



Census of India, 1931

VOLUME VII

BIHAR AND ORISSA

PART I.—REPORT

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INTRODUCTION.

THIS report embodies the results of the census of Bihar and Orissa taken on the 26th February 1931. It forms a part of the seventh of the series of census reports for all-India, which commenced in the year 1872. The provincial report consists of three separate parts, of which this volume is the first. Part II contains the main census tables, and Part III, which is for departmental use only, contains a review of the progress of the operations from the administrative point of view.

2. Unlike many of its predecessors, the present work confines itself almost entirely to an analysis of the statistics furnished by the census, and, although some comment is made on the social, economic and other developments which the figures themselves appear to indicate, little or no attempt has been made to recapitulate or add to the store of general information about the province and its peoples by which the earlier reports are enriched. The reason for this is two-fold. In the first place, when one has nothing original to say, the best course (as it seems to the author) is to say nothing. Thereby the report doubtless loses in interest much that it might have achieved if the gist of carefully selected passages on such subjects as ethnology, caste government, marriage customs, religious beliefs and so forth had been reproduced—with or without acknowledgment—from previous census reports or other treatises; but at least it can claim the merit of being a good deal shorter than it otherwise would have been. And this leads to the second reason why general descriptive matter has been rigorously excluded. Considerations of economy forbade the production of a bulky report; and I make no apology for holding that the main business of a Census Superintendent is after all to present and (in so far as he can) to interpret the census statistics; for which sole purpose an allowance of some 300 pages is by no means excessive.

3. Financial stringency was responsible not only for the curtailment of Part I of the report, but also for some truncation of the statistics tabulated in Part II. In particular, the occupational and caste tables were reduced in number and size, and the table showing particulars of the Christian population by sect and race was omitted. (Separate statistics for Roman Catholics are, however, given in the main table of Religion.) On the other hand, one new table (XVIII) was inserted, exhibiting in considerable detail the territorial distribution of the primitive tribes and the variations in their numbers during the last fifty years. The language table (XV) was considerably expanded in an attempt to show for the first time the prevalence of bi-lingualism in the province, and particularly in the cultural zones of the Chota Nagpur plateau. And, lastly, certain additions were made to Provincial Table II so as to make information available for each revenue thana regarding the strength of the depressed classes and the number of literate persons in each religious community. Another new feature of the present report is the social and linguistic maps contained in the front cover of this volume. It had been hoped to make these maps more elaborate and informative than in fact they are, but the shortage of funds frustrated this intention.

4. A very brief description may be given here of the manner in which the census was actually taken. There has been practically no change since 1921 in the main organization and machinery of the enumeration. Each district is divided into a number of charges; circles and blocks; the block being the smallest of these units and containing as a rule from 30 to 50 houses. An enumerator is placed in charge of each block, and his immediate superior is the circle supervisor. A circle usually comprises some 10 to 15 blocks. The number of circles included in a charge varies a good deal but seldom exceeds 20, and the charge is ordinarily co-terminous with the jurisdiction.

of a police-station. In most cases the duties of charge superintendent were carried out by the local sub-inspector of police; the supervisors and enumerators were, almost without exception, non-officials. They are recruited from the most intelligent and literate portion of the population and are placed under a statutory obligation to perform their duties as census officers. At the present census there were 219,380 enumerators and 16,916 supervisors. Apart, therefore, from the charge superintendents (950 in number) and the various Government servants employed in the subdivisional, district and provincial offices, the enumeration staff in this province included not less than 2½ lakhs of unpaid non-official workers, many of whom were actually put to some personal expense in carrying out the tasks assigned to them.

5. After the formation of blocks, circles and charges has been completed, the work of numbering the houses is taken up. Every house likely to be occupied on the night of the census is marked with a number and entered up in a list. Special importance attaches to the preparation of these lists, as they form the basis on which the number of census forms required is estimated. Thereafter the staff are trained in the correct manner of filling up the census schedules, which contain as many as 18 columns. The difficulty of securing uniformity as well as accuracy in these manifold entries is far greater than might be supposed. Then, some weeks before the night of the actual census, the writing up of the preliminary record is taken in hand. First on plain paper, and subsequently—after the enumerator's entries have been checked by the circle supervisor—in the printed schedules, the requisite particulars are recorded for all persons found in residence at the time when this preliminary enumeration is carried out. During this period charge superintendents and superior officers are required to be moving about continually, testing as many entries as possible and satisfying themselves that the instructions have been properly understood and put into effect. Consequently, the final enumeration on the night of the 26th February amounted to little more than a revision of the record already prepared. Between the hours of 7 p.m. and midnight on that date each enumerator visited all the houses in his block; persons who had left the place after the preliminary count were struck off, and newcomers were added to the record. In view of the immobile nature of the population in India it is generally found that at least 90 per cent of the original entries hold good. Special arrangements had to be made for the enumeration of persons travelling by road, rail, or water on the census night and for persons watching in their fields or assembled in fairs, camps and so forth; and precautions had to be taken to ensure that such persons were not counted twice over. In a few localities, which are particularised in the first chapter of this report, an absolutely synchronous count was not possible, and the enumeration was spread over a complete day or even longer.

6. At dawn on the 27th February the striking of provisional totals began. The enumerators added up the number of males and females in their blocks, and these figures were consolidated for the circles by the supervisors, who then despatched them post-haste to the charge superintendents. The charge totals were conveyed by train, motor car, bicycle, runner, telephone, or whatever other means might secure the greatest expedition, to the subdivisional headquarters, and thence a report was forwarded to the headquarters of the district. The district figures were reported by telegram to the provincial Superintendent and the Census Commissioner for India. As usual, there was keen competition among districts and states to get their figures in first, and I received the provisional totals of seven states and one district (Balasore) before retiring to bed on the 27th February. The achievement of Mayurbhanj State, whose figures were handed in at the incredibly early hour of 2-20 p.m. on that date, was particularly meritorious. The returns from the last district of all were received on the night of the 4th March, and the consolidated figures for the whole province were telegraphed to the Census Commissioner the next day. The provisional totals so telegraphed differed from the finally checked and published figures by 0.2 per cent.

7. The first stage in the abstraction and compilation of the statistics was carried out at the headquarters of each district. It consisted in copying out on to a separate slip of paper the entries relating to each one of the

42,329,553 persons in the province. Papers of different colours were used for the different religions, and sex was denoted by printed symbols. This work, which was performed by paid copyists, was accomplished in most districts in a period of six or seven weeks: when work was in full swing as many as 3,669 copyists were employed, and on the average they turned out about 420 slips each per diem. They were paid at piece-rates and worked long hours, but it was only an exceptional copyist who could earn as much as Rs. 20 in a month—from which it may be inferred that the rates of pay were not excessively liberal. None the less, they were appreciably more generous than on the occasion of the previous census. When the slips had been copied and arranged by sex and religion for each circle, they were despatched to the central offices, five in number, where they were sorted by hand for the different tables and the results compiled by districts. Altogether, nearly 1,500 sorters were at work in these offices, their remuneration being slightly in excess of that prescribed for the slip-copyists. The final tabulation of the figures was carried out in the headquarters office.

8. I may be expected to give here some indication of the extent to which the census figures can be regarded as accurate and reliable. It may at once be conceded that there are certain aspects of the returns for which no high degree of accuracy is claimed on this occasion—or, to the best of my knowledge, has ever been claimed on any previous occasion. Chief among these are the statistics relating to infirmities, occupation and age. In the various chapters of the report dealing with these subjects the difficulties in the way of securing correct information are frankly explained. To a lesser extent there are undoubtedly errors in the statistics dealing with such matters as literacy, civil condition and caste. As a general rule, however, I do not think that there is any good reason to regard the present census as more defective in these particulars than its immediate predecessors, though this possibility has not been left out of account in discussing, e.g. the surprising variations in the statistics of early marriage and the surprising absence of variation in the literacy statistics. So far as the figures of actual population are concerned, the exceptionally heavy increase recorded in the last decade may well give rise (indeed, has already given rise in some quarters) to a feeling of scepticism. Stories have been put in circulation of successful attempts made by one community or another to exaggerate its strength by means of fictitious returns. I have little hesitation in venturing the categorical statement that there is no substance in such allegations, and that there are no valid grounds for supposing that the recorded increase in population is not absolutely genuine. In the first place a comparison of the census figures with the natural growth of population as revealed in the independent record of vital occurrences furnishes striking evidence of the substantial accuracy of the former. This matter is discussed at some length in paragraph 19 of Chapter I. Elsewhere in the same chapter an attempt has been made to show that the economic conditions prevailing in this province during the last ten years are in themselves quite sufficient to account for the rapid multiplication of its inhabitants. In paragraph 11 of Chapter II the exceptionally heavy increase in the population of Patna City, which has attracted particular notice, is subjected to a detailed analysis, and it is shown that the present figures are susceptible of rational explanation. It is also relevant to observe that, in spite of the fact that some part of the increase in this province is due to the reduced volume of emigration to other parts of India, the rate of growth in Bihar and Orissa is only slightly in excess of that recorded for India as a whole. Finally, if deliberate falsification of the returns had been resorted to on an appreciable scale, it is almost certain that the increase in the female population would have been disproportionately high, for women are seldom produced before the enumerator and could therefore be “invented” with greater facility than men. But in actual fact one of the outstanding features of the present census is the relative decline in the number of females.

9. Little remains nowadays of the misgivings and distrust aroused among the people by the earlier censuses, and hostile interest has for the most part yielded place to apathetic resignation. On the present occasion, however, there were one or two factors which served to excite spasmodic

displays of interest in the operations. Among the more educated classes, particularly in urban areas, some appreciation was shown of the bearing of the census figures on the impending constitutional changes. The prospect of the creation of a separate Orissa province and the question whether such a province should include the whole or any part of Singhbhum district were responsible for a lively concern in the returns of caste, language, etc., in that locality. The anxiety of many of the lower castes all over the province to improve their social status by the adoption of more impressive caste names attracted considerable attention to the manner in which entries were recorded in this particular column of the schedule. And, lastly, for the second time in succession the census operations happened to coincide with a political campaign of non-co-operation. In this province no serious attempt was made to organize a boycott of the census, and comparatively little active opposition was encountered from individuals. But political principles were not infrequently advanced as a convenient excuse for declining to undertake the irksome duties of a supervisor or enumerator, and potential volunteers were discouraged from proffering their services on the ground that it was their duty not to assist the Government in any shape or form. This made the difficult task of enrolling the requisite number of workers still more difficult; and the same spirit of sullen unhelpfulness was manifested by considerable sections of the population throughout the conduct of the operations. Sometimes false rumours were set about regarding the objects of Government in holding the census. Cases were reported in which the numbers painted on houses by the census staff were obliterated. But refusals to answer questions put by an enumerator were very rare, and the direct effect of this political agitation on the accuracy of the census returns cannot have been appreciable. Indirectly its effect was more serious in that sub-inspectors of police (who, as already explained, occupied an important position in the hierarchy of census officials) were so pre-occupied with the civil disobedience movement that they had little time to spare for other duties. And for the same reason District Officers were unable to take such an active interest in supervising the progress of the census work as they would normally have done.

10. A few words may be added regarding the cost of the census operations. At the time of writing the accounts have not been finally closed, but the outstanding items (of which the most important is the cost of printing the report) are few and can be estimated with reasonable accuracy. The gross expenditure incurred by Government will, when the last bill has been paid, amount to approximately Rs. 4,69,500. Certain recoveries, however, were made from the States and from municipalities in British territory; and these, together with receipts from the sale of furniture, waste paper and the like, reduce the net cost to about Rs. 4,23,800. In estimating the cost per mille of the population it is fair to confine the calculation to British territory only, because, although the States were not invited to make any contribution towards superintendence charges or towards the preparation of the report itself, the recoveries made from them cover almost all the extra cost incurred over the actual enumeration of their inhabitants and the compilation of the figures. It may therefore be said that the cost to Government works out at Rs. 11-4-0 per mille of the population in British territory. At the census of 1921, if the same method of calculation be adopted, the corresponding figure was Rs. 10-4-8 per mille. It would therefore seem that the present operations were slightly more expensive. But the increase in cost is more apparent than real, being due to the different method of accounting adopted at the present census. Mention may be made of two important items which were affected by this change of procedure. (1) In 1921 charges on account of travelling allowance and contingent expenditure, incurred in district offices, were not ordinarily debited to the census grant at all, but were treated as a part of the cost of general administration. The reversal of this practice on the present occasion threw upon the census budget an additional liability of about Rs. 23,500. (2) Most of the printing work connected with the census is carried out by the local Government press, which in 1921 charged the Government of India nothing for this service over and above the actual labour cost. This time the ordinary overhead

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mostly non-officials, who supplied me with information for the report I am very grateful. And this is a fitting opportunity to pay tribute to the initiative, keenness and efficiency displayed by the Feudatory States in carrying out the enumeration of their peoples.

13. Lastly, but very far from least, my thanks are due to the Press of the local Government. The census forms have to be printed in four languages and their number is legion. Of the general schedule alone more than 4½ million copies were printed, and the number of other miscellaneous forms required before the enumeration took place was not less than 1½ millions. At the same time arrangements had to be made in good time for delivering over 45 million printed slips immediately after the census date and a great variety of sorters' tickets, registers, etc., etc. At the best of times the Press is hard put to it to comply with these requirements in such a way as to enable the programme to be carried out without any hitch, but their task on this occasion was made infinitely more difficult by the dislocation of work already mentioned. But for Mr. Mackenzie's unbounded energy and resource a serious breakdown in the arrangements for holding the census in this province would have been inevitable. Mr. Mackenzie proceeded on leave in the latter part of 1931, and the volume of tables, which forms Part II of this report, was printed during his absence under the supervision of Mr. Duncan. The meticulous instructions (mostly inspired by the pressing need for economy) with which the manuscript of each table was burdened must, I fear, have tried his patience sorely, but he showed no sign of it, and I am greatly indebted to him for the scrupulous care which he invariably displayed in endeavouring to give effect to my uninformed directions.

W. G. LACEY.

APPENDIX L

STATISTICAL KEY TO SOCIAL MAP OF BIHAR AND ORISSA

(in pocket of front cover).

District, Subdivision or State (with total population),	Community.	Number of persons ('00's omitted).	Percentage of total population.	District, Subdivision or State (with total population),	Community.	Number of persons ('00's omitted).	Percentage of total population.
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
PNA (1,340,474)	Hindus—			Dumka (408,187)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Depressed classes	308	16		Tribal religions	245	53
	Other Hindus ...	1,337	73		Recently converted	4	1
	Muslims	208	11	Hindus—	60	15	
				Depressed classes	139	30	
				Other Hindus ...	18	4	
				Muslims			
PATNA (1,300,403)	Hindus—			GODDA (387,801)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Depressed classes	897	26		Tribal religions	198	35
	Other Hindus ...	1,541	65		Hindus—	44	11
	Muslims	264	11	Depressed classes	160	41	
				Other Hindus ...	48	13	
				Muslims			
RAJAHMUNDA (1,023,400)	Hindus—			JAMSHEDPUR (343,846)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Depressed classes	308	15		Tribal religions	90	41
	Other Hindus ...	1,536	77		Hindus—	33	14
	Muslims	161	8	Depressed classes	87	36	
				Other Hindus ...	23	9	
				Muslims			
RAJSHAH (1,400,400)	Hindus—			RAJMAHAL (331,136)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Depressed classes	371	11		Tribal religions	183	40
	Other Hindus ...	1,906	77		Recently converted	3	1
	Muslims	300	13	Hindus—	39	9	
				Depressed classes	89	27	
				Other Hindus ...	47	14	
				Muslims			
SAMBALPUR (1,041,035)	Hindus—			PAKUR (275,574)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Depressed classes	458	16		Tribal religions	188	61
	Other Hindus ...	2,091	71		Recently converted	3	1
	Muslims	391	13	Hindus—	13	5	
				Depressed classes	46	16	
				Other Hindus ...	48	17	
				Muslims			
SARAN (1,106,004)	Hindus—			CUTTACK (2,176,707)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	404	18		Depressed classes	397	18
	Other Hindus ...	1,331	70		Other Hindus ...	1,715	79
	Muslims	440	14	Muslims	66	3	
SHERPUR (1,367,164)	Hindus—			BALASORE (990,900)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Depressed classes	403	18		Tribal religions	13	1
	Other Hindus ...	1,646	73		Hindus—	105	11
	Muslims	338	10	Depressed classes	859	85	
				Other Hindus ...	33	3	
				Muslims			
SIBSANGPUR (1,334,633)	Hindus—			BARGUDA Sadr (140,458)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Depressed classes	334	15		Recently converted	8	6
	Other Hindus ...	1,646	74		Hindus—	33	16
	Muslims	349	11	Depressed classes	110	78	
				Other Hindus ...			
SUNAR Sadr and Araria (1,421,900)	Hindus—			KHONDAMA (83,378)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Depressed classes	336	14		Tribal religions	68	71
	Other Hindus ...	884	64		Hindus—	10	12
	Muslims	504	31	Depressed classes	14	17	
				Other Hindus ...			
SUSMER (400,577)	Hindus—			PURI (1,036,164)	Hindus—		
	Depressed classes	33	4		Depressed classes	138	13
	Other Hindus ...	183	27		Other Hindus ...	833	65
	Muslims	363	68	Muslims	33	3	
SURYAPUR Deogarh (846,946)	Primitive Tribes—			SAMBALPUR Sadr (343,530)	Primitive Tribes—		
	Tribal religions	85	16		Tribal religions	3	1
	Hindus—	63	18		Recently converted	27	8
	Depressed classes	180	64		Hindus—	33	6
	Other Hindus ...	41	13	Depressed classes	388	84	
	Muslims			Other Hindus ...			

APPENDIX I—concluded.

District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Community.	Number of persons (000's omitted).	Percentage of total population.	District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Community.	Number of persons (000's omitted).
1	2	3	4	1	2	3
Bargarh (637,400)	Primitive Tribes— Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	8 17 610	1 3 95	Dhalbhum (394,506)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ... Others ...	94 35 87 170 30 7
HASARIBAGH— Sadr and Giridih (1,378,483)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	133 23 195 776 150	10 2 15 61 12	ORISSA STATES— Mayurbhanj (866,003)	Primitive Tribes— Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	377 149 330
Chatra (238,874)	Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	91 124 22	38 52 9	Nugiri (68,594)	Primitive Tribes— Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	9 13 47
RANCHI— Sadr (681,039)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	109 150 28 306 55	19 31 5 35 9	Keonjhar (460,600)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	81 8 104 306
Khunti (373,800)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	130 118 23 108	33 32 6 29	Pal Lahara, Athmallik, Bamra and Raibakhol (370,003)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	4 23 49 303
Gumla and Simdega (611,710)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	130 245 20 189 8	23 40 5 31 1	Daspalla and Baud (176,650)	Primitive Tribes— Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	38 13 139
PALAMAU— Sadr (641,133)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	27 178 371 64	4 28 58 10	Sonpur (387,930)	Primitive Tribes— Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	7 7 233
Latehar (177,614)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	30 9 38 84 10	22 5 30 47 6	Patna (506,924)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Others ...	25 83 13 487 8
MANBHAM— Sadr (1,289,798)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	44 163 298 735 59	3 13 23 56 4	Kalahandi (613,716)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	71 49 101 391
Dhanbad (631,009)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	55 31 111 397 55	11 6 21 61 11	Gangpur and Bonal (436,600)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	115 85 61 168
SINGBHAM— Sadr (635,207)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	326 33 26 143 7	61 6 5 27 1	Athgarh, Talcher, Dhenkanal, Hindol, Narsinghpur, Baramba, Tigiria, Khandipara, Nayagarh and Banpur. (833,506)	Primitive Tribes— Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ...	28 113 687
				CHOTA NAAGPUR STATES— Saraikela and Kharsawan (180,633)	Primitive Tribes— Tribal religions Recently converted Hindus— Depressed classes Other Hindus ... Muslims ...	56 21 37 80 2

APPENDIX II.

STATISTICAL KEY TO LINGUISTIC MAP OF BIHAR AND ORISSA

(in pocket of front cover).

N.B.—The percentages in column 4 are calculated, in the case of mother-tongues, on the total population of the locality. In the case of subsidiary languages, they are calculated on the number of persons speaking the relevant mother-tongue. Thus, in the Banka subdivision of Bhagalpur district 4 per cent. of the total population of the subdivision speak some tribal language as their mother-tongue; and, out of that number, 88 per cent. speak Hindustani as a subsidiary language.

District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Mother-tongue and subsidiary language.	Number of speakers (000's omitted).	Percentage.	District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Mother-tongue and subsidiary language.	Number of speakers (000's omitted).	Percentage.
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
SARNA (1,848,474)	Hindustani	1,835	99	Godda (387,801)	Tribal languages	135	35
GAYA (2,368,462)	Hindustani	2,367	100		Bengali	8	2
SHAHADAB (1,993,499)	Hindustani	1,992	100		Hindustani	245	63
SARAN (2,496,466)	Hindustani	2,495	100	Jamtara (243,658)	Tribal languages	100	41
CHAMPARAN (2,145,667)	Hindustani	2,136	100		Bengali	39	39
MUHABBARPUR (2,941,025)	Hindustani	2,937	100		Bengali	73	30
DAKSHINANGA (2,166,064)	Hindustani	2,164	100		Hindustani	70	29
MOHURTA—Sadr and Begumra (1,849,358)	Hindustani	1,843	100		Bengali	18	26
Jamui (437,790)	Tribal languages	18	3	Rajmahal (331,138)	Tribal languages	165	50
	Hindustani	434	97		Hindustani	9	3
SHAHALPUR—Supaul, Madhipura and Sadr. (1,793,074)	Hindustani	1,752	99		Bengali	49	13
Banks (472,568)	Tribal languages	17	4		Hindustani	123	37
	Hindustani	14	33	Pakaur (275,574)	Tribal languages	163	59
	Hindustani	454	98		Bengali	69	25
PURNIA—Araria (514,167)	Hindustani	512	100		Hindustani	44	16
Sadr and Kishanganj (1,672,376)	Tribal languages	55	3	CUTTACK (2,176,707)	Oriya	2,088	96
	Hindustani	28	34		Hindustani	67	3
	Bengali	146	9		Oriya	84	31
	Hindustani	9	6	BALASORE (990,000)	Tribal languages	19	2
	Hindustani	1,468	88		Oriya	28	70
SARNAI PARWANAH—Deoghur (346,346)	Tribal languages	83	15		Oriya	921	93
	Bengali	14	4		Bengali	17	2
	Hindustani	281	81		Oriya	21	65
Dumka (466,187)	Tribal languages	240	51		Hindustani	33	3
	Bengali	26	7		Oriya	26	80
	Bengali	46	10	ANOUAL—Sadr (140,456)	Tribal languages	2	1
	Hindustani	179	38		Oriya	138	98
				Khondmals (83,376)	Tribal languages	49	60
					Oriya	23	24
					Oriya	33	40
				PURI (1,035,154)	Oriya	998	96
					Hindustani	25	3
					Oriya	19	48
				SAMBALPUR—Sadr (343,539)	Tribal languages	53	15
					Oriya	45	83
					Oriya	273	79
					Hindustani	18	5

APPENDIX II—concluded.

District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Mother-tongue and subsidiary language.	Number of speakers (000's omitted).	Percentage.	District, Subdivision or State (with total population).	Mother-tongue and subsidiary language.	Number of speakers (000's omitted).	Percentage.	
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
Bargarh (537,400)	Tribal languages ...	6	1	ORISSA STATES— Mayurbhanj (880,003)	Tribal languages ...	439	49	
	Oriya ..	505	94		Oriya ..	378	43	
	Hindustani ...	24	4		Bengali Oriya ...	22	2	
					Hindustani ...	20	2	
					Oriya ...	26	3	
HAMAPUR— Chatra (238,874)	Hindustani ...	238	100	Nilgiri (68,594)	Tribal languages ...	14	21	
					Oriya ...	11	16	
Sadr and Giridih (1,276,483)	Tribal languages ...	128	10		Oriya ...	54	78	
	Hindustani ...	47	36					
	Hindustani ...	1,135	89	Keonjhar (460,600)	Tribal languages ...	80	17	
			Oriya ...		25	5		
BAWOHI— Sadr (591,639)	Tribal languages ...	231	40		Oriya ...	327	71	
	Hindustani ...	145	63		Hindustani ...	41	9	
	Bengali ...	8	1	Oriya ...	12	3		
	Hindustani ...	341	59	Talcher, Pal Lahara, Dhenkanal and Hindol (430,898)	Tribal languages ...	12	2	
Khunti (373,800)	Tribal languages ...	233	62		Oriya ...	417	96	
	Hindustani ...	60	16					
	Bengali ...	6	1	Rairakhol, Athmallik, Sonpur, Baud, Daspalla and Nayagarh (658,958)	Tribal languages ...	25	3	
Hindustani ...	131	35	Oriya ...		22	3		
			Oriya ...		632	94		
Gumla and Simdega (611,710)	Tribal languages ...	364	59	Athgarh, Narasinghpur, Baramba, Tigiria and Khandpara (240,465)	Oriya ...	238	99	
	Hindustani ...	210	34					
		Hindustani ...	242	40	Ranpur (47,711)	Oriya ..	47	100
PALAMAU— Sadr (641,128)	Tribal languages ...	26	4	Bamra (151,047)		Tribal languages ...	80	5
	Hindustani ...	25	3		Oriya ...	112	7	
	Hindustani ...	614	96		Hindustani ...	7	0	
Latehar (177,614)	Tribal languages ...	44	25	Patna (566,924)	Oriya ..	540	9	
	Hindustani ...	49	28		Hindustani ...	22	0	
		Hindustani ...	133	76	Oriya ...	19	0	
MAWBHUM— Sadr (1,380,708)	Tribal languages ...	176	14	Kalabandi (513,716)	Tribal languages ...	72	1	
	Bengali ...	67	5		Oriya ...	26	0	
	Bengali ...	1,047	81		Oriya ...	428	8	
	Hindustani ...	63	5	Hindustani ...	8	0		
Dhanbad (621,093)	Tribal languages ...	70	11	Other languages ..	7	0		
	Bengali ...	176	28		Gangpur (356,674)	Tribal languages ...	164	4
	Hindustani ...	259	42			Oriya ...	27	7
	Other languages ...	6	1	Hindustani ...		27	7	
SINGBHM— Sadr (635,307)	Tribal languages ...	267	42	Oriya ...	129	20		
	Hindustani ...	19	3	Hindustani ...	51	8		
	Oriya ...	127	20	Oriya ...	21	3		
	Tribal languages ...	53	8	Bonal (60,186)	Tribal languages ...	23	3	
	Bengali ...	6	1		Oriya ...	21	3	
Hindustani ...	31	5	Oriya ...		43	7		
				Hindustani ...	8	1		
Dhalbhum (394,595)	Tribal languages ...	141	36	CHOTA NAGPUR STATES— Sarakola and Kharaman... (186,622)	Tribal languages ...	79	4	
	Bengali ...	64	16		Oriya ...	29	1	
	Oriya ...	45	11		Oriya ...	51	2	
	Bengali ...	18	4		Bengali ...	45	2	
	Bengali ...	141	36		Hindustani ...	10	0	
	Hindustani ...	50	13					
	Other languages ...	18	5					

APPENDIX III.—The Depressed Classes.

In the present report the following castes, etc., 31 in number, have been treated as falling within the category of the depressed classes :—

<i>Name of caste, etc.</i>	<i>No. of persons.</i>
Bauri	314,979
Bhogta	66,054
Bhuiya	621,062
Bhumij	266,464
Chamar	1,296,001
Chaupal	2,737
Dhobi	414,221
Dom	269,340
Dosadh	1,290,936
Ghasi	75,579
Ghusoria	1,846
Godra	1,553
Gokha	48,622
Halalkhor	20,742
Hari	115,613
Irika	332
Kandra	155,113
Kanjar	2,566
Kela	9,493
Kurariar	631
Lalbegi	105
Mahuria	2,389
Mangan	184
Mochu	22,863
Musahar	720,051
Nat	9,628
Pan	411,770
Pasi	172,061
Rajwar	133,935
Siyal	9,281
Turi	54,041
Total	6,510,192

2. The above figures include only persons who were returned as Hindus by religion. In the same castes, etc., there were a few persons (21,864 in all) returned under other denominations. The details are as follows :—

<i>Name of caste, etc.</i>	<i>Muslim.</i>	<i>Christian.</i>	<i>Tribal religions.</i>
Bauri ... ..	...	59	...
Bhogta ... ..	...	12	143
Bhuiya ... ..	...	36	4,726
Bhumij ... ..	...	151	7,443
Dom	6	...	...
Ghasi ... ..	...	33	706
Halalkhor	1,547	...	...
Lalbegi	52	...	...
Pan ... ..	...	105	6,294
Rajwar ... ..	...	17	...
Turi ... ..	...	9	523
Total	1,685	422	19,837

3. The territorial distribution of each of the castes treated as depressed is shown in Imperial Tables XVII and XVIII. Provincial Table II, which

will be found at the end of the Tables Volume, gives the total number of depressed Hindus in each district and revenue thana (also in each individual state) of the province. The social map in the front cover of this volume illustrates the relative strength of the depressed Hindus in the various parts of the province, the unit of locality adopted in this map being either the district or (where the district is not homogeneous) the subdivision. A statistical key to this map is furnished in Appendix I.

A. Inasmuch as the term "depressed classes", although freely used nowadays in political parlance, has never yet been clearly defined, the selection of the castes which should be included in this category was attended with much difficulty. The objective adopted was to confine the term to those castes which, by reason of their traditional position in society (and more particularly in Hindu society), suffer from certain social disabilities—as for instance that they are not permitted to penetrate beyond the outer precincts of the village temple, they may not draw water from the common well, they are not suffered to sit with other children in the village school. Judged by this standard, the distinction between the depressed classes and what are commonly known as the "untouchable castes" may appear to be a fine one. But, so far as Bihar and Orissa is concerned, the term *untouchable*, though possibly easier to define in the abstract, gives rise to still greater difficulties and complexities when an attempt is made to distinguish the castes which in actual practice are comprehended in that category. In this province conditions are very different from those which, it is believed, obtain in Southern India, where the line of cleavage between the caste Hindus and the untouchable castes is much more distinctly marked. There are certain castes which, on account of their traditional occupation, are technically unclean, and which in other parts of India are possibly subject to real social disabilities for this reason; but in Bihar and Orissa, although here and there a high-caste Hindu may still seek to avoid personal contact with them, they do not really labour under any special handicap. For example, the Telis in this province cannot be described as depressed. Educationally, ~~it has been seen in Chapter IX that~~ they are above the average for all communities taken together. In point of material prosperity, they are as a rule far better off than the great cultivating castes. It may be that in an orthodox assembly they would be denied access to the interior of a Hindu temple, but this does not afford sufficient ground for including them in the list of depressed classes. Much the same remarks apply to the Sunris and Kalwars. A Chamar, on the other hand, is genuinely depressed. Not only is he almost always ill-educated and poverty-stricken, but the stigma attaching to his caste operates to deprive him every day of his life—in a greater or less degree—of what may be regarded as the ordinary rights of a citizen. But here again conditions vary from district to district, and even from village to village within the same district. In a village which contains a number of orthodox Brahmans or conservative Rajputs the disabilities to which a Chamar or a Dom is subject are likely to be more severe than elsewhere; indeed, there are undoubtedly places where their use of the village well, etc., is not challenged at all, and, so long as they "keep their place", they may participate in the daily life of the village without let or hindrance. But even in such places the "inferiority complex" is still there, and a Musahar who aspired to climb the social ladder on his own merits (as distinct, let us say, from one who might be propelled up it by friendly, if not wholly disinterested, hands to a position of uncomfortable eminence) would always and everywhere find the dice heavily loaded against him.

B. To the question, which of these castes—or how many members of any particular caste—would themselves elect to be numbered among the depressed classes, a direct answer cannot be returned. For one thing the implications of the question would seldom be understood. A Dosadh, intercepted on his way home from a meeting of his caste *sabha* at which it has been firmly impressed on his mind that he is a *Gahlot Rajput* and must live up to it, would doubtless repudiate with scorn any suggestion that seemed to reflect on his social status. But, were it a question of securing special educational

facilities or of the reservation of a specified quota of Government appointments, not only the average Dosadh but an overwhelming majority of other castes which do not figure in the present list at all would clamour for inclusion." ✓

6. It will be seen from Imperial Table XIV, where statistics of literacy are given for each of the castes treated as depressed (except Musahars*), that they are all very backward educationally. Taking them all together, out of every thousand males aged 7 and over only 15 are literate, and out of every thousand females aged 7 and over less than one is literate. The corresponding proportions for the provincial population as a whole are 52 literate males per mille and 8 literate females. Proportional figures for some of the more important individual castes are shown in Subsidiary Table VII appended to Chapter IX of this volume. But while it may be assumed that every depressed caste is educationally backward, it does not follow that every backward caste is depressed. The proportion of literate persons among the Goalas, for instance, is very small—not much larger than among the Dhobis and Pasis—but the Goalas are emphatically a "clean" caste, which nobody looks down on, and no social disability attaches to membership of this caste.

7. Take again the aboriginals, or primitive tribes. Excepting those of them who have been converted to Christianity, the standard of education among these tribes is extremely low, and in many cases lower than what is found in castes treated as depressed. But they stand on a different footing. In the first place, they are (or originally were) entirely outside Hindu society, and were thus unaffected by its laws and inhibitions. Food touched by a Munda might be anathema to a caste Hindu, but so also would be food touched by an European or a Muslim. A Santal formerly was conscious of no inferiority complex; nor is the unspoiled Santal to-day. He is sturdy, independent and intensely proud. In areas where these aboriginal tribes are concentrated in large numbers—where, in fact, they still feel that they are "at home" and that the Hindus and everybody else except themselves are interlopers—they do not as a rule suffer from any disabilities. But even in these areas they are being gradually "Hinduized", and the further this process is carried the more are they in danger of becoming identified with the depressed classes. With some tribes the process has already gone so far that they are practically indistinguishable, and for this reason it has been thought proper to include in the "depressed" list the eight castes or tribes mentioned in the margin, although they are without doubt non-Aryans and have much the same origin as the Chota Nagpur aboriginals who

Bauri.	Ghasi.
Bhogta.	Pan.
Bhuiya.	Rajwar.
Bhumij.	Turi.

have been more successful in maintaining their identity. The total strength of these eight tribes is about two million persons, but only 20,000 of this number were returned as following their old tribal religions. Ninety-nine per cent of them are now Hindus, and a large proportion of these have probably adopted much the same outlook on life, and are exposed to much the same disadvantages, as the depressed Hindu castes." At least, this would be so in localities where the aboriginal element is otherwise comparatively weak. At the same time, it should be stated that the Indian Franchise Committee of 1932 (in agreement with the provincial committee) excluded these tribes altogether from the category of the depressed classes by reason of their aboriginal origin. Their view apparently was that, in any scheme which might be devised for the electoral representation of special communities, the interests of the Bhuiyas, etc., would be more closely akin to those of the primitive tribes proper than to those of the depressed Hindus. And there is much to be said in support of this view. Indeed, there is some overlapping between the lists of primitive tribes and depressed classes which appear in the present report and which, be it noted, were not compiled solely with a view to the particular problem confronting the Franchise Committee.

* Actually Musahars are more backward than any other caste. In 1921 there were only 8 literate males per mille in this community.

8. It will be of interest to compare the present list of depressed classes with a somewhat similar list which was compiled in connexion with the census of 1911. On that occasion the term *depressed classes* was not used, and the object of the enquiry was to ascertain the castes and tribes, contributing more than 1 per mille to the total population, which did not conform to certain *religious* standards or were subject to certain *religious* disabilities. viz., those which—

- (1) denied the supremacy of the Brahmans;
- (2) did not receive the *mantra* from a Brahman or other recognized Hindu *guru*;
- (3) denied the authority of the Vedas;
- (4) did not worship the great Hindu gods;
- (5) were not served by good Brahmans as family priests;
- (6) had no Brahman priests at all;
- (7) were denied access to the interior of ordinary Hindu temples;
- (8) caused pollution by touch or within a certain distance;
- (9) buried their dead;
- (10) ate beef and did not reverence the cow.

In the result, it was felt that no caste or tribe in Bihar and Orissa could with confidence be said to fall within the third or fourth category. Altogether 37 castes, etc., were placed in one or more of the eight remaining categories, and the total number of persons thus included was about 13½

Bauri.	Hari.
Bhuiya.	Kandra.
Bhumij.	Mochi.
Chamar.	Musabar.
Dhobi.	Pan.
Dom.	Pasi.
Dosadh.	Rajwar.

millions. The 14 castes shown in the margin are common to both the lists, and these 14 castes account for 6,200,000 (or no less than 95 per cent) of the persons who have been treated as depressed on the present occasion. "With the exception of the Bhumij and Rajwars, who were included in 1911

on the sole ground that they "were not served by good Brahmans as family priests", all these particular castes were definitely classed as *untouchable*; ~~so, they were included in categories (7) and (8) as well as in certain of the other categories.~~ Of the 17 castes which have been listed at the present census but do not figure in the 1911 list, all except 3 (Bhogta, Ghasi and Turi) numbered less than 1 per mille of the total population and were consequently excluded from the scope of the previous enquiry.

~~23.~~ Twenty-three castes and tribes, included in the former list, have been omitted from the present one.

Ho.	Munda.
Khond.	Oron.
Kharis.	Santal.
Kora.	Savar.

Of these, eight (~~see margin~~) were omitted because they are aboriginal tribes which were regarded as being on a different footing from the depressed Hindu castes. Four other castes, namely, Ganda, Kalwar, Sunri and Tiyar, were classed in 1911 as "causing pollution by touch or within a certain distance." ~~Reasons have already been given for holding that nowadays the Kalwars and Sunris cannot be considered to be depressed.~~ The other two castes are very much on the border line. Reports received from the districts where they are chiefly found indicated that, although they are very backward and poor and are held in low estimation, the same stigma did not attach to them as to the other castes which have been included in the present list. The other eleven castes which

Baishnab.	Kharwar.
Beldar.	Kumhar.
Bind.	Mallah.
Gayeri.	Nuniya.
Kewat.	Tanti.
	Teli.

figured in the list of 1911 are those mentioned in the margin. In most cases the only disability alleged on behalf of these communities was that they were not served by good Brahmans as family priests, though a few (Mallah, Tanti and Teli) were also said to be denied

access to the interior of Hindu temples. The Baishnabs were included because of their habit of burying their dead. For present purposes, it is doubtful whether any of these eleven castes should be treated as depressed classes. "

* Gandas are found chiefly in Sambalpur district and the Orissa states; Tiyars in the administrative divisions of Bhagalpur and Orissa.

10. The total strength of the depressed classes, as set forth at the beginning of this appendix, is just over 6½ million persons. They therefore represent about 15.5 per cent of the total population of the province, and about 19.5 per cent of the Hindu population. If we exclude the eight castes or tribes of aboriginal origin, which were excluded by the Indian Franchise Committee, the total strength is reduced to something over 4½ millions, which is equivalent to about 10.5 and 13 per cent respectively of the provincial and Hindu populations. The following statement shows the relative strength of the depressed classes (including the eight doubtful castes) in the various districts of the province:—

PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION REPRESENTED BY THE DEPRESSED CLASSES.

Over 20 per cent.	15—20 per cent.	10—15 per cent.	Under 10 per cent.
Gaya.	Patna.	Saran.	Sambalpur.
Palamau.	Shahabad.	Bhagalpur.	Ranchi.
Manbhum.	Champanat.	Purnea.	Singbhum.
	Muzaffarpur.	Santal Pargana.	
	Darbhanga.	Balasore.	
	Monghyr.	Angul.	
	Cuttack.	Puri.	
	Hazaribagh.	Feudatory States.	

11. As already explained, the distribution can be studied in greater detail by referring to the social map of the province and the relevant tables in Part II of this report. It may, however, be noted here that the specially high proportion of the depressed classes in Gaya (25 per cent) and Palamau (26 per cent) is due mainly to the presence of Bhuiyas in large numbers in these two districts. Similarly, in Manbhum (23 per cent) it is accounted for by a strong contingent of Bauris and Bhumij. In Singbhum the proportion is only a fraction below 10 per cent, the great majority of the depressed castes being concentrated in the Dhalbhum subdivision of that district. Ranchi and Sambalpur are in a class by themselves, for in the former locality the proportion barely exceeds 5 per cent, while in the latter it is under 5.

12. Three outstanding castes—the Chamars, Dosadhs and Musahars—comprise between them as many as 3,307,000 persons. In other words, these three castes account for more than half of the depressed Hindus in the province—or, if the eight doubtful tribes be left on one side, for nearly three-quarters. They reside for the most part in the districts of Bihar proper, though some are to be found in parts of the Chota Nagpur plateau. There is a small community of Chamars in the coastal districts of Orissa, but their traditional occupations are basket-making and toddy-drawing, not tanning. The scavenging castes (Doms, Haris, Halalkhors and Lalbegis) claim altogether about 406,000 members, and under one designation or another they are naturally distributed over the whole length and breadth of the province. Several of the less numerous depressed castes are confined almost entirely to Orissa—or at least to the Oriya-speaking tracts, including Angul, Sambalpur and the Feudatory States. A list of these

Ghousuria.	Kandra.
Godra.	Kela.
Gokha.	Mahuria.
Irika.	Mangra.

Siyal.

is given in the margin. The most important are the Kandra (155,113) and the Gokhas (48,622); the other seven castes between them comprise only about 25,000 persons. The Kanjars, Chaupals and Kurariars—all of them

very small communities—are believed to be more or less peculiar to the district of Purnea.

APPENDIX IV.—The Primitive Tribes.

The task of arriving at an accurate estimate of the number of primitive tribes, or aboriginals, in Bihar and Orissa is replete with difficulties no less formidable than those presented by the depressed classes. If we go back far enough, the Chamars, Musahars, etc., will probably be found to be pre-Aryan "aboriginals", but with these we are not here concerned. The present survey is confined to the two great families of indigenous tribes known respectively as the "Munda" and "Dravidian" families. But even among these tribes there are some which have been Hinduized to such an extent that they are practically indistinguishable from the low Hindu castes. Among these, mention may be made of the Bauris, Bhogtas, Ghasis, Pans and Turis. And there are others which, although they have not yet lost their identity in quite the same degree, are almost invariably returned as Hindus at the census and retain little trace of their old tribal organizations. These include the Bhuiyas, Bhumij, Kharwars, Koras, Rajwars and others.

2. Imperial Table XVIII gives detailed statistics relating to the 24 tribes mentioned below, which should undoubtedly be regarded as aboriginals, even though in some cases the process of absorption into Hinduism has already gone a long way. The table shows the territorial distribution of these particular tribes between the various districts, revenue thanas and individual states of the province. It exhibits the variations in their numbers in each local unit as recorded at each of the last five censuses, and it shows how many members of each tribe were returned from time to time as adhering to their old tribal religions and how many have been converted to Hinduism or Christianity.

Asur.	Chero.	Kharria.	Munda.
Bathudi.	Gadaba.	Kharwar.	Oraon.
Bhuiya.	Gond.	Khetauri.	Santal.
Bhumij.	Ho.	Khond.	Sauria Paharia.
Birhor.	Juang.	Korwa.	Savar.
Birjia.	Karmali.	Mal Paharia.	Tharu.

Between them, the above tribes comprised at the present census something over 5½ million persons, and the statement in the margin shows their distribution between the three religious denominations in 1931 and in 1921. It will be seen that just over 50 per cent are now classed as Hindus, the proportion being very slightly higher than it was ten years ago. In addition to

these 24 tribes, the following are of Munda or Dravidian origin. Statistics relating to them will be found in the main caste table (XVII), but in much less detail than for the former group:—

Banjara.	Chik Baraik.	Kisan.	Pan.
Bauri.	Ghasi.	Koli.	Parhaiya.
Bentkar.	Ghatwar.	Kora.	Rajwar.
Bhogta.	Gorait.	Mahli.	Turi.
Binjhia.			

In most cases these communities have, as the result of a more complete

Tribal religions	...	...	59,197	absorption in Hinduism, lost their aboriginal characteristics to a greater extent, and it will be seen from the marginal statement that comparatively few of them have remained faithful to the gods of their fathers. Taking the two groups together, it may be said that roughly seven million persons are comprehended in the primitive or semi-primitive tribes of the province, which thus represent about one-sixth of the provincial population. This number includes nearly two million Hindus who in Appendix III have been shown among the "depressed classes" because they belong to tribes which have largely assimilated the outlook, and incurred the disabilities, of the lowest Hindu castes.
Hindu	...	...	1,410,127	
Christian	...	...	4,843	
Total	...	...	1,473,067	

3. Among the larger tribes those which have so far been most successful in maintaining their separate identity and to some extent (on the Chota Nagpur plateau at least) their old tribal organizations are the six great aboriginal communities shown in the margin. To these may be added seven of the smaller tribes, *viz.*, Asur, Birhor, Birjia, Juang, Korwa, Mal Paharia and Sauria Paharia—which between them contain something over 131,000 persons; so that in all rather more than 4 million persons are numbered among the purest aboriginal communities of the province.

Ho	...	...	...	529,158	
Kharia	...	...	...	146,087	
Kbond	...	...	...	315,709	
Munda	...	...	...	549,764	
Orson	...	...	...	687,111	
Santal	...	...	...	1,712,183	
Total	...	...	...	3,893,812	

4. The figures quoted in the preceding paragraphs should not be regarded as absolutely complete. Although the enumeration of the primitive and semi-primitive tribes was the object of special attention at the present census, considerations of economy precluded an exhaustive classification of the returns. Particular tribes were only sorted for in those localities where they were believed to be present in appreciable numbers. As a result some 10,000 persons whose religion was returned as "tribal" do not appear in the caste table at all, and it is probable that a somewhat larger number of Hinduized aboriginals remained unclassified for the same reason. Again, some few may have escaped classification because they were returned under unfamiliar or mutilated names. Nor do the figures so far given take any account of the Kamars (Lohars) of Chota Nagpur, who are believed by some eminent authorities to have a Munda origin. This theory is to some extent supported by the fact that even at the present census nearly 5,000 Kamars (mostly in Ranchi district) returned their religion as "tribal". It is also relevant to note that in Chota Nagpur, unlike other localities, this caste is—or was—regarded generally as "impure", and water might not be taken from their hands by the higher caste Hindus. On the other hand it is of course possible to maintain that these and other characteristics of the Chota Nagpur Kamars are derived from their long and close association with primitive tribes in predominantly aboriginal tracts. The Kurmis of Chota Nagpur are another community which in course of time has come to occupy a peculiar position, and some account is given in Appendix V of the views that have from time to time been advanced in regard to their origin, and of the more recent developments in the situation. If they be included among the primitive and semi-primitive tribes of the province, the total strength of those tribes will be increased to at least 7½ million persons.

5. The territorial distribution of the various aboriginal tribes is given in Imperial Tables XVII and XVIII. Their combined strength in the different localities of the province is illustrated in the social map in the front cover of this volume, the key to which will be found in Appendix I. The principles on which this map has been prepared are explained in paragraph 7 of Chapter XI, and it will be observed that, so far as the primitive tribes are concerned, these principles involve a compromise between the overlapping criteria of race and religion. All persons who were returned as following some tribal religion are shown in red in the map. On the Chota Nagpur

plateau members of the purest aboriginal communities (*i.e.*, the thirteen tribes specified in paragraph 3 of this appendix) who have been converted to Hinduism or Christianity are shown in pink. In all other cases the religious criterion has been adopted. Thus the map does not exhibit the full strength of the primitive tribes from the racial standpoint. On the Chota Nagpur plateau all Bhuiyas, Bhumij, Kisans, Mahlis, Savars, etc., who were returned as Hindus (and the bulk of these tribes are included in that category) appear in blue along with other Hindus; while, outside the plateau, the same thing applies even to such persons as Hos, Santals, Mundas and Oraons. Yet, despite this limitation there are extensive tracts on the plateau in which the

Locality.	Percentage.
RANCHI DISTRICT—	
Sadr subdivision ...	50
Khunti subdivision ...	64
Gumla and Simdega subdivisions ...	68
SANTAL PARGANAS—	
Dumka subdivision ...	54
Rajmahal subdivision ...	50
Pakaur subdivision ...	62
SINGBHM DISTRICT—	
Sadr subdivision ...	67
ANGUL DISTRICT—	
Khondmals subdivision ...	71

portions of the rectangles coloured red and pink account for 50 per cent and upwards of the whole. Particulars of these localities are given in the margin. In the Feudatory States the highest percentages are recorded in Gangpur-cum-Bonai (46), Mayurbhanj (42) and Saraikela-cum-Kharsawan (41). The percentages in the states would be a good deal higher but for the fact, noticed in Chapter XI, that at the present census there was a wholesale boycott of "tribal religions" in many of these units (due possibly more to the attitude of the census authorities than to the persons enumerated), with the result that the map exhibits only those tribes which are treated as primitive irrespective of their religion. No community is shown in this map unless its members comprise at least 1 per cent of the total population represented by each rectangle. The result is that, outside Chota Nagpur, there is but one locality in the whole province where the primitive tribes (*i.e.*, those of them who still adhere to their tribal religions) are sufficiently numerous to secure representation. This locality is the district of Balasore, in which the requisite percentage is just forthcoming.

6. Important variations in the strength of individual tribes are the subject of comment in Chapter XII. Appendix VI contains an account of the migrations of the Santal tribe and notes on some of their customs and beliefs.

APPENDIX V.—The Kurmis of Chota Nagpur.

Mention has been made in Chapter XII of the claim to Kshatriya status advanced by the Kurmi caste. It was at first supposed that this claim was confined to those Kurmis who reside mainly in Bihar proper and in the United Provinces and whose traditional pursuits are cultivation and domestic service. For census purposes it has always proved impossible to distinguish this community from the *Kurmi Mahtos* of the Chota Nagpur plateau, as their habitat is not in all cases a reliable guide; in the census tables therefore they all appear together simply as "Kurmis". It has, however, generally been assumed in previous census reports that the Kurmi Mahtos are a semi-aboriginal people, whose ancestors were allied to the Santal and Bhumij tribes. Instructions were accordingly issued on the present occasion that a return of Kurmi-Kshatriya might be accepted in the case only of the Bihar community. These instructions gave rise to a flood of protest. The "All-India Kurmi-Kshatriya Association" took up the cudgels on behalf of the Kurmi Mahtos, and stoutly affirmed that "they and the Kurmi-Kshatriyas of the western provinces are the same, proofs of which, if necessary, can be produced before the Government." It must be confessed that, when invited to produce these proofs, the Association showed no great eagerness to respond and eventually took refuge in the following generalities which, besides being unsupported by evidence or illustration, would undoubtedly be contested by many persons who have considerable experience of the Kurmi Mahtos:—“(1) The sections and sub-sections are similar. (2) The occupations are the same. (3) The habits and customs are similar.” But the favourite authority of those who maintain the kinship of the two communities is Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1872), in which the following passages occur:—

“ In the Province of Chota Nagpur the ancestors of the people now called Kurmis appear to have obtained a footing among the aboriginal tribes at a very remote period, and in more than one part of Manbhum have supplanted them. There are traditions of struggle between them and Kolarian aborigines of these regions, and, though the latter generally managed to hold their own, we find in some places Kurmi villages established on sites which, we know from the groups of rude stone pillars or cenotaphs still conspicuous, were once occupied by Bhumij or Mannas, and in others vestiges of ruined temples appertaining to Hindu or Jaina settlements, both most likely belonging to successive generations of Kurmis, amidst villages that have for ages been occupied by Bhumij.....

“ Though the Kurmis include so many noble families, their social position in Bengal is not high. They are not even *jalacharanica* or a tribe from whose hands a Hindu of the higher castes would drink water, but in Bihar this honour is accorded to them. The social customs and religious observances vary much in different districts. Where they are found in common tenancy with non-Aryan tribes, they conform to many usages which they must have acquired from the latter, and, following their examples, swerve considerably from orthodox Hindu practices. The Kurmis employ Brahmans as priests in all ceremonies except marriages.”

Finally he describes them as “ unquestionably Aryan in looks ” and thinks it probable that they are the descendants of some of the earliest of the Aryan colonists of Bengal.

2. An entirely different view was taken twelve years later by Risley in his *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*. In his opinion Dalton's remarks about their physical appearance “ referred only to the Kurmis of Bihar, and the caste bearing the same name in Chota Nagpur and Orissa belonged to an entirely different type.” He found them to be “ short, sturdy and of very dark complexion.....closely resembling in feature the Dravidian tribes around them..... In Manbhum and north of Orissa it is difficult

to distinguish a Kurmi from a Bhumij or a Santhal, and the latter tribe, who are more particular about food than is commonly supposed, will eat boiled rice prepared by Kurmi; and according to one tradition they regard them as half brethren of their own sprung from the same father, who begot the Kurmis on the elder and the Santhals on the younger of two sisters. The distinct and well-preserved totemism of the caste is noticed at length below." After finding that "the sections in use among the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur are purely totemistic and that a large portion of the totems are capable of being identified", he comes to the conclusion that "the Chota Nagpur Kurmis are derived from the Dravidian stock and are perhaps a Hinduised branch of the Santhals."

3. In Volume V (ii) of his *Linguistic Survey of India* Sir George Grierson writes that the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur "are an aboriginal tribe of Dravidian stock and should be distinguished from the Kurmis of Bihar who spell their name differently with a smooth instead of a hard *r*. These two quite distinct tribes have been mixed up in the census." Many of these people speak a language of their own, commonly known as *Kurmali*, although, as Sir George Grierson points out, in Manbhum this language is not confined to the Kurmis alone but is spoken by people of other tribes also. In Bamra state, where it is spoken by undoubted aborigines, it is known as *Sadri Kol*. This language is a corrupted form of *Magahi*, but, to quote again from Sir George Grierson, "in this belt *Magahi* is not the language of any locality. It is essentially a tribal language"—just as *Mal Paharia*, a corrupted form of Bengali, is the language of the aboriginal tribe bearing that name. With regard to the spelling of Kurmi with a hard *r*, it has been verified from the local officials that this differentiation is observed still. It may possess real significance, but the general tendency in Chota Nagpur to make the *r* hard is a circumstance that should be borne in mind.

4. In the District Gazetteer of Manbhum (1910) Mr. Coupland writes that the distinction between the Kurmis of Bihar and those of Chota Nagpur, "which is now generally accepted, is exemplified in this district by the fact that marked traces of the characteristic Kolarian village system remain, the *Mahto* or village headman of the Kurmis corresponding exactly with the *Manjhi* of the Santhals, the *Sardar* of the Bhumij and the *Munda* of the Ho races." The Kurmi Mahtos are included among the tribes exempted from the Indian Succession Act. By a printing error the name appeared in the original notification (issued about 20 years ago) as "Kurmi, Mahto" and in the revised notification which was issued very recently the word "Kurmi" only is retained. There is no doubt that, until quite recent years, the two communities were agreed in repudiating any connection with one another. The Bihar contingent would commonly allude to their namesakes of Chota Nagpur as the "Kol-Kurmis", and the latter were no less spirited in asserting their independent identity. Not only inter-marriage, but inter-dining, was entirely out of the question. Even to-day, although it will presently be seen that these restrictions have been formally abolished by resolutions passed in solemn conclave, and although it is probably true that the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur no longer take the same pride in their ancestry that they used to do, no authentic case has come to notice of inter-marriage between the two peoples. The Superintendent of the Leper Hospital at Purulia writes that "a Kurmi constable from North Bihar at present resident in this hospital was very scornful when I suggested his eating with our local Kurmi patients." The same correspondent states that, in spite of Risley's observations about the (then) prevalent totemism of the caste, he himself had for years been unable to find a Kurmi with a totem name. "Within the last few months, however, at a village 21 miles from here I was assured by a fairly educated villager, very proud of being a Kurmi, that his name was *Bok* (paddy bird)—obviously a totem name."

5. The question at issue has in late years been agitated in courts of law. In the case of *Ganesh Mahto v. Shib Charan Mahato*, which was taken to the High Court (A. I. R. 1931 Patna, 305), both parties were

Chota Nagpur Kurmis and they both admitted that they were aboriginal by race, the dispute being in regard to the succession law by which they were governed. It was eventually held that, where parties to a suit admitted that originally they were aboriginals but their families had subsequently become Hindus and had adopted the Hindu religion, it was upon the party alleging that they were not governed by the ordinary Hindu law of inheritance and succession to prove any special custom or rule of custom prevailing among, e.g., the Kurmi Mahtos of Chota Nagpur. This ruling, while of considerable interest in itself, clearly does not help to establish the kinship between the two Kurmi castes. More pertinent to this question is the decision in *Kritibash Mahton v. Budhan Mahtani* (6 P. L. T., 604, 1925) that the term *aboriginal* in Chota Nagpur denotes race only and implies nothing as to religion; on the other hand, the term *Hindu* has in Chota Nagpur reference only to religion. There can be no question but that the Kurmi Mahtos are completely Hinduized and have been for many years. They are in general much better educated, much more prosperous and enterprising, than the other aboriginal tribes or the low-caste Hindus, and they have succeeded in retaining their self-respect in a degree which is uncommon among primitive tribes converted to Hinduism. It is doubtless this circumstance which is now leading them not only to identify themselves with the Hindu caste which happens to bear the same name but also to join with that caste in affirming their Kshatriya origin.

6. Whatever the motives may be, there has certainly been a great deal of agitation in this behalf during the last decade. In the year 1928 caste *sabhas* were held in more than one centre of Manbhum district and various resolutions were passed. It was decreed that Kurmis should no longer eat chickens or drink wine; Kurmi women should not work as casual labourers for persons belonging to other castes; they (the women) should wear a second garment and should not go to the *bazar* by themselves but should always be accompanied by menfolk of their own caste; when a Kurmi died, his *sradh* ceremony should take place on the twelfth day after death, as with the Kshatriyas of Bengal, instead of on the tenth day as heretofore. The 17th session of the "all-India Kurmi-Kshatriya conference" was held at Muzaffarpur in the year 1929, and three delegates from Manbhum were present as representatives of the Chota Nagpur Kurmis. "There it was settled that there is no difference between the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur and the Kurmis of Bihar proper. The three delegates returned home from the conference after taking the sacred thread." This was followed in the same year by another large *sabha* at Ghagarjuri in Manbhum, which was attended by a representative of the Kurmis of the United Provinces, and on this occasion "it was settled that the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur and Kurmis of U. P. and Behar are akin to each other and there will be inter-dining and inter-marriages among the said Kurmis"; also that "the Kurmis of Chota Nagpur would join closely with the *all-India Kurmi Kshatriya Association* and will be guided by the directions of it." At this gathering "it was explained that the Kurmis are Kshatriyas and they have right to wear sacred thread, and some fifty Kurmis wore the sacred thread in the conference with the help of genuine Brahman priests." The correspondent from whom the foregoing extracts are quoted, himself a Kurmi Mahto and a member of the legal profession, adds that "thereafter the Manbhum Kurmis began to take *jangupabit*, though less in number". His ingenuous narrative continues:—"The Kurmis' conference caused a great sensation among the Kurmis, and the caste got the courage of raising their status. And there was such wonder in the mind of the non-Kurmis of Manbhum that Panchet raja, having come up from the ancient Kshatriya royal family of the district, accepts the Kurmis as Kurmi Kshatriyas. The Panchet raja took great interest in the upliftment of the Kurmis. He advised the social leaders of this community to carry out the resolutions passed in the Ghagarjuri conference, and he gave them power in writing for the purpose, and the mass carried out the resolutions of the Ghagarjuri conference to a great extent". In 1931 the session of the all-India Kurmi Kshatriya conference was held in Manbhum, and was signaled by the

adoption of the sacred thread by more of the local Kurmis—the estimates vary from two hundred to a thousand. The same correspondent notes that “some orthodox Kurmis residing in Para and Barabhum P. S. made protest meetings against the use of sacred thread by Kurmis, but the use of sacred thread is increasing day by day in all parts of the district of Manbhum”.

7. It may be questioned whether this movement is calculated to promote the best interests of the Kurmi Mahto community. As aboriginals, they receive the benefit of a special measure of protection from the revenue laws of Chota Nagpur; for instance, the transfer of their holdings to non-aboriginals is not permitted. It may be that the true position in this respect is not appreciated by many of them. On the other hand, they may be prepared to forego such privileges for the greater honour and glory which they believe will accrue to them in their new status; and it is quite true that, in view of their material prosperity, they do not stand in the same need of protection as the other aboriginal tribes of the locality. As already stated, it is not possible to give accurate statistics of the Kurmi Mahto community, but something over 660,000 “Kurmis” were enumerated on the Chota Nagpur plateau, and the overwhelming majority of these (about half of whom were found in Manbhum district) would undoubtedly be Kurmi Mahtos.

APPENDIX VI.—The Santals.

The number of Santals enumerated in Bihar and Orissa at the present census was 1,712,133. They are easily the largest of the primitive tribes found in the province, and they outnumber every Hindu caste except the Goalas and the Brahmans. They are of course most numerous in the district which bears their name; rather more than one person out of every three in the Santal Parganas is a member of this tribe. Over the province as a whole there has been an addition of 234,662 (or about 16 per cent) to the number of Santals enumerated at the last census.

2. The early history of the tribe is still wrapped in mystery. Some hold that they, along with other Munda peoples, entered India from the north-west, and have steadily moved in an eastward direction ever since. A later theory, which is perhaps more generally favoured by present-day investigators, holds that they came originally from the east and penetrated to a point a little beyond Benares before they began to turn back again. The views that have from time to time been advanced on this subject are reproduced more fully in the District Gazetteer of the Santal Parganas, which also contains a most interesting account of their traditions, tribal organization, religious beliefs, social customs and other characteristics. It is not proposed in this report to traverse again the ground which has already been covered in the Gazetteer and other standard books of reference, but simply to state the recent developments in the distribution and movement of this great aboriginal community, and to add one or two notes relative to their manners and customs which do not appear to have been placed on record hitherto.

3. There is no doubt that by the beginning of the nineteenth century the Santals had established themselves on the plateau of Chota Nagpur. Hazaribagh, Palamau and Singhbhum appear to have been their especial strongholds at that time, but they were already beginning to make their way towards the district which is now known as the Santal Parganas. It was in the middle part of the century that their migration to this particular locality took place on a grand scale, and it has been suggested that many of the persons shown as immigrants into the district at the census of 1901 were the survivors of those who had taken part in that movement. But by that time they were already on the move again. "The Santals", wrote Mr. (now Sir Edward) Gait in 1901, "are spreading north and east, and the full effect of the movement is not exhausted in the districts that adjoin the Santal Parganas, but makes itself felt even further away, in those parts of Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Bogra which share with Malda the elevated tract of *quasi-laterite* known as the Barind. These wanderings of the Santals have hitherto been confined to a laterite soil, and they are said to be averse to the payment of rent. In what direction they will spread when they have finished their work of reclamation in the Barind it is impossible yet to conjecture. The future alone can show whether they will then accept the inevitable and settle down as permanent rent-paying cultivators, or move further afield, overcoming their dislike to alluvial soil, or retrace their steps and rove once more in the infertile uplands of the Chota Nagpur plateau."

4. The table overleaf shows the strength and distribution of the Santal tribe in Bihar and Orissa and in Bengal at the time when the above words

were written, and the variations that have occurred at each subsequent census :—

Locality.	Actual number of Santals.				Percentage of total population.			
	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.	1931.	1921.	1911.	1901.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bihar and Orissa	1,712,133	1,471,471	1,407,346	1,296,347	4.6	3.9	3.7	3.6
Santal Parganas	754,904	676,450	608,140	670,535	30.8	37.7	34.5	37.1
Purnea	46,095	34,905	21,023	6,643	3.1	1.7	1.1	0.4
Bhagalpur	30,799	33,603	35,240	26,633	1.4	1.6	1.3	1.3
Monghyr	16,743	33,080	30,479	19,756	1.3	1.1	1.0	1.0
Hazaribagh	129,103	98,738	93,209	78,379	6.5	7.7	7.3	6.7
Manbhum	282,315	238,747	232,200	195,400	15.6	15.4	15.0	14.0
Singbhum	108,800	94,381	89,241	77,363	11.7	12.4	12.7	12.6
Federatory States	300,504	261,791	247,264	211,937	6.7	6.6	6.3	6.4
Elsewhere	23,981	15,777	11,377	11,600	.09	.07	.06	.06
Bengal	796,656	712,046	676,689	576,737	1.6	1.5	1.4	1.3
Dinajpur	130,328	120,211	110,244	74,101	7.4	7.0	6.5	4.7
Malda	72,145	72,140	66,620	52,136	6.8	7.3	6.8	5.9
Bogra	6,351	7,183	5,823	4,633	.5	.7	.6	.5
Rajshahi	25,691	21,300	14,145	4,858	1.8	1.4	1.0	.8
Jalpaiguri	27,859	23,988	22,241	10,896	3.8	3.6	2.5	1.4
Birbhum	64,079	57,180	50,087	47,738	6.8	6.7	6.0	5.2
Burdwan	101,523	79,099	65,078	49,633	6.0	5.5	4.3	3.0
Bankura	114,577	104,013	115,017	106,732	10.3	10.3	10.1	9.5
Midnapur	160,750	162,751	161,632	148,391	6.1	5.7	5.7	5.3
Hooghly	38,013	34,063	32,092	9,966	3.4	3.2	3.1	.9
Murahdabad	22,725	18,401	14,393	12,556	1.7	1.5	1.0	.9
Elsewhere	24,716	19,913	15,314	23,208	.07	.06	.06	.06

During these thirty years the total strength of the tribe in the two provinces combined has increased from 1,869,074 to 2,508,789. This represents an increase of over 33 per cent in a single generation—a rate of growth just double that achieved by the population of this province as a whole, and a striking indication of the hardy, prolific character of the tribe.

5. The first decade of the century witnessed an acceleration of the outward stream of migration from the Santal Parganas. At the census of 1911 the number of persons born in that district and enumerated elsewhere was no less than 321,283, an increase of 95,000 over the figure recorded ten years earlier. Not all of this vast-army of emigrants were Santals, but it is safe to say that the great majority of them were. For, although conditions during the decade had been generally favourable for a rapid increase of population (particularly on the Chota Nagpur Plateau, where the average rate of growth was as much as 14 per cent), there was an actual decline in the number of Santals enumerated in their home district. The flow into the Barind was still strong, the districts of Dinajpur and Rajshahi being the recipients of most of the fresh emigrants to this part of Bengal. Further to the north-east the tea-garden districts of Jalpaiguri and Darjeeling absorbed a substantial overflow, while some 59,000 Santals were found still further afield in the province of Assam. But this decade saw also the beginning of a new movement into the purely alluvial tracts of Purnea and Hooghly districts. Moreover, the Santals were now showing signs of retracing their steps in a southerly and even in a westerly direction. The increase in their numbers during this period (1910-11) in Manbhum, Hazaribagh and the Orissa States is too great to be ascribed entirely to natural growth. In the two first-named districts the coalfields were the main attraction, and the partiality of the Santal for labour of this kind was responsible also for a marked rise in Burdwan district.

6. During the next decade the eastward current of migration was very much less pronounced. The total number of emigrants from the Santal Parganas in 1921 was less by about 23,000 than it had been at the previous census, and, despite the ill-health and economic distress of 1918-20 which prevented the population of the province as a whole from registering any progress, the number of Santals residing in the Santal Parganas was greater at the end of the decade than it had been at the beginning. This circumstance is the more remarkable because agricultural scarcity had compelled many who would not otherwise have left their homes to emigrate to the tea-gardens of Assam, and over 84,000 Santals were enumerated in that province in 1921, as compared with 59,000 in 1911. Very few fresh

emigrants found their way into the Barind, but the thrust into Purnea and Hooghly continued, and there was a temporary movement across the north-western border of the district into Bhagalpur.

7. The present census does not record the number of persons born in the Santal Parganas and enumerated outside the province. Emigrants from that district to other parts of Bihar and Orissa are almost, but not quite, as numerous as they were ten years ago, but there must have been a heavy decrease in emigration to Bengal and Assam. It is significant that in this province the strength of the tribe has increased since 1921 by 16 per cent, while in Bengal the rate is barely 12 per cent. In practically none of the Bengal districts, except the colliery areas of Burdwan, is the increase in numbers out of proportion to the natural growth of the tribe; and, although of course it is not suggested that all the Santals who were enumerated in Bengal in 1921 have remained there ever since and multiplied in the ordinary course of nature, the figures do indicate that there are nowadays very few fresh emigrants who are making a permanent home in that province. In Assam statistics of Santals were not compiled on the present occasion, but there has been a decline of just over 1,000 in the number of persons speaking Santali as their mother-tongue, and it is therefore probable that the number of Santals has fallen also. Within the province of Bihar and Orissa there has been a further development in the streams of migration to Purnea, Hazaribagh, Manbhum and the States. The present indications, therefore, are that the movement of this tribe to the north-east has been definitely checked for the time being, and that a great number of them are settling down in their own district as permanent rent-paying cultivators. Such migration as is now taking place is not governed by any fixed principle but is the result of ordinary economic pressure, and its direction is determined by the availability of land (whether laterite or alluvial) and the scope for labour of a kind which appeals to the Santals, such as work on tea-gardens or in coal-mines.

8. As already mentioned, the fragmentary notes that follow regarding certain beliefs and practices of the Santals are intended only to supplement the accounts available elsewhere. Almost all of the information reproduced here has been very kindly furnished by the Rev. P. O. Bodding, who has worked for many years as a missionary in the Santal Parganas and whose intimate knowledge of and affection for this people are unrivalled.

9. *Astrology*.—The sun, moon and stars are considered to be animate beings, the sun being the male, the moon the female, and the stars their children. A shooting-star is called a star-excrement, and a comet a tail-star. The four stars in the Great Bear constellation which form the rectangle of the plough are known as *budhi parkom* or the old woman's bedstead, while the other three stars are called *bursi kombroko*, the fire-pan thieves; the star furthest out from the bed is always kept so far away because he is laughing. The three stars of Orion's belt are *arar ipilko*, the yoke stars; and three others close by are *arar lalakko*, the yoke-cutters or dressers. The Pleiades are known as *sorenko*. "What *soren* means" writes Mr. Bodding, "I am not at present prepared to say, but it may be mentioned that one of the twelve Santal septs is called *Soren* and *soren sipahi* (the *soren* soldier) is a very frequent combination." Two small stars near Vega in Lyra are called *potam bela*, or the dove's eggs. For the Milky Way they have a name meaning the Way of the Market-place, but according to some it is also called the Elephant's Path. The "morning star" (whether Jupiter or Venus) is sometimes styled *corkheda*, or the thief-pursuing star, because it is believed that thieves, when they see this star appear, cease from their nefarious business and make their way home. The most favoured explanation of an eclipse is that once upon a time the sun or the moon (or both together) stood security for the human race when the latter were compelled to borrow food from a certain godling, called Dusad. The debt has never been repaid, and now and again the Dusad stretches out his hand to catch hold of the sun or the moon and exact his dues; this causes an eclipse. At such times the Santals beat their kettledrums

and bring out their stores of grain into the open, and with much shouting offer to liquidate the debt if the godling will but relinquish his hold. During the eclipse a fast is observed, and none may look upon a woman who is with child. To explain the phases of the moon they have a story that in olden days the sun and the moon had many children. The boys were living with their father the sun, and the girls with their mother the moon. By reason of the terrible heat of the sun and his children (the stars) it was feared that the earth would be burnt up; so the moon suggested to the sun that they should devour their children in order to avert the catastrophe. The sun bade his wife eat up her daughters in the first place; if that were insufficient, said he, he would also eat his sons. Then the moon—"a woman", adds the narrator, "and we know their tricky ways"—put all her daughters under a large bamboo basket and hid them, after which she went to the sun and said that she had devoured all her girls but still the heat was as bad as ever, and if he did not now devour the boys too mankind would surely perish. The foolish husband believed her and ate up all his sons, the day-stars. But when it became night he saw that the daughters were still unharmed, and in great anger he took a sword and pursued his wife and overtaking her he cut her. He might indeed have destroyed her utterly, but when she gave up two of her daughters he relented and left her. These two stars are the planets Venus and Jupiter, which may be seen during the day-time. Yet every month the sun remembers his wife's deceit, and pursues and cuts her, so that the moon has very little rest except on two days in each month. Thunder and lightning, like all other natural phenomena, are believed by the Santals to be acts of the Supreme Being, so that they say "he rains" or "he blows" or "he thunders." They have various names for thunder, most of which appear to be onomatopœic. In common with other races, they think that stone implements found in the ground are thunderbolts and call them *ceter-diri*, which means stroke-of-lightning stones. They have heard the tale of Rama's shooting, but it is doubtful whether they place any credence in it. Some Santals try to guard themselves against lightning by keeping an arrow on the bowstring in aim against the threatening cloud.

10. *Life after death.*—The belief of the Santals in a future life, where virtue meets with its due reward and the wicked are appropriately punished, is recorded elsewhere. But, says Mr. Bodding, one may sometimes hear a Santal speculate whether he will become a lizard or a grass-hopper after death, and there are tales extant among them which presuppose a belief that the soul of a living man may issue through his mouth in the shape of a small lizard. Notwithstanding such curious aberrations as these, Mr. Bodding is of the opinion that the Santals have no real belief in transmigration.

11. *Musical instruments.*—They are a musical people, one of their favourite instruments being a flute with six holes for stops and one for blowing. Nowadays these flutes are generally bought from low-caste Hindus, but some Santals still know how to make them. They have also some small pipes, made by themselves. Another instrument of their own manufacture is a one-stringed fiddle with a hollow "breast", as they call it, covered with a piece of skin, often of an iguana or some large snake. When playing, the operator keeps it in front of him, with the string turned away. Other varieties of stringed instruments include a hollow piece of wood or a pumpkin, covered at one end with a bit of skin through which a double string is run. It is kept in the left armpit, and the left hand stretches the two strings with a small piece of wood tied to them. It is said to produce a marvellous sound, and its use is confined to the disciples of the *ojha* when they go begging. Similar in tone, and employed for the same purpose, is a bamboo instrument (often an old flute) to which pins are affixed, and to these again two strings. At the middle point of the bamboo an empty, hollowed-out piece of a pumpkin is tied. When this is played, the pumpkin is held against the stomach and the playing is done with a wooden pin. They have a dancing drum of earthenware, covered at the ends with skin and strengthened with leather thongs running round the body; this drum is

conical in shape. Their kettledrums are many and varied, and some of their other instruments appear to be designed for the sole purpose of producing noise as a means of giving vent to their high spirits. They have cymbals also and a number of wind instruments, including one made from the horn of a buffalo. An interesting point to note is that their flutes and horns are always made in pairs with the same pitch. This serves a double purpose, for if one instrument is lost or stolen the owner is able to identify it, while the distinctive note also serves to advertise the whereabouts of the player. Dancing drums, too, are made in pairs. Mr. Bodding considers that the flute, the horn and the fiddle are probably the original Santal instruments.

12. *Bows and arrows, etc.*—The Santal's bow is generally made of bamboo, but sometimes of some other resilient wood. As a rule, the string is of hemp, though bamboo is not infrequently used for the purpose. The string is always fixed permanently to one end of the bow; at the other (upper) end it is tied loosely. Here there is a loop, and when the bow is to be used this loop is slipped on to the end. Until this is done, the bow is more or less straight and could not be used. The Santals have a large assortment of arrows, suitable to special different purposes. They are mostly made of *sar* grass—*sar* being the Santali word for an arrow. Generally the arrow has cut feathers fixed to its end, which help to steady its flight; an arrow without feathers is called naked. To shoot birds and small animals a blunt arrow is used, with a piece of wood some three inches long fixed to the point. For other animals they employ arrows with iron heads, which vary greatly in size and shape. "I have seen", says Mr. Bodding, "some twenty different arrowheads." One variety, designed for shooting fish, has for its head a curved blade instead of a point. There is also a special kind of bow with which they shoot off, not arrows, but small stones. Of spears they had formerly several kinds, but these are no longer found. Battle-axes of different shapes are still to be seen in a few houses, but they are now used for sacrificial purposes only. The Santals have a number of other hunting implements, fishing nets, etc., all of which go to show that they have studied the nature and habits of wild animals, birds, and so forth, and have fashioned their implements accordingly. They indulge in a curious practice of keeping certain hairs, claws, etc., of tigers and leopards which they have killed, and even of eating their flesh, in the hope that they will thereby assimilate some of the qualities of these animals. They are not head-hunters, and no case is known in which they have resorted to this practice in their fights with other tribes and peoples.

13. *Agricultural implements.*—It is well-known that the Santals excel in the art of clearing jungles and otherwise reclaiming land for cultivation, but as agriculturists they are less expert and still have much to learn. The most primitive (certainly the oldest) of their implements is a wooden bar used for digging out roots, making holes in the ground, and so on. Formerly it was made of hard wood throughout, but nowadays a flat piece of iron is fixed at one end. Their plough is made of a log of bent wood, with an iron ploughshare fixed in a groove on the front upper portion. The handle may be one of several shapes, and there is a beam whereby the plough is attached to the yoke. They have also a hoe or pick-axe with one narrow and more or less pointed blade. The nearest approach to a spade among them is an implement called a *kudi*. The blade of this implement is slightly curved or concave, and an iron shaft some four inches high is fixed vertically in the middle of one end of it. Through the top of this shaft the handle runs parallel with the blade, being only a very little longer than it. The *kudi* is worked towards, not away from, the user. All these iron implements are made by semi-hinduized blacksmiths, but the use of more modern foreign-made implements is now being gradually introduced. To level and carry earth they have a kind of large wooden shovel, called a *karha*, drawn by bullocks. It consists of a piece of flat wood three to five feet in length, ten to fifteen inches broad, and some three inches thick, tapering towards an edge. A handle is fixed in the middle, and at (or near) each end of the *karha* a "comb" is cut, i.e. part of the wood is cut away, leaving big tooth-like

projections. The shaft is fixed to the *karha* at one end with a ring, and the other end terminates in the yoke. Sometimes chains are used in lieu of a shaft. When worked, a man keeps the shovel more or less upright by means of the handle, and the earth is thus dragged along. On reaching the place where the earth is to be deposited, he lets go the handle and the *karha* automatically turns over forwards, emptying out the earth, and the bullocks then drag the *karha* back to the starting point. There are several varieties of these "shovels", but the principle on which they are worked is the same. There is a similar implement, called a *raksa*, which is used for levelling the surface of a rice-field. This is longer and narrower, and two holes are cut through the wooden board, through which the yoke chains are passed. The *argom*, or clod-crusher, is an implement used for levelling the earth after ploughing or sowing. It is a piece of wood some six to nine feet long and six to eight inches broad and thick. Usually it has a beam to which the yoke is fixed, but sometimes there are two beams and sometimes none at all; in the latter case chains are run through holes in the wood.

APPENDIX VII.—Language, Caste and Race in Singhbhum district.

The report of the Indian Statutory Commission, published in 1930, contained a summary of the recommendations made by the sub-committee which had been appointed to investigate the claim of the Oriya-speaking peoples to a separate Orissa province. The sub-committee suggested *inter alia* that at the forthcoming census special precautions should be taken to ensure the reliability of the returns. So far as Bihar and Orissa is concerned, the main point at issue was whether, assuming the formation of such a separate province, the district of Singhbhum (or any part thereof) should be included in it. It was therefore of special importance to ascertain with as much accuracy as possible the number and distribution of Oriyas in that district.

2. The first question that presented itself in connexion with this enquiry was: *What is an "Oriya"?* Hitherto no attempt had ever been made to enumerate persons of Oriya race either in Singhbhum or elsewhere. The census schedules contain a column entitled "Nationality, race or caste", but a person's nationality is not entered in this column unless he is a foreigner (*i.e.*, not an Indian), and his race is only entered if he belongs to some aboriginal tribe or other race in which caste does not exist. For Hindus the caste only is recorded, no matter whether they are Biharis, Bengalis, Oriyas or anything else. The number of *Oriya-speaking* persons is of course ascertained from the language returns, and in the past it has always been assumed that the number of "Oriyas" is identical with the number of persons by whom the Oriya language is spoken. But this assumption is not necessarily correct. In Singhbhum district, for instance, it is commonly agreed that the Oriya language is used very much less than it used to be, largely because it is not taught in the schools and is barred in the courts. Many Oriyas who still speak it in their homes (often in a corrupted form) do not know how to read or write it, while others cannot even speak it any longer. On the other hand there are certain parts of the district in which the Oriya language is spoken by aboriginals and others who would not ordinarily be regarded as Oriyas by race. It has been explained in Chapter X that at the present census for the first time two columns were provided in the schedule for recording a person's language. One column was reserved for his real mother-tongue, and the second for other languages (if any) in common every-day use. This innovation presumably went some way towards reconciling language with race, but it cannot have gone the whole distance, and it was therefore deemed advisable to make a special attempt on this occasion to ascertain separately the number of persons in Singhbhum district who claimed to be "Oriyas", irrespective of the language spoken by them.

3. The method chosen to achieve this purpose was simply to enquire of each person whether he was, or was not, an Oriya. If he replied in the affirmative, the word *Oriya* was to be entered in the caste column of the schedule against his name—in addition, of course, to his caste; if he replied in the negative, no entry of race was to be made at all. It was obviously out of the question to expect the enumerators to conduct any enquiry into the correctness of the answer given. Even if their impartiality could have been taken for granted, they had not the necessary qualifications for arriving at a proper decision, and the application of various suggested tests (such as whether the person concerned was governed by the Mitakshara or the Dayabhag law) would only have led to confusion. It was *prima facie* unlikely that a person who was not an Oriya would claim to be one; the converse was not impossible, but in the face of deliberate denials of that

kind the census authorities would clearly be powerless. The enumerators were therefore told that they must accept and record without question the statement of the person enumerated, once they were satisfied that he understood what he was being asked. The supervising staff were instructed to pay special attention to the checking of these entries, and it was pointed out to them that in this they would often derive much assistance from the name and the caste of the person concerned. There are many distinctive Oriya names and titles, and, although sometimes these may have become corrupted to such an extent that it is difficult or impossible to recognize them, they would frequently serve as a useful guide. Similarly, most of the true Oriya castes (except Brahmans) are unmistakable, though here again it is not uncommon for the caste name also to be disguised or modified. For instance, an Oriya *Gaura* living in Singhbhum will often call himself a *Goala*; a *Karan* may call himself a *Kayasth*, and so forth. Consequently such an entry as "Oriya Kayasth" in the census schedule would not necessarily be incorrect, but an entry of "Karan" without being preceded by the word "Oriya" must be wrong.

4. Unfortunately the attempt to ascertain the number of Oriyas by race on the lines indicated above proved to be a failure. This was due partly to the fact that the decision to conduct this special enquiry was reached at a somewhat late stage in the operations, and difficulty was experienced in making the enumerators understand fully the purport of the instructions. A careful scrutiny of the returns showed that not infrequently the word *Oriya* was entered against the head of a household only, with the result that the remaining Oriya inmates were not treated as such in the slip-copying and sorting processes. Some enumerators apparently thought that, when a man's caste clearly showed that he was an Oriya, it was unnecessary to specify the fact. In other cases the entry of race was made in the column for religion instead of in the caste column. Intensive propaganda on both sides was responsible also for sins of omission or commission in this matter on the part of certain enumerators. In addition to these various sources of error, the enquiry showed that many of the persons questioned really did not know whether they were Oriyas by race or not, and that many others did not care. It was therefore apparent that any statistics which might be compiled on the basis of these particular returns would not only be quite unreliable but would be definitely misleading; and it was decided to disregard them entirely. Language perforce must continue to be the main criterion of race, but a final effort was made to eliminate some of the more patent defects of that criterion by an exhaustive analysis of the caste and language returns in combination.

5. The new objective was to distribute the population of the district between the four racial categories given below:—

- (1) Oriyas.
- (2) Biharis or Bengalis.
- (3) Doubtful races—*i.e.*, persons who might belong to either of the two first categories.
- (4) Others, including primitive tribes.

The district was split up into 21 local units, a list of which is given in the margin. In all these units persons belonging to unmistakable Oriya castes were placed in category (1) above. Persons belonging to all other Hindu castes were classified as (a) those speaking Oriya as mother-tongue, (b) those speaking Oriya as a subsidiary language, and (c) those who did not speak Oriya at all. The results thus obtained were scrutinized caste by caste and local unit by local unit. It was

Chakradharpur—

1. Porahat Kolhan pirs (including Bandgaon estate).
2. Sadant pirs (excluding Chakradharpur municipality).
3. Kuldiha, Kainua and Goikera pirs.
4. Chakradharpur municipality and railway settlement.

Manoharpur—

5. Manoharpur proper.
6. Rela and Saranda pirs.

Koḥan—

7. Bantaria, Kotgarh, Lotna and Jamda pirs (excluding Gus and Noamundi mines).
8. Aola and Bar pirs.
9. Thai, Bharbharis, Lagra and Lota pirs.
10. Gumra, Barkela and Rangra pirs (excluding Chaibasa municipality).
11. Chainpur, Ayodhya, Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabasa, Chiru and Charal pirs.
12. Chaibasa municipality.
13. Gus and Noamundi mines.

Ghataila—

14. Jugsalai p.s. and Gulmuri p.s. (excluding urban areas).
15. Rwaspur p.s.
16. Kalikapur p.s.
17. Ghataila p.s. north (excluding Kokpara Taraf).
18. Ghataila p.s. south (excluding Kokpara Taraf).
19. Kokpara Taraf.
20. Baharagora p.s.
21. Jamshedpur, Tatanagar and Jugsalai (urban).

found, e.g., that in unit no. 8 there were 2,270 Kumhars, out of whom 2,180 spoke Oriya as their mother-tongue and 10 others spoke it as a subsidiary language; consequently *all* Kumhars in ~~that particular unit were~~ treated as Oriyas by race. But in unit no. 15 only 5 Kumhars out of 1,111 spoke Oriya in any shape or form, with the result that in *that* unit *all* Kumhars were treated as non-Oriyas. In unit no. 18 again there were 546 Kumhars, Oriya being the mother-tongue of 252 and a subsidiary language of 20 others, while 274 did not speak Oriya at all; in these circumstances no safe deduction could be made with regard to the racial affinities of the Kumhars in that particular part of the district, and so they were all treated as "doubtful" and placed in category (3) above. The "Oriyas" and the "doubtfuls" were determined in this way by examining the statistics for each caste and locality in turn. Then the "others"—category (4) above—were extracted. These

comprised (a) all primitive tribes, irrespective of the language spoken by them, and (b) all persons speaking as mother-tongue some language other than Hindustani, Bengali, Oriya or a tribal language. Many primitive tribes have been Hinduized to such an extent that they have lost most of their tribal characteristics, and persons belonging to these communities were freely claimed as Oriyas or Biharis by the rival parties. Not infrequently such claims derive some measure of support from the language criterion; for instance, there are some parts of Singhbhum in which practically all Bhuiyas speak Oriya as their "mother-tongue". But in general it was felt that in the interests of these semi-aboriginal peoples themselves they should be kept quite distinct from the Aryan races on both sides, and with three exceptions all the tribes mentioned in paragraph 2 of Appendix IV were included with the "other races", no matter what their language might be. The exceptions were the Bauris, Ghasis and Pans, who, though undoubtedly of aboriginal origin, are by now hardly distinguishable from low Hindu castes; they were accordingly treated as "doubtful" and placed in category (3). The first, third and fourth categories being thus determined, the residue of the population of the district was placed in the second category, i.e. Bihari or Bengali. Between these two races it was found to be quite impossible to distinguish. As a result of the method followed, it is probable that some Hindustani-speaking immigrants from the United Provinces and other parts of India were treated as Biharis; but this could not be avoided, and the number of such persons is in any case inconsiderable.

6. The results of the enquiries into language and race in Singhbhum are summarized in the two tables at the end of this appendix. Proportional

	Mother-tongue.	Race.
Oriya	... 18.5	11.1
Bihari-Bengali	... 24.6	11.4
Others	... 56.9	63.2
Doubtful	... ...	14.8

figures for the district as a whole are given in the margin. It will be noticed that, by the criterion of language alone, the number of Oriyas and Bihari-cum-Bengalis in the district is considerably larger than by the criterion of race. This is partly because speakers of the Aryan languages include a good many aboriginals, but mainly because of the impossibility of allocating the "doubtful" races to their appropriate heads. Although the term "others" includes Europeans, immigrants from up-country and foreigners of every kind (except Bengalis),

for all practical purposes this term may be regarded as synonymous with the primitive tribes. The strength of some of the more important tribes is given in the margin. Even if the semi-aboriginal Bhumij and Bhuiyas be left out of account, the four remaining tribes (which are among the purest aboriginal stock in the province) account by themselves for 471,122 persons, or more than half the total

Total population	...	...	929,802
Ho	...	...	801,158
Santal	...	...	108,890
Bhumij	...	...	50,050
munda	...	...	50,968
Bhuiya	...	...	18,278
Oraon	...	...	10,111

population of the district.

7. As between the Oriya and the Bihari-cum-Bengali elements, there is a clear-cut division between the two subdivisions of the district. In the Sadr subdivision (where the number of Bengalis is negligible) the Oriyas are in a large majority over the Biharis. This preponderance is marked, not only in the subdivision as a whole, but in each one of the local units with the exception of no. 1 (in the extreme north-west corner of the district) and nos. 4 and 12 (the municipal areas of Chakradharpur and Chaibasa). Even if all the "doubtfuls" in this subdivision were treated as Biharis, the latter would still be in the minority.

SADR.	Mother-tongue.	Race.
Oriya	127,247	69,681
Bihari-Bengali	87,885	16,997
Doubtful	...	47,450

Conversely, in the Dhalbhum subdivision (where the number of Biharis outside Jamshedpur is very small) the Bengalis are in a large majority over the Oriyas. Here again the preponderance is to be found in each local unit except no. 18, which forms part of the Ghatsila police-station area.

DHALBHUM.	Mother-tongue.	Race.
Oriya	44,640	18,228
Bihari-Bengali	190,729	89,041
Doubtful	...	85,530

8. At the time when the census was being taken, feeling on the Oriya question ran high, and a great deal of propoganda was indulged in on both sides. After the operations were over, there were not wanting complaints to the effect that they had not been properly conducted, that the enumerating staff were prejudiced and had refused to record the answers actually given, that the local officers in charge of the operations were biassed and the returns had been tampered with, etc., etc. A careful enquiry was made into these allegations by the District Officer of Singhbhum, and I personally discussed the matter with him locally and examined a large number of the schedules mentioned specifically by the petitioners. The charges were found to be generally without any foundation, and many of the complaints were clearly due to misapprehension. For instance, a number of defective entries made by the enumerators in the schedules had been amended by the supervisor or other inspecting officer, and it was mistakenly supposed that these modifications were made with the deliberate object of damaging the just claims of the Oriyas. The vague charges of prejudice brought against certain enumerators were more difficult to investigate, but here again there was undoubtedly a lot of exaggeration and misunderstanding. It has already been mentioned that the entries of race in the caste column were unreliable for various reasons, one of which was that the enumerators were subjected to a great deal of pressure from both sides on this subject. But, as these entries were entirely discarded, the results are not affected by this circumstance. So far as entries of language and caste are concerned, I am definitely of the opinion that cases of deliberate misrecording were very rare. But it is probably true that in doubtful cases (which were plentiful) the language entry made by a Bengali enumerator might not be the one which would have been made by an Oriya enumerator. For instance, in localities such as Baharagora the language in common use is a mixed dialect of Oriya and Bengali, and the proper method of recording it will often give rise to genuine perplexity. In that part of the district most of the enumerators were Bengalis, and it is likely that they sometimes used their discretion in this matter in a way which did not commend itself to Oriya sentiment.

I.—LANGUAGE AND RACE IN SINGHBHUM DISTRICT.

Locality	Population	LANGUAGE.						RACE.			
		Oriya.		Hindustani and Bengali.		Others (including Tribal languages).		Oriya.	Bihari and Bengali.	Doubtful races.	Others (including primitive tribes).
		As mother tongue.	As subsidiary language.	As mother tongue.	As subsidiary language.	As mother tongue.	As subsidiary language.				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
SINGHBHUM DISTRICT	929,809	171,887	99,117	998,564	180,587	599,351	69,423	109,554	106,038	122,980	557,930
Chakradharpur	192,335	26,612	2,923	16,890	6,142	89,332	4,094	12,731	7,668	20,078	91,868
Porabat Kolhan pirs (including Bandgaon estate).	35,128	447	140	2,500	1,020	31,178	1,690	23	1,765	2,130	31,205
Sadant pirs (excluding Chakradharpur municipality).	68,773	21,773	2,160	7,109	2,141	39,631	1,157	11,723	2,177	12,416	42,450
Kuldha, Kainna and Gollkera pirs	18,240	2,209	67	804	235	12,346	1,161	499	174	2,149	15,427
Chakradharpur municipality and railway settlement.	11,191	2,035	457	6,617	2,696	2,479	38	1,488	2,544	3,381	2,780
Manoharpur	66,228	19,324	4,889	6,368	7,155	40,396	1,475	7,687	588	14,073	42,880
5. Manoharpur proper	48,098	10,004	2,388	5,246	4,830	26,749	869	4,539	304	9,073	30,077
3. Reli and Saranda pirs	22,230	9,320	1,544	1,342	2,325	11,558	606	3,148	284	4,906	12,803
Kolhan	335,644	81,300	3,725	14,357	9,849	239,937	55,427	68,213	8,749	12,201	245,381
7. Bantaria, Kotgarh, Lotna and Jamda pirs (excluding Gua and Noamundi mines).	21,948	8,294	249	600	566	22,445	7,795	6,766	230	738	28,014
8. Aola and Bar pirs	99,781	27,761	1,531	1,041	1,350	63,089	24,073	22,380	850	4,319	85,233
9. Thal, Bharbharis, Lagra and Lota pirs.	61,027	20,640	145	1,245	919	59,233	10,640	18,690	239	2,146	69,063
10. Gumra, Barkela and Rangra pirs (excluding Chaibasa municipality).	66,485	14,203	940	1,273	3,066	53,009	6,387	11,687	128	2,465	53,210
11. Chaibasa Ayodhya, Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabasa, Ghiru and Charai pirs.	48,850	7,436	409	850	1,947	38,575	5,854	6,726	247	1,300	35,586
12. Chaibasa municipality	10,785	408	4	7,270	128	3,107	5	505	6,104	614	3,562
13. Gua and Noamundi mines	7,359	2,659	439	1,169	942	3,531	157	1,459	957	719	4,224
Ghatalla	394,595	44,640	10,689	190,729	107,439	159,226	1,457	12,223	89,041	85,539	206,801
14. Jugsalai p.-s. and Golsauri p.-s. (excluding urban areas).	17,047	631	66	2,492	809	8,294	6	336	2,890	1,698	12,543
15. Swaspur p.-s.	30,089	433	92	10,098	5,548	9,980	38	157	11,467	2,050	10,415
16. Kalikapur p.-s.	64,687	5,066	700	25,185	28,944	33,536	28	1,165	11,715	8,940	42,867
17. Ghatalla p.-s. north (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	60,638	4,774	2,188	20,999	13,712	28,880	310	496	7,587	18,337	34,243
18. Ghatalla p.-s. south (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	32,673	7,769	1,756	5,468	7,377	19,406	744	2,612	2,197	2,904	24,760
19. Kokpara Taraf	23,776	5,241	2,062	6,708	7,003	11,637	124	625	3,530	6,268	13,243
20. Bahargora p.-s.	72,631	10,744	3,180	36,677	22,063	25,210	1	3,038	6,501	26,777	36,315
21. Jamshedpur, Tatanagar and Jugsalai (urban).	93,459	9,352	685	61,604	22,036	21,603	302	4,594	42,194	18,356	26,315

II.—MOTHER TONGUES AND SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGES IN SINGHBHUM DISTRICT.

Locality.	Population.	HINDUSTANI.					BENGALI.					
		Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages.				Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages.				
			Oriya.	Bengali.	Tribal languages.	Others.		Oriya.	Hindustani.	Tribal languages.	Others.	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
SINGHBHUM DISTRICT ...	990,809	81,047	3,047	3,041	6,087	189	147,517	2,087	7,486	1,769		
Chakradharpur ...	183,335	14,236	1,235	72	1,999	14	2,654	292	327	170		
1. Porahat Kolhan pirs (including Bandgaon estate).	35,123	2,492	73	...	1,463	8	8	1	6	...		
2. Sadant pirs (excluding Chakradharpur municipality).	68,773	5,657	707	43	338	...	1,512	379	43	163		
3. Kuldha, Kainua and Gollkera pirs ...	18,240	555	24	...	210	...	49	7	3	8		
4. Chakradharpur municipality and railway settlement.	11,191	5,532	431	24	...	6	1,035	6	375	...		
Manoharpur ...	66,223	9,117	1,112	174	463	...	471	65	214	1		
5. Manoharpur proper	43,098	4,833	894	169	300	...	363	64	174	...		
6. Reia and Saranda pirs	22,320	1,234	218	5	163	...	108	1	40	1		
Kolhan ...	335,644	11,070	963	273	3,451	2	3,237	168	175	509		
7. Bantaria, Kotgarh, Lotna and Jamda pirs (excluding Gua and Noamundi mines).	31,348	552	38	37	397	...	57	4	14	11		
8. Aola and Bar pirs	92,781	1,476	177	315	853	...	465	72	63	185		
9. Thal, Bharbharla, Lagra and Lota pirs	81,027	855	30	3	1,271	...	390	8	1	248		
10. Gumta, Barkela and Rengra pirs (excluding Chaibasa municipality).	66,435	1,225	508	...	539	...	43	13	8	5		
11. Chalupur, Ayodhya, Amantalla, Sidni, Lota, Rajabasa, Chiru and Charai pirs.	43,850	685	140	8	439	...	165	60	31	40		
12. Chaibasa municipality	10,785	5,422	3	...	2	...	1,943	1	11	1		
13. Gua and Noamundi mines	7,350	855	78	10	27	...	314	2	59	19		
Ghatsila ...	394,595	49,624	617	2,522	104	116	141,105	2,462	6,770	1,682		
14. Jugsalai p.-s. and Golmuri p.-s. (excluding urban areas).	17,047	1,085	...	20	...	...	7,407	45	17	...		
15. Swaspur p.-s.	30,080	496	10	104	...	...	19,200	17	36	20		
16. Kalikapur p.-s.	64,837	635	28	430	1	...	24,550	93	356	21		
17. Ghatsila p.-s., north (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	60,633	2,161	7	596	...	25	24,638	1,301	350	183		
18. Ghatsila p.-s., south (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	32,673	864	124	344	...	13	4,604	443	256	718		
19. Kokpara Taraf	23,776	460	9	172	...	...	6,248	307	109	114		
20. Baharagora p.-s.	72,631	1,136	133	352	...	...	35,541	130	2	...		
21. Jamshedpur, Tatanagar and Jugsalai (urban).	92,450	42,787	806	504	103	77	18,717	127	5,645	14		

Locality.	ORISSA.					TRIBAL LANGUAGES.					OTHERS.				
	Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages.				Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages.				Total speaking mother-tongue.	Subsidiary languages.			
		Bengali.	Hindustani.	Tribal languages.	Others.		Bengali.	Hindustani.	Oriya.	Others.		Bengali.	Hindustani.	Oriya.	Tribal languages.
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	
SINGHBHUM ...	171,887	18,891	19,119	54,363	19	508,140	64,980	14,278	15,096	15	21,211	170	10,323	37	25
Chakradharpur ...	26,613	306	1,597	1,976	1	38,124	85	2,490	1,296	...	1,698	40	1,225	...	2
1. Porahat Kolhan pirs (including Bandgaon estate).	447	3	40	220	1	32,168	1	957	75	...	8	...	6	...	...
2. Sadant pirs (excluding Chakradharpur municipality).	21,772	243	735	663	...	39,305	82	980	1,165	...	28	...	11	...	2
3. Kuldha, Kainua and Gollkera pirs.	2,299	...	164	954	...	15,344	...	117	36	...	2	...	1	...	...
4. Chakradharpur municipality and railway settlement.	2,095	60	669	30	...	517	2	437	30	...	1,662	40	1,300	...	...
Manoharpur ...	19,324	520	1,072	987	...	40,241	1	5,129	3,702	3	65	2	46	1	...
5. Manoharpur proper	10,004	448	597	669	...	28,716	1	3,431	2,377	...	32	2	20	1	...
6. Reia and Saranda pirs	9,320	74	475	418	...	11,525	...	1,708	1,325	3	33	...	20	...	...
Kolhan ...	31,300	183	4,895	51,459	...	233,755	126	3,535	2,565	...	1,232	1	305	9	6
7. Bantaria, Kotgarh, Lotna and Jamda pirs (excluding Gua and Noamundi mines).	3,294	51	140	7,383	...	22,408	12	253	205	...	37	...	20	1	5
8. Aola and Bar pirs	27,751	60	355	23,035	...	62,729	39	649	1,274	...	380	...	51	8	...
9. Thal, Bharbharla, Lagra and Lota pirs.	20,549	...	134	9,127	...	58,956	...	781	107	...	277	...	...	...	...
10. Gumta, Barkela and Rengra pirs (excluding Chaibasa municipality).	14,203	...	2,853	5,523	...	53,007	2	1,123	429	...	2	...	...	...	...
11. Chalupur, Ayodhya, Amantalla, Sidni, Lota, Rajabasa, Chiru and Charai pirs.	7,436	...	1,104	3,882	...	35,559	...	752	101	...	14	...	2	...	...
12. Chaibasa municipality	408	4	...	...	...	2,339	3	63	...	...	238	1	46	...	...
13. Gua and Noamundi mines	2,659	23	340	110	...	3,257	70	255	359	...	274	...	186	...	1
Ghatsila ...	44,640	17,877	4,548	61	11	141,010	64,074	2,774	7,533	12	18,216	127	3,747	77	5
14. Jugsalai p.-s. and Golmuri p.-s. (excluding urban areas).	631	50	4	4	...	8,493	790	17	21	...	31	...	1	...	...
15. Swaspur p.-s.	433	387	2	4	...	9,919	5,032	15	63	...	41	6	14	3	...
16. Kalikapur p.-s.	5,688	4,348	3	4	...	33,323	23,993	30	670	...	13	4	...	...	...
17. Ghatsila p.-s., north (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	4,774	1,597	104	4	...	28,526	10,404	43	830	...	334	6	100	...	...
18. Ghatsila p.-s., south (excluding Kokpara Taraf).	7,799	1,901	188	9	...	17,775	3,398	85	1,120	1	1,623	60	945	...	5
19. Kokpara Taraf	5,241	2,505	100	...	...	11,822	4,102	21	1,778	...	5	...	6	...	...
20. Baharagora p.-s.	10,744	5,836	8	1	...	25,205	15,801	3	2,917	...	5	1	...	...	...
21. Jamshedpur, Tatanagar and Jugsalai (urban).	9,352	1,063	4,040	15	11	5,444	524	2,583	168	9	16,159	50	7,023	74	...