessing racial, or linguistic superiority, in these six districts, over others, is without substance.

As a matter of fact, these districts have always been integral parts of Bihar, and any attempt to separate them will not only be a wholly unjustifiable dismemberment of the province, and the vivisection of the Biharis, but is bound to raise major political issues. Lest it be thought that I am exaggerating the political effect likely to ensue from re-distribution of provincial boundaries, I quote the observations of the Simon Commission on this subject, to the following effect: "There are very great difficulties in the way of re-distribution (of provincial boundaries), and the history of the partition of Bengal stands as a warning of caution needed before undertaking any operation so likely to run counter to old associations, or to inflame suspicion or resentment."

The strength of public opinion in Bihar against any attempt at the disruption, dismemberment, or disintegration of the province, as now constituted is so intense and deep-rooted that I have thought it desirable to invite attention to this all-important aspect of the question at the very outset. Having done so, I shall now discuss in this note the various other aspects—viz., the administrative, the historical, the linguistic, the ethnological (that is racial and religious), the educational, the financial and others, bearing upon, or relating to, the subject. While figures and statistics will be given, where necessary, in the sections specified above, a few general observations will not be out of place at this stage, and will help the Sub-Committee in appreciating correctly the points under discussion.

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II.

The total area of Chhota Nagpur is 27,112 square miles, and of Santal Parganas 5,480—the combined area being 32,592 square miles. The total population of Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas (according to the census of 1941) was about 97½ lakhs, out of which there were only about 44½ lakhs of aboriginals; and the rest, that is about 53 lakhs, were non-aboriginals. The aboriginals (namely, Mundas, Oraons, Bhumijes, Bhuiyans, Hos, Kharias, Santhals, and several others) speak different languages, not only no group of which has any linguistic affinity with another, but they (the aboriginals) also belong to different racial stocks. The claim set up for the aboriginals of Chhota Nagpur that it is their home-land is wholly incorrect, as would appear also from the fact that the non-aboriginals preponderate with about 55 per cent in the total population. The theory of the preponderance of the aboriginals in this area thus falls completely to the ground. This proposition will be amply borne out by the figures and statistics given in the later sections of this note.

It may be added that the figures of the 1941 census (as given above), compared with the figures of the 1931 census, show a large increase of aboriginal population. According to 1931 census figures the aboriginals were about 38 per cent of the total population of Chhota Nagpur division and Santal Parganas district, but according to 1941 census figures they were about 45 per cent of the total population. This abnormal increase in the population of the aboriginals, in 1941, is due mainly to the fact that a large number of non-aboriginals were in that year's census included among aboriginals, who if excluded on that ground (as was done in the 1931 census) would reduce considerably the percentage of aboriginals, which according to the 1931 census was—as stated above—not more than 38 per cent. I notice that the figures of the 1941 census are challenged by the memorialists also, their contention being that the number of aboriginals should have been larger than 45 per cent. On the contrary, I maintain that for the reasons set forth above, they should be less than 45 per cent, and nearer to the figure of the 1931 census. In view of this conflict,—which is now not likely to be satisfactorily set at rest—I am prepared to accept the figures of the 1941 census for the purposes of discussion, without admitting their accuracy or correctness.

III.

Another important matter to keep in view is that the aboriginals, of the area in question, have got an essential difference which separates them into two widely different groups in many important respects—the Christian and the non-Christian. The Christians though numerically much smaller than the non-Christians, are fairly well-educated. But the non-Christian aboriginals are still sunk, to a large extent, in the depth of ignorance. The figure of literacy among the two sections will be given later, with a view to show the great educational disparity between the Christian and the non-Christian groups. As will appear from a

perusal of one of the appendices to this note, the Bihar Government are doing all that they can to encourage educational progress among the aboriginal population—naturally, more particularly, the non-Christians—who are much more backward. But judging from interpellations and discussions in the Bihar Legislature, Government's efforts have not been duly appreciated by the elected representatives of the Christians in Chhota Nagpur, who seem to resent larger allotments of funds for the encouragement of education among unconverted aboriginals. This fact will be fully established by reference to the official proceedings of the Bihar Legislature.

The Christian missionaries, who had carried on for nearly a century, and still carry on, their proselytising propaganda amongst the ignorant aboriginals of Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, had pressed the proposal of the separation of Chhota Nagpur before the Simon Commission also, but without success. They have all along been trying to strengthen this agitation, because they feel that a separate backward province will afford them amplest opportunities and facilities to make converts among aboriginals without let or hindrance. So they had naturally joined hands with those who desire the dismemberment of the Province of Bihar. There are also some outsiders in Chhota Nagpur, who had acquired wealth and influence in that part of the Province, and are now afraid to lose it as the result of the growing political consciousness amongst the Biharees, and so they also fan the flame of this agitation. As regards the influence of Christian missionaries on the activities of the aboriginal tribes in Chhota Nagpur, that aspect of the problem is amplified below from official works, records, and proceedings of the Legislature.

In an official note recorded on December 16, 1879, Mr. C. W. Bolton, I.C.S., wrote as follows: "The missionaries made no secret of the fact that their principal motive in stirring on behalf of the Kols was to preserve and expand the influence of their mission with their people." The reason why the Kols flocked to the mission to receive baptism was thus disclosed in the German Mission Report for 1873, on which evidently Mr. Bolton's note, quoted above, was based: "There is not the slightest doubt that the majority of our converts, who apply for admission into the Church, are almost always actuated by secular motive." Coming to later times, Mr. Grimley, while introducing the Chhota Nagpore Tenures Bill in the Bengal Legislative Council, in 1897, referred to the missionaries at work in Chhota Nagpur as affording "ground for the belief that many persons conceived the idea that by embracing Christianity they would be entitled to the support not only of their spiritual pastors, but also of Europeans generally, in the settlement of their grievances, and vindication of their rights".

Lastly, Mr. M. G. Hallett, I.C.S.—later Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of Bihar—had in the *Gazetteer of Ranchi district* (1917), thus written on the same subject: "During the fifty years which have elapsed since the Mutiny, the history of the Ranchi district is one of the agrarian discontent culminating in the 'Sardari Larai' and the

Birsa rising. *It is also the history of the spread of Christianity*” (my italics). The above few extracts—out of a large number which could be quoted as bearing upon the subject—would suffice to establish the point of the wide divergence between the Christian and non-Christian aboriginals. To lump them together as “aboriginals” and act upon that assumption would be a serious administrative blunder.

IV.

All the arguments in favour of the formation of a separate province for the Beharce aboriginals had been carefully considered by the Provincial Government, in 1938, and no reasonable ground was found which might justify their embarking on such an unjustifiable project. The Bihar Government's attitude on that occasion was so reasonable that in reviewing that agitation the *Statesman* wrote editorially: “Not much has been heard outside Bihar of the desire to make a separate province of Chhota Nagpur and the Santal Parganas. The proposal, at its face value, looks like a *reductio ad absurdum* of the theory that India's provinces should be determined by linguistic considerations. Wherever there is a people distinct from its neighbours in speech and outlook, there (according to some preachers of this doctrine) it should have its own administration, with all the equipment that a province requires. How could Chhota Nagpur, and the Santal Parganas, pay for this, even if they could find the experience among themselves to work self-governing institutions? There is no weakness if a province includes peoples who recognise their differences from one another, and no adequate conception of nationhood is possible if different peoples do not learn to work together and live together. We do not suppose that much more will be heard about a province to be carved off from Bihar. The Bihar Premier has taken the line that the proposed change was not likely to add to the welfare of the people of the two areas, and not many outside those areas will disapprove of his argument.” I need make no comments on so obvious a proposition.

It is hoped that a perusal of this note will satisfy the members of the Sub-Committee that during the years that have elapsed since 1938, nothing had occurred that might justify either the Provincial Government, or any other responsible body, in embarking on a project for the creation of a new province, out of the present territories under the administration of the Government of Bihar. On the contrary, a perusal of the facts and figures given in one of the appendices, showing what the Government had done in recent years to uplift the aboriginals by advancing their educational progress, will satisfy all impartial and unprejudiced persons that the proposed new province (which as shown later is now a heavy deficit area) will not be able to spend over education, the large amount which the Bihar Government are doing out of their income and resources of the other ten surplus districts of Bihar. All these aspects of the problem—administrative, historical, linguistic, ethnological, educational, financial and others—are dealt with in the different sections of this note, which I am submitting to the Sub-Committee to enable them to appreciate the problem correctly.

V.

Lastly, to make this introductory section complete it is necessary to bring to the notice of the Sub-Committee the fact that not only practically the whole of the area to which a claim had been set up on behalf of the aboriginals, but also to some additional areas in Bihar, a claim had been set up, not for the constitution of a separate province but—strange as it might sound—for the amalgamation of all these tracts with the newly-constituted province of West Bengal. This claim had been set up by the Bengali-speaking Biharees in the districts bordering on West Bengal, particularly in Maubhum and Singhbhum districts. The Sub-Committee would thus see that there are two sets of claimants to the disruption and partition of the province of Bihar, only the object of each claimant is different from that of the other. While the aboriginals would like to have a province of their own, composed of the six districts mentioned above, with the seat of Government placed presumably at Ranchi, the Bengali-speaking Biharees (in the areas bordering on West Bengal) would like to have practically all this, and also some additional area, transferred to the newly-established province of West Bengal, with the seat of Government placed, as now, in Calcutta. It is for the Sub-Committee to decide, on the materials submitted to it by myself and others, as to whether either of these claimants has any justification—administrative, legal, moral, historical, or any other—for demanding the disruption and disintegration of the province of Bihar.

I shall quote an item of news from the Patna English daily (the *Indian Nation*) which appeared from its correspondent at Purulia (the headquarters of the Maubhum district), dated the 25th June, 1917: "A meeting was called under the auspices of the Purulia Bar Association to consider the question of amalgamating the districts of Maubhum, and other Bengali-speaking outlying contiguous districts in Bihar, to the newly-constituted province of West Bengal. The meeting resolved that the above areas, viz., the districts of Maubhum and Singhbhum, and portions of Hazaribagh and Ranchi together with the Bengali-speaking tracts of Santal Pargana, Bhagalpur and Purnea be amalgamated with the contiguous newly-formed West Bengal Province." Now as a humble Biharee, I would like to convey my sense of grateful appreciation of the sense of fairness of the organisers of the above meeting, and all those whom they claimed to represent, for their not having demanded that the whole province of Bihar, but only about one-third of it, should be transferred to the control of the Government at Calcutta, and amalgamated with West Bengal into one administrative unit. That is, indeed something to be thankful for; and it does my heart good to find that there is so much fairness still left in this world. It is submitted that this note, which deals briefly with almost all aspects of the question of the disruption and disintegration of the province of Bihar, meets, to a large extent, if not wholly, the case set up on behalf of the Bengali-speaking Biharees in the areas of the province bordering on Bengal, whose demand, however, had not been referred to the Sub-Committee for report, and need not be, therefore, pursued further.

Lastly, in a country like India with too many centrifugal, and too few centripetal, forces operating at present, and with each group, tribe, race, caste, class, clique, or community asserting its claim to a separate administrative existence, there is the real danger of the splitting up of the country into numerous petty Provinces and States. The Sub-Committee, or the Committee of the Constituent Assembly should not, therefore, encourage such fractional divisions, which will, in the long run, prove detrimental to the country, already divided between two States. It was, therefore, that although the Simon Commission had said in their Report that "we are making a definite recommendation for reviewing and, if possible, resettling the provincial boundaries at as early a date as possible", no action whatsoever had been taken till now by the Central Government, though nearly twenty years had elapsed since the recommendation had been made. And who that deplores the partition of India into two separate Sovereign States, on the basis of the two-nations theory, will not hold that the Central Government had been wise in their policy and attitude in the matter of leaving alone the redistribution of the provincial boundaries in British India? It is for these reasons that I would venture to hope that the Sub-Committee will not make any recommendations that might have the effect of producing results in the future which, I am sure, no sensible or patriotic person can contemplate with equanimity.

PART II—ADMINISTRATIVE:

Considerations Hitherto Followed in the Formation of Provinces.

In the representations made by the organisations demanding the constitution of a new province of six districts, carved out of the existing province of Bihar, emphasis is laid, in almost all of them, on the fact that in area and population, if in nothing else, the proposed province would be larger than the provinces of North-West Frontier, Sind, and Orissa. The implication of this over-emphasised statement seems to be that in the opinion of the proposers of the scheme, the essential factors governing the formation of British Indian provinces had hitherto been mainly those of area and population. In view of special emphasis having been laid by the memorialists on this assumption, it seems essential that this section of the note should be devoted to the subject of the formation of provinces in British India, since the earliest establishment of British rule in this country, till now, so that it may be possible to deduce the principal ground for the formation of new provinces as a guide to their creation in future.

It is very well known that until 1833 there were only three provinces in British India, each of them called till then a "presidency", the latter name having been the result of the old factory system established by the British factors and writers of the East India Company in Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, respectively. So far as Calcutta and Madras were concerned, small pieces of land were obtained by the Company by negotiation with private parties, or nominal Indian rulers, as a foothold on Indian soil, which ultimately grew as nuclei of the headquarters

of these two presidencies of Bengal and Madras. As for Bombay the place was ceded to the East India Company by King Charles II, who had received it as his dowry from the Portuguese, on his marriage with a Princess of Portugal. As British power expanded, and annexations of Indian territories began to be made in different parts of the country, each of the areas so annexed was attached, for purposes of administration, to the three administrative centres at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay; which seemed at that time most suited to the British authorities for that purpose.

Apart from this sole consideration of administrative convenience none other was at all taken into consideration—neither racial, linguistic, cultural, historical, tribal, nor any other, which is or are now being sought to be imported as a ground for the creation of a new province in Bihar. The result was that in the course of time, as British territories expanded in all directions, by means of annexations of the areas then under the control of Indian rulers, large tracts of Indian soil came to be grouped round each of these three places (Calcutta, Madras and Bombay), with the inevitable result that by 1833 the whole of British India was composed of only three presidencies (popularly named as the Bengal, Madras and Bombay Presidencies) but officially known as the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, the Presidency of Fort St. George in Madras, and the Presidency of Fort St. David in Bombay.

By the year 1833 the British had been able to annex practically the whole of British India as existing at present, except Oudh, and also the Punjab (including what is now the North-West Frontier Province) which latter, at that time, constituted the Kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and was not annexed to British India till 1849, and Oudh till seven years later, in 1856. In 1833 the Presidency of Bengal thus covered an enormous extent of territories; comprising the present provinces of Assam, East and West Bengal, Orissa, Bihar, the province of Agra, and a great part of the new province of Eastern Punjab, and of Northern Central Provinces. All this extensive tract spreading out from Sadiya on the eastern frontier of Assam (which had been annexed to British India in 1826) right up to Delhi, Ambala, and Simla (across the river Jamuna) was then under the direct control of the Governor-General, stationed in Calcutta, who was not unoften also the Commander-in-Chief of the British and Indian forces. It was only possible to have a minimum standard of administrative efficiency, in such an enormous area, solely because the people inhabiting it had at that time absolutely no political consciousness; and also because the British had rescued their forefathers from that chaos and anarchy which prevailed, in by far the greater part of this country, after the collapse of the Moghal administration, on the death of Aurangzeb, in 1707.

II.

As a result of the British success at the battle of Plassey (in Bengal, in 1757), and their much greater success at the battle of Buxar (in

Bihar, in 1764), over the forces of Nawab of Oudh, Clive had an easy task in inducing the titular Emperor, Shah Alam, in granting to the East India Company the Diwani of the three provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, which he did under his Royal Firman, dated 14th August, 1765, and by implementing which, not long after, the British became practically the sovereign power in the two provinces of Bengal and Bihar. It may be added that although Shah Alam's Firman, of 1765, included Orissa also, that area was at that time under the control and domination of the Mahrattas, and was not annexed to British India till 1803, when it was attached to the Presidency of Bengal, and placed under the Governor-General's control, to be administered from Calcutta.

Later, by cession of territories made by the Nawab of Oudh, and other Indian rulers, the British power advanced slowly but steadily in Upper India, until long before 1833 it had reached the eastern boundary of the Kingdom of Maharaja Ranjit Singh; except for the Kingdom of Oudh, comprising the districts now included in the sub-province of that name in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. On the eastern frontier, Assam had been annexed from the Burmans (who were in power till then) in 1826, and this fairly large province also, composed of the entire Brahmaputra valley, had been, as was the practice at that time, attached to the Presidency of Bengal, and was administered by the Governor-General, from Calcutta, till 1874, when it was constituted (along with the Surma Valley area transferred two years later from Bengal) into a separate province absolutely regardless of any consideration other than that of administrative convenience.

Accordingly when the India Act of 1833 was placed upon the Statute Book, by the British Parliament, it was provided that the British Indian territories in Northern India be divided into two provincial units, on the ground of administrative convenience, pure and simple. The Act of 1833 laid down that the whole of the British Indian territories in Northern India were to be governed as two administrative divisions—one composed of Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Orissa, and administered by the Governor-General from Calcutta, and the rest of it (extending from the districts of Benares Commissionership right up to the eastern frontier of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's kingdom) into another to be called the Presidency of Agra, under a Governor residing at Agra. The Presidency of Agra was formed in pursuance of the said provision of the Act of 1833, but it lasted for less than a couple of years; and by an Amending Act of 1835 the status of the Governorship was changed into that of a Lieutenant-Governorship—the head of the administration to continue to reside at Agra, but the name of the new administrative area to be changed from the Presidency of Agra into the North-Western Provinces, which change was brought about in 1835.

In 1856 the King of Oudh having abdicated, that province was annexed, and constituted a provincial unit under a Chief Commissioner. It continued to be so administered for about twenty years, but in 1877 the North-Western Provinces and Oudh were more or less amalgamated as one administrative area, and the official head

of the joint administration came to be called the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces and the Chief Commissioner of Oudh. This system continued in force till the formation of the North-Western Frontier Province, by Lord Curzon, in 1901, when the name of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh was again changed into the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, and the officer who was the head of the administration came to be known as the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, the title of Chief Commissioner of Oudh having been dropped out of his official designation. It should be noted that in forming the North-Western Frontier Provinces the same old principle of administrative convenience was adopted, as evidenced by the fact that the Punjabee-speaking, cis-Indus, district of Hazara also was joined with the trans-Indus, Pushto-speaking area of Pathanisthan, regardless by any linguistic affinity, or cultural association, between Punjabees and Pathans.

III.

To turn now to the other two Presidencies, viz., those of Madras and Bombay. For reasons set forth above, roughly speaking all the British Indian areas in South-Eastern India came to be administered from Madras, and to be known as the Madras Presidency. Except for the transfer of one or two districts inhabited by the Oriya-speaking people to the newly-constituted province of Orissa, in 1936, and one district of South Canara, on the South-West coast, transferred to it from the Bombay Presidency, in 1863, the Madras Presidency, as it exists even today, is practically in the same position as it was more than a century back; and there has been no other administrative change in its area or boundaries except those two mentioned above. The result has been that four distinct nationalities, speaking as many languages, have continued to be governed from Madras for now nearly two centuries. These four nationalities are the Tamils, from Madras downwards to Rameshwaram, the Andhras from Madras northwards right up to Orissa, a large portion of Canarese-speaking people called Kannads, and also a small section of people on the South-West coast speaking the Malayalam language, and known as the Malayalis.

It is only recently that an agitation has been set up for the formation of a separate Andhra Province for the Telegu-speaking people of the Madras Presidency. But this scheme had never been seriously considered, till now, not to say anything about its being carried out. The real reason for this seeming negligence, on the part of the Central and the Provincial Governments, has been the stubborn fact that no administrative difficulty, or inconvenience, had yet been seriously felt in carrying on the administration of the large area, and the enormous population, whose affairs have been administered efficiently until now in the Southern Presidency. It thus bears out my contention that it is not the tribal, racial, linguistic, cultural, or any other test of that sort, that had hitherto been adopted by Government for the creation of new provinces, but the only one of administrative convenience and efficiency.

IV.

Turning now to Bombay, we find very much the same state of affairs, as in Madras. The greater part of what is now called the Bombay Presidency had been acquired by the British by annexation from the territories of the Peshwas, as also from the Muslim rulers of the South, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. When Sind was annexed by the British, in 1843, it was ruled for a couple of years, or so, by Sir Charles Napier himself, "the conqueror of Singh", as he is known in British Indian history. But after his departure from India, very great administrative difficulty was experienced in managing efficiently the affairs of this comparatively small area, and small population. One has to remember that though Maharaja Ranjit Singh had died in 1839, the Punjab, which is right to the north of Sind, was still not a part of British India, but was ruled by the successors of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and was not annexed to British India till 1849. In the circumstances, the easiest solution of the difficulty was found in attaching Sind to the Government of Bombay, though there was no direct communication between Karachi and Bombay except by sea. Now, here was another instance in which it is clear that no consideration other than that of administrative efficiency and convenience was allowed to prevail, as on every other ground, that is now sought to be adopted for creating new provinces, Sind had absolutely no connection with any part of the Bombay Presidency, namely Gujrat, Maharashtra, or Karnatak. It was only in 1936, as a result of an agitation by the people of Sind, backed up strongly by the Muslim League, that Sind was created a separate province; and the sole ground for the creation of Sind as a separate administrative unit was not linguistic, cultural, tribal, racial or religious, but a purely political one, an aspect of the question to which I shall address myself later.

It would thus be seen that so far as these two large, populous, and important Presidencies of Madras and Bombay are concerned, they have remained from the dawn of British rule till 1947, truly heterogeneous areas in every respect—held together only for reasons of administrative efficiency and convenience. It may also be noted that in some districts of northern Madras (in the area now transferred to Orissa) there was a fairly large number of aboriginal tribes, and (for aught I know to the contrary) there may be even now some aboriginal tribes in the Vizagapatam district, and the adjoining areas, which constitute the northernmost portion of the Madras Presidency. Similarly, in the Bombay Presidency and in the Central Provinces also, an important tribe of aborigines, called the Bhils, reside in more than one district, but during my long experience of public life (now extending to more than fifty years) I have never seen it suggested by any responsible person that there should be a separate province carved out of the Bombay and the Central Provinces areas for the purposes of bringing together all the Bhil population in India under one provincial administration. In this connection I may invite the attention of the Sub-Committee to the state of affairs in the Central Provinces and Berar. The Central Provinces were

formed as one administrative unit in 1861; a subject to which I shall advert later. The Central Provinces area, also is a heterogeneous one, composed as it is of only Mahrattas and Hindustanis, but also of a number of tribes in various districts, especially in the eastern portion of the province, adjoining the Bastar State. But even in the books written about the tribes of Bombay and the Central Provinces areas by Dr. Verrier Elwin—the greatest champion and advocate of the cause of the aboriginals—I have never come across any such suggestion as that of the formation of a separate province for the tribes of the Bombay and Central Provinces areas, as is now sought to be done in Bihar for the aboriginals of this province.

Another matter to which reference may be made here to throw further light on the subject, is the creation of the Central Provinces as an administrative unit, in 1861. The Marhatti-speaking areas included in the Central Provinces today were acquired by the British by means of annexations, or on the lapse of heirs to rulers of the areas which were then under the control and domination of Marhatta chiefs. The then North-Western Provinces (with their seat of Government transferred, in 1859, from Agra to Allahabad) included to the south of the present province of Agra (as it is now called) a very large area which was known at that time as the "Saugor and Narbada Territories". It was considered advisable, in 1861, to amalgamate all this Hindi-speaking area with the Marhatti-speaking areas, which had then been annexed, and brought under British control. Accordingly, the Hindi-speaking "Saugor and Narbada Territories" of the North-Western Provinces, and the more or less newly-acquired Marathi-speaking areas, so dissimilar in many respects, were amalgamated together and formed into one administrative unit—the present Central Provinces; and they have so remained till now without any administrative or territorial change, except for the addition to them of the Marathi-speaking Berar, as a part of the Central Provinces. Here again it is obvious that the only consideration which governed the formation of the Central Provinces, and their constitution into a Chief Commissionership, in 1861, was that of administrative efficiency and convenience, pure and simple, and no other.

V

I shall now go back to the administrative history of Northern India, which I left at the creation of two presidencies in 1833—that at Fort William in Bengal, and at Agra, the latter converted in 1835 into the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces. In 1849, the Sikh kingdom of the Punjab was annexed to British India, and it was established as a Chief Commissionership. It continued so for a period of about ten years, during which interval occurred the Indian Mutiny, in 1857. In the suppression of it the British received, strange as it might sound, very great assistance from the Sikhs, who were expected to fight against the British for the restoration of their kingdom. But whatever their motives, the fact remains that it was due to the efforts of the Sikhs that the British succeeded in re-establishing their power in Northern India, much more easily than they would have been perhaps able to do

otherwise. After the suppression of the Mutiny, the question arose of the recognition of the loyalty of the Punjabis, in general, and the Sikhs, in particular. It appeared to the British authorities at the time that the best way of marking their sense of appreciation of the loyalty of the Punjab was to raise that area to the status of a Lieutenant-Governorship, by transferring to it all that part of the North-Western Provinces which lay to the west of the river Jamuna.

And so it came about that by a stroke of the pen, so to say, the whole of what is called "the Hariyana tract" (including, roughly speaking, all that is now comprised in the Ambala Division of Eastern Punjab) was transferred from the North-Western Provinces, as it then stood, and amalgamated with the Sikh kingdom annexed by the British, in 1849. It was thus that the Punjab became a Lieutenant-Governorship in 1859, and it so stood—except for the formation of the Frontier Province, in 1901,—as one province from then until June, 1947, when the Eastern Punjab and the Western Punjab were bifurcated for purely political reasons into two administrative areas—except for the exclusion, in 1912, of the enclave of Delhi, for the purpose of being established as the capital of India. Here again it would be seen that neither the transfer of the "Hariyana tract", in 1859, to the Punjab, nor the division of the Punjab into two new provinces in 1947, was at all based on any considerations other than purely administrative and political. As a matter of fact by this last division the Punjabee-speaking people have had their linguistic and cultural affinity severed.

To proceed further: in 1874, the Lieutenant-Governor of, what was called at the time, the Lower Provinces of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam, felt his charge to be much too heavy, and the question of giving relief to him was considered by the Central Government. The solution of the problem was found—as stated above—in the formation of a new province of Assam, for which purpose the Brahmaputra Valley (constituting Assam proper) was separated in 1874, from the other territories which were then administered by the Lieutenant-Governor from Calcutta. About two years later, the Surma Valley area also (comprising the Sylhet and Cachhar districts) was transferred to the province of Assam, and the province so constituted remained as an administrative unit until at the partition of Bengal, by Lord Curzon, in 1905, the whole of Assam was amalgamated with the province of Eastern Bengal. Assam thus remained a part of Eastern Bengal and Assam administration until the revocation of the partition of Bengal by King Emperor George V, in December 1911, at the Delhi Durbar, when the province of Assam reverted to its original condition—comprising the areas in the Brahmaputra and in the Surma Valleys. It would thus be seen that the changes brought about, from time to time, in the area of the province of Assam have been based purely on administrative considerations, and not on any other—whether racial, linguistic, cultural, tribal, historical, or any other.

VI.

Reference has been made above to Lord Curzon's partition of Bengal. This was carried out on the 16th of October, 1905. It existed until 1912,

when it was revoked under the Declaration of the King Emperor George V. Under the Curzon partition, three of the northern and eastern commissionerships, or divisions, of Bengal had been amalgamated with the Province of Assam, and the remaining two divisions (constituting West Bengal) with Bihar and Orissa. The Curzon partition was thus obviously not based on any considerations of race, language, history, or culture, but was a purely administrative measure, lumping as it did about two-thirds of Bengal with the province of Assam, and the remaining one-third with the provinces of Bihar and Orissa.

The educated section of the Biharees had been agitating for the separation of Bihar since 1894,—when they started the *Bihar Times* weekly—and had approached Government with representations on several occasions. But their demand for the constitution of Bihar into a separate province had gone absolutely unheeded. By 1911, the Government of Lord Hardinge came to realise, however, that the only solution of the grave problem, brought into existence by the partition of Bengal, was to restore the unity of Bengal, and to form Bihar and Orissa into a separate administration. This was what was accordingly done under the terms of the Declaration of King Emperor George V, at the Delhi Durbar of 11th December, 1911. Under His Majesty's Declaration the province of Assam reverted to a Chief Commissionership. Eastern and Western Bengal were united together under a Governor-in-Council, and Bihar and Orissa were established as a separate province under a Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council. Here again it would be noticed that all these changes were brought about on purely administrative and political grounds, and no regard was paid to any of those criteria or tests which are now so glibly mentioned as justifiable grounds for the creation of a new province out of Bihar.

Many persons, who have not studied the question carefully, believe that the separation of Bihar and Orissa, from Bengal, was based on linguistic or cultural grounds. It was nothing of the kind. True, in the Despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated the 25th August, 1911 (on the subject of re-union of Bengal, and the separation of Bihar and Orissa), there is a casual reference, at one place, to the Hindi-speaking people of Bihar, but that was a mere eye-wash. There is no reference in that Despatch to the separation of Orissa on any such ground as linguistic or cultural. As a matter of fact, it was distinctly stated in it that Orissa was being joined to Bihar to provide a sea-board for the joint provinces! The fact of the matter is that as, on purely political and administrative grounds, the two Bengals had to be re-united, it was considered expedient on the same grounds (that is administrative and political) to separate Bihar and Orissa, and to constitute them, at that time, as a joint provincial administration. Here again no question of race, or nationality, or language, or culture, was adopted as the test or criterion, but only administrative facility and convenience.

Some years later Mr. Jinnah, as the leader of the Muslim League, placed before the Government and the Congress, what he called, his

“ Fourteen Points ” on behalf of the Muslims of India, and of these fourteen points one was the constitution of Sind as a separate administrative unit. It had been stated above, in an earlier part of this note, that Sind (which had been annexed to British India in 1843) had been joined to Bombay Presidency in 1845, for purposes of administration. There was on the face of it no connection of any kind between Sind and the rest of the Bombay Presidency. For one thing in contrast with the British Indian sections of Gujerat, Maharashtra and Karnatak (included in the Bombay Presidency) Sind stood on a wholly different footing, being a Muslim majority province, with about 75 per cent of Muslims, and only about 25 per cent of non-Muslims, and with a language and culture of its own. And yet it was only in 1936 that Sind was separated from Bombay, and constituted into a separate province—after having been a part of the Bombay Presidency for a period of not less than 90 years! The constitution of Sind as a provincial unit was debated at the various sessions of the Round Table Conference, held in London, in connection with the discussions relating to the enactment of Government of India Act, 1935. But there again, it was by reason of the demand of the Muslim League that Sind was separated under sheer political pressure.

Just about that time a movement had arisen in Orissa for the separation of Orissa from Bihar, and its constitution into a separate administrative unit. This question had been agitating the educated section of the Oriyas for nearly three to four decades. As a matter of fact, I myself had moved a resolution on the subject in February, 1920, in the Imperial Legislative Council, advocating the amalgamation of all the Oriya-speaking tracts, and their constitution into a separate province. This fact is mentioned prominently in the Government of India's Despatch on the subject of the separation of Orissa from Bihar, and its constitution into a separate province. But although the resolution moved by me had been accepted by Government in February, 1920, yet no action whatsoever had been taken in connection with it by the Central Government, or any other authority, till the question of the separation of Sind from Bombay came up prominently at the Round Table Conferences. It was then and then only that the British Government, with a view to show their impartiality, as between the Hindu and the Muslim, agreed that two new provinces, Sind and Orissa, should be constituted administrative units at one and the same time, which was accordingly done on the 1st of April, 1936.

VII.

Here, again, it is quite clear that though Sind and Orissa were both more or less racial and cultural entities these were not the factors which had really been taken into account when they were formed into separate administrations. Sind had to wait for 90 long years before coming into existence as a provincial entity, and Orissa for no less a period than that of 133 years, it having been annexed to British India in 1803. These facts, rightly appreciated, prove my contention that

throughout the history of British India, provinces had never been constituted on any criterion or test other than that of administrative efficiency and convenience, or as in the case of the changes brought about in the case of Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Sind, under the pressure of political exigencies.

As regards the two new provinces, formed in June, 1947 (by the partition of Bengal and the Punjab) I need not say much, since the circumstances under which they were brought into existence, but a few weeks back, are well known. In the Punjab when the Unionist Ministry resigned, and the Governor assumed power under section 93 of the Act of 1935, it was followed by mass civil disobedience by Muslims under the leadership of the Muslim League. In Bengal the Muslim League Ministry had practically broken down, and there were loot, arson, forcible conversion, and murder in East Bengal districts, as also in Calcutta since August last year. It was in these exceptional, extraordinary, and unprecedented circumstances that the partition of Bengal and the Punjab came about—under sheer political pressure and administrative necessity, which severed the linguistic and cultural affinity of Bengal and the Punjab. There is nothing in the administrative or political condition of Bihar, even remotely approaching what transpired in Bengal or the Punjab, and what happened in these two provinces is, therefore, of no guidance to us in this province.

VIII.

It was evidently with these considerations of administrative efficiency and convenience, and of political pressure, in their view, that the Simon Commission expressed their opinion on the subject of formation of provinces, in the following terms, in their report: "In India there are only a number of administrative areas which have grown up almost haphazard as the result of conquest, suppression of former rulers, or administrative convenience. *No one of them has been deliberately formed.*" (my italics). They then stated: "We are well aware of the difficulties encountered in all attempts to alter boundaries, and of the administrative and financial complications that arise", in doing so. These "consequential administrative and financial adjustments", they added, "are bound to be on an extremely complex character". After having made the above observations, and emphasised the serious "administrative and financial" difficulties consequent on altering provincial boundaries in a country like India, they went on to declare that "the most important (consideration) of all perhaps, for practical purposes, is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed, *both on the side of the area that is gaining, and on the side of the area that is losing territory*" (my italics).

I cannot place higher than that put by the Simon Commission the case for non-interference in the boundaries of Bihar, as at present constituted, for, on this particular question there cannot be for obvious reasons,

any agreement between the areas demanding to gain by the formation of a new province, and the areas that will lose territory thereby. On this important ground, no less than on others equally important, which are set forth in the various sections of this note, I submit that the Sub-Committee should make no recommendation for the disruption or dismemberment or disintegration of the province of Bihar, as at present constituted.

Assuming, however, that the Sub-Committee may feel that the Congress having adopted a resolution in favour of creating linguistic and cultural provinces, it is bound to make a recommendation to that effect—provided, of course, the requisite conditions of homogeneity in the matter of language and culture are fulfilled—it is my submission that the aboriginal tribes inhabiting Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas districts are in no sense a homogeneous population. They belong (as will be shown, in other sections of this note) to different racial stocks, speak different languages, and their culture is widely apart from one another's. In fact, except that they all are called aboriginals, *vis-a-vis* the non-aboriginals, there is nothing in common amongst them which would justify their being brought together into one separate province, as an administrative unit, on the ground of any linguistic and cultural affinity.

It is, therefore, submitted that even assuming that a new principle is now going to be adopted for the creation of provinces in India, the test laid down by the Congress (*viz.*, that of linguistic and cultural affinity of the peoples to be brought together in one province) cannot be said to apply at all to the divergent aboriginal populations inhabiting Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas—a fact which will be amply established by the different names that the tribes bear, and have borne since the dawn of history—Mundas, Oraons, Santals, Hos, and many others, mentioned elsewhere. Lastly, a reference to the anthropological literature relating to the Santals and the Chhota Nagpur aboriginal tribes—especially the works of that famous anthropologist, the late Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, of Ranchi—will satisfy the Sub-Committee of the contention urged by me of the absolute non-homogeneity, of the aboriginals of the area concerned, in cultural and linguistic affinity.

PART III—SOME PRACTICAL OBJECTIONS.

Of the five districts of Chhota Nagpur division, the aboriginals are, as stated above, in majority only in Ranchi district, and in the Sadr subdivision of Singhbhum district, the non-aboriginals being in majority in the districts of Hazaribagh, Manbhum, and Palamau, and in Dhalbhum subdivision of the district of Singhbhum. Out of the six subdivisions of the district of Santal Parganas, the aboriginals are in majority in four of them—Jamtara, Dumka, Pakaur, and Rajmahal; while non-aboriginals are in majority in the other two subdivisions of that district, namely, Godda and Deoghar. As the map attached to this note will show, the only compact area in Chhota Nagpur division, where aboriginals

are in majority, consists of the Ranchi district and the Sadr subdivision of Singhbhum district, but these two contiguous areas are separated from the district of Santal Parganas, by the interception of two large districts (Hazaribagh and Manbhum) where non-aboriginals are in majority. It is thus obvious that no province can be formed for aboriginals in Bihar, with only Ranchi district, a part of Singhbhum district, and with four out of the six subdivisions of Santal Parganas district, as these areas are not contiguous but separated from each other by the non-aboriginal majority districts of Manbhum and Hazaribagh.

And so, on this ground alone, the question of the formation of a separate province, including a part only of Chhota Nagpur division, and a part of Santal Parganas district, cannot be regarded as feasible, even if there were not the impracticability of the formation of a province, like the one suggested by the memorialists, on the numerous cogent grounds set forth in the other sections of this note. A province should be for obvious reasons, above all things, a *compact* area for purposes of administrative efficiency and convenience, and if outside areas (belonging to another province) intervene between two portions of the province, the prospects of successful administration are seriously jeopardised. This point will be quite clear from a perusal of the map appended to this note, showing how the small aboriginal majority area in Bihar, if formed into a province, will be split up into two or more smaller administrative tracts without any geographical integrity or cohesion amongst them.

II

Turning now to the figures of the area in question, it would appear that according to the 1941 census, the percentage of aboriginals in the Ranchi district is 70.02 per cent of the total population, while the aboriginal population of the Sadr subdivision of the Singhbhum district is 72.3, the percentage in the Dhalbhum subdivision of the said district being only 42.47. Similarly, taking the aboriginal majority areas in the Santal Parganas, the percentage of aboriginals in the Dumka subdivision is 67.75, in the Jamtara 53.76, in the Rajmahal 52.99, and in Pakaur 62.64—the other two subdivisions of Santal Parganas, viz., Deoghar and Godda having, as their aboriginal population, 21.53 per cent, and 42.8 per cent, respectively.

So far as the other districts of Chhota Nagpur division are concerned, the figures for the population of aboriginals and non-aboriginals in the other three districts, viz., in Hazaribagh, Palamau, and Manbhum are 27.3 per cent, 35.39 per cent, and 33.36 per cent, respectively. As a matter of fact, all these figures seem, more or less, if not highly, inflated, in favour of the aboriginals, as compared with the figures of the 1931 census, and those mentioned in the *Gazetteers* of the various districts concerned. In any view of the matter, it is quite clear that even taking the 1941 census figures, as the basis of calculation of the total population of the above six districts, amounting to 9,750,846, their total aboriginal population, even on the basis of the inflated figures of the 1941 census, do not amount to more than 4,451,109, which works out to a percentage of 45.61 for the aboriginals, and about 55, of the non-aboriginals.

III.

I shall now deal with the subject from another point of view, in the light of the figures given in the following tables, based on the figures of the 1941 census :—

	Total population.	Aboriginal population.	Percentage of aboriginals to total population.
Ranchi district	1,675,413	1,173,142	70.02 p. c.
Singhbhum Sadr subdivision.	611,315	442,018	72.3 p. c.
Dumka subdivision	509,523	345,222	67.75 p. c.
Jamtara subdivision	271,888	146,193	53.76 p. c.
Rajmahal subdivision	355,995	188,565	52.99 p. c.
Pakur subdivision	279,389	174,387	62.64 p. c.
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	3,703,473	2,470,227	66.6
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	— 2,470,227	Aboriginals	66.6
	1,233,246	= Non-aboriginals	= 33.4

The above tabular statement shows that the total population of the aboriginals in the aboriginal majority areas, shown above, in these six districts, would be 2,470,227 or 66.6 per cent of the total population of 3,703,473; while the total non-aboriginal population would be 1,233,246 or 33.4 per cent. But it would be observed that in two subdivisions of Santal Parganas district (namely, Jamtara and Rajmahal) the figures of the two populations (aboriginal and non-aboriginal) are about the same, the former being just slightly above 50 per cent. If so, these two subdivisions also should be excluded from the proposed province, on the valid ground enunciated by the Viceroy (in connection with the partition of the Punjab) that *status quo* must be maintained where two peoples are very nearly equal in strength (as in the case of the Gurdaspore district, in which the Hindu and Muslim populations are roughly about half and half), just as are practically the aboriginal and the non-aboriginal populations in Jamtara and Rajmahal subdivisions of the Santal Parganas.

If this sound principle is given effect to, for the reasons set forth by the Viceroy in the case of Gurdaspore district of the Punjab—the subdivisions of Jamtara and Rajmahal should not be included in the new province. The net result will be that the new province will be composed of (a) the district of Ranchi, (b) the Sadr subdivision of the Singhbhum district, and (c) the Pakur and Dumka subdivisions of Santal Parganas, and thus the total area of the province will be about 12,163 sq. miles, and the total population 3,075,590,

The new province thus formed composed of two separate parts—one part consisting of the Ranchi district, and the Sadr subdivision of Singbhum district, and the other part consisting of Dumka and Pakaur subdivisions of Santal Parganas district—will be most inconvenient for administrative purposes; as the said two separate parts of the new province will not touch each other at any point unless a corridor through non-aboriginal areas of Bihar is provided to join them. A connecting corridor has not yet been provided between Pakistan and the Indian Union.

IV.

It is urged in the various memorials that the existence of the province of Orissa with an area of 32,198 sq. miles and a population of 7,628,544, Sind with an area of 48,136 sq. miles and a population of 4,535,008, the North-West Frontier Province with an area of 14,263 sq. miles and a population of 3,038,067, and Assam with an area of 45,951 sq. miles and a population of 10,204,735, justifies on grounds of area and population, the creation of a separate province in Bihar for the aboriginals. But as shown in this and other sections of this note, area and population are not, in the first place, the essential factors governing the formation of a province. But the new province, if formed, will compare very unfavourably, (as the figures quoted above will show) in the matter of area and population also with Orissa, Sind, the North-West Frontier Province and Assam, as will appear from a glance at the following tables :—

	Area in square miles.	Population.
Orissa	32,198	7,628,544
Sind	48,136	4,535,008
North-West Frontier Province	14,263	3,038,067
Assam	45,951	10,204,735
New province	12,163	3,075,590

It will be smallest in area of the five provinces, and only equal in population to that of the North-West Frontier Province. Assuming, however, that it be argued with any show of reason that the two subdivisions of Santal Parganas (namely, Jamtara and Rajmahal) should not be excluded from the new province, because the aboriginal majority in them, though very small, is nonetheless technically a majority, I would add the areas and population of these two subdivisions also which are as under :—

	Area in square miles.	Population.
Rajmahal	801	355,995
Jamtara	692	271,888
	<hr/> 1,493	<hr/> 627,883

The result would be that the total area and population of the entire aboriginal majority areas is 13,656 sq. miles, and 3,703,473, respectively. It would thus be seen that even including all the aboriginal majority areas in Chhota Nagpur division and Santal Parganas district, the total area of the proposed province would be about 13,656 sq. miles, and the total population 3,703,473. It would still remain the smallest in area, and only slightly larger in population than the North-West Frontier Province, and will compare unfavourably, on the whole, with Orissa, Sind, Assam and North-West Frontier Province. It is thus clear that judged even by the test of area and population, to which the memorialists seem to attach considerable importance as a sound criterion for the formation of a new province, the administrative unit to be constituted (out of Bihar) would compare unfavourably with the four provinces cited as examples, on the basis of the facts and data set forth above.

It is obvious that while those four provinces (Orissa, Sind, Assam and North-West Frontier) are all compact areas, the proposed province would comprise the separate areas, with two large non-aboriginal majority areas (Hazaribagh and Manbhum) intervening between them, which for obvious reasons cannot conduce either to administrative efficiency or convenience. For all these reasons it is submitted that the Sub-Committee should after a careful consideration of the various aspects of the question, express their opinion that the creation of a separate provincial unit for the aboriginal majority areas in Bihar is, judged from every reasonable point of view, an impractical one, and it has nothing to recommend it as a proposal within the range of practical politics.

PART IV—HISTORICAL RELATIONS.

I shall now discuss the historical connection between the Northern and the Southern portions of Bihar, based on unimpeachable historical records. An extract from *Bihar and Orissa* (First Decennial Review, for 1912—1922, of the Administration and Development of the Province), which was issued during the term of office of the Rt. Hon'ble Lord Sinha, its first Governor, would show the historical relation between Bihar (proper) and its southern projection now called Chhota Nagpur. We read at page 59 : " In the time of the Emperor Akbar, Kokrah or Jharkhand, (as Chhota Nagpur was then called) formed part of the subah of Bihar, and when in 1765 the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, was granted by Shah Alam to the East India Company, Chhota Nagpur came under British influence as an *integral part of Bihar*" (my italics). The words used in this official declaration of the highest authority are weighty and conclusive on the subject. But if further evidence were wanting, it can be found in the *Gazetteers* (issued under the authority of the Provincial Government) of the various districts which are sought to be separated from Bihar, and constituted into a separate Province. I shall make some extracts from these publications bearing on the point in question.

But before doing so, I may quote a sentence (about Kokrah or Jharkhand) from the *Memoirs*, written by Emperor Jahangir, which reads in the original Persian as follows : " In walayat taaba suba Bihar

wo Patna ast ". (This area is under the control of the Province of Bihar and Patna). But the integrity of Kokrah or Jharkhand with Bihar does not date from only the earlier Moghal period. It recedes far back into the Mauryan era in the third century before Christ. "There is definite evidence that this part of the country was ruled by the Mauryan Emperors, and was included in the empire of the Imperial Guptas"—so wrote, in 1938, Mr. Jinnat Bahau Sen, a Parliamentary Secretary to the Bihar Congress Ministry (1937—39), and himself a native of Purulia—the headquarters of the Mambhum district of Chhota Nagpur. That fact is absolutely incontrovertible, being based on unimpeachable historical data.

II.

I shall now deal with each of the six districts concerned in the controversy. The following extract is from the *Gazetteer*, of Palamau district, written by Mr. L. S. S. O'Malley, I.C.S., and revised by Mr. P. C. Tallents, (1926) :—"The power of the Mughal Emperors was first felt in Palamau during the reign of the Emperor Akbar, when (according to an account compiled, from the *Subahdari* registers at Patna, in 1771, by Maharaja Shitab Rai) Palamau was invaded by Raja Mah Singh. In 1629 Ahmad Khan was appointed by the Emperor Shah Jahan to be Subahdar, at Patna; and Palamau, with some of the neighbouring country, was given to him as his *Jagir*. In 1641-42 Shaista Khan, the Governor of Bihar, marched from Patna at the head of an army, and penetrated as far as Palamau". Later, "Zabardast Khan marched on Palamau. When he was within six miles of Palamau, Raja Pratap, seeing the hopelessness of resistance, opened negotiations which ended in his going with Zabardast Khan to Patna". Still later, "Daud Khan, the Governor of Bihar, leaving Patna with a strong force on April 3rd, 1660, penetrated within two miles of Palamau". "The capture of the fort of Palamau practically ended the struggle, and the conquest was complete. Daud Khan returned to Patna, leaving Palamau in charge of a Faujdar. The latter was removed in 1666, and Palamau was then placed under the direct control of the Viceroy of Bihar". Palamau "was constituted a district from January 1st, 1892", by amalgamating certain Chhota Nagpur areas with some which pertained till then to the Gaya district of the Patna division.

As a matter of fact, another extract from the said *Gazetteer*, will show that Palamau is a non-aboriginal district. "Ninety-three per cent of the population speak Hindi or Urdu, six per cent speak Dravidian languages, and one per cent Munda languages. Amongst the Dravidian languages the most important is Oraon, spoken by 42,000 persons; amongst the Munda languages Korwa is spoken by nearly 9,000. The great majority of the people speak the dialect of Bihar Hindi known as Bhojpuri, but in the north-east the Magahi dialect (of Bihar) is used. Eighty-four per cent of the population of the district were Hindus, nine per cent Muhammadans, and six per cent Animists". On these facts and figures it is obvious that on no reasonable ground can this district—the total population of which is 912,734 (according to the 1941

census) can be separated from Bihar as a part of the proposed new province, when the aboriginal element in its population does not exceed the insignificant figure of 7 to 8 per cent of the total population.

III.

I shall now make an extract from the *Gazetteer* of Ranchi, written by Mr. M. G. Hallett, i.c.s. (1917)—later, Sir Maurice Hallett, Governor of Bihar, and afterwards of the United Provinces, also. He writes: "The tract which corresponds to the district of Ranchi, formed, in the historical times, part of the Subah of Bihar, and is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. In 1765 on the grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa to the East India Company, Chhota Nagpur, *as part of the Subah of Bihar*, (my italics) passed to the British". He adds:—"Over nearly the whole of the Ranchi district the language of the settled Aryans is a corrupt form of the Bhojpuri dialect of Bihar. On the east of the district, the language is a form of Magahi (a dialect of Bihar). In the north of the district, a colony of immigrants from Hazaribagh still speak Magahi". It is thus clear that the two Aryan forms of speech (namely Bhojpuri and Magahi) are spoken throughout the district, even by large sections of the aboriginal population. Bengalee was spoken by 48,127 persons, while Magahi and Bhojpuri had between them as many as 325,726 speakers, as against 406,860 speakers of Munda languages, and 23,086 of other languages. A detailed note on the languages spoken in the various districts of Chhota Nagpur follows this historical sketch, and a perusal of it will throw considerable light on the problem before the Sub-Committee.

The next extract, from the *Gazetteer* of the Hazaribagh district, written by Mr. E. Lister, c.i.e., i.c.s. (1917), will show the historical relation between Bihar and this particular area of Chhota Nagpur. "In 1632 the Emperor Shah Jehan included Chhota Nagpur in the *Jagir* of Palamau, which he gave to the Subahdar of Patna. With the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar, and Orissa, which was made by the Emperor Shah Alam, the Subah of Bihar passed to the East India Company, and with it passed *the right to receive the tribute of the areas now comprised in the Chhota Nagpur* (my italics). So that in so far as these three districts, namely, Palamau, Ranchi, and Hazaribagh are concerned—it is fully established that they have been an integral part of the province of Bihar, since the earlier Moghal period, and had justly come to be regarded as undetachable parts of Bihar.

IV.

I shall now make an extract from the *Gazetteer* of Manbhum, written by Mr. H. Coupland, i.c.s. (1911). Writes the author: "To the Muhammadan historians the whole of the modern Chhota Nagpur, and the adjoining hill states, was known by the name of Jharkhand. Akbar, about 1585, sent a force to subdue the Raja of Kokrah, or Chhota Nagpur proper. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* Chai Champa, a part of Hazaribagh district, is shown as assessed to revenue as a pargana of Subah Bihar". "It is stated in the *Padeshahnama*, that in 1633 Bir Narayan, Zamindar of Panchet, a country attached to Subah Bihar,

was a commander of 300 horses". Panchet is now included in the Manbhūm district. Again: "the territory comprised in the present district of Manbhūm was acquired by the British with the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765", and further that "when the district was first established in 1833, it included the estate of Dhalbhūm, now attached to Singhbhūm. In 1845 the estate of Dhalbhūm was transferred to Singhbhūm".

As regards Singhbhūm—the fifth district included in the Chhota Nagpur division—the following extracts from the *Gazetteer* of the district will show its historical connection with Bihar: "The north of the district came under the rule of the Singh family of Porahat, who claim to be Rathor Rajputs, and whose head was formerly known as the Raja of Singhbhūm. It is said that their ancestors were three brothers in the bodyguard of Akbar's general, Raja Man Singh, who ended by conquering the country for themselves. British relations with Singhbhūm date from 1767 (that is, soon after the grant of Dewani to the East India Company by Emperor Shah Alam, in 1765). The first expedition against Dhalbhūm brought the British into contact with the Raja of Porahat, or as he was then called, the Raja of Singhbhūm. The Raja at that time (1767) was Jagannath Singh, who seeing the success of the British, thought it a favourable opportunity to make overtures to them. When the Mutiny broke out, Chaibassa (the headquarters of the Singhbhūm district) like other stations in Chhota Nagpur, was held by a detachment of the Ramgarh Battalion, which, though a local corps, was composed, to a great extent, of Hindustanis of the same material as the regiments of the lines". These passages would go to establish the historical connection between the area contained in the Singhbhūm district and the rest of the province of Bihar.

I submit that the extracts quoted above are unimpeachable authority in support of the contention that the area known, at various times, as Kokrah, Jharkhand, or Chhota Nagpur, had been beyond a shadow of doubt an integral part of Bihar for now nearly four centuries, since the days of Akbar—to say nothing of its having been under the direct rule of Chandra Gupta and Asoka the Great, who administered their vast Empire from their capital at Patna. This note will also deal, where necessary, with the conditions of the Santal Parganas district, which also is sought to be incorporated in the proposed province. But the problem in so far as this one particular district is concerned stands obviously on a different footing from that of Chhota Nagpur, for if the claim of the latter to a separate administration for itself cannot be sustained, the question of the Santal Parganas will not arise, since no one had advocated the formation of one single district on the scale of a provincial unit for purpose of administration. It will be for the Sub-Committee to consider carefully, and to report to the appointing authority, whether the claim of the Biharees that Chhota Nagpur is an integral part of the province of Bihar is or is not based on unimpeachable historical records, some only of which had been extracted above.

PART V—LINGUISTIC CONDITIONS.

The census of 1941 was conducted during the last war, and though the enumeration was carried out in full, the Government of India had decided to restrict in many matters the tabulation for British India on account of war. Consequently tabulations were restricted, in many respects, and whatever tabulation was done in 1941 census would show in effect only the distribution of the population by community, and by province or State, district, tahsil and town, but not the language of the people. For purposes of finding out the languages spoken as mother tongue by the populations enumerated in Bihar, and for purposes of finding out the different religions professed by them, and for information regarding some other matters, we have to depend upon the figures recorded in the Census Report of 1931.

Let us first see if the claim (for the separation of these areas from Bihar) has any basis on linguistic grounds. The figures given in the 1931 Census Report will show that in Hazaribagh district tribal languages are spoken by 8.53 per cent of the population, in Ranchi district by 52.87, in Palamau district by 8.59, in Manbhum by 14.2, in Singhbhum district by 55.54, and in Santal Parganas by 41.61. If all the districts mentioned above are combined together it will be found that only 30.54 per cent of the total population speak tribal languages. In Chhota Nagpur division (that is excluding Santal Parganas) as a whole only 27.12 per cent of the population speak tribal languages as their mother tongue.

Taking the Santal Parganas district it will appear (from a reference to the Appendix II to Bihar and Orissa Census Report of 1931 Part I), that in the Deoghar subdivision of that district only 15 per cent of the total population speak tribal languages, 4 per cent speak Bengali, and 81 per cent speak Hindustani (or Hindi) as their mother tongue. In the Dumka subdivision 51 per cent of the population speak tribal languages (of whom 7 per cent speak Bengali as a subsidiary language), 10 per cent speak Bengali, and 38 per cent Hindustani or Hindi. In the Godda subdivision only 35 per cent of the population speak tribal languages, 2 per cent Bengali, and the remaining 63 per cent Hindustani or Hindi. In the Jamtara subdivision 41 per cent speak tribal languages (of whom 32 per cent speak Bengali as a subsidiary language), 30 per cent speak Bengali, and 29 per cent speak Hindustani or Hindi. In the Rajmahal subdivision 50 per cent speak tribal languages (out of whom 5 per cent speak Hindustani as a subsidiary language), 13 per cent speak Bengali, and 37 per cent speak Hindustani or Hindi. In the Pakur subdivision 59 per cent speak tribal languages, 25 per cent Bengali, and 16 per cent Hindustani or Hindi.

In the Chatra subdivision of Hazaribagh district cent per cent of the population speak Hindustani or Hindi, and in the Sadr and the Giridih subdivisions only 10 per cent of the total population speak tribal languages (out of whom 36 per cent also speak Hindustani as a subsidiary language), and 89 per cent of the population speak Hindustani or Hindi as their mother tongue.

In the Sadr subdivision of the Ranchi district 40 per cent speak tribal languages (out of whom 63 per cent also speak Hindustani), and 1 per cent speak Bengali, and 59 per cent speak Hindustani or Hindi. In the Khunti subdivision, 62 per cent of the population speak tribal languages (of whom 26 per cent also speak Hindustani), and out of the total population, 35 per cent speak Hindustani or Hindi and 2 per cent Bengali. In the Gumla and the Simdega subdivisions 59 per cent of the total population speak tribal languages (of whom 85 per cent also speak Hindustani as a subsidiary language), and out of the total population, 40 per cent have Hindustani or Hindi as mother-tongue.

In the Sadr subdivision of the Palamu district only 4 per cent of the total population speak tribal languages (of whom 95 per cent also speak Hindustani), and out of the total population 96 per cent have Hindustani as mother-tongue. In the Latehar subdivision, 75 per cent of the total population speak Hindustani as their mother-tongue, and only 25 per cent speak tribal languages, of whom, 96 per cent speak Hindustani as a subsidiary language.

In the Sadr subdivision of the Manbhum district only 14 per cent of the total population speak tribal languages, of whom, 58 per cent speak Bengali as a subsidiary language. In the Dhanbad subdivision of the same district only 15 per cent of the total population speak tribal languages, whereas 50 per cent of the total population speak Hindustani as their mother-tongue, and 34 per cent speak Bengali.

In the Sadr subdivision of the Singhbhum district, 69 per cent of the total population speak tribal languages. But in the Dhalbhum subdivision of the same district only 36 per cent of the total population speak tribal languages (out of whom, 46 per cent speak Bengali as a subsidiary language).

II.

It may be mentioned that the different tribes inhabiting this area have each a different language of its own, and none of the tribes inhabiting the Chhota Nagpur division, or the Santal Parganas district, has any script of its own. There is no such thing as one "common speech" of all the tribes, or anything approaching what may be called the "same language". The tribal languages are divided by philologists into two groups, Munda and Dravidian. Ho, Bhumij, Santali, Kharia, and some others, belong to the Munda group; whereas Oraon, Malto, Kandhi, and some others belong to the Dravidian group; and not only these two main groups but their various dialects also are essentially dissimilar. Sir George Grierson in his Introduction to volume IV (of the *Linguistic Survey of India*) has come to the conclusion that the languages of these two groups only agree in such points as are common to most agglutinative languages of the world (as, for instance, Turkish, Chinese and Japanese) and there is no philological reason for deriving them from the same origin, or source; while even in the same group—as stated above—one language or dialect differs from another. It will thus appear that on linguistic ground alone the claim of the aboriginals to have a separate province consisting of the Chhota Nagpur division and the Santal

Parganas district is without any substance, as these tracts do not constitute a compact linguistic area, the constitution of which into a provincial unit will conduce to administrative convenience, and efficiency.

In their report the Simon Commission discussed the linguistic aspect in relation to the formation of provinces, and expressed their views as follows :—“ If those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. But it is not the only test—race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town, and between coast line and interior, may all be relevant factors ”. I submit that judged by any or all these tests, no case is made out for the constitution of a new province to be carved out of Bihar. The aboriginal tribes in the Chhota Nagpur division and the Santal Parganas district do not speak “ the same language ” or possess “ a common speech ” but many languages and dialects different from one another; they are not “ so situated and endowed as to be able to support ” their “ existence as a separate province ”, since (as shown later) these six districts constitute a deficit area; while the other criteria laid down by the Simon Commission are equally inapplicable, in the light of what has been said above, and what is to follow.

PART VI—ETHNOLOGICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS.

Turning now to the ethnological grounds, the figures embodied in these notes, which are based on 1941 census returns, show the number of tribes residing in different districts of the Chhota Nagpur division, and in the Santal Parganas district. It may be mentioned here that some of the castes (for example, Bhuiyas, Khetauris, Nagesia-Kisans, Tharu, Gorait, Chero, Bhogtas and others) who have been enumerated as aboriginals, or semi-aboriginals, are really non-aboriginal Biharis, and not aboriginal or semi-aboriginal Biharis. But even if these non-aboriginal Biharis are included among aboriginals, as it has been done in the last census returns of 1941, it will be found that only about 45 per cent of the total population of the Chhota Nagpur division, and the Santal Parganas district, come within the category of ‘ aboriginals ’ and ‘ semi-aboriginals ’ and the majority of the population are non-aboriginal Biharis. In the district of Santal Parganas the aboriginals and semi-aboriginals are 50 per cent of the total population, in Hazaribagh district they are only about 27.3 per cent, in Ranchi district about 70.02 per cent, in Palamau district only about 35.39 per cent, in Manbhum district only about 33.36 per cent, and in Singhbhum district about 58 per cent of the total population.

Taking all these six districts, the aboriginals and semi-aboriginals thus form (as stated above) only about 45 per cent; and the claim to have a separate province for aboriginals and semi-aboriginals of the Chhota Nagpur division and Santal Parganas district, where (as shown above) the aboriginals and the semi-aboriginals are in a minority of 45 per cent,

and the non-aboriginal Biharis in a majority of 55 per cent of the total population is on the every face of it unreasonable, and without any justification whatsoever for the constitution of a separate province. On the other hand, if the figures of the 1931 census be accepted as more reliable than those of the 1941 census, then the claims of the numerical superiority of the aboriginals would be still further reduced.

II.

Taking now another test—the test of religion—the figures are based on 1931 census returns—as these figures were not recorded in 1941 census—will show that out of the total population of 3,371,287 of different tribes in Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, 1,922,279 profess tribal religions, 1,155,300 are Hindus and only 293,708 profess Christianity. For obvious reasons, aboriginals who are Hindus, and those of them who still profess tribal religion, have much more in common with non-aboriginal Hindus residing not only in Chhota Nagpur division, but also in other parts of Bihar, than with those who profess Christianity, since the latter had come or had brought themselves, under wholly foreign influences—that too not for the sake of spiritual but (as shown in the Introductory section) purely secular needs and purposes. To bring them all on a common platform—just to press their claim for the constitution of a separate province—the word “Adibasi” (meaning “original inhabitants”) had recently been invented for purely propaganda purposes, and there is no reliable evidence that it had been so used in any official record.

Out of a total population of 1,275,716 of Santals residing in the whole of Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas (as it will appear from the census figures) 754,804 reside in the Santal Parganas district alone, and how far they are Adibasis (or “original inhabitants” of Santal Parganas) will be clear by a reference to the *Gazetteer* of Santal Parganas, wherein (at page 51) it is stated that “the Santals seem to have settled first in the district (Santal Parganas) between 1790 and 1810, having made their way northwards from Birbhum (Bengal), where they had been brought in about 1790 to clear jungle and drive out the wild beasts which then infested the country. The exact date at which the first body of immigrants came is not known, but the unpublished manuscript of Buchanan Hamilton shows that a number of them had settled in Dumka subdivision by 1809, having come last from Birbhum (Bengal) in consequence of the annoyance which they received from its Zemindars. Between 1815, and 1830 there appears to have been a further advance of the Santals”.

III.

It will thus appear that the Santals settled in Santal Parganas during less than two centuries from now, and they cannot be called by any stretch of language, the original inhabitants or Adibasis of that district. The next most numerous tribe residing in Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas is Oraon, a Dravidian race, and out of their total population of 524,642, about 440,100 reside in the Ranchi district alone, as it will

appear from the census figures. A reference to the *District Gazetteer of Ranchi* (pages 72-73) will show that they migrated to this district from Rohtas in the Shahabad district (of the Patna division) which was their original home, and from where they migrated to the Ranchi district. As the Muslim conquest of Rohtas took place in 1539 A. C., their claim to be Adibasis—original inhabitants—of Chhota Nagpur division is not borne out by the historic data available.

The entire population of 301,158 of Hos reside in the Singhbhum district, mostly in Kolhan, and they also cannot claim to be Adibasis or original inhabitants of this district. A reference to the *District Gazetteer of Singhbhum* will show that this district was first in the hands of ancient Aryan Hindus, and then in the hands of Jain Srawaks, who penetrated into Singhbhum in 14th or 15th century A.D. The Hos settled in this district later, after overcoming the Bhuiyas, who then held part of Singhbhum. Their claim also to be the Adibasis (or original inhabitants) is thus quite untenable.

IV.

Aboriginal tribes are residing not only in Bihar, but in several other provinces of India, and yet nowhere else has a claim been set up for or by them as in Bihar where (as shown above) they belong to different races, tribes, and stocks, speak different languages, worship different gods, and do not reside within one compact area. The special map of Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, attached to this note, showing the areas mostly inhabited by aboriginals, looks, it is submitted, like an archipelago, with aboriginal areas separated from one another scattered all over the tract amidst non-aboriginal areas. No separate province for the aboriginals in Bihar can thus be formed with such scattered areas inhabited by them, as it cannot be conducive to administrative convenience, or efficiency—the main consideration till now in the formation of our provinces.

Lastly, if the idea is to bring together all the aboriginal tribes in one province and under one government, this cannot be done simply by forming a province with the Chhota Nagpur division and the Santal Parganas district of Bihar only, because apart from the aboriginal tribes residing in other provinces of India, and some other districts of Bihar,—the figures for which are given in the Introductory sections—even in the Indian States, and the districts of Bengal and Orissa bordering on Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, a large population of aboriginal tribes will be left out. It will thus be seen that the formation of the province to be carved out of Bihar will leave out large aboriginal tracts not only in Bengal and Orissa, but also in some other British Indian provinces like Central Provinces and Bombay.

PART VII—EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.

Reference has been made, in the Introductory section, to two important facts, relating to the progress of education amongst the aboriginal population of the Chhota Nagpur division and the Santal Parganas district. These are that the population is divided between a very large

number of non-Christian aboriginals, and a small number (comparatively speaking) of Christian aboriginals, but that the latter is educationally very much in advance of the former. It has also been pointed out there, that the Government policy of encouraging the non-Christian aboriginals, by giving them much greater facilities to make up the lee-way, is disapproved of by the Christian aboriginal representatives in the Bihar Legislature. This spirit is manifested not only in their interpellations and supplementary questions, but (unless I am mistaken) a cut motion was introduced on the Government's Budget demand protesting against the Government's policy, though it was not pressed to a division.

A special note, no. 1, is appended to this memorandum showing what the Government of Bihar had already done, and also what it proposed to do for the educational uplift of the aboriginals in the area concerned. It includes various recurring and non-recurring grants for opening of a number of residential Upper Primary Schools in the Santal Parganas district, assuming Government control, in the Education Department, of the education of the Santals (particularly in what is called the Daman-i-Koh area), foundation of post-graduate scholarships, and a large number of scholarships in the colleges, the offer of stipends to be awarded to children in certain areas in these districts the grant of free studentships in Government colleges and schools, the teaching of Santali to the children in the school in the Santal Parganas, and similar orders in regard to teaching of Malto language in certain areas. In addition to the above, Government have sanctioned for the current financial year, 1947-48, an estimated cost of Rs. 50,000 for scholarships, which are fixed at 6 for the Christians and 46 for the non-Christians in colleges, and 19 for the Christians and 288 for the non-Christians in schools.

Apart from it all, Government have provided that the Chhota Nagpur division alone should get approximately one-third of the total grant of Rs. 3,55,596 placed at the disposal of the Board of Secondary Education for distribution of grants-in-aid to boys and girls of high schools in all the four divisions of the Province of Bihar. I need not refer here to the post-war plans, which are under the consideration of the Government, at present. But full particulars of these, and also details of the various funds, scholarships, stipends, grants, etc. (mentioned in the paragraph above) will be found in the special note, no. 1, appended to this memorandum. It would thus be seen that whatever their sins of omission in the past, the present Government of Bihar have done a great deal towards making up their deficiencies in the past by providing for the uplift of the aboriginals, by means of education.

II.

But that is not all, and a second special note is appended to this memorandum showing the activities of the Department of Industries in the Chhota Nagpur division, which should satisfy the Sub-Committee that much has been done, and is being done, in the way of expanding, in this area, technical education and industrial development. The special note, no. 2, appended to this memorandum, will show that at present there are no less than one dozen Government and Government-aided

technical institutions at various places in the Chhota Nagpur division, quite apart from the School of Mines located at Dhanbad, which is a Central Government institution. In addition to these one dozen Government and Government-aided institutions (a list of which is appended in the special note, no. 2, to the memorandum), there are a number of privately-managed technical institutions in Chhota Nagpur, which have come into existence as a result of the enterprise of the Development Department. At many of these technical institutions, stipends varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 35 a month, are reserved for aboriginal students. The activities of the Department of Industries, as carried on in the institutions mentioned above, are supplemented in the various ways in the matter of the industrial expansion and development in the area concerned, a list of which is given in special note, no. 2, a careful perusal of which will satisfy the Sub-Committee that much is being done by the Government of the Province in the direction of developing the industries of the area concerned, and of imparting technical teaching to the residents in this area, and particularly to the aboriginals by means of suitable encouragements.

From figures available bearing on the points in question, it would appear that the total number of Christian aboriginal students in the schools and colleges of the Chhota Nagpur division amounts to 28,893 boys and 15,127 girls, or a grand total of 44,020; while the number of non-Christian aboriginal students in the schools and colleges amounts to 38,052 boys and 2,156 girls, or a grand total of 40,208 students. The latest figures available are that the non-Christian population is 1,085,548, while the Christian is 301,592. Considering that the total number of non-Christian aboriginals is several times the number of the Christian aboriginals, the significance of the figures, quoted above, is apparent on the face of it, specially in the matter of education of girls. The policy of the Bihar Government, therefore, of encouraging the progress of education amongst the non-Christian aboriginals is a sound one and, should be held to be just and proper, instead of its being criticised on the ground, on which it has been done till now by Christian representatives, that the present policy of Government is to bring about some kind of division between the two sections of the aboriginals based upon their religious persuasion. A correct reading of the situation is that the distinction made by the Government is not based at all on the religious persuasion of the two communities (the Christian and the non-Christian), but on the great disparity in the progress and expansion of education in these two groups as is made clear by the figures cited above. It would thus be seen that the amount already being spent on the education of aboriginals is very large, and out of all proportion to the income derived from this area, which—as will be shown in the next section headed "Financial"—is a deficit area, and it would be, therefore, impossible for a provincial administration of this area to spend the amount budgeted at present by the Bihar Government for that purpose. By the formation, therefore, of the proposed "Jharkhand" province, the six districts suggested to form it are bound to suffer heavily in more ways than one, but perhaps most so in the progress of education,

Erratum to " Some Problems of Bihar Aborigines ".

1. PAGE 30, PARAGRAPH 2, LINE 7—

For 1,085,548 read 3,003,516.

2. PAGE 30, PARAGRAPH 2, LINE 8—

For 301,592 read 317,708.

PART VIII—ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL CONDITIONS.

It is said by the proponents of the scheme that Chhota Nagpur should be separated and constituted into a separate province because it is larger than either Sind, the North-West Frontier Province, or Orissa. But what would it matter if Chhota Nagpur were as big as Europe itself? Can any Government last for even a single day because of the mere vastness of its territory? If that were so, surely India, which is equal to the whole of Europe (except old Russia), must have been the strongest, and the most well-organised, Government, under the sun, from ages out of mind. But far from that being the case, for thousands of years we have been subject to the domination, from time to time, of handfuls of foreigners. The test of a well-governed State is, therefore, not its area, nor even its total population. For if anything in this world depended on mere numbers, then we Indians, who are 392 millions strong, if not even more, would have been long since ruling the whole world, instead of having been ruled for centuries and centuries by a series of foreign invaders, and alien adventurers, one after another.

It is thus *not* either area or population that is in such matters the correct criterion, but it is the educational, intellectual, and moral standard of the population of any area, large or small, and also their economic condition (that is, their capacity to bear financial burden) which would enable a State to be administered efficiently, and which is a sound test to adopt in judging the question. Judging by these standards the Chhota Nagpur division of Bihar, in spite of its numerous mines and large mineral resources, is not in a position to maintain a government of its own, even with the addition of Santal Parganas.

II.

I confess I was surprised to read in the course of a recent speech made by one of the leaders of the separation scheme the following passages:—"This is not a deficit area. How can you say an area with Maunbhum coal, with Hazaribagh mica, with Dhalbhum copper, with Koilhan high-grade iron ore of over 3,000 million tons, with Ranchi lac, with Palamau forests, with atom bomb uranium and a host of valuable minerals like bauxite in Lohardaga, to be a deficit territory." This rhetorical flourish of language is not statesmanly, as it is not borne out by facts and figures. It was evidently sought to be suggested thereby that the other parts of the province of Bihar had been exploiting the income of Chhota Nagpur, and been thriving upon it? Is that so? Surely, no mines and minerals in Chhota Nagpur bring any income, worth the name, to the provincial coffers, because those working them have got their headquarters outside Bihar, in Calcutta, Bombay, or elsewhere. The Tatas, the largest industrial concern in this province—in fact, in the whole of India—have their headquarters in Bombay, and the income-tax they pay on their profits goes to another Government than ours. Similarly several of the other companies exploiting our mineral resources have got their headquarters in Calcutta, and they pay their income-tax to the Bengal Government there. So if there is anybody who profits by

the mines and minerals of Chhota Nagpur, it is the Governments of India, Bengal, and Bombay, and not certainly the Government of Bihar, who get practically nothing at the present moment, out of the mineral resources of Chhota Nagpur. As a matter of fact the area in question is a deficit area.

When I happened to be the Finance Member of Bihar and Orissa (1922—26), I had to provide in the provincial budget, from out of the income of the other divisions of Bihar (Patna, Tirhut, and Bhagalpur) about 16 to 18 lakhs for the administration of Chhota Nagpur—this division being a deficit area. Accordingly, when the agitation for separation of this area was started, in 1938, I requested the Prime Minister to supply me with the latest figures worked out in the Finance Department, with the assistance, if necessary, of the Accountant-General of Bihar. The figures showed that the deficit in the income and expenditure of Chhota Nagpur had appreciably increased since my time. While it was then as much as 16 to 18 lakhs, it had gone up to over 26 lakhs, in 1937-38. A suggestion was made by the supporters of the Separation Movement that if Chhota Nagpur were permitted to grab at the Santal Parganas district (of the Bhagalpur division) then its additional area, population, and possibly much larger income, would solve the problem. But the figures supplied by Government showed that the Santal Parganas district itself was also a deficit area, so that the total deficit on the new province would be now a much larger sum. The latest figures are as shown below:—

Area.	Financial year.	Deficit. Rs.	Total. Rs.
Chhota Nagpur	1943-44	57,67,000	72,26,000
Santal Parganas			
Chhota Nagpur	1944-45	72,78,000	90,02,000
Santal Parganas			
Chhota Nagpur	1945-46	70,10,000	84,58,000
Santal Parganas			

III.

The figures shown above as supplied to me by the Finance Department, with concurrence of the Accountant-General of the Province—for supplying which information I am grateful both to the Finance Secretary and the Accountant-General—show that the figures are for the years 1943-44, 1944-45 and for 1945-46. The figures for later financial years are not yet available, and will not be so for some months. These figures show that in the year 1943-44 there was a deficit in the expenditure (on the administration of these six districts) in the case of Chhota Nagpur of Rs. 57,67,000, and in the case of Santal

Parganas of Rs. 13,59,000, or for the six districts concerned of Rs. 71,26,000. In the succeeding financial year, namely 1944-45, the figures of deficit were in the case of Chhota Nagpur Rs. 72,78,000 and in the case of Santal Parganas Rs. 17,24,000 or a total of Rs. 90,02,000. In the last financial year, for which figures are available, namely 1945-46, the amount of deficit in respect of Chhota Nagpur is Rs. 70,10,000, and in the case of Santal Parganas Rs. 14,48,000, or a total of Rs. 84,58,000.

On the basis of the above data, the accuracy of which cannot be questioned, it would appear that these six districts constituted in Bihar a steadily deteriorating deficit area. To elucidate the matter further, it may be stated that in calculating the income from these six districts, figures have been taken of only those stable sources, which may be reasonably assumed to continue to yield income in time to come, and not those which are likely to disappear in the near future. On this basis the income of these six districts yielded by excise revenue, and also the proportionate allotment of their share from income-tax, have been excluded, and not taken in account. A very cogent reason for excluding from our calculation the excise revenue, as a source of stable income in the proposed province, is that in the last financial year (for which figures are available) it would appear that while the total excise revenue of Bihar in 1925-26 was nearabout two crores, it had more than doubled itself during the last 20 years, and now stands at 4 crores, 61 lakhs, 81 thousand, and the revenue so raised in the six districts in question being 2 crores, 15 lakhs, and 21 thousand, that is nearly half the total revenue of the whole Province of Bihar. Surely, no popular Government can tolerate raising so large an amount from excise, and the income from this source, is bound to disappear, sooner rather than later. The reasons for such exclusion are obvious. It may safely be assumed that whichever political party will be in power in future, it will not like to continue the excise policy initiated by the British Government. Already under the influence of the views of Mahatma Gandhi, even a Finance Minister of the Government of India, who was not a Congressman, but a Muslim Leaguer, had to remit last March the income yielded by salt revenue to the tune of eight to ten crores. The excise system is rightly or wrongly regarded by all classes of political thought in the country, as a great evil, to be done away with at the earliest opportunity, and replaced by total prohibition. This assumption would be safer to assume in the case of the aboriginal areas since total prohibition is a popular demand everywhere in Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, as the evil of drunkenness among the aboriginals is one of the major economic problems, and will have, as such, to be checked if their material condition is to be improved. In the circumstances, it would be a great financial blunder to count upon any income from excise revenue in future.

IV.

Similarly, in the case of any allotment to the provinces from the resources of the Central Government, it is clear that it would be a fatal

mistake to count upon the continuance of that policy. It has been already announced that, by the end of March next year, India will embark on a new system of provincial administration, in which the provinces will form units of the Indian Union, each such constitutional unit being an independent component of the Central State, but independent in all matters of internal administration. In a Federal State so constituted, it would be absolutely wrong to assume that the Central Government will continue the old policy of doling out grants, and making allotments, to the various provinces, and it will be quite safe to assume that that system will have come to a close by the end of next financial year. It is for these reasons that I have felt justified in excluding from the calculations made of the income of these six districts, the amounts yielded by excise and income-tax allotment, as a sound basis for the calculation of income in years to come. But that is not all, for if the proposed province were started, it would require its own heads of departments, and Secretaries to Government, with their staff, a full-equipped provincial secretariat, a Governor and a Ministry, with all their paraphernalia, and also a High Court and a University. The administrative expenses would in that case go up to a much larger figure. And the question is whether the people of Chhota Nagpur are prepared to tax themselves to a protentious extent, not only to wipe out the present enormous deficit, but to meet the additional expenditures which the creation of a province will inevitably involve. No one has yet ventured to answer this very pertinent question. The Government of India had already been paying three very large subventions: (a) of about two crores to the Frontier Province, (b) of about one crore to Sind, and (c) of about 50 lakhs to Orissa. So the Government of India had been paying about 3 crores and a half to these three provinces. Are they willing in the now completely changed circumstances to pay another one crore or so for a new province carved out of Bihar? The formation of new provinces now rests with the Crown, and that power will now be vested in the Government of India, and will they agree to pay a subvention—large or small—to the new province of Jharkhand?

Mere vastness of area, apart from other imperative considerations, cannot in any circumstances be a proof of the capacity of Chhota Nagpur to bear the extra expenditure incidental to the establishment of an autonomous existence, nor that her rich mineral resources would be able to sustain the administrative expenses that will be involved in separation. The proposition is wholly an impracticable one, since the mineral resources of Chhota Nagpur are, already being exploited, to a considerable extent, by foreign industrialists, and industrial concerns from outside Bihar, but the area is not any the richer, or more prosperous, now, than it was before they commenced that exploitation. Even if the remaining resources of the Chhota Nagpur division are also exploited, we cannot visualise any prospect of this area benefiting to any appreciable extent directly by that procedure, and the hopes and anticipations that are being built upon that foundation are bound to

prove a mirage. The financial argument, the one argument that will have any substantial weight in a matter like this, thus wholly militates against a favourable consideration of the proposal, and no one who appreciates correctly political and administrative problems can countenance such an untenable project, as is demanded in various representations made on the subject.

V.

I hope I have now shown conclusively the impracticability on financial grounds, of the proposed scheme of the creation of a province for the aboriginals in Bihar. The objections being absolutely unimpeachable, an argument is often advanced by the proponents of the scheme to the following effect: "If these six districts constitute a deficit area, why is the rest of Bihar so anxious to keep them attached to themselves? Why not get rid of them, and leave them to their own fate?" My habit of studious moderation in speaking and writing will prevent me from characterising this argument as it should be done, but the answer to this question is very simple. Just as in the human body certain organs become, or are of lower strength and vitality than others, so are certain areas in a body politic. But just as no sensible patient or physician would agree to the amputation of a weak or diseased limb, unless it has become absolutely gangrenous, and as such detrimental to the whole physical body, so a well organised State will not agree, in any circumstances, to the amputation of an area on the ground of its being a deficit area, so long as the other parts of the State can carry it along, with their own resources—as the surplus districts of Bihar had done in the case of the deficit area since the formation of the province. As such they will carry on with them, with their own resources, even the financially weaker parts of the province, which they justly regard as members of one integral whole. It is for these reasons that the surplus areas of Bihar would insist on carrying on, as part of their body politic, the deficit areas of Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, rather than leave them to their own fate as the unwise proponents of the scheme of partition desire.

PART IX.—SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR CONSIDERATION BY THE SUB-COMMITTEE.

As I find that in almost all the memorials great emphasis is laid on the constitution of a separate province for the aboriginals, to be carved out of the districts making up the present province of Bihar, I have accordingly dealt, in the previous sections of this note, almost entirely, with that aspect of the question. But now that I am at the end of the discussion of the constitution of a separate province, I feel that the Sub-Committee may justly expect me to make some suggestions as to what, in my opinion, should be done by the Provincial Government, and what recommendations I would like the Sub-Committee to make to the Constituent Assembly, on the subject of the amelioration of the condition of the aboriginals, quite apart from the question of the creation of a separate province. I, therefore, feel justified in placing

before the Sub-Committee, in some detail, my views as to what the Sub-Committee should recommend to the Committee, or to the Constituent Assembly, which the latter should lay down for the Bihar Government to do, so that the condition of the aboriginals in this province may be substantially ameliorated, at a pretty rapid rate. This I shall now propose to do.

Before doing so, however, I would like to refer to certain proposals recently made by a non-aboriginal member of the Bihar Legislative Assembly (from a Chhota Nagpur constituency), who is also a member of the Constituent Assembly, which have attracted some attention in the local press at Ranchi. I extract below the passages from his statement embodying the salient features of his scheme :—

(a) " The number of members from Chhota Nagpur in the future Legislative Assembly of the Province should be increased."

(b) " Certain subjects (including forest, agriculture, commerce, industry, etc.) should be reserved in so far as they relate to Chhota Nagpur, and when any question concerning them would come up before the Assembly, all members (including those from Bihar proper) would be competent to discuss the subject, but at the time of voting, the Speaker should announce that as the matter relates to the subjects ' reserved ' for Chhota Nagpur, only the Chhota Nagpur block of members should vote; and the vote of the majority of the Chhota Nagpur block in the Assembly should be taken as the vote of the majority of the Assembly with regard to the ' reserved ' subject of Chhota Nagpur. This would give members from Chhota Nagpur the benefit of the advice of and discussions with members from other parts of the Province, and it would at the same time give the Chhota Nagpur members the opportunity to administer Chhota Nagpur by themselves."

(c) " A proportion of the Cabinet should be reserved for Chhota Nagpur. Among so many members of the Cabinet, a fixed percentage should be from Chhota Nagpur, and the quota for Chhota Nagpur Ministers should be split up into Adibasi and Non-Adibasi."

After having given the above proposals a careful consideration, I regret I do not see my way to recommend them for the acceptance of the Sub-Committee. The adoption of any such scheme would be a case of adopting the principle of " bad diseases and worse remedies ". If the suggestions made above by the Chhota Nagpur representative be given effect to, that will not produce a healthy psychological effect, because it will markedly divide the Bihar Assembly members from the Chhota Nagpur division from those of the other three divisions of Bihar, into two separate political and administrative groups, and will foster an unwholesome rivalry and competition between them. It will also ultimately worsen the relations between the non-aboriginals and the aboriginals, by accentuating on the part of the latter a markedly separatist tendency. In my opinion, the policy underlying all ameliorating proposals should have, as its primary object, the obliteration of

the subsisting separatist tendency, and bringing together all members of the Bihar Assembly in working, on a common platform, for the welfare of the aboriginals in the province, in particular, and all others, in general. The very fact that the suggestions contain a proposal for making an increase in the number of representatives from Chhota Nagpur, but not in that of the representatives of the other three divisions of Bihar, and also because the scheme does not apply the principle it enunciates for discussing and voting on Chhota Nagpur affairs, by the representatives of the other three divisions of Bihar to Chhota Nagpur representatives, in discussing and voting on Bihar affairs, seem to me very serious defects in the proposals, which if carried out will have a very disintegrating influence on the political and administrative life of the province. Even in the scheme of Dyarchy, which was the striking feature of the constitution of the Provincial Legislatures from 1921 to 1937, we had no such wholly undemocratic features as are sought to be introduced now (1947) by this non-aboriginal representative of the Chhota Nagpur division in his proposals, which if adopted would worsen the old dyarchic system, without retaining in the proposed scheme its redeeming features. For these reasons I wholly dissent from them, and cannot see my way to recommend them to the Sub-Committee for their acceptance.

II

I shall now make suggestions, which will better suit the requirements. The aboriginals are a poor and an ill-nourished people. When the areas inhabited by them were covered by good forests, they had probably enough food. With the disappearance, however (by their own indiscriminate action), of the forests, the aboriginals have to live mainly on the produce of the soil, which is generally poor, for want of supply of water from irrigation works. The yield of crop is poor, game scarce, and fruits are practically non-existent. The development of some industries had, in recent years, opened up some other (but only few) avenues of employment for them, but they are working in them mostly as unskilled labourers, or rather coolies. They are also, as a class, not thrifty, and are, unfortunately, fond of liquor, which is a great drain on their income. The main problem of the aboriginals is thus of more food, and better (that is more nourishing) food. Their chief need, therefore, is not only the preservation of their agricultural lands, but their fertilisation by extensive irrigation works, as also development of afforestation, and horticulture, which latter will, in particular, add to food variety in the diet of the people.

Chhota Nagpur is very rich in minerals, and has a bright industrial future. The aboriginals are good craftsmen, when properly trained. They should begin with basic education, and then betake themselves to technical education for taking up jobs as skilled workers. It is, therefore, necessary that provision should be made for their basic and technical education, on a large scale. The need, therefore, is great of a well-organised administration in the aboriginal areas, affording full protection

to the aboriginals in their means of earning livelihood. The present Government have already established a Welfare Department for the special behoof of aboriginals, and judging from the speed at which the activities of this Department are expanding, the creation of a separate portfolio for aboriginal welfare is a pressing demand. The Chhota Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1908 (in spite of its many faults and defects) has preserved the agricultural lands of aboriginals for them. The present Provincial Government have, during the short term of their tenure of office, taken fairly adequate measures for the improvement of land by providing facilities for irrigation by excavation of tanks and construction of *ahars* and *bandhs*; (that is, water-channels). To save them from the clutches of money-lenders, steps have been taken for opening grain-golas. Cultural Boards have also been formed to develop the culture and language of the different tribes, and some other similar utilitarian steps undertaken.

III

I claim no originality for the suggestions, I make below, in regard to the various matters which, if carried out, will be conducive to the amelioration and the well-being of the aboriginal population, inhabiting the Chhota Nagpur division and the Santal Parganas district. It may be stated at the outset that there are no 'excluded areas' in the Province of Bihar, but under the present constitution, the Governor has a special responsibility for the peace and good government of the areas declared to be 'partially excluded', under section 52(e) of the Government of India Act, 1935. It may also be noted that though fairly large numbers of the aboriginal population in this area still speak their languages and dialects, yet, as the result of administrative unification, Hindi (which is the court language throughout the province) is also the language of business and ordinary conversation in the Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas areas. In fact, a Member of the Board of Revenue (a British Civilian) has quite accurately noted:—"In the Ranchi district (which has the largest aboriginal population of any in Bihar) there are now very few areas where the bulk of the population knows no language except their aboriginal tongue." The same is, more or less, true of the other aboriginal areas in the province, including the district of Santal Parganas.

Such being the local conditions of the area concerned, the first thing essential for its peace and prosperity is that the special regulations, laws, and bye-laws, which have been introduced, from time to time, and were designed mainly to maintain the various aboriginal tribes in the occupation of their lands, and to preserve, so far as possible, their indigenous economic system, should continue to be in force, as now, and not allowed to be lightly tampered with, as they had largely succeeded in attaining their object. These special enactments no doubt militate against some of our modern notions (like the freedom, and the sanctity, of contract; and some others similar to it) but they have had the very salutary effect of preserving the aboriginals in possession of their lands, and also of preventing them from falling victims to the machinations of usurers, and others covetous of their lands and estates. The beneficial result of these special

enactments is that while litigation is reduced to a minimum, the fundamental principle is preserved (at any rate, in the Santal Parganas) that rights in the village lands belong primarily to the village community. As the Santal Parganas Enquiry Committee recorded their considered opinion: "Although the essential features of the system have got to be maintained, the aim of Government should be to approximate the administration (of Santal Parganas) progressively to that of Chhota Nagpur", I hope Government will keep their suggestion in mind.

The Chhota Nagpur land system is more or less different from that of the other three divisions of Bihar and also of Santal Parganas. It was enacted last in 1908, nearly 40 years back, and it was not placed on the Statute Book a day too soon; though some experienced Revenue Officers believe that it came a little too late to save the family tenures of many of the aboriginal tribes, or to prevent large numbers of holdings from passing out of their hands into those of non-aboriginal money-lenders, landlords, and perhaps even lawyers. The Act of 1908 had been amended, from time to time, and as it stands at present, offers considerable protection of occupancy rights both from eviction, and also from enhancement of rent, except by means of decrees passed by court, or by Revenue and Settlement Officers exercising powers of a court. On the whole, it may be said with considerable truth that the land settlements which had taken place under the provisions of the Act had conducted, to a very large extent, to safeguarding the rights of the aboriginals, not unoften against the results of their own improvidence. The present popular Government has, I am glad to state, introduced several important legislative changes in the Act of 1908, in the interest of the tenantry of Chhota Nagpur, particularly benefiting the aboriginals. Further salutary changes are on the legislative anvil in the Chhota Nagpur Tenancy (Amendment) Bill which is now before a Select Committee. I hope this measure will soon be placed on the Statute Book, as it tackles certain difficulties that had arisen, from time to time, in administering the old Act of 1908.

IV

Apart from the relief that may be given to the aboriginal population by means of wholesome provisions to be introduced in the Tenancy Act, in the light of the working of its provisions, there is the broad economic problem to be faced that while the population goes on increasing at a fairly rapid rate, the land available for further cultivation, and capable of being turned productive, is gradually but steadily shrinking. Perhaps the Sub-Committee may see their way to recommend the setting up of a Rural Planning Board to regulate a more balanced use of land for forest, pasture, irrigation of arable lands, and other purposes, so that judicious use may be made of the resources of the area concerned, and may prevent such irretrievable loss as occurs frequently when a forest on a hill side is cut down into a barren waste, or when grazing land on sloping rocky surface is ploughed, and the soil is then washed away leaving the rock exposed. If such a Board be established, it should have, amongst its members, experts in Geology, Soil Chemistry, Forestry, Animal Husbandry, and in Irrigation and Agriculture.

All these suggested remedies, however, will not be, I fear, sufficient to improve the needs of the situation, unless and until not only are irrigation works constructed by the State on a fairly extensive scale, but means are also devised for collecting water in storage embankments, or dams, of the water in the rivers, the whole of which is allowed at present practically to run to waste. Something should promptly be done towards the prosecution of this object, but I am satisfied that if the standard of living is to be raised, it is absolutely essential for the Government to tackle this problem of extensive irrigation, even at an enormous cost of money, as it will be a most vital form of insurance for raising the economic standard of the people.

Lastly, it may be added that while universal primary education among the aboriginals would help them, as also other ignorant cultivators, in holding their own against money-lenders, zamindars' amlas, and other covetous people, it would also improve their habits of improvidence, which is a serious handicap to their advancement at present. The above are a few only of the suggestions which could be made on this subject, and what I have said is by no means exhaustive but only illustrative of my point of view. The present popular Government has, during its short tenure of office, attempted some good, and if it continues to do so, with the same earnestness and zeal that it has displayed so far, I have no doubt that in the fulness of time, the lot of the people of Chhota Nagpur, in general, and of the aboriginals, in particular, will be happier and more prosperous.

V.

The suggestions made above, as already stated, though not original, are based on my long experience of the administration of Chhota Nagpur, both as a public man, and as a Member of Government of this Province, confirmed also by the views of several highly experienced officials and administrators. But I feel that before concluding this note I should place before the Sub-Committee some suggestions to which I attach great importance, in the interest alike of the Government of Bihar and the people of the six districts concerned, particularly of the aboriginal population of this area. The Bihar Government, as I have mentioned above, at more than one place, have done in recent years a great deal towards the amelioration of the economic and educational conditions of the people, particularly the aboriginals. But they do not seem to me to have fully realised the essential factor in a successful administration of a backward people, like the aboriginals of Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas. That essential factor is that all human beings (be they ever so educated, cultured, or enlightened) are governed in their relations with Government not so much by the Government's out-turn of good work as by their success in influencing and capturing the imagination of the people governed by them. This is all the more essential where the people concerned are primitive tribes like those inhabiting the six districts concerned in our discussions. The British Government, so long it actively functioned, was quite satisfied with the preservation of law and order in the area, the realisation of its revenue, and the administration of justice through the medium of its courts and revenue officers. It was obviously not at all possible for a foreign Government to attempt to capture the

imagination of the people. When a rebellion broke out (as, for instance, among the Santals nearly a hundred years back, or during the present century led by the aboriginal leader, named Birsa) the British Government enacted laws and regulations to meet the then situation as best it could, but did nothing more. It was not possible for it to make any attempt to capture the imagination of the aboriginal tribes of the area concerned. In this respect one naturally expects a much better record from the popular Government now established in Bihar. True, on the first occasion when it was in power (from July, 1937, to November, 1939) it was not sufficiently experienced, and could not tackle successfully the various administrative problems, including those of the aboriginal tribes: and though it has been in power again since April, 1946, the time has not been sufficiently long for it to embark seriously on an undertaking like that of capturing the imagination of the aboriginals. But that is a thing which has got to be faced, if the aboriginals are to be kept reconciled to their lot as an integral part of the population of the province, with equal rights with all other indigenous residents of Bihar, rights not only *de-jure* but also *de-facto*, and exercisable as such by them, so that they may feel that they also are bone of the bone and flesh of the flesh of the people of Bihar.

If this contention of mine be accepted by the Sub-Committee, I would request them to make a recommendation to the Constituent Assembly (through the proper channel) that it should be made compulsory, or practically compulsory, on the Bihar Government (whether by means of enactment, rules, bye-laws, convention, or practice, as may be considered suitable and proper) that they should stay for six months in the year (from 15th April to 15th October) in Chhota Nagpur, as was the practice of the Provincial Government until 1937, when Provincial Autonomy was introduced, and popular Ministers replaced Executive Councillors and Dyarchic Ministers. That practice—of the Government's six months' stay at Ranchi—was decidedly better than the present one under which the Hon'ble Ministers stay for a very short period at Ranchi—at their own will and convenience—and do not usually visit so much the aboriginal areas as they do those of the other three divisions of Bihar, with which most of them may be supposed to be, more or less, familiar, being themselves natives of those parts of the province. For obvious reasons, I attach the greatest possible importance to such an obligation being placed on our Ministers, by whatever suitable means be considered proper in the opinion of the authorities concerned. But I shall not be content only with that. In view of the changed circumstances with which we are now faced, and which has brought the Sub-Committee for investigation of the question to Bihar, I regard it as equally essential that there should be a further obligation on the Ministers to tour extensively the areas of these six districts rather than—as they do at present—those of the other ten districts from which all except two are drawn, and with the conditions of which they are likely to be familiar. Finally, I may add that in stating what I have done, I have not expressed my individual opinion so much as the opinion of the thinking sections of almost all classes and communities in Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, which has found expression, from time to time, in the local press at Ranchi. The

grievance, in my opinion, is just and well-founded, and should be seriously tackled and redressed at as early a date as possible.

VI.

But that is not all. It is equally essential that a Ministry for the Province of Bihar should not be drawn only from the non-aboriginal population, as has been the case till now, but should also include in it, so far as practicable, the aboriginal element, as well. If the strength of the Bihar Ministry is to continue to be fixed at nine (though I would not object to its going up to eleven or even to twelve), there should be on it preferably two representatives of the Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas areas—one an aboriginal, and the other, as now, a non-aboriginal, member of the Legislature. In fact, in view of the great importance of developing and expanding the resources of the Chhota Nagpur division, I would not object even to these six districts being allotted as many as three representatives in a Ministry of eleven or twelve members of the Cabinet. There may be some theoretical objections to the acceptance of my suggestion, but the Sub-Committee know well that in dealing with the practical problems of administration, the realities of the situation have always to over-ride theoretical grounds and objections—the most patent example of which is the division of India, by consent of the major political parties. If this recommendation of mine were to be accepted by the Constituent Assembly, I hope it will not be long before the Provincial Cabinet will be reconstituted and re-organised on lines suggested in this note. It will make the aboriginals feel that (in John Morley's words) the Biharees have at last "got under their skin".

For the rest, while I have tried to show that a separate province, composed of Chhota Nagpur and Santal Parganas, presents in its creation insuperable impracticability, I equally feel that all the substantial advantages of such a separate Government can be fully secured for the people of these tracts, and particularly the aboriginals, if the suggestions made in this note are duly accepted and carried out. In presenting this view of the matter to the Sub-Committee, I am glad to find myself fortified by the observations of a senior British Member of the Indian Civil Service in the province, who, has had considerable experience of revenue and settlement work amongst the aboriginals, and is now occupying the highest position, amongst revenue officers, as the Member of the Board of Revenue. In a note recorded by him on the subject, I find him expressing himself as follows:—"I would point out that the very factors which make it impossible for the aboriginals to hold their own against their non-aboriginal neighbours, within the province, must also make it impossible for an independent aboriginal unit to subsist, even if such a thing were economically possible. Such a unit could not stand on its own. The future of Chhota Nagpur is bound up with the province of Behar, and future Governments of that province will no doubt continue to recognise, and carry out, their responsibility and duty of protecting the aboriginals, so long as protection is needed, and of their uplift and welfare". I entirely agree with these observations, and commend them to the Sub-Committee for their acceptance.

APPENDICES.
SPECIAL NOTE No. 1.

Special note on what the Government of Bihar has done for the educational uplift of the Aborigines.

The following special educational facilities are given to the aboriginal pupils in Bihar :—

(1) A recurring grant of Rs. 39,000 for opening special schools for aborigines in the district of the Bhagalpur and Chhota Nagpur divisions and in the Rohtas area of the Shahabad district has been sanctioned.

(2) A recurring grant of Rs. 7,416 for special education in the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Purnea has been sanctioned and the amount is placed at the disposal of the Commissioner, Bhagalpur Division.

(3) A recurring grant of Rs. 3,507 is placed at the disposal of the Santal Parganas district board for the education of the Pahariyas in the Santal Parganas.

(4) A recurring grant of Rs. 5,772 has been sanctioned for a period of two years for the present with effect from the year 1945-46 for opening a residential upper primary school at Banjhi in the Santal Parganas for the education of the Pahariyas.

(5) Opening of 8 residential upper primary schools in the Damini-Koh area of the Santal Parganas for the education of aborigines has been sanctioned. The schools have not yet opened.

(6) Government have decided that aboriginal education in the Damini-Koh of the Santal Parganas should be under the control of Government in the Education Department. The orders have not yet been given effect to and the details as to how to implement this is under the consideration of Government.

(7) A recurring grant of Rs. 284 a year has been sanctioned to each of the district boards of Ranchi and the Santal Parganas for running agricultural classes for the aboriginal students in two middle English schools, viz., Kuru in the district of Ranchi and Kathikund in the Santal Parganas.

(8) A recurring grant of Rs. 500 a year has been sanctioned to the Santal Parganas district board for running the two residential middle English schools for aborigines at Rajabitha and Kusuma.

(9) A non-recurring grant of Rs. 936 only, at Rs. 78 a month has been sanctioned to the Adibasi Sevak Mandal (which was previously known as the Kollhan Sevak Mandal), Singhbhum for the maintenance of the hostels for aboriginal students reading in the two high schools at Chaibassa, during the year 1945-46.

* (10) Four post-graduate scholarships have been reserved for the aboriginal pupils (one scholarship sanctioned from before. Three by Congress Government in 1937—39).

* (11) Nine senior, 23 junior and 1 college scholarships have been reserved for the aboriginals.

Seven senior, 16 junior and 1 college scholarships by Congress Government in 1937—39.

(12) The following scholarships tenable in schools have also been sanctioned—

Lump sum provision for scholarships—Rs. 3,000—Permanent—Congress.

Lump sum provision for book-grants—Rs. 1,000—Do. value increased by section 93.

Section 93.—50 scholarships at Rs. 4 each a month for each of the classes VIII and IX.	} For five years with effect from 1942-43.
40 scholarships at Rs. 6 each a month for each of the classes X and XI.	
100 scholarships at Rs. 3 each a month for each of the classes VI and VII.	
Ditto. —Stipends to children of Parganaits (Santal Parganas).	Rs. 720 for 3 years with effect from 1944-45.
Ditto. —60 scholarships of Rs. 10 a month for aboriginals of the Bhagalpur Division reading in classes VI to XI of the high schools in the Santal Parganas.	

(13) Fees are not levied from those pupils in primary schools.

(14) In middle and high schools reduced rates of fees are charged from these pupils.

(15) The Director of Public Instruction is authorised to grant free-scholarships in Government colleges in excess of the number admissible to aboriginal students, who have not obtained scholarships. In aided colleges, which are unable to grant free-studentships, stipends equivalent to the tuition fees are granted to such students. The total number of these free-studentships and stipends should not exceed twenty-five annually.

(16) Aboriginal students reading in Government and aided colleges have been exempted from payment of admission fees for ten years with effect from 1939 session.

* (10) and (11) under examination by the Welfare Department.

(17) These pupils are allowed to appear at the lower primary, upper primary, and middle scholarship examinations at higher age than others.

(18) The maximum ages for the admission of boys into different classes of Government high schools in the case of the aboriginal pupils are higher by two years than others.

(19) The following instructions regarding the teaching of Santali and the education of Santals have now been approved by Government in respect of the Santal Parganas :—

- (i) Infant class—Only Santali shall be taught and the script shall be Roman.
- (ii) In class I—The medium of oral instruction shall be Santali and the script used shall be Roman. Santali shall be taught as both language and literature.
- (iii) In classes II and III—The change from class I will be that Hindi or Bengali (either Devanagri or Bengali script) shall also be taught as a language in addition to Santali (with Roman script).
- (iv) In classes IV and V—In these classes Hindi or Bengali shall be the medium of instruction. It shall be supplemented by Santali. Hindi or Bengali shall be taught as a language with their own script (Devanagri or Bengali) while Santali with Roman script shall be taught both as language or literature.
- (v) In classes VI and VII—The same as in classes IV and V with the difference that there will be no teaching of Santali but Santali shall be prescribed for vocational reading and such reading shall be encouraged.

(20) The medium of instruction and examination in the Santal schools in the districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr and Hazaribagh and Manbhum is as noted below :—

Schools having the Santal pupils have the option either to follow the system which is in vogue in the Santal Parganas or that Santali may be freely used as an oral medium of instruction, but that Santali books need not be used. (This decision was made in the year 1934 and has not been amended although the practice in the Santal Parganas has been changed with orders of Government).

(21) In respect of the Sauria Pahariya schools in the Santal Parganas, Government have decided that Malto may be taught in the manner indicated below :—

- (a) Infant class—Only Malto shall be taught and the script shall be Devanagri.

- (b) In class I—The medium of oral instruction shall be Malto and the script used shall be Devanagri, Malto shall be taught both as language and literature.
- (c) In classes II and III—Same as in class I except that Hindi shall be taught as a language in addition to Malto.
- (d) Classes IV and V—In these classes Hindi shall be the medium of instruction. It shall be supplemented by Malto.
- (e) Classes VI and VII—The same as in classes IV and V with the difference that there will be no teaching of Malto which shall be prescribed for vocational reading and such reading shall be encouraged.

WELFARE DEPARTMENT.

For 1946-47.

(22) In addition to the above, Government in the Welfare Department sanctioned at an estimated cost of Rs. 50,000, the following scholarships :—

	COLLEGE.		SCHOOL.	
	Christian.	Non-Christian.	Christian.	Non-Christian.
Santals	... 1	14	6	87
Munda	... 1	4	2	28
Ho	... 1	3	1	20
Oraon	... 1	6	2	36
Kharia	... 1	1	1	5
Others	... 1	18	7	112
Total	... 6	46	19	288

(23) *Direct grants-in-aid to educational institutions in Chhota Nagpur Division.*—The amount of grants-in-aid to educational institutions of all categories in the Chhota Nagpur Division is approximately Rs. 2,43,516 out of this approximately Rs. 1,23,004 is paid as grants-in-aid to boys and girls' high schools in the division. Chhota Nagpur Division alone gets approximately one third of the total grant of Rs. 3,55,596 placed at the disposal of the Board of Secondary Education for distribution as grants-in-aid to boys and girls' high schools in all the four divisions of the province.

(24) What is proposed to be done for the educational uplift of the Adibasis in the post-war plans under consideration of Government—

- (i) Out of the additional Government grant of 10 lakhs sanctioned to the local bodies for the improvement of primary education a sum of Rs. 1 lakh has been set apart for special requirements such as scheduled caste, and aboriginal education, etc.

- (ii) Basic Education Centres are first proposed to be opened in Chhota Nagpur Division with effect from 1947-48 which will benefit the Adibasis. Three training schools are to be started within a few months—one in Ranchi, one in Singhbhum and one in the Santal Parganas with a compliment of Basic schools.
- (iii) A Government Degree College has been opened at Ranchi with effect from the session 1946-47 in order to make facilities for higher education available to the people of Chhota Nagpur Division including the Adibasis.
- (iv) A sum of Rs. 1 lakh recurring is proposed to be provided for special scholarships for backward classes. A fair portion of this amount will be given to students coming from the Chhota Nagpur Division and Santal Parganas.
- (v) A total recurring amount of Rs. 11,68,000 is proposed to be spent in the next 5 years for opening new schools and grant-of-aid for schools situated in the backward areas of the Province. A fair portion of this sum is likely to be spent on the schools situated in the Adibasi areas particularly non-Christian Adibasi areas which have very few schools at present.
- (vi) A school of Forestry is proposed to be started at an early date most likely in Singhbhum district and the Degree College at Ranchi is to be so organised as to provide facilities for the study of subjects like Geology, Metallurgy, Forestry, etc., so that the people of Bihar generally and of Chhota Nagpur in particular may be enabled to derive the fullest benefit from the mineral and forest wealth of the Chhota Nagpur Division.
- (vii) Sixty adult education centres are to be started in the course of the next three or four months in the Santal Parganas.

SPECIAL NOTE No. 2.

Special note showing the activities of the Department of Industries in the Chhota Nagpur Division.

The activities of the Department of Industries fall under the following two main heads, viz., (1) technical education and (2) industrial development.

Technical Education.

At present 4 Government institutions and 8 aided ones are working in Chhota Nagpur proper as shown below :—

Government Institutions :—

- (1) Ranchi Technical Institute.
- (2) Evening Mining Classes at Jharia and Sijua.

(3) Hazaribagh Reformatory School.

(4) One itinerant Industrial school for women and girls now working at Hazaribagh.

(In addition, there is a Dhanbad School of Mines at Dhanbad run by the Central Government.)

Aided Institutions.

(1) Khunti Co-operative Home Industries Association Weaving School, Khunti.

(2) Sir Maurice Hallett Rural Welfare Institution Weaving School for boys, Noatoli, Ranchi.

(3) Lady Hallett Welfare Institution Weaving School for girls, Noatoli, Ranchi.

(4) Girls Tailoring School, Khunti.

(5) Girls Weaving School, Rengirih.

(6) Katkahi Technical School, Katkahi, Ranchi.

(7) J. C. Mallick Industrial School, Dhanbad.

(8) Half time Weaving School, Raghunathpur, Manbhum.

In addition, there are the following private managed technical Institutions in Chhota Nagpur which have cropped up as a result of the enterprise of the Department :—

(1) Technical School for Blacksmith, Bengunkodar, district Manbhum.

(2) Technical School for Blacksmith, Pandra, district Manbhum.

(3) Technical School for Blacksmith, Tanari, district Manbhum.

(4) Weaving School, Manguria, district Manbhum.

The important technical institutions in Bihar proper such as the Bihar College of Engineering, Patna, the Cottage Industries Institute at Gulzarbagh, the Silk Institute at Bhagalpur, the Wool Weaving Institute at Gaya and the aided technical apprentice school for the E. I. Rly. at Jamalpur also offer equal opportunity for admission and training of the students coming from Chhota Nagpur, especially the aboriginals.

With a view to provide wide scope for technical training and industrial development, the Department of Industries has proposed to start a number of technical and industrial institutions in the province in its 5 year postwar plan; out of these the following institutions are proposed to be started in Chhota Nagpur :—

(1) A full fledged mechanical and electrical engineering college at Sindri, Manbhum (already sanctioned by Government).

(2) A new technical school at Hazaribagh in place of the existing artisan classes held in the Reformatory School.

(3) A vocational half time weaving school in each district.

- (4) A technical school at Dhanbad.
- (5) A technical school at Ranchi both by increased admission to the industrial diploma classes and the addition of a subordinate civil engineering course.
- (6) A wool technological institute in Singhbhum.
- (7) A silk technological institute at Ranchi or Chaibassa.
- (8) A cottage industries institute in Ranchi of the type of the Cottage Industries Institute at Gulzarbagh.
- (9) Research laboratory at Sindri with a college of science and technology.

Out of the above, items 1 and 9 are already sanctioned and the schemes are in progress.

The Department of Industries also gives stipends to students for technical training outside Bihar and abroad for which necessary facilities do not exist in Bihar. These stipends are availed of by the students of both Bihar proper and those of Chhota Nagpur. The following stipends are however exclusively reserved for aboriginal students :—

- (1) At the Ranchi Technical School, out of 25 stipends varying from Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 each, 15 seats are reserved for aborigines.
- (2) At the Bihar College of Engineering, one stipend of Rs. 35 for degree course and two of Rs. 20 each a month for Subordinate Civil Engineering Course are reserved for aboriginals.
- (3) At Vidyapith, Sadaquat Ashram, Patna, four stipends of Rs. 25 each a month are reserved for aboriginals.

Industrial Development.

The activities of the Department of Industries towards industrial development are in the following directions :—

- (1) To render technical assistance and advice including lay out of factories, selection, erection and inspection of machineries and preparation of industrial schemes and projects.
- (2) To carry on industrial experiments and research.
- (3) Development of cottage industries by evolving new methods, demonstrating and introducing labour saving hand appliances and processes among the cottage workers through itinerant demonstration parties and directing and controlling handicraft teaching schools and commercial organisations to popularise and extend markets for cottage industry products.
- (4) Development of fisheries.
- (5) Direct assistance to industries by financial aid under the State Aid to Industries Act.

- (6) Industrial Survey and collection, collation and dissemination of industrial intelligence including replies to industrial and commercial enquiries.

Chhota Nagpur occupies a leading place in mineral resources which provide wide scope for large scale industries in iron, mica, copper, aluminium, cement, etc. These large scale industries are carried on mostly by private enterprise and are controlled by the Government of India. But the Department of Industries in Bihar are helping the establishment of such large industries and has in view some schemes connected with some of these as a result of the recommendations of the Chemical Industries Committee and the Mechanical Industries Committee which were appointed by the Congress Government in the year 1938 and also as a result of the investigation and recommendations made subsequently by the industrial panels set up by the Government of India. A mention may be made of the following which have fairly advanced towards operation :—

- (1) The Government of Bihar in co-operation with the Supply Department of the Government of India have put up a demonstrative plant in the Jharia coal fields to deal with 60 tons of coal a day under the scheme for low temperature coal carbonisation for the production of coal tar and its derivatives. If this scheme proves successful, it will give a great impetus to the coal industry which is located mainly in Chhota Nagpur.
- (2) A Provincial Industrial Research Laboratory to deal with industrial problems connected particularly with the mineral resources of the Province will be located at Sindri, as already mentioned above, near the proposed Mechanical and Electrical Engineering College.
- (3) The Department has helped the establishment of a large Glass Manufacturing factory owned by a private industrialist at Bharkunda in Manbhum.
- (4) The establishment of the Fertiliser plant at Sindri in Manbhum is the result of the strong recommendation of the Provincial Government to the Central Government.
- (5) The Government of India are also starting a cement factory along with the fertiliser plant at Sindri.
- (6) The Lac Industry which is an important industry of Chhota Nagpur has been engaging the attention of the Department, and a scheme has been worked out for establishing a Shellac Moulding Factory in Chhota Nagpur.
- (7) Samples have also been collected of the apatite occurring in Singhbhum for analysis with a view to utilising it as phosphatic fertiliser.

- (8) Messrs. Kuchwar Lime and Stone Company, Shahabad, have been encouraged to prospect iron pyrites occurring in Banjari, District Shahabad for the manufacture of sulphuric acid. Samples have also been collected for analysis. It is proposed to establish a sulphuric acid plant at Dhanbad.

Cottage Industries.

For the improvement of Cottage Industries, the Department is maintaining the following organisation in Chhota Nagpur :—

- (1) Two handloom Products Development Parties each consisting of a Supervisor and seven Weaving and one Dyeing mistries to demonstrate and introduce labour saving hand appliances and processes among the village weavers and dyers. One party is stationed at Ranchi and the other at Manbhum. (The latter has for the present been temporarily transferred to Darbhanga for a special purpose).
- (2) One eri instructor at Daltonganj to demonstrate and introduce rational methods of eri silk worm rearing.
- (3) An eri seed supply and research station at Ranchi for supply of disease-free eri seed eggs to eri silk worm rearers.
- (4) A tassar seed supply and research station at Chaibassa to supply disease free tassar seed eggs to the tassar silk worm rearers.
- (5) Soap manufacturers of Chhota Nagpur are being helped with the supply of cocoanut oil and the materials for soap making like the soap manufacturers of Bihar proper.

The following new schemes have also been proposed to be put into operation in the 5-year Post-War Plan of the Department :—

- (1) A Marketing Organisation for the handloom products at Ranchi on the line of the one at Patna to advertise and sell handloom products.
- (2) A cotton weaving demonstration factory in Hazaribagh to produce cotton textiles of improved designs and workmanship.
- (3) A wool weaving demonstration factory in Singhbhum to manufacture woollen goods of improved designs and workmanship.
- (4) An eri silk farm at Ranchi to assist the eri silk industry.
- (5) One tassar silk farm at Purulia to assist the tassar silk industry.

Fishery.

To encourage increased production of fish in tanks which abound in Chhota Nagpur, the Department is maintaining two fish fry distribution centres at Ranchi and Hazaribagh. Regular survey of tanks at Chhota Nagpur area has been undertaken and the Department has proposed in

its Post-War Plan to open a fish fry distribution centre in each of the remaining districts of Chhota Nagpur and also the establishment of an experimental carp breeding station centre there.

State-Aid.

The Department of Industries has so far given State aid amounting to about Rs. 8½ lacs to different industries out of which Rs. 5,22,000 went to industries located in Chhota Nagpur. It also played an important part in encouraging and helping the Jamshedpur Industries by giving a capital grant of Rs. 2,00,000 to the technical institute attached to the Tata Iron and Steel Company at its initial stage and thereafter giving it a recurring grant-in-aid of Rs. 25,000 annually for 10 years. The Department was also paying a recurring grant of Rs. 18,000 annually to the Night School attached to the Iron and Steel Factory till recently (1946-47) when the school became self-governing and did not require any aid from Government.