

REPORT

OF THE

ORISSA COMMITTEE

Volume II—Appendices (Non-Financial)



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1932

Price : Rs. 5 or 8s. 3d.

**Government of India Publications are obtainable from the Government of India
Central Publication Branch, 3, Government Place, West, Calcutta,
and from the following Agents:—
EUROPE.**

**OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR INDIA, India House, Aldwych, LONDON, W. C. 2. And at all Booksellers
INDIA AND CEYLON : Provincial Book Depôts.**

MADRAS :—Superintendent, Government Press, Mount Road, Madras.
BOMBAY :—Superintendent, Government Printing and Stationery, Queen's Road, Bombay.
SIND :—Library attached to the Office of the Commissioner in Sind, Karachi.
BENGAL :—Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, Writers' Buildings, Room No. 1, Ground Floor, Calcutta.
UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH :—Superintendent of Government Press, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh
Allahabad.
PUNJAB :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Panjab, Lahore.
BURMA :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Burma, Rangoon.
CENTRAL PROVINCES AND BEHAR :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Central Provinces, Nagpur.
ASSAM :—Superintendent, Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong.
BIHAR AND ORISSA :—Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, P. O. Gulzarbagh, Patna.
NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCES :—Manager, Government Printing and Stationery, Peshawar.

Thacker, Spink & Co., Ltd., Calcutta and Simla.
W. Newman & Co., Ltd., Calcutta.
S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.
The Indian School Supply Depot, 309, Bow Bazar Street,
Calcutta.
Butterworth & Co. (India), Ltd., Calcutta.
M. C. Sarcar & Sons, 16, College Square, Calcutta.
Standard Literature Company, Limited, Calcutta.
Association Press, Calcutta.
Chukerverty, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 13, College Square,
Calcutta.
The Book Company, Calcutta.
James Murray & Co., 12, Government Place, Calcutta.
(For Meteorological Publications only.)
Ray, Chaudhury & Co., 68-5, Ashutosh Mukharji Road,
Calcutta.
Scientific Publishing Co., 9, Taltola Lane, Calcutta.
Chatterjee & Co., 3-1, Bacharam Chatterjee Lane, Calcutta.
Standard Law Book Society, 5, Hastings Street, Cal-
cutta.
The Hindu Library, 3, Nandalal Mullik Lane, Calcutta.
Kamala Book Depot, Ltd., 15, College Square, Calcutta.
The Pioneer Book Supply Co., 20, Shib Narain Das Lane,
Calcutta.
P. C. Sarkar & Co., 2, Shama Charan De Street, Calcutta.
*Bengal Flying Club, Dum Dum Cantt.
Kali Charan & Co., Municipal Market, Calcutta.
N. M. Roy Chowdhury & Co., 11, College Sqr., Cal-
cutta.
Grantha Mandir, Cuttack.
B. C. Basak, Esq., Proprietor, Albert Library, Dacca.
Higginbothams, Madras.
Roehouse and Sons, Madras.
G. A. Natesan & Co., Publishers, George Town, Mad-
ras.
P. Varadachary & Co., Madras.
City Book Co., Madras.
Law Publishing Co., Mysapore, Madras.
The Booklover's Resort, Talikad, Trivandrum, South
India.
E. M. Gopalakrishna Kone, Padumandapam, Madras.
Central Book Depot, Madras.
Vijapur & Co., Vizagapatam.
Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay.
D. B. Taraporevala, Sons & Co., Bombay.
Ram Chandra Govind & Sons, Kalbadevi Road, Bom-
bay.
N. M. Tripathi & Co., Booksellers, Princess Street, Kal-
badevi Road, Bombay.
New and Secondhand Bookshop, Kalbadevi Road,
Bombay.
J. M. Pandia & Co., Bombay.
A. H. Wheeler & Co., Allahabad, Calcutta and Bombay.
Bombay Book Depot, Girgaon, Bombay.
Bennett, Coleman & Co., Ltd., The Times of India
Press, Bombay.
The Popular Book Depot, Bombay.
Lawrence & Mayo, Ltd., Bombay.
The Manager, Oriental Book Supplying Agency, 15,
Shukrawar, Poona City.
Rama Krishna Bros., Opposite Bishrambag, Poona City.
S. P. Bookstall, 21, Budhwar, Poona.
The International Book Service, Poona 4.
Mangaldas & Sons, Booksellers and Publishers, Bhags
Telao, Surat.
The Standard Book and Stationery Co., 32-33, Artab
Road, Peshawar.
The Students Own Book Depot, Dharwar.

Shri Shankar Karnataka Postaka Bhandara, Mala
muddi, Dharwar.
The English Book Depot, Ferozepore.
Frontier Book & Stationery Co., Rawalpindi.
*Hossainbhai Karimji and Sons, Karachi.
The English Bookstall, Karachi.
Rose & Co., Karachi.
Keale & Co., Karachi.
Ram Chander & Sons, Ambala, Kasauli.
The Standard Bookstall, Quetta & Lahore.
U. P. Malhotra & Co., Quetta.
J. Ray & Sons, 43, K. & L. Edwardes Road, Rawal-
pindi, Murree and Lahore.
The Standard Book Depot, Lahore, Nainital, Mus-
soorie, Dalhousie, Ambala Cantonment and Delhi.
The North India Christian Tract and Book Society
18, Clive Road, Allahabad.
Ram Narain Lal, Katra, Allahabad.
"The Leader", Allahabad.
The Indian Army Book Depot, Dayalbagh, Agra.
The English Book Depot, Taj Road, Agra.
Gaya Prasad & Sons, Agra.
Narain & Co., Maston Road, Cawnpore.
The Indian Army Book Depot, Jullundur City,
Daryaganj, Delhi.
Manager, Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.
The Upper India Publishing House, Ltd., Literature
Palace, Ammaddaula Park, Lucknow.
Rai Sahib M. Gulab Singh & Sons, Mufid-i-Am Press
Lahore and Allahabad.
Rama Krishna & Sons, Booksellers, Anarkali, Lahore.
Students Popular Depot, Anarkali, Lahore.
The Proprietor, Panjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Said-
mitha Street, Lahore.
The Insurance Publicity Co., Ltd., Lahore.
The Panjab Religious Book Society, Lahore.
The Commercial Book Co., Lahore.
The University Book Agency, Kaohari Road, Lahore.
Manager of the Imperial Book Depot, 63, Chanda
Chowk Street, Delhi.
J. M. Jaina & Bros., Delhi.
Fono Book Agency, New Delhi and Simla.
Oxford Book and Stationery Company, Delhi, Lahore,
Simla, Meerut and Calcutta.
Mohan Lal Dossabhai Shah, Rajkot.
Suptd., American Baptist Mission Press, Rangoon.
Burma Book Club, Ltd., Rangoon.
S. C. Talukdar, Proprietor, Students & Co., Cooch Behar.
The Manager, The Indian Book Shop, Benares City.
Nandkishore & Bros., Chowk, Benares City.
The Srivilliputtur Co-operative Trading Union, Ltd.,
Srivilliputtur (S. I. R.).
Raghunath Prasad & Sons, Patna City.
The Students' Emporium, Patna.
K. L. Mathur & Bros., Guzi, Patna C'ty.
Kamala Book Stores, Bankipore, Patna.
G. Banerjee and Bros., Ranchi.
M. C. Kothari, Raipura Road, Baroda.
B. Parikh & Co., Baroda.
The Hyderabad Book Depot, Chaderghat, Hydrab-
ad (Deccan).
S. Krishnaswamy & Co., Teppakulam P. O., Trichino-
poly Fort.
Standard Book and Map Agency, Book Sellers and
Publishers, Ballingunge.
Karnataka Publishing House, Bangalore City.
Bhoema Sons, Fort Bangalore City.
Superintendent, Bangalore Press, Lake View, Mysore
Road, Bangalore City.

REPORT
OF THE
ORISSA COMMITTEE
Volume II—Appendices (Non-Financial)



CALCUTTA: GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
CENTRAL PUBLICATION BRANCH
1932

GRISSA COMMITTEE.

LIST OF VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.—Report and Financial Appendices.

VOLUME II.—Appendices (Non-Financial).

VOLUME III.—Evidence (not printed).

LIST OF APPENDICES.

PAGES.

(NOTE.—The financial appendices have been printed with the report in Volume I).

APPENDIX 1.—Government of India Reforms Office Resolution No. F. 12/VI/31, dated the 18th September 1931 appointing the Orissa Committee	1—2
APPENDIX 2.—Communiqué, dated the 8th November 1931 issued by the Committee	3
APPENDIX 3.—Principal written memoranda received by the Committee in response to their Communiqué, dated the 8th November 1931	5—188
APPENDIX 4.—Census statistics	189—290
APPENDIX 5.—Census maps	291

APPENDIX 1.

REFORMS OFFICE.

RESOLUTION.

REFORMS.

Simla, the 18th September 1931.

No. F. 12/VI/31.—The constitution of a separate province of Orissa was not made the subject of separate investigation by the Round Table Conference or any of its Sub-Committees. But the matter was not overlooked. Some discussion took place at a late stage in the Committee of the whole Conference in which, though the claims of the Oriyas were not expressly endorsed, no delegates spoke against them. In these circumstances and having regard to the previous history of the case, the Government of India, with the approval of the Secretary of State, have decided to appoint a Committee to examine and report on the administrative, financial and other consequences of setting up a separate administration for the Oriya-speaking peoples and to make recommendations regarding its boundaries in the event of separation.

2. The Government of India, after careful consideration, have decided that this enquiry should be entrusted to a small body of men, with an impartial outlook on the problems involved, and that with them should be associated three persons drawn from the areas most interested. The latter will share freely in the proceedings of the Committee, but will take no part in drafting or signing the report.

3. In pursuance of these decisions the Governor General in Council, with the approval of the Secretary of State, has been pleased to constitute the Committee as follows :—

Chairman.

- (1) Sir Samuel O'Donnell, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

Members.

- (2) The Honourable Mr. H. M. Mehta, Member, Council of State, and
- (3) Mr. T. R. Phookun, M.L.A.

The following gentlemen have been selected, on the advice of the Local Governments concerned, as associate Members :

- (1) Raja of Parlakimedi,
- (2) Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha, Bar.-at-Law,
- (3) Rao Bahadur C. V. S. Narasimha Raju Garu.

Mr. B. C. Mukharji, I.C.S., will act as Secretary to the Committee. The Committee's headquarters will be at Cuttack.

4. The terms of reference to the Committee are as follows :—

If a separate province of Orissa were to be created—

- (i) what should be the boundaries of such a province ?

- (ii) what would be the administrative, financial and other consequences in such a province ?
- (iii) what would be the administrative, financial and other consequences in the adjoining territories of British India ?

ORDER.—Ordered that a copy of the above resolution be published in the *Gazette of India* and communicated to the Governments of Madras, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and the Central Provinces, for information. Also that a copy be forwarded to the Secretary to the Committee for information. Further that a copy be forwarded to the Department of Industries and Labour and to the Finance, Home and Foreign and Political Departments, for information.

A McCracken,
Deputy Secretary to the Government of India

APPENDIX 2.

ORISSA COMMITTEE.

*Patna, the 8th November 1931.**Communiqué.*

The Orissa Committee have been appointed to examine and report on the following questions—(Reforms Office resolution No. F. 12/VI/31, dated the 18th September 1931):—

If a separate province of Orissa were to be created—

- (i) what should be the boundaries of such a province ?
- (ii) what would be the administrative, financial and other consequences in such a province ?
- (iii) what would be the administrative, financial and other consequences in the adjoining territories of British India ?

The Committee, which met for the first time at Patna on the 7th instant, are anxious to enlist the assistance and co-operation of the public in its labours and, with this object in view, have decided to invite the submission of written memoranda from public bodies, organised associations and leading members of the general public interested in the inquiry entrusted to it. On receiving such written memoranda, the Committee will select representative witnesses for oral examination.

All written memoranda should be addressed to the Secretary to the Committee at Cuttack, so as to reach him not later than the 1st of December 1931. Memoranda regarding the Singbhum area should however reach the Secretary by the 20th November as the Committee propose to assemble at Jamshedpur on the 23rd November to hear oral evidence regarding that area.

B. C. MUKHARJI,

*Secretary,
Orissa Committee.*

APPENDIX 3.

The principal written memoranda received by the Orissa Committee in response to their Communiqué, dated the 8th November 1931 (Appendix 2).

(A)	PAGES.
(1) Oriya memorandum for South-West Midnapur	6—14
(2) Oriya memorandum for Singbhum	14—34
(3) Oriya memorandum on Oriya-speaking tracts in the Central Provinces and a supplementary memorandum	35—49
(4) Oriya memorandum for Ganjam	50—55
(5) Memorandum of the Ganjam Landholders' Association	55—56
(6) Memorandum of Parlakimedi	56—66
(7) Memorandum submitted by the Jeypore Amalgamation Committee	66—71
(8) A "Memorandum on the Utkal Province" with appendices submitted by the Utkal Union Committee	72—115
(9) A written statement submitted by the Maharaja of Jeypore together with his subsequent explanatory letter	116—118

(B)

(i) Memorandum submitted by the Midnapur Anti-partition Committee	119—126
(ii) Memorandum submitted by the Proprietor of Dhalbhum Estate	126—129
(iii) Memorandum submitted by the Jamshedpur Bengali Association	129—131
(iv) Memorandum submitted by the Mankis of Kolhan	131—137
(v) Memorandum submitted by the Government of the Central Provinces together with a note on Padampur tract	137—140
(vi) Memorandum submitted by the Ganjam Defence League	141—183
(vii) Memorandum submitted by Mr. C. A. Henderson, I.C.S., Madras	184—188

APPENDIX 3.

A (1)

MEMORANDUM FOR SOUTH-WEST MIDNAPORE.

We, the inhabitants of the District of Midnapore, accord to you, the President and Members of the Orissa Boundary Committee, our most cordial welcome and respectfully make the following submissions for your kind and favourable consideration. These submissions contain no detailed statement but are a brief mention of points in support of the claim that South-West Midnapore, consisting of (i) the Jhargram Sub-division, (ii) the Contai Sub-division, and (iii) five thanas of the Sadar Sub-division, namely, Khargpur, Narayanganj, Kesari, Dantan and Mohanpur, should be constituted into a District by itself, transferred from the Bengal Presidency and amalgamated with the Province of Orissa. A map indicating this area is attached.

The people of Midnapore came into contact with the British Government as early as 1760 (*vide* Aitkinson's "Treaties, Engagements and Sanads", 1909, Vol. I, page 217). What the District of Midnapore then was ethnologically as well as linguistically, can be known from an incident which took place five years later, in 1765, when the Hon'ble East India Company obtained the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. That this "Orissa" of the Dewani was confined to the District of Midnapore alone is evident. Permanent Settlement Regulation of 1793 also proves it. Even after the conquest of Cuttack, Midnapore continued to retain its former name of Orissa for a long time. But afterwards when for administrative purposes Midnapore was transferred to Bengal proper, great injustice was done to the Oriya people of the District.

So long as Orissa remained a part of Bengal Presidency for over a century, the evil effects of our separation from our mother Province, Orissa, were not brought home to us; for, we then felt that the entire Oriya race was joined to Bengal in order that the two races might together build up a common destiny in the future political upliftment of the Empire. But with the creation of the Province of Bihar and Orissa, in 1912, when Orissa was separated from Bengal, leaving the District of Midnapore to remain, as before, in the Bengal Presidency, we were left alone with a people with whom our relations were not congenial, because it was not a relation of equality nor of a part with the whole. The Bengalees were much more advanced than we. We had no voice in the administration in which our Bengalee brethren had their full share. This had led to a gradual change in the mentality of the Oriyas of the District with regard to their attitude towards the Bengalees. Where resistance was out of the question, imitation and submission came to be the guiding principle. This operated more successfully in the north-east portions of the District. This was natural as the area bordered on the Bengal districts and was thus subject to direct influence from them.

But very different was the state of things in the south-west portions of the District in which are included the Jhargram Sub-division, the Contai Sub-division, and five thanas of the Sadar Sub-division, hereinbefore referred to as South-West Midnapore. The people there mostly retained their separate identity, though compelled to read Bengalee and use it as their court language. Had any regard been shown to the requirements of the Oriyas of this area as a people separate and distinct from the Bengalees, our racial degeneration

would have been prevented. But this was not possible under the circumstances of our connection with Bengal, the officers from where in Orissa proper at one time even went so far as to try to kill the Oriya language and convert the ancient land of Orissa into a part of Bengal. It is not our intention to find fault with our Bengalee brethren. Such a result is bound to ensue when a backward minor community is attached to an overwhelmingly large majority of advanced people, as it has been in the case under consideration.

In our present helpless condition, it has not been possible for us to share in the advantages of modern constitutional political advancement. We have not been and, circumstanced as we are, shall not be able to send a representative of our own community to the Provincial Legislature, wherefore our grievances cannot be ventilated. Nor has any one of our community ever been able to secure any office worth the name either in the judicial or in the executive departments of Government or even in the ministerial departments. A few years ago there was a proposal to convert the southern portion of Midnapore into a separate District. That, we hoped, would give us some scope for self-improvement. But the proposal fell through at the very last moment, even after a stage where the construction of necessary buildings for the purpose had been completed.

It has to be said that a large majority of the people of the area, hereinbefore referred to as South-West Midnapore, are really Oriyas ethnologically, culturally, socially and, if the census figures are not taken as unassailable, even linguistically. That the census estimate of the Oriya population of this District is not reliable, can be ascertained by a proper enquiry. Its correctness has been questioned even by the Governments of India and Bengal. Notwithstanding its official banishment, the Oriya language is used by us in our homes and in our private and all ceremonial transactions, as if, it were the sole language of our area. But in our transactions of official or public nature, the Bengalee language replaces the Oriya, reducing our life into a ludicrous linguistic anomaly. In this connection reference may be made to Hunter's Orissa, page 313, where he pathetically observes, "The children in some village schools of Midnapore learn Bengalee in the morning and Oriya in the afternoon". Dr. Grierson also in his monumental work, "the Linguistic Survey of India", Vol. V, Part 1, pages 59-60, says, "A man (of this area) will begin a sentence in Oriya, drop into Bengalee in its middle and go back to Oriya at its end. All this time, however, the language is Oriya in its essence". It is not only the Oriya language, which is used; the Oriya literature is also widely read, and to such an extent that a very large number of Oriya books are being printed, even now, in Bengalee script, which the Oriyas have to learn in place of their own script, Oriya.

We submit this memorandum with the prayer that steps be taken to expedite the amalgamation of this area as a separate District with the Province of Orissa. Our further prayer is that no part of this area be amalgamated, under the Orissa Province, with any other District, of that Province. The area is sufficient for a District, both in extent and population and for the location of the headquarters the necessary buildings are existing at Hijli, which was proposed to be the headquarters of the Hijli District some fifteen years ago.

The justice of our cause will be evident from the following notes.

I. HISTORICAL NOTE.

The history of Midnapore compiled by various authorities clearly proves that Midnapore, since the dawn of history, was an Oriya tract, a part and parcel of Orissa.

(A) *Hindu Period*.—Odra, Utkal or Orissa was the northern part of ancient Kalinga and Midnapore was an integral part of Orissa even before the Christian era (*vide* O'Malley, page 20 and R. D. Banerjee, History of Orissa, Vol. I, pages 4-5, 7-8 and 136-137). From Kalidasa's Raghubansa it is learnt that in the 5th century A. D. the Kapisa, i.e., the river Kossai, in the Midnapore District, was the northern boundary of Utkal (*vide* kanto 4, verses 38-39 Raghubansa, and Nagendra Nath Basu's Viswakosha, Vol. III, page 128). Yuan Chwang's description of the northern part of the eastern coast of the Bay of Bengal shows that in the beginning of the 7th century A. D. the present District of Midnapore was a part of Odra or Northern Orissa (R. D. Banerjee, page 137). In the 11th century Midnapore, including Tamralipta, was also a part of the kingdom of Chod Gangadeb of Orissa and his successors. This position of Midnapore as a part of Orissa continued up to the defeat of Mukunda Dev, in 1568, by Kalapahar (*vide* O'Malley, pages 21-22, and R. D. Banerjee, pages 323 and 354 and Hunter's Orissa).

(B) *Mahomedan Period*.—In 1568 when Kalapahar conquered Orissa, the present district of Midnapore was within its boundary and it remained so during the Pathan rule in Orissa. From Ain-i-Akbari we learn that after the Mogul conquest Orissa including Midnapore was kept as a separate Subah as distinct from Bengal to which a separate Governor was sent from the Imperial Court in the time of Jehangir.

This position of Midnapore remained almost undisturbed up to 1751 when Aliverdy Khan, Nawab of Bengal, ceded the greater portion of Orissa beyond the Suvarnarekha to the Marhattas for Chowth of Bengal, retaining only the Midnapore portion of Orissa in his hands. His Faujdar Ramram, *alias* Ramaram Sing, held his court at Midnapore town and ruled this 'little Orissa' up to 1760 (*vide* O'Malley, pages 31-32 and Major B. D. Basu's rise of the Christian power in India, page 215, Vol. I). It may be noted that Pataspur Pargana, which lies to the north of the Suvarnarekha, was a part of 'Orissa' belonging to the Marhattas and came under British possession in 1803 when Orissa proper was conquered. Unlike the Bengal estates, it is temporarily settled.

(C) *British Period*.—Coming to the British Period, we see that by a treaty dated 27th September 1760 Mir Kasim Ali made a grant of 3 districts including Midnapore to the Hon'ble East India Company. In the Sanad Midnapore was clearly mentioned as appertaining to Orissa (*vide* Long's Selections, pages 224-225). This fact will be corroborated even by a casual reference to the Dewani Grant of Bengal, Behar and Orissa in 1765 and the Permanent Settlement Regulations of 1793. Dr. Grierson observes, "Midnapore in the north together with a portion of Balasore was the Orissa of the Phrase Bengal, Behar and Orissa in the Dewani grant" (*vide* Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India). In this connection reference may also be made to Justice S. C. Mitter's

Tagore Law Lectures and Field's Land Laws. Even so late as in 1829 Midnapur was described as a part of Subah Orissa in the Permanent Settlement Kabuliati of Chitreshwar Dhal, Raja of Dhalbhum, then a part of Midnapur. The Government of Bengal at page 40 of their Administration Report of 1872-73 observed that in the 18th century the land lying between the Suvarnarekha and the Rupnarayan was part of Orissa (see also Grant's 5th Report, Vol. I, page 527 and Vol. II, page 454). The present district of Midnapur except Ghatal and Chandrakona was created in 1836. Before that Midnapur was treated as a part of Orissa all along. From this date the present misfortune of the Oriyas in Midnapur began, when for administrative purposes Midnapur was formally placed within the boundary of Bengal proper. A great injustice has been done to the Oriya people of the district who, as we shall show in another place of this memorandum, are in majority in the south-west part of the district but a very small minority in the Presidency.

From this short note it will be seen that Midnapur, from the pre-historic period down to the second half of the last century, was an integral part of Orissa.

II. LINGUISTIC NOTE.

The language of South-West Midnapur is nothing but Oriya. In the middle of the last century there were only Oriya Schools in this area (*vide* John Adam's Report on Vernacular Education in Bengal, Behar and Orissa 1835-36-38, page 135, Section 3, Midnapur). Sterling's Account (Geographical, Statistical and Historical, page 29) of Orissa proper or Cuttack also shows that the language of Midnapur is Oriya. In 1852 Mr. Bailey, the then Collector of Midnapur, considering the similarity with Orissa of language, manners and customs, land system and race and castes, proposed in his Memorandum of Midnapur to transfer Hijli, "South Midnapur", to Orissa (*vide* O'Malley, page 56 and "Young Utkal" copy of which will be supplied). Sir William Hunter in the first Volume of his book "Orissa" published in 1872, at page 313, also corroborated the same facts. So late as in 1905 the great authority, Dr. Grierson, after making an elaborate survey and personal enquiry, gives his opinion that the language of South-West Midnapur is Oriya in essence (*vide* Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, part II, pages 369-70 and 420-22 and part I, pages 59-60 and 105). In 1911 Mr. O'Malley, in his Midnapur Gazetteer, also supports this view. The great Scholar, the late Babu Manmohan Chakraverty, and the late Mr. R. D. Banerjee were also of the same opinion (*vide* Geography of Orissa in the 16th century, J. A. S. B. N. S. XII, Vol. 1916, No. I and R. D. Banerjee, History of Orissa, Vol. I, pages 1-2). In fact any impartial observer cannot but come to the same conclusion. Majority of the people of this area even now use Oriya at home and in the affairs of their daily life. Thousands of Oriya books written in Bengali script and published mainly from the Contai Nihar Press, are purchased and read by the people of South-West Midnapur.

III. SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND ETHNOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. That the people of the area are Oriyas will appear from their surnames and caste-names, which are different and distinguishable from the surnames of the Bengalees. Some of these surnames have no doubt in certain cases

undergone some modification, *e.g.*, Mahanti has changed into Maiti, Behera into Bera, Jena into Jana, and Parida into Paidra or Pardiya. But most of the surnames such as Pradhan, Barik, Samal, Sasmal, Santra, Mahapatra, Sahu, Patra, Giri, Pani, Maikap, Porihari, Bisi Dandapart, Swain, Rath, Hota, Tripathi, Sarangi, Nanda, Pati, Kar (Brahmin), Dash (Brahmin), Bahu-balindra, Ugalsandha, etc., remain unchanged.

2. The rites and customs prevailing in Orissa are observed in the area. This applies to Upanayan (sacred thread), marriage, Gorbhadhan (consummation of marriage) and death ceremonies. The death ceremony among Bengalee Non-Brahmins lasts for one month after the date of death. But among the Oriya Non-Brahmins, as among Brahmins, the ceremony is finished only in ten days.

3. The Oriya year called, the Amli San, commences about the middle of September, the first day of the year being called Sunia. This year is used by the people of the area in the affairs of their daily life and business. The Tenancy Law of Bengal recognised this Oriya year in vogue in Midnapur till the year 1928 when it was formally excluded from the new Tenancy Act of 1928. But the practice has not been affected thereby.

4. All ceremonies are performed by Oriya priests according to the practice in vogue in Orissa.

5. The Mitakshara law of inheritance in Orissa is followed in the area. The Bengal law is different, being Dayabhag. It has, however, to be noted that in some rare cases parties to law suits, taking advantage of the law of presumption set up Dayabhag to advance their self-interest and have been adjudged as such.

6. Horoscopes, which, among the Hindus, are the birth registers, are maintained in the Oriya language and script and on palm leaves in the manner and style prevailing in Orissa.

7. In the area Oriya festivals are observed notwithstanding close association with Bengal for such a long period. A few of these are Gahma Purnima, Gonesh Chaturthi, Sathi Osha, Kumar Purnima, Paya Shradha, Prathamastami, Magusir, Gurbar, Sambar Dasami, Sudasa Brata, Baula Amabasya, Chaita Sankaramti, Indra Dwadasi and Chitau Amabasya, etc.

8. On the occasion of every ceremony a declaration in Sanskrit, called Sankalpa, has to be made. In that Sankalpa the country of which the particular locality is a part has to be mentioned. In the area in question every locality is described to be a part of Orissa or Utkal Desh.

9. The old pattas are in Oriya script and language ; also the old records of Zamindary Sheristha were kept in Oriya.

10. Zamindary Sheristha used to be kept in Oriya, but according to the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885 this practice gradually died out giving place to Bengalee.

11. Special Oriya land tenures, *e.g.*, Mohatran, Babuana, Paikanachankran, Ghatoyali, etc., are found in this area.

12. The constitution of villages is again another point in proof of the theory that Midnapur is part of Orissa. At page 70 of the Gazetteer, mention has been made of the custom of heredity and primogeniture in succession to village offices in Midnapur, so peculiar to the Oriya country. The custom of heredity was given up by the authors of the permanent settlement in Bengal but the Government soon realised their mistake and passed the Bengal Inheritance Regulation No. X of 1800 to prevent the division of landed estates in the Jungle Mahals of the Zilla of Midnapur and other Districts. In Midnapur we find the village purohit (priest), the village astrologer, the village barber, the village sorcerer, as also the village Pradhan (head) on the lines of the village organisation in Orissa as also in other Oriya-speaking tracts. The customs of the villagers as described at pages 73 and 74 of the Midnapur District Gazetteer go to prove beyond all doubt that the country, the people, the system of village administration, as also the manners and customs of the villagers are Oriya. Sir William Hunter cites a number of festivals besides the Oriya almanac in support of his statement that Midnapur is an Oriya country.

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

The ancient manuscript record of Orissian History written in palm leaves and kept in the Jagannath Temple at Puri, commonly known as the Madla or Mandala Panji, goes to show that in the reign of Hindu kings of Orissa Midnapur was divided into 6 Dandaparts (Sub-districts) which approximately correspond to the area hereinbefore referred to as South-West Midnapur. Dandapart Maljhatia, i.e., the Contai Sub-division (including Thana Nandigram which was formerly in Contai but now in Tamluk) was ruled by Gopinath Bara Jena, brother of the famous Ramananda Ray, as Viceroy of the Orissa king in the 16th century. The salt revenue collected from Maljhatia used to be paid to Lord Jagannath of Puri. A Dandapart was again subdivided into some Bisis, i.e., Parganas, called Chor or Mutha or Bhum. Still to-day there are many parganas in the South-West Midnapur bearing the title of Chor, Mutha and Bhum, as for example, Kakra chor, Dantan chor, Naranga chor, Turka chor, Balisita chor, etc., Majanamutha, Bahirimutha, Jalamutha, Dantamutha, Sujamutha, etc., and Brahmanbhum, Bagbhum Bhanjabhum, etc. Such divisions are also found in other Oriya tracts (*vide* Jogendra Nath Basu's History of Midnapur).

As regards geographical affinity of South-West Midnapur with Orissa we beg to point out that the area is part of Orissa, which consists of a hilly or rocky belt running from South to North on the West and a tract of flat country to the east bordering on the Bay of Bengal. In this respect it has nothing in common with Bengal which is a vast tract of flat country without the characteristic upland of Orissa and South-West of Midnapur. In this connection we refer only to two books, namely, Valentyn's Memoirs and Manmohan Chakravarty's Geography of Orissa.

The names of places, wherever they are after a vernacular language, are Oriya and not Bengalee, e.g., the place-suffix, Sahi, as in Hatsahi, Malisahi, Oriyasahi, Balisahi, etc., in Jhargram, Sadar, and Contai Sub-divisions. Names like Matihana, Telighana, Kanthara, and Kesari (a corrupt form of Kasiadih) are purely Oriya. The name 'Kanthi' (Contai) is of Oriya origin.

It means a place having Kanthas or walls which characterise a low lying area like Contai that had to be protected from rivers and even from the sea by means of embankments. The very name of river Haldi, the eastern boundary of South Midnapur, retains up to this day its Oriya peculiarity, as the Bengali synonym for turmeric is Halud or Horidra and not Haldi.

V. CENSUS NOTE.

We beg to point out that no reliance can be placed on the census figures in determining Oriya strength of this area. From the very conception of the proposal for the amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts and separation of Orissa from Bengal made in the year 1868 by the then Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Northcote, interested parties took time by the forelock and began their manifold operations to stifle any attempt either for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts or for the creation of a separate administration for the Oriyas. To show the number of Oriyas as small as possible in the census records was a very easy thing as the Oriyas were and still are nowhere in the field of administration to safeguard their interests.

A comparison, as given below, of the census figures for the last few decades will be very pertinent in this connection :—

Year.	Total population of the district.	Number of Oriya-speakers.	Percentage.
1871—1881	25,17,802	4,54,670	18
1882—1891	26,43,692	5,72,798	22
1891—1901	27,89,114	2,70,495	10
1901—1911	28,17,005	1,81,801	6½
1911—1921	26,66,660	1,42,107	5

In this table it is seen that the Oriyas increased by 4% in the decade ending 1891. But in the next decade the percentage went down abnormally. We have not to go far to find out the secret of this sudden fall. In the beginning of this century there was a very widespread movement for the amalgamation of the different Oriya-speaking tracts, which severely reacted on the Oriya figures of the District in 1901. The same thing was repeated in the census of 1911 just at the eve of the creation of the Province of Behar and Orissa in the same year. In 1891 there were 91,480 Oriyas out of 1,23,549, that is, 74% of the inhabitants in Dantan ; 96,287 out of 1,63,156, i.e., 59 per cent. in Gopiballabhpore (including Nayagram) and 57,292* out of 77,884, that is, 74 per cent. in Egra. In 1901 the percentage of Oriya-speakers in Gopiballabhpore was 60 but in 1911 it fell down to 38 and again rose to 55 in 1921. In Ramnagar the figure rose from 10 per cent. to 67 in 1911 but again came down to 0 in 1921. The Egra figure 74 per cent. of 1891 came down to 0 both in 1911 and 1921 while the Mohanpore figure, that is, 93 per cent. in 1911 remained almost the same, being 91 per cent. in 1921 (Census Report, 1901, Vol. VI, page 316 and Census Report, 1921, Vol I, page 314). This wonderful phenomenon speaks for itself. In 1891, 40 thousand Karans, who are undoubtedly Oriyas, were returned as Kayasthas (*vide* Census Report, 1901, Vol. VI, page 392). Nobody knows how many other Oriya castes were classed into corresponding Bengalee castes in 1901 and other censuses. The

Census Report of 1921 admits that there were some manipulations in the Oriya figures. In 1922 the Government of Bengal observed that the census figures for the Oriya-speaking people in Midnapur District could not be accepted as entirely reliable (Simon Report, Vol. IV, page 545). The Government of India also questioned the correctness of those figures (*ibid*, page 529). The census figures for 1931 are not yet available ; but we shall not be surprised, if the figures for Oriya-speaking people of the District show a complete landslide, this time, as the last census operation took place just after the conclusion of the first Round Table Conference in January 1931, where a resolution supporting the Oriya claim for a separate Province was unanimously adopted. Going back to the past, even the figures for 1891 were not correct. Oriyas were under-estimated also in that year. According to Dr. Grierson, O'Malley, and other authorities Oriya-speakers are found only in the south-west part of Midnapur, the healthiest portion of the district. Heavy increase of population in these parts has kept the population of the district steady.

Now, if we accept the 1891 figures as fairly correct and take all the above mentioned factors into consideration, the Oriya figures for South-West Midnapore, even on a moderate estimate, cannot be less than ten lacs. Again, if we count the number of Oriyas by their castes and peculiar surnames, we also get approximately the same results. Mr. H. V. Bayley, in his Memorandum of Midnapore, wrote in 1852 that the majority of the people of Midnapore were Oriya emigrants. " The Bengali emigrants appear evidently to form only a small proportion of the people from the great prevalence of Oriya family names among all classes of society, as Behara, Giri, Jana, Mahapatra, Mahikup, Mahanti, Panda, Pattanayak, etc." (*vide* O'Malley, page 56). Later on, however, taking advantage of the fact that the struggle for existence was not very keen in the District, many Bengalee immigrants came and settled there ; but their number in South-West Midnapore is very small and the vast majority of the people in this area are of Oriya origin.

It may be added that there are some castes in Midnapore, which are peculiar to Orissa and are not found in any other District of Bengal. For example, according to the Census of 1911, there were in the District 59,000 Rajus, 49,389 Karans, 39,895 Kandraas, 44,233 Bhumijas, 28,490 Suklis, 27,625 Kasthas and 37,375 Khandayats, besides Utkal Brahmins whose number was approximately one lakh. Some of these castes, such as, Rajus and Kasthas are to be found outside Midnapore only in the Balasore District of Orissa, whereas the other castes are scattered all over Orissa but are nowhere to be found in Bengal (*vide* Census Reports of 1901, 1911 and 1921 and O'Malley, pages 57 and 64-66). Regarding Suklis or Sulkis, reference is invited to R. D. Banerjee, Vol. I, pages 195-196.

In this connection reference may be made to the Mahisyas, who, according to Dr. Grierson, are Oriyas by race and language (*vide* Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V, Part I, page 106). They were Kaibartas but changed their name into Mahisya in 1901 (*vid*: O Malley page 58).

VI. FINANCIAL NOTE.

The financial position of the area is not available to us at present. It is, however, apparent that the administrative expenditure will be covered by MC1620C(WOP)

the receipts. It is contended that the Orissa Province will not be financially self-supporting. This contention has been examined and found to be incorrect. On the other hand, there are facts to show that the financial position will be satisfactory. Even the Attlee Committee expressed this view. Moreover, in the federal system of Government, where the Provincial legislature will have full powers over expenditures, it will not be impossible to adjust the expenditures in accordance with the revenues. It will not be out of place to point out in this connection that when a separate province is formed, there will be no disturbance in the economic and administrative features of the areas concerned.

CONCLUSION.

Under British rule Orissa has suffered immensely on account of her dismemberment. Her literature, one very rich, has made no advancement during the last century. She has been tacked to one province after another and has not been able to look after her economic interests. The consequence is poverty and repeated famine. In her present condition Orissa is only a dying province and if she has to be protected from death and extinction, she should be constituted into a separate province with all outlying areas without further delay and further allowing her degeneration.

APPENDIX 3

A (2)

MEMORANDUM OF SINGBHM.

We, the undersigned residents of the District of Singbhum, accord a cordial welcome to you, the members of the Orissa Boundary Commission and heartily make the following submissions for your kind and careful considerations. We submit a bare outline of points in support of the claim that Singbhum should be included in the new Province of Orissa.

Historical.

1. In the *Pauranik* days the District of Singbhum formed a part of Utkal Desha. Skanda Paurana, Utkala Khanda, Ch. VI, 27th Sloka will bear testimony to the same. Kalidasha's Raghubansa, 4th Sarga, Slokas 36, 37 and 38 also show that Singbhum was included in Utkal.

2. *Sankalpa* with which begins every *Pujah* or other ceremonial rites of the Hindus throughout the District, conclusively establishes that Singbhum is a part of Utkala Desha. The Hindu while commencing each religious or social ceremony, begins his *Sankalpa* in the following words:—

(Vernacular—not printed), etc.

Translation.—"On this earth in the Jambu island in Bharatvarsha the land of Bharata, in Utkala Desha, etc."

3. In Copper Deposit of Singbhum, Geological Survey of India, Vol. III, page 93, Dr. Stoeckh, an eminent mineralogist, writes:—"It seems to me however certain that the present half wild inhabitants are not in a condition to carry out such works, and this may be the relics of an ancient civilization,

like the rock-temples of neighbouring Orissa", and thereby suggests affinity of Singbhum with Orissa in the matter of past civilization.

4. Sterling in his *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, Ch. V. in 1825 gives an account geographical, statistical and historical of Orissa proper and shows from translations of Persian statements that in the Province of Orissa were included Singbhum and Ghatsila Zamindaries.

5. R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, Ch. I also includes Dhalbhum and Singbhum in Orissa as part of Highlands of Orissa called Khinjali in ancient times.

6. Rai Monomohan Chakravarti Bahadur in his 'Notes on the Geography of Orissa' in the 16th century writes that the general name Bisi for an administrative Sub-division was sometimes changed to 'Bhum' as revealed in 'Madlapanji'. Hence Singbhum and Dhalbhum having 'Bhum' as their suffix were historically administrative Sub-divisions of Orissa from the Hindu period.

The District of Singbhum is constituted by three Sub-divisions which originally formed parts of separate administrative units and were tacked together as administrative exigencies required their union gradually. They are Kolahan, Porahat and Dhalbhum.

Porahat—historically a part of Orissa. The Raja of Porahat was originally called the Raja of Singbhum. Speaking of the Raja Jagannath Sing of Singbhum, George Vansittart, the Resident of Midnapore, wrote in December 1767 to Verelst, the Head of the Government in Calcutta, "the Raja is by marriage a distant relation of Sambalpoore Raja; there is a constant correspondence between the two districts and an uninterrupted intercourse of merchants". Practically all the Kshatriya Rulers and Zamindars of Singbhum including Seraikella and Kharswan are descendants of the same parent stock of the Raja of Porahat which is pre-eminently an Oriya Raj family.

Sterling in his account of Orissa proper or Cuttack in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, Ch. V, 1825, mentions several Samanta Rajas ruling over the whole of Orissa amongst which is included the Raja of Mayurbhanj and Singbhum as shown as dependant Chief of Mayurbhanj Zamindar. Porahat was the dominion of Oriya Raja Arjun Sing who remained independent of the British Rule till the beginning of 19th century. The Raja of Seraikella owns the Zemindary of Keraikella and the Raja of Kharswan owns 4 villages in the 'Sadant Pirs' of Chakradharpore.

Kolahan.—The area known as Kolahan estate is only of recent origin representing the present Khasmahal of Government, which like the Khandmahals of Orissa, has been carved out of the neighbouring Feudatory States and Porahat estate. Four 'Pirs', e.g., (1) Lalgah Pir, (2) Aunla Pir, (3) Thai Pir, (4) Bharraria Pir, were made over by Jadunath Bhanj, Maharaja of Mayurbhanj, during the Kol Rebellion between the years 1830-34 (Orissa Feudatory State's Gazetteer, Mayurbhanj portion, page 239).

Of the present Kolhan 25 Pirs, 16 northern Pirs belonged originally to Porahat, 4 to Mayurbhanj State and 1 to Kharswan State and 4 to Seraikella State (Singbhum District Gazetteer, page 46).

The various Garhs (Killas) such as Jayantigarh, Lalgah, Kotgarh, etc., in the heart of Kolahan also bear ample testimony to the fact that it was an Oriya country.

Dhalbhum.—Rai Jogesh Chandra Bose Bahadur in his history of Midnapore, Ch. I, concludes that the 'Udradesha' consisted of the modern Chotanagpore Division, Feudatory States of Mayurbhanj and Keonjha, the western portion of Midnapore district and the southern portion of Bankura district. Subsequently the 'Udradesha' was co-extensive with and became known as Utkaladesha.

F. G. Pargiter, Esq., I.C.S., also supports this view in J. R. A. S., Vol. LXVI, Parts I and II, where he says that the Udra in ancient time consisted of the western part of Midnapore, the eastern part of Singhbhum, the modern district of Manbhum and perhaps the southern portion of Bankura.

Both the above-mentioned historians mention Chotanagpore Division including Dhalbhum and the eastern part of Singhbhum (present Pargana Dhalbhum) as parts of Udra Desha which became known as Utkal Desha in the latter period of history.

Rai Monomohan Chakravarti Bahadur in his 'Notes on the Geography of Orissa in XVIth century' published in J. A. S. B., Vol. XII, 1916, mentions the boundary of Sarkar Jaleswar as follows:—"On the south from *Kasabasa* river it extended first north-east and then north until the river Bhagirathi and Rupnarayan were reached; and then on the north it was bounded roughly by 'Palashpai' 'Khal' and the 'Salai' river, while the western boundary was ill-defined consisting of jungle mahals. The Sarkar thus comprised north Balasore, nearly the whole of Midnapore (except Hijli islands and the eastern half of Ghatal Sub-division) and small parts of the districts Bankura, Manbhum, Singhbhum and of the Mayurbhanj Tributary State." Dhalbhum was originally included in jungle mahals and as such was included in the Jaleswar Sarkar. Some part of Singhbhum also indicates the Pargana of Dhalbhum to have been included in Jaleswar Sarkar as no other portion of the Singhbhum district can form an adjoining tract with Midnapore, Bankura and Mayurbhanj State.

As already stated, Sterling mentions Ghatsila zamindary (now known as Dhalbhum) under the zamindar of Fatiabad in the Province of Orissa. Sterling also identifies the Ghatsila zamindary as the residence of Narsingarh zamindar.

Professor J. N. Sarkar in his 'Studies in the Moghul Empire (Orissa in the 17th century)', mentions Chitr swar Dhal, the zamindar of Ghatsila, as one of the Chiefs or Krushna Bhanja, the zamindar of Hariarpore now known as Mayurbhanj. The author remarks that Chitreswar Dhal, zamindar of Ghatsila, threw away his weapons and delivered himself up as a prisoner when Krushna Bhanja was slain.

In 1751 Alibardi Khan, the Nawab of Bengal, ceded the Province of Orissa retaining only the northern portion of it roughly demarcated by the river Subarnarekha which comprise the modern districts of Midnapore and Bankura and eastern portion of Singhbhum. When Lord Clive got the Dewanship of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Emperor of Delhi, he only got that power

in Orissa over the district of Midnapore, which was ceded to the British by Meer Kassim Ali Khan in 1760. The British army occupied Orissa in 1803 but the earlier Regulations, even the 1st Regulation, 1793 mentioned Orissa in them and this portion of Orissa was the district of Midnapore. In 1793 Dhalbhum was included in the district of Midnapore, which was known as Orissa in the Regulation of 1793.

The Pargana of Dhalbhum is mentioned by R. D. Banerji in 'History of Orissa', Vol. I, Ch. I, as part of Orissa. —

Dhalbhum was the first part of the district of Singbhum to be brought under British rule and was administered till 1833 from Midnapore known as Nabab's Orissa in the grant of Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa in 1765.

The Kabuliyat executed by Raja Baikunthanath Dhal in Persian language dated 15th December 1821 and the Kabuliyat of Raja Ram Chandra Dhal dated 27th August 1805 describe the Pargana of Ghatsila as part of Orissa.

The Kabuliyat of Chitreswar Dhal, II zamindar of Dhalbhum, to the British Government in 1829 conclusively shows that Dhalbhum was a part of Orissa. The English translation of the Kabuliyat runs as follows:—"I, Chitreswar Dhal, zamindar of Ghatsila * * * * * in the Thanadari of Balarampore, zilla Midnapore, Province Orissa * * * * *

The Commissioner of Chotanagpore Division in his judgment in Revenue Appeal No. 5 of 1887, dated 6th September 1887 finds "I think it is questionable whether Dayabhag is the 'Lexloci', for Dhalbhum was originally in Orissa where the Mitakshara Law prevails".

It may in the fitness of things be mentioned that Taraf Haludpukri which originally belonged to the Raja of Mayurbhanj was given to Raja of Dhalbhum of which it now forms a part (Feudatory States Gazetteer, Mayurbhanj portion, page 239).

Pargana Dhalbhum was permanently settled with the proprietor in 1800 who exercised police power under the Magistrate of Midnapore. In 1833 when the Jungle Mahals were broken up, Dhalbhum was transferred to Manbhum Division. In 1848 the pressure of Criminal work necessitated the transfer of Dhalbhum to Singbhum when it was placed under the Officer in charge of the Kolhan Government State.

Porahat was confiscated in 1858 on account of the rebellion of Arjun Singh and its Revenue administration was made over to the Board of Revenue in 1859, but it continued in other respects to be managed as a Tributary State. It was included in the Singbhum District by Act II of 1892.

Geographical Position.

The district is bounded on the east by Midnapore; on the south by the Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar and Bonai States; on the west by the Gangpur State and the district of Ranchi; and on the north by the Ranchi and Manbhum districts, by the Kharswan and Seraikella States which are wedged in between Singbhum and these two districts and by the Keraikela State which is held by the Raja of Seraikella (Singbhum District Gazetteer, page 2).

As we proceed to examine the boundary one by one, we find that the district is bounded almost on all sides by Oriya-speaking tracts or tracts included in old Orissa Province.

The Atlee Sub-committee concludes "The Orissa Feudatory States which are not part of British India should be brought into relationship with any administration set up for Orissa. When we examine the boundary areas of the district we find the Orissa Feudatory States of Gangpur, Bonai, Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Seraikella and Kharswan form most of the boundaries.

The Thana of Gopiballavpur in Bengal lies in the eastern boundary but the Thana has been declared by the Simon Commission to be a purely Oriya area and has been recommended to be included in the new Province of Orissa.

The Parganas of Barabhum and Patkum in Manbhum forming the northern boundary of the district are Oriya areas formerly included in Orissa.

Sterling, in his *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV, asserts that the northern boundary of Orissa "extended from a line drawn from Tribeni Ghat above Hughli through Bistupur to the frontier of Patkum on the north".

Sterling, in his geographical, historical and statistical account of Orissa proper published in *Asiatic Research* of 1825, Vol. XV, Chapter V, describes Barabhum as a part of Orissa inasmuch as its Zamindar has been shown as a dependant Chief under the Zamindar of Mayurbhanj.

Rai Bahadur Monomohan Chakravarty in his 'Notes on Geography of Orissa in 16th Century' on the basis of Aini shows Barabhum to be a Mahal under Jaleswar Sarkar included in Orissa.

The geographical position of the district clearly indicates that the district is surrounded on all sides by Orissa Feudatory States and areas which historically formed parts of Orissa and which might under a different scheme be more naturally united with Orissa.

So the geographical position of the district tends towards inclusion of the district in Orissa and not its exclusion.

Communications.

Geographically Singbhum is much more conveniently connected by road communications with Orissa than with any other Provinces. Singbhum is really a mere continuation of Oriya-speaking tracts in the south. If the presence of native States be considered a hindrance then how has it been possible to administer Dhalbhum and Chainbassa under one administration which are intervened by Seraikella and Kharswan? Now after the completion and opening of the Burabalang bridge at the Fulari Ghat, direct road communication of Singbhum district *via* Baripada in Mayurbhanj State with Balasore district has been opened. Even under old order of things, direct road communication with Orissa was available through Keonjhar. Even if the minimum area including the thanas of Gopiballavpur and Mohanpur be added to Orissa as recommended by the Simon Commission, Singbhum will be directly connected with Orissa through British Territories. It is not connected with Behar as "it is separated by a great belt of mountains and rivers over which the Government has not been able to carry a railway". The rail-

way communication between the district and other parts of Orissa will also be greatly increased by joining the Rupsa-Talbandh line with the Tata-Gorumahisani branch of the B. N. Railway.

The situation and river system of the district at once show that the economic well-being of thousands in Orissa depends on the forest policy of the district. The economical unity of Singbhum with Orissa dates from very early times. George Vansittart writing about Singbhum in 1767 says, "The Raja of Singbhum (now Porahat) is by marriage a distant relation of Sambalpur Raja, there is a constant correspondence between the two districts and an uninterrupted intercourse of merchants". The very existence and importance of Jamshedpur is mainly due to the supply of iron ores from Gorumahisani mines of Mayurbhunj and the manganese deposits of the Gangpur States. Its labour supply from outside the district is also greatly from the neighbouring Orissa Feudatory States. As such, Orissa has more equitable claims over Jamshedpur than any other Province. The same railway line runs through Singbhum, Gangpur, and Sambalpur making them one compact from the economic and industrial point of view. The figures of emigration and immigration further strengthen the fact of Singbhum's economic unity with Orissa.

The last though of utmost importance within the district is the great industrial town of Jamshedpur. Jamshedpur market provides a good field for all sorts of industrial and economic development of the local produce which practically does not satisfy the demands of Jamshedpur. Since the opening of the railway lines up to the Gorumahisani and Badumpahar and Amda-Jamda section, the trade connections of the district with Mayurbhunj and Keonjhar have considerably increased. The internal trade is carried on mostly by bullock carts along the main roads in large *Hats* and weekly markets at Chaibassa, Chakradharpur, Jaintgarh, Jagannathpur, Tatanagar, Kotbari, Manaharpur, Baharagorah, Narsingarh and Haludpukur, which attract a large number of venders and purchasers from Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj.

Linguistic Grounds.

John Beams in his Comparative Grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India, Vol. I, writes, "But when the case of Oriya comes to be considered, it must be remembered that it is spoken not only by five millions in the settled and civilised districts of the sea-coast, but by an uncounted and widely dispersed mass of wild tribes in the vast tracts of mountains which cover hundreds of miles inland and extend as far west as Nagpur and as far south as Telingan. In these regions it is rapidly supplanting the old non-Aryan dialects and from its having absorbed into itself much of the non-Aryan element, it affords a far better medium of civilization than Bengali. Moreover it is far beyond the power of the handful of English and Bengalis settled in Orissa to stamp out the mother tongue of all these millions and it may be added that any forcible measures of repression would be entirely foreign and repugnant to the spirit of our policy". At page 105, the same author writes, "From the Subarnarekha all down the coast to Puri the ordinary Oriya is spoken with hardly any perceptible differences. The people of the Hill States, however, speak

with a clear distinct utterance which contrasts pleasingly with the low mutterings and indistinct articulation of the plains".

With this introduction from such an authority as John Beams, Esq., it now becomes easy to understand how the Hos who form the largest single group of the population of the district have natural aptitude for the Oriya language and this is also borne out by the Government of India Despatch No. 6378, dated 3rd December 1903, Home Department, Public, to the Government of Bengal wherein it is stated, "In that district (Singbhum) 2,35,000 people speak a Munda language named 'Ho' which in course of time will give place to Oriya".

Barring the aboriginal population of the district, the Oriya-speaking people form the majority of the population in this district and this is so throughout in all the Censuses of 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931.

Verily, therefore, Dr. Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India observes, "Oriya is also the language of the most of the district of Singbhum belonging to the Division of Chotanagpur and several neighbouring States which fall politically within the same Division". Evidently Dr. Grierson has been misled with regard to his views about the eastern portion of the district.

Even in 1919 Mr. A. Garret, I.C.S., the then Deputy Commissioner of Singbhum in his letter No. 57-T.C., dated Chaibassa, the 1st and 10th March 1919 writes, 'That Porahat and Dhalbhum are essentially Oriya, when they are not aboriginal is undeniable; that Oriya is not taught in the school of these Estates is a great wrong to the people concerned'. He further writes, 'Every argument that has been used for the non-teaching of the Oriya language in these tracts is based on the effects of the wrong that has been done in the past and is still being perpetuated'. He further states, 'It is of course a farce to expect the Oriyas to start schools of their own for a probationary period in order to qualify for departmental aid and support. Apart from the other considerations, such enterprise demands initiative which is the last attribute of the Oriyas for reasons that account for their own continued deterioration even under British Administration. It is almost unnecessary for me to produce the evidence of the almost universal Bengali monopoly everywhere in this district'.

The Hon'ble Mr. B. Foley, I.C.S., Commissioner of the Chota Nagpur Division in his No. 868-J., dated Ranchi, the 26th March 1919, to the Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa, Judicial Department, writes, 'On the other hand when touring through the west of Dhalbhum, Kolhan, Seraikella and Kharswan, I have always been struck with the Oriya look of the villages. The houses seem to be built in the same way as in Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and the Orissa Tributary States'. The said Commissioner further states, 'It is, I believe, true that the Bengali element has undue influence in Singbhum, but I believe the same thing will be found in a less degree in Cuttack, Balasore, and Puri. If it is desired to exclude Bengalis as much as possible and give more power to the Oriyas, it would seem advisable that Singbhum should be transferred to the Orissa Division'.

Let us compare the numerical strength according to Census figures of 1921 of the people speaking different languages in the Singbhum district:

Ho	262,543
Oriya	140,821
Bengali	123,007
Santali	85,350
Hindi	53,969
Mundari	38,633
Bhumij	27,187
Oraon	8,056

The population of the district (1921) is 759,438. Hindi speakers form only 7 per cent. of the district thus ruling out the possibility of its inclusion in Behar. As regards the Bengalis, if we omit the floating population of the Jamshedpur town (57 thousands in 1921) they hardly count in the permanent population which is made up of the Ho, Oriya and Santal speakers as their percentage comes to 8.7.

As regards Ho speakers who constitute about 34 per cent. of the district, they are found practically only in Singbhum and the adjoining Feudatory States of Orissa so that unless it is contemplated to carve out an impossible province out of the Kolhan which is mostly Ho country, the district as a whole should come into the future Orissa. Here is the distribution of the Ho speakers in the entire Province of Behar and Orissa which speaks for itself. It will be found there are Ho-speakers only in Singbhum district and the Orissa Feudatory States adjoining it:

	Number of Ho speakers.
Singbhum district	262,543
Manbhum and Hazaribagh districts in the Chotanagpur Division	251
Cuttack, Sambalpur and Angul districts in Orissa Division	729
Orissa Feudatory States including Seraikella and Kharswan	181,532

As far as the Hos as a race are concerned, they are not to be found residing in any other part of Chotanagpur in a considerable number except in Singbhum; whereas they abound in the Orissa Feudatory States surrounding Kolhan. In these States, namely, Mayurbhanj, Gangpur, Bonai, Keonjhar, Seraikella and Kharswan, the Hos are being civilised through the medium of Oriya and the Government in their anxiety to concede special-favoured-treatment to the Hos in those Agency areas, do not find it objectionable to educate them in Oriya. These political States are recommended by the Simon Commission to be put under any administration set up for Orissa. It would be in the interest of the Hos as a race to be put together under one and the same administration, that of Orissa and the Hos of Kolhan be allowed to form one natural compact with the Hos of these Orissa States.

Since the dawn of any Aryan civilization amongst the Hos, they have all along familiarised themselves with the only Aryan race, their Oriya neighbours, the Oriya Tantis (weavers), Gours and Kumhars (potters). Almost each Ho village throughout Kolhan is characteristically inhabited by the Oriya Tanti, the Oriya Gour, the Oriya Kumhars and the Oriya Blacksmiths who live side by side with the Hos and both the communities know and are familiar with the language spoken by each other.

The Hindi language, unlike Oriya does not at all fit in with the rural and social life of the Ho community and their children or the adults are never accustomed to Hindi in their ordinary ways of village life. The effect of their forced education in Hindi for more than half a century has been equally disappointing. Very few of the Ho community residing in the interior beyond 10 Sq. miles round Chaibassa town know Hindi. Every Government official who has come in contact with Kolhan and who has known Oriya, has been impressed with the idea that the Hos can freely talk in Oriya and they know it familiarly as a medium of conversation. The Ho boy can easily adapt himself to the Oriya language in school as natural and social life already makes him familiar with it as a medium of conversation with the Oriya children and neighbours. Experience and experiment also prove this as we saw in the case of the introduction of the Oriya among the Khonds in Angul where in the course of a few years a Khond boy was found to write a better composition in Oriya than an Oriya boy reading in the same Oriya Primary school. Experienced officers of Government are of opinion that the same success may be well found out in Kolhan.

The Census report of 1901 said—"Oriya is spoken over the greater part of Singhbhum. As late as 1851 attempts were made to introduce Bengali throughout Singhbhum though the only persons who understood Bengali were a few Mukhtears from Purulia in Manbhum and about a hundred dealers who came to trade in Tassar silk".

Page 201.—"Goalas of Singhbhum refused Bengali to be thrust down their throat in 1871",—Singhbhum District Gazetteer, page 59. Hindi is taught to the Hos of Kolhan but they do not seem to be favourably disposed towards it, for "few of the Mankis and Mundas who have learnt Hindi are trusted by their ryots".—Bengal District Gazetteer, page 82.

The map of the areas of Oriya-speaking tracts published at the end of the second volume of the Simon Report shows that there are areas in Singhbhum where Oriya population borders on 50 per cent.

In this connection it is of interest to refer to the distribution of the Oriya population in the District as given in the Census Report of 1921. Therein it is stated, "The Oriya speakers are found in the greatest density in the west of the district in Baharagora Police Station; from that point a belt of mixed population, which includes a fair proportion of Oriyas, stretches up north and west to the two Chotanagpore States where the intelligentsia are Oriyas and the State records are maintained in Oriya. Further west, the large village of Kera which is the headquarters of the Thakur of Kera is purely Oriya and Oriyas are found further west again in the estate of the Thakur of Anandpur. Oriya Goalas are also found in considerable numbers in the Pirs in the south

of the Kolhan, where they have worked their way along the valley of the Baitarani River from the States of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. In further support of the findings of the Simon Commission, we may quote the following passages from the Log Book of Baharagora M. E. School started in 1865 in Dhalbhum where a Bengali Headmaster in tracing the origin and history of the institution remarks, "Before 1862 it may be said Bengali was practically unknown in these villages, then the people spoke in Oriya and the boys learnt Oriya in Oriya Pathshalas. In 1865 a Bengali Pathshala was established at Bahargurah and Babu Khetramohan Rai appointed its teacher".

Bengali has been taught to the Santals of Dhalbhum for more than half a century and yet we do not find them much progressing in education.

The language of the Hos, Santals and Mundas belongs to the Munda branch of the Austro-Asiatic family but Oraons of Ranchi speak a Dravidian language.

Mr. B. C. Mazumdar in his book "Aborigines of Central India" has found that the Sabars should be linked with the Kol (Hos) people. This has been the opinion of all leading ethnologists. Sabars as a race are to be found only in Orissa an Agency tract. "The Sabars and the people of their sub-sections speak Oriya but have retained in their language many words (specially those which are used on ceremonial occasions) which are of the Kolarian language, this fact may be easily detected by examining the speech of the Sabars of Ganjam. Though in ceremonial matters the Sabars differ much to-day from the Kol people, I am strongly inclined to hold that once there was no ethnic difference between them."—Page 14.

In 1803, when the Hos entered into an agreement with the British Government, they stipulated 'that they would encourage their children to learn Oriya or Hindi tongue'. They naturally gave their first choice or preference to the Oriya tongue as it was the only Aryan language spoken by them freely in the rural areas. They had given their second choice to Hindi as the seat of Government being at Hazaribagh, administration was carried on in Hindi.

So when linguistic grounds are reviewed, it is seen Oriya has a greater chance of natural adaptation by the Hos and Kols of Singbhum who should be linked ethnologically with the Sabars to be found only in Orissa as has been the opinion of all the leading ethnologists.

The Raja of Porahat has always been an Oriya Raja and before the advent of Hindi, Oriya was freely used in the State records.

The Zamindar of Dhalbhum (Ghatsila) was a dependent Chief under the Zamindar of Mayurbhanj and one finds that the zamindari records were kept in Oriya up till 1862.

That the State records of Dhalbhum Raj were formerly in Oriya may be noticed from the following time-honoured custom of the Dhalbhum Raj Sherista. On the day of *Sunia* in Dhalbhum the first realisation of the State revenue is entered in Oriya character in a palm-leaf by some member of the Adhikary family of Kokpara. This entry in palm leaf is even now strictly made with a *lekhan* (a pen of steel) made to write Oriya on palm-leaf. The

Raja of Dhalbhum kept the zamindary papers in Oriya until Bengali was forced as the court-language by the Government.

Ethnologists have shown by linguistic evidence the influence of Oriyas upon the Kols in contrast with the influence of the Hindi-speaking people upon them. The Hindi-speaking people of the United Provinces or of Bihar (but not the people of Orissa) are still designated as foreigners by the term 'Deswali' in Ranchi and its neighbourhood. The Kols have been since very long time on the frontier of Orissa.

Ethnologists assert very distinctly that it will be very wrong to associate the Kols (Hos) with those who are designated Dravidians whom the Kols have always avoided in their social or political relation. Singhbhum District Gazetteer, page 70—"The only persons of alien race they tolerate and so far as suits their own convenience, associate with, are the Tantis (weavers), Goalas (herdsmen), potters and blacksmiths who ply their respective trades for the benefit of the community (Ho). But these people must learn their language and generally conform to their customs." This shows how the Oriyas are socially congenial to the Ho community whereas they rigidly avoid any other settlers in Kolhan.

We can get an idea of the culture of the Santals and Hos of Singhbhum by examining their languages. They have not only borrowed some Aryan words but have adopted some Oriya suffixes. The suffix 'Re' to indicate locative case and at times to indicate instrumental case, is rather in universal use among the Santals of Dhalbhum and Hos of Singhbhum. The forms 'Enamente' (therefore) and 'Chinamente' (for what reason) of Santals, Mundas and Hos of Singhbhum have evidently been coined by adopting the expressions 'E-nimante' (for this reason) and 'Ki-nimante' (for what reason). In some case they use Oriya adjectives to express the difference of gender; e.g., a 'merom' is a he-goat while 'penthimerom' is she-goat; the adjective 'penth' is used in Oriya for she-goats. 'Lakha' to signify like that is now in use in Oriya exactly as it is in Kolarian. 'Lugri' to signify cloth in Santali language has been coined after 'Luga', the Oriya substitute for cloth. The use of 'Alo' and 'Lo' is also an important point to note; for the participles are not Hindi but are of Oriya origin. A tank or pond which is 'Pukhri' in Oriya is in use among the Santals and Hos exactly after Oriya pronunciation. Baldness of head is denoted as 'Chadra' by Hos and Santals; the Oriya word to denote the same thing is 'Chadra'. The rice called 'Chauli' by the Santals and Hos is wholly in Oriya form. The following names of trees are peculiar to Oriyas and are not known elsewhere among the people of Aryan culture. The Kols have adopted them in the very names, they are 'Char', 'Sahaj' and 'Kendu'. The word 'Kendu' (*Diospyros Embuopteria*) however has been used in Orissa even in Sanskrit composition and on that account this name unknown elsewhere has got a place in Sanskrit lexicon. As 'Kendu' denotes trees of blackwood, the word 'Kende' denotes black in Ho speech; 'Kende' is pronounced as 'Hende' in Santal speech. Use of many other words and forms could be cited, but the above examples clearly show the influence of Oriya culture on the Santals of Dhalbhum and Hos of Singhbhum.

Composition of Population.

The population of Kolhan consists mainly of the Hos. 'Each Ho village is universally inhabited by the Oriya Tanties who wove cloth for their Ho brothers, by the Oriya Kumhars who supplied the potteries for cooking foods, and by the Oriya Gours and Kumhars or Blacksmiths who showed the Hos advanced mode of social and civilised life. Oriyas formed an integral part of the village organisation of Singbhum.' Goalas, Bhuiyans and Gonds are the old Dikkus of Kolhan. All the functional castes of Ho villages who are Oriya, speak Ho in addition to Oriya. (Kolhan Settlement Report, 1913-1918, pages 23 and 24.) There were in 1921 in Kolhan, Chakradharpore, Ghatsila and Manoharpur, 64,424 (23·15), 24,495 (22·16), 40,318 (12·6) and 11,428 (21·07) Oriyas respectively. (Census Report, Vol. VII, page 212.) Oriya Goalas and Bhuiyans are Khutkattidars in 14 villages; they have proved their claim as first settlers in Kolhan. There are also two Bhuiyan Lakhirajdars. There are 3 Oriya Mankis and 80 Oriya Mundas in the whole of Kolhan.

Porahat consists of Porahat proper, Kera, Bandhgaon, Anandpur. The main population of Porahat is composed of Gours, Tantis, Bhuiyans, Kurmis and Kumhars, etc., who are Oriyas and Hos and Mundas who are aborigines.

Dhalbhum contains the aboriginal tribes such as Santals and Kharias and Hindus such as Brahmins, Karans, Khandayets, Dhobas, Bhandaries, Bhuiyans, Bhumijas, Kumhars, Gours, Goalas, Gahalas, Telis, Rajus, Keots, Malas, Gandhabanikas, Sabaras, Tantis, etc. By closer examination each of these Hindu tribes will be found to have been Oriya by race.

The population of the whole district shows that the Hos of Kolhan and Santals of Dhalbhum have greater social relationship and social and linguistic affinity with their castemen of the neighbouring Orissa States whereas the non-aboriginal population is predominantly Oriya by race and Oriya speaking.

Race and Caste.

The different sections of the aborigines of Singbhum are Hos, Mundas, Santals and Khereas. The Tamarias are a branch of the Bhumijas.

The strongest claim of Orissa to Singbhum lies in the fact of Orissa's and Oriyas' intimate relation with the Hos as a race.

Hos have practically no member to represent them in Ranchi, Manbhum, etc. Out of total Ho population of 440,176, 257,473 Hos live in Singbhum; nearly half of the entire Ho population live outside Singbhum mostly in Orissa Native States. Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar which adjoin Kolhan contain 85,784 and 46,154 Hos respectively. The Census Report of 1881 found 104,249 emigrants from Singbhum district in the neighbouring States of Chotanagpur which at that time included Gangpur, Bonai, etc.; besides Seraikella and Kharswan. The Census Report of 1911 complained, 'there is increasing influx of new-settlers into the Feudatory States to which Ranchi and Singbhum in the north and Sambalpur to the south-east have contributed altogether 1,45,000. Gangpur and Mayurbhanj give most. Only Mayurbhanj gained 26,000 emigrants from Singbhum, 39,000 went to Gangpur from Ranchi. Two-fifth of the emigrants from Singbhum have made their way to Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. In

1921, 39,782 people born in Singbhum were enumerated in Orissa States and 6,860 in Seraikella and Kharswan; whereas the number of such people in Ranchi, Palamau and Manbhum was 94,224 and 2,448 respectively.

Emigration figures quoted above do not show any inclination on the part of Hos as a race to go to the north. Another point in favour of bringing the Ho population into political relationship with Orissa is that Hos as a race are separate from the rest of the aborigines of Chotanagpore.

The Mundas of Singbhum are linguistically and racially more intimate with the Hos than with the Oraons of Ranchi. Mundas abound greatly in Sambalpur which is declared to have been the original home land of the Mundas as a race.

Santals are mainly found in Dhalbhum and number about 50 per cent. of its population.

The Santals of Dhalbhum and Bhumijas are mostly connected by marriage ties with their caste-men of Mayurbhanj State. They are apt to learn any language they are taught. In Dhalbhum Santals talk in Oriya with their Oriya neighbours. The Santals and Bhumijas have adopted Oriya festivities and *parbas* throughout the year. They observe the following Oriya festivals throughout Dhalbhum in addition to their own Santali festivals:

(1) *Ratha Jatra*, (2) *Gamha Purnima*, (3) *Chitau Amabashya*, (4) *Indrajatra*, (5) *Makar Parba*, (6) *Chaitra Sankranti*. These festivals are purely Oriya festivals and show that they have long been under the influence of the Oriya Rajas and Oriya neighbours.

Most of the emigration of Santals take to Mayurbhanj where they take jungles for clearing purposes and settle permanently. Settlement Report of Kolhan (1913-18) states that Gonds, Oriya Goalas, Bhuiyans are recognised as old Dikkus, i.e., old settlers and enjoy the same land rights as the Hos. All the functional castes like Kamars, Magadha Goalas, Kumhars and Tantis live amongst the Hos and speak Oriya in addition to Ho. Gonds are peculiar to Orissa. Bhumijas are also old Dikkus and demand their right to offer Tikka to the Raja of Porahat. The Bhumijas are the original settlers of Singbhum. It is an Oriya race and abundantly found in Orissa.

The Bhumijas were the original settlers in Dhalbhum and they were the ruling power of the land. They are found mostly in Oriya-speaking tracts, as the Census Report of 1921 shows, some of them being present in Manbhum where there are also some Oriyas. The District Gazetteer of Singbhum shows their connection with the Dhal Rajas of Dhalbhum who are Oriya Kshetriyas as Dhal Kshetriyas are to be found in Orissa as Raja of Dompura in Orissa. Bhumijas should be taken as Oriyas by race as they are abundantly found in Orissa and observe the peculiar Oriya social customs and religious festivals in Singbhum.

The Hindu caste in Kolhan such as Gonds, Tantis, Kumhars, Kamars Bhuiyans all are Oriyas by tribe and race. The Hindu caste of Dhalbhum such as Brahmins, Karans, Gandas, Goalas, Khandaits, Rajus, Keots, Dhobas, Bhandaries and Majhis are all Oriya castes and Oriya by race. Telis and

Goalas (Sadgops), the handful of whom pretend to be Bengalis, are really Oriyas by race.

Sadgops and Telis.—The head family of this caste, the Adhikari family of Kokpara in Dhalbhum has a time-honoured customary duty to attend the *Sunia* festival of Dhalbhum Raja and to enter the first realization of the State revenue in palm-leaf in Oriya. They are self-contained in Dhalbhum and have no ties of marriage in Bengal. They have accepted the Oriya Goswami Guru of Dhalbhum Raj as Guru. Their priest is an Oriya Brahmin. They observe all the Oriya festivals throughout the year.

The Sadgops locally known as Goalas have the same Goswami as Guru. They are related by ties of marriage not with any Sadgop family in Bengal but with the Goala family in Mayurbhanj State; unlike the Sadgops of Bengal they drive the ploughs and marry in Sanga form. They perform their *Sradha* on the 10th day from the death of the deceased.

All these Hindu castes are governed by the Mitakshara School of Hindu Law and not a single primitive Hindu family of the whole district of Singbhum who are the original settlers, is governed by the Dayabhag School of Bengal. These Hindu castes have their marriage connections with their castemen in Orissa.

Social Customs and Religious Rites.

Hos and Santals.—Their social customs and religious rites exactly tally with those of the Hos and Santals of Mayurbhanj and other Feudatory States of Orissa.

The Santals have adopted some Aryan religious festivals such as *Gamha*, *Chitau Amabashya*, *Indra Jatra*, *Makar Parba*, *Chaitra Sankranti* which are characteristics of Orissa.

The Oriya social customs generally observed by the Hindu castes of the district are :—

- (a) Marriage is performed by Oriya priest and *Kusandika Homa* is not performed the same day as in Bengal.
- (b) *Punarbibaha* or second marriage is observed when the girl attains puberty and is sent to the father-in-law's house where a *Homa* ceremony known as *Garbhadhana* is celebrated.
- (c) The *Sradha* is observed on the 10th day of a man's death unlike the 31st day as in Bengal.

The local festivals, such as *Gamah Purnima*, *Prathamastami*, *Chitau Amabashya*, are so widely observed as local festivals that primary schools under District Board are closed on that account.

Religious Rites.

(a) *Sudasa brata.*—Females worship Goddess Lakshmi on each Thursday provided it be *Sukla dasami*.

(b) *Gamha Purnima*—when all the non-Brahmin caste even the *Majhis* and *Bhumijas* of Dhalbhum wear sacred thread from the Brahmins. The *Telis* also observe these Oriya festivals universally. They even invite their sons-in-law as a special feature of this festival.

(c) *Chitau Amabashya*—is universally observed by the Hindu caste of the district.

(d) *Indra Jatra*—when the Raja worships the deity of Indra; the tenants join it.

(e) *Doorga Pujah*.—The Pujah is mostly observed at night unlike in Bengal where it is celebrated in the day time (no body wears new cloth as a customary rule as in Bengal).

(f) *Kumar Purnima*—when the bachelors are presented with new cloths.

(g) *Prathamastami*—when the eldest child is given a new cloth and a *Punjab* is observed.

(h) *Gurubar Osha*.—In the month of Agrahyn on the four Thursdays of the month the females worship the Goddess Lakshmi and fast in her pleasure.

(i) *Shamba Dasami*—when Dharma is worshipped and special Oriya cakes are presented as offerings.

(j) *Dashahara*.—A fasting in honour of Siva in the Bijaya Dasami day known as *Somenath brata*.

All the non-Brahmin castes have Oriya Karan Goswami as their Guru or family preceptor. All these castes observe their social ceremonies and religious rites by Oriya Brahmins who officiate as their priests and perform those observances in accordance with the *Mantras* written in Oriya palm-leaf books prevalent in Orissa. The Oriya Bhagabat of Jagannath Das is recited and worshipped in almost all Hindu homes as a sacred book of religion. It is worshipped even in almost all Gandhabarik, Teli and Sadgop families. The horoscopes are mostly written in Oriya and the 'Anka' of Gajapati, Raja of Puri, is universally given.

Zamindars and Land Tenures.

The Zamindar of Porahat is by marriage a distant relation of Sambalpore Raja; he is also connected with the Maharaja of Mayurbhanj by ties of marriage. He is an Oriya Raja. "The Rajas and Zamindars of Ranchi, Singhum and Bengali-speaking Manbhum are connected socially with the Oriya aristocratic families more than those of other provinces. Marriage alliances are made by them principally with the Oriya Rajas and Zamindars" (B. C. Mazumdar's 'Aborigines of Central India'). The Zamindars of Anandapore, Kera, Bandgaon are all descendants of the same parent stock of the Raja of Porahat who was an Oriya Raja. The Zamindars of Dhalbhum is an Oriya Kshetriya as Dhal Kshetriyas are found only in Orissa; he is also matrimonially connected with some of the Rajas and Zamindars of Orissa. These Zamindars observe the following Oriya festivals, namely, *Sunia* and *Gama* each year. They have Oriya priests and *Gurus* who perform the annual ceremonies, *Pujas*, marriages, *Sradhas* and other rites of the Raj-family according to *Mantras* prevalent in Orissa. The Oriya '*Sana*' which begins from the *Sunia* day is prevalent in their Raj-Sherista. The Vilayati year is in vogue in the district.

The Zamindar of Dhalbhum celebrates the worship of God 'Indra' on the '*Indrajatra*' day which is a special festival of the Oriya Rajas and the Zamindars. Even now after the introduction of Bengali into the Raj-Sherista

for more than sixty years. The Raja of Dhalbhum puts his signature in Oriya in the palm-leaf wherein the first realisation of the State revenue is ceremonially entered in Oriya.

All the Zamindars of Porahat, Dhalbhum, Kera, Anandapore, Chainpore and Bandgaon submitted a memorial to His Excellency Sir Edward Gait, K.C.I.E., I.C.S., Governor of Bihar and Orissa in 1916 wherein they declared themselves and their tenants to be Oriyas and prayed for the introduction of Oriya in the Courts and schools of Singbhum. The late proprietor Raja Satrugana Deo Dhubal Deb in his grounds of appeal to the Commissioner of Chotanagpur in Land Registration Case dated the 17th June 1887, made the following statement in Ground No. 7 :—" Long residence in lower Bengal has, as the Lower Court holds, caused a change in the governing law of the Raj family, but it overlooks the fact that Dhalbhum is not lower Bengal but forms a part of Orissa. That the masses speak and write Oriya. That the *Pandits' Shastras* are written in Oriya character. The Oriya or Vilayeti era prevails. The Brahmins are (with the exception of emigrant from Bengal proper) of the Utkala or Oriya order or *Shreni* (and not of Rarha *Shreni* or Barendra *Shreni* as lower Bengal) and governed by the Mitakshara Law."

All the Zamindars are governed by the Mitakshara Hindu Law. The family *Gurus* and priests are Oriyas. Almost all the Brahmotter and Mahatran grants are in favour of Oriya Brahmins and Karans. The old Sherista of Dhalbhum was kept in Oriya and maintained by Patnaiks of Karan castes. Hence we read of a Patnaiki *dasturi* in vogue in the Pergunnah during the reign of Chittreswar Dhal. The Mahapatra zamindar of Chainpur is a descendant of Bhuiyan family who possesses the hereditary right of giving 'Tilak' to the Raja of Porahat. The Bhuiyan zamindar is undoubtedly an Oriya zamindar. The 'Pir' of Keraikella was gifted to the Raja of Seraikella and four villages of Sadanta 'Pir' in Porahat to the Raja of Kharswan by the Government. The Lakhrajdar of Manoharpur was a distant relative of the Raja of Porahat.

There are *Shashanas* in Dhalbhum granted by the Raja and they are peculiar to Orissa. There is the 'paika' system of militia in Porahat and Dhalbhum. Headmen in Porahat are known by the name of 'Pradhans'. In Manoharpur they are known as 'Thikadars' and are mostly 'Gonds'; village Headmen of Dhalbhum are 'Pradhans'.

The division (of Kolhan and Porahat) into 'Pirs' is in vogue in the Orissa Feudatory States of Seraikella, Kharswan and Mayurbhunj, etc.

'Madla Panji' reveals that the basic unit of administration was the 'gaon' or village which had a headman 'Pradhan' through whom revenue was collected and order maintained. Even to this day the 'Pradhani' system is in vogue in Orissa and in Orissa Feudatory States. There are Khorposh and Chakran grants and Babuana, Brahmotter, Debotter and Mahatran grants in Dhalbhum and Porahat all peculiarly Oriya tenures.

The 'Khuntkatti' right is prevalent throughout the district. The word is of pure Oriya origin, 'Khunta' anything rooted, 'Katti' to cut; the right is acquired by the original reclaimers of the soil by cutting the roots of the jungles. The Ghatwali tenures found in Dhalbhum include the 'Naikali' MC1620C(WOP)

and 'Paikali' jagirs which are owned by Mals and Bhuiyans of Oriya race. The Bhumijas mostly own the Ghatwali tenures and they are an offshoot of the 'Bhuiyans' mostly found in Orissa as suggested by eminent ethnologists.

Census of 1931.

The Simon Commission desired a correct enumeration of Oriyas in Census of 1931. But unfortunately for the Oriyas, this has not been done, as was anticipated, under arrangements of census operations in which such persons as would not consider an increase in Oriya population to their interest were at the helm of affairs. There were to be found unattested cuttings in the Enumeration books after they were deposited with the Charge Superintendent by the Circle Supervisors. The Enumeration books were required to be filed with the Charge Superintendents before time. The Sub-Divisional Officer of Dhalbhum after a proper enquiry reported to the District Census Officer that people of certain classes should be enumerated and returned as Oriyas. That report was not timely communicated so as to have its proper and desired effect on the Enumerators and Supervisors. Mr. W. G. Lacey, the Census Superintendent, issued a general circular to enumerate individuals by race and gave valuable instructions. But that circular was not as widely circulated amongst the Supervisors and Enumerators as it would be were the work entrusted to people who had no interest in a restricted circulation thereof. Even the Singbhum Utkal Sabha could not get a copy of the Circular from the District Census Officer though asked for. It is not possible to measure the extent of damage done to the Oriyas. It is very surprising to hear that Gonds, Tantis, Goalas or Sadgops, Bhuiyans, Majhis, etc., are Bengali-speaking or Hindi-speaking. The Singbhum Utkal Sabha, public meetings, individuals, the public and the press all jointly and severally sent up their representations, memorials and telegrams to the Government against the atrocious injustice and wrong done to the Oriyas of Singbhum. In spite of these facts the number of Oriyas in the present Census of 1931 still executed that of the other communities (excepting Hos). If a proper enumeration be made strictly on impartial lines the number of Oriyas in Singbhum is sure to be much greater while that of persons speaking the other Aryan languages would become considerably reduced.

Conclusion.

Historically Kolhan, Porahat and Dhalbhum were included in Orissa in ancient times as dependent States and Zamindaries. Considering its geographical position the whole of the district is contiguous with the adjoining Feudatory States of Orissa, namely, Mayurbhunj, Keonjhar, Bonai, Gangpur, Seraikella and Kharswan. The Thana of Gopiballavpur in the east has been recommended for inclusion into the new Orissa Province. In point of contiguity the district would form a more natural compact with Orissa than with any other province.

If the boundary of the new Province be demarcated in the light of present railway and road communications, the main B. N. Railway line running through Singbhum urges the inclusion of the district in Orissa to give her chance for industrial and commercial developments.

Economical interests due to trade and industry have made Singbhum more intensely connected with Orissa and its Feudatory States than with any

other province. The very existence and improvement of Jamshedpur as an industrial centre is due to the iron and manganese mines from Mayurbhunj and Gangpur as also to the immense supply of labour from the neighbouring States of Orissa. In all fairness and equity Orissa should have the foremost claim to any contribution made by Jamshedpur towards provincial revenue. The internal trade throughout the district has made it more allied to the adjoining State areas of Mayurbhunj and Keonjhar and Sambalpur in Orissa, from long before the advent of railways.

Ethnologists have proved by linguistic evidence the vast influence of the Oriyas upon the Kols and the aborigines in contrast with the influence of the Hindi-speaking people upon them. They have also proved that at one time there was no ethnic difference between the Kols and the Sabars found in Ganjam in Orissâ with whom they should be linked.

The language of the aborigines of Singbhum belongs to the Munda branch of Austro-Asiatic family whereas the Oraons of Ranchi speak a Dravidian language. Ethnologists assert very definitely that it will be very wrong to associate Kols with a Dravidian people (such as Oraons) whom they have always avoided socially. The District Gazetteer notes that the Ho community tolerate and associate only with the Oriya Tantis, Gours, potters and blacksmiths. Their natural rural life makes the aborigines acquainted with Oriya language and with no other Aryan tongue. Nature and rural life compel them to learn Oriya over and above their own dialect and that Aryan language which natural life teaches them from boyhood should be their medium of primary education.

Ethnologically the aborigines have close affinity and natural touch with the Oriya tongue and race and with no other. When the aborigines of Angul can be well civilised through the medium of Oriya, and no hindrance to their progressive advancement can be apprehended by putting them under the new Province of Orissa, the aborigines of Singbhum may well be likewise benefited by education in Oriya under the new Province.

Linguistic evidence and experience attract the aborigines of Singbhum in point of affinity towards their union with the Sabars and Hos and Santals of Orissa Feudatory States.

The non-aboriginal population of the whole district speak Oriya except in towns or trade centres where Hindi-speaking or Bengali-speaking people are noticed.

The composition of the population of the whole district mainly consists of the aborigines, the Hos and Santals and the Oriyas. For this reason the aborigines and the Oriyas are regarded by Government as natives of the land and are not required to take any certificate of domicile.

The Hos of Singbhum find people of their own race more in Orissa Feudatory States than in Chotanagpur or Bihar. Racial affinity and cohesion of people of one race both urge the inclusion of Singbhum in Orissa. The question of the aborigines, the Hos has got to be decided in arriving at a conclusion about Singbhum. The underlying principle is to find out to which province the particular race is mostly confined and then to put them together under one administration. This general guiding principle of cohesion of

people requires their association with the Hos of the neighbouring States in Orissa.

The next majority of the population are the Oriyas who should be brought under the new Orissa Province.

The non-aboriginal population have been found to be Oriyas by race and observe social customs and religious rites peculiar to Orissa.

The zamindars and tenure-holders are Oriyas and the system of land-tenures throughout the district are all peculiar to Orissa.

The census figures previous to 1931 were inaccurate about the return of Oriyas. The present census has been shown to be unreliable and not quite free from manipulations from interested quarters. The Boundary Commission ought not to be misled by such tainted census figures.

The whole district has been studied from the stand-point of all the tests of provincial individuality suggested by the Simon Commission. In none of the points Singbhum is wanting in its claims for inclusion into Orissa.

Singbhum has no affinity of language or race with Bihar and Bengal nor has it anything in common with them. Then what is the good of tying it to their tails? Here is a blunder which is so patent as not to be misunderstood in any way. And the blunder is allowed to remain only because the people of Singbhum are not agitative people. Had they been an agitative people they would soon have made their protest heard. As it is they are sacrificed without compunction. The sentiments of the people of Singbhum find an echo in the prophecy of Lord Curzon in the following terms :—"Take the Orissans, no one is paused to think what they want. You could not know your secrecy because you consulted no body in advance. They want the re-union of the Oriya-speaking people. * * * * *

What is the good of Orissa being tied to the tail of Bihar, where there is no affinity of language and race, with which they have nothing in common and from which they are separated by a great belt of mountains and rivers over which we have never been able to carry a railway? I venture to prophesy that this is a blunder that cannot remain permanent. Were the Orissans an agitating people, which they are not, they would soon make their protest heard. As it is, they have been sacrificed without compunction. The same might be said of Chotanagpur, but I will not labour that point. The fact is, this new province of yours and the west of Bengal is a bundle of odds and ends which you have thrown together because you did not know what else to do with them. In Bengal you have united Bengalees because they are all of the same race and language, but when we come to the other provinces you force into an unnatural union these people of different race and language."

It is fairly hoped that the Boundary Commission will not repeat what the Simon Commission has done, but will pause and think and feel for the neglected cause of Singbhum and be not so unkind to the people of Singbhum as to throw them to an unnatural union with Bihar a people of different race and language, just to make a bundle of odds and ends.

Finances of Singhbhum.

We have conclusively proved in the above paragraphs our claim to be included in the future polity of Orissa. We propose now to deal with the finances of Singhbhum.

1. This financial statement is in a way a bit of diversion for the claim to our inclusion is based on so fundamental grounds that it gives no room for financial considerations this way or that.

2. Our main aim in going into the financial side is to prove that we are not going to be a drag on the proposed province. The figures given below are based on the principle of a 'Normal standard', i.e., variations from what can be expected in a normal year of political and economic state of the country have been discounted for.

*INCOME.**Land Revenue.*

The figures under land revenue in 1929-30, showed an increase over that of the previous year. It was 1,93,246. Forest revenue under Land Revenue Department was 1,71,589.

Excise.

Excise revenue in 1928-29 was 8,38,764 and in 1929-30 was 9,18,658. We accept the figures of 1930 as standard.

Forest.

Revenue in 1928-29 was 5,89,322 and 4,21,151 in 1929-30. We take the average figure of 5,05,238 as normal standard.

Registration.

The income under registration may be taken at the average of 1928-29 and 1929-30, i.e., 12,915.

Stamps.

The income from stamps judicial and non-judicial combined exclusive of verified stamps, was 1,30,422 in 1928-29. All heads combined the normal standard may be taken at 1,50,000.

Total Income.

The total under the six major heads of revenue thus comes up to Rs. 19,53,646. We take the income from all other sources of revenue at 1½ lakhs. It would thus be not very far from truth to say that in a normal year the total income of the district without taking into account the natural increase cannot vary very far from a total of 21 lakhs.

*EXPENDITURE.**1. Excise.*

The distributed expenditure under Excise was 38,482 in 1929-30 and was higher than that of the previous year.

2. *Forest.*

The expenditure under Forest was also higher in 1929-30 and amounted to 2,50,698.

3. *Registration.*

Rs. 4,359, i.e., higher than the figure of 1928-29.

4. *Stamps.*

Rs. 3,430. We arrive at this figure by striking out a proportion between receipts and charges of the whole province which should be holding good in the case of Singbhum.

5. *Jails.*

The expenditure under Jails might be under about 20,000.

6. *Medical.*

Expenditure under this head was 48,397 in 1929.

7. *Land Revenue.*

Distributed expenditure under Land Revenue per district is not available from Government Publications. Deducting the over-head charges from the Provincial figures under this head and taking into consideration the number of districts and sub-divisions in the province we take the figure of Rs. 1,30,000 as expenditure under this head.

8. *General Administration.*

We take the figure of Rs. 1,50,000 for the same reasons as in the case of Land Revenue.

9. *Education and Police.*

Distributed expenditure is not available to us under these heads. But we take 1,98,973 under education and 2,00,000 under Police after deducting the over-head charges and taking into consideration the expenditure per head in the province of Bihar and Orissa.

10. *Justice and Miscellaneous.*

We take one lakh as expenditure under Justice and another lakh under Miscellaneous.

TOTAL EXPENDITURE.

We reach a total figure of 12,44,339 according to the above calculation for the whole district. It may not be wrong to take the total expenditure of the whole district as 14 lakhs at the maximum.

CONCLUSION.

The above figures which cannot but be true, suggest that Singbhum brings in a surplus to the tune of 8 or 9 lakhs. It would not be out of place to point out that income-tax collected in Singbhum in 1929-30 was Rs. 1,39,783. But after the creation of the Central Salaries Circle the income-tax collected from the Government employees at Jamshedpur and other industrial centres is not given in the returns of the district. It amounted to Rs. 3,18,005 in 1928.

APPENDIX 3:

A (3).

ORIYA MEMORANDUM ON ORIYA-SPEAKING TRACTS IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES.

We, the residents of the District of Sambalpur and of the outlying Oriya tracts accord a cordial welcome to you, the Chairman and the members of the Orissa Boundary Commission and heartily make the following submissions for your kind consideration.

This memorandum is submitted on behalf of the people of Sambalpur and the Oriyas living in the adjoining tracts under the C. P. Administration.

We beg to submit that all the Oriya-speaking tracts under the different administrations should be amalgamated and formed into a separate province. So far as the western boundary of the province is concerned the following areas should be added to Sambalpur.

I. Zamindari of Phuljhar now forming the eastern boundary of the Raipur District in C. P.

II. Khariar Zamindari forming the south eastern boundary of the Raipur District in C. P.

III. Chandrapur-Cum-Padampur Taluk now forming part of the Bilaspur District in C. P. but isolated from it.

IV. Malkhurda Jagir now included in the Bilaspur District in C. P. but isolated from it.

V. Jogni group of 9 villages namely Madhabpali, Katakunda, Badimal, Panch Purgia (near Soda), Chhada Panch Purgia near (Palsoda), Jugni, Thakurpali, Samkampura (Barhampura) now included in the Bilaspur District in C. P.

VI. Sarangarh }
VII. Raigarh } Feudatory States in C. P.

The grounds on which the amalgamation of the above areas is contended are mentioned below :—

(a) *Historical*.—We have to record with painful regret that the glorious kingdom of Sambalpur known in history as the “*Atharagarh*” eighteen tributaries under the suzerainty of Sambalpur Raj which held its sway for centuries in its own independence and was one unit even when it came under the Mahrattas in 1755—has been dismembered under the British Raj. The dismemberment started as soon as the British came on the scene in 1818 and continued ever since. We, the descendants of the secular and the spiritual army—which held the kingdom in temporal and spiritual power—now look up to the British Government to undo the disruption it has created and restore that kingdom by bringing all of them under one Government.

Atharagarh.

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Patna. | 4. Bora Sambar. |
| 2. Bindhra Nuagarh. | 5. <i>Phuljhar</i> . |
| 3. <i>Khariar</i> . | 6. <i>Sarangarh</i> . |

- | | |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 7. Sakti. | 13. Bonai. |
| 8. Raigarh. | 14. Boud. |
| 9. Bamra. | 15. Athmallik. |
| 10. Rairakhol. | 16. Bargarh. |
| 11. Sonapur. | 17. Chandrapur. |
| 12. Gangpur. | 18. Sambalpur. |

See page 9 (Note) of Sir R. Temple's Reprint of report (1863) on the Zamindaris and other petty Chieftaincies in C. P.

(Vide Appendix I.)

The connection of these eighteen Garhs with Orissa will be apparent from the following extract from Sir Richard Temple (*vide* page 59 of the Reprint Report on the zamindaris and other petty Chieftaincies in the Central Provinces 1863 by Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I.): "The Raja of Patna boasts of belonging to the most ancient family among these chiefs. There is however reason to suppose that some others may be more ancient though they never were so powerful as the former chief of Patna. The Zamindar of Patna has, the present chief alleges, been held in his family by direct succession for 32 generations, whose progenitor emigrated from the Gangetic Doab, and *through the influence of the Ruler of Orissa* established himself as Chief of the Eight Garhs."

History seems with instances of intimacy of the Maharajas of Patna and Sambalpur with the Ruler of Orissa. The founder of the Kingdom of Patna-Sambalpur, Ramaee Deo "married a daughter of the Ruler of Orissa, through whose influence and power he was enabled to maintain his usurped position". *Vide* Major H. B. Impey's note dated 29th May 1863.

(b) *Linguistic*.—The language of the areas we claim, is predominantly Oriya. Although census figures collected by Officials unsympathetic towards Orissa, show only a certain per cent. as Oriya, the rest of the population is shown as Laria-speaking—a corrupt form of Oriya. The very designation of the dialect shows its origin from Oriya. Laria has no script and literature. The only language in these tracts with a script and a literature is Oriya.

An attempt was made by the C. P. Officials in 1895 to kill the Oriya language in Sambalpur. In that year they succeeded in substituting Hindi for Oriya as the Court language of Sambalpur but the intrigues of C. P. Officials were exposed and after 5 years, Oriya was restored as the court language of Sambalpur.

(c) *Religious and social customs*.—The people of these tracts worship the familiar deities of Orissa and read Oriya scriptures. Lord Jagannath is worshipped in almost every village and Bhagbat is recited almost in every home. Social rites and ceremonies observed in these areas are the same as those in the Sambalpur District and are performed by Oriya priests. The manners and customs are the same. The people of these tracts have matrimonial connection with the people of the Sambalpur District.

Most of the villages in these tracts were established by Oriyas as will appear from the facts that most of the Gountias (owners of villages) are Oriyas and the villages bear Oriya names.

(d) *Castes*.—The common castes in these areas are Aghrias, Binjhals, Kultas, Pabs and Gandas, which have Sambalpur for their homes. These castes are very scarce elsewhere in C. P.

(e) *Administrative*.—These tracts have been administered from Sambalpur for centuries and the people have a traditional regard for Sambalpur as the centre of their Government. Sixty years of separation cannot break up the ties of centuries.

The settlement record of Phuljhar, Chandrapur-Cum-Padampur, Malkhordha and the Jogni group of villages have been in Oriya in the past. The language of the latest settlement conducted by C. P. Officials might have been Hindi, which is not the language of the population.

The revenue system of these tracts is derived from the revenue system of Sambalpur. The tenure of the villages in these tracts consists of Gountia tenure as in the district of Sambalpur, which is not found in the division of Chatisgarh. They can be better administered by Sambalpur Officials.

(f) *Economic*.—Whatever the officials of the Central Provinces may say, these areas have natural trade connection with Sambalpur.

(g) *Census*.—The vagaries of census will be apparent from the fact that Lariya, an essentially Oriya dialect, is included in the category of Hindi language. About the end of the nineteenth century there was a crusade against the Oriya language from all sides. Had it not been for the tenacity of some Oriya leaders our language would have suffered the same fate it has suffered in Midnapur.

(h) *Communications*.—(A) Saraipali, the headquarters of Phuljhar, is 69 miles from Sambalpur and 39 miles from the Sub-divisional headquarter at Bargarh whereas it is 96 miles from Raipur and 72 miles from the Sub-divisional headquarters at Mahasamud in the District of Raipur, C. P.

(B) Padampur and Jogni group of 9 villages :—

Padampur is 35 miles from Sambalpur whereas it is over 100 miles from Bilaspur. There is a *pucca* road connecting Padampur with Sambalpur.

The Jogni group of 9 villages are still near to Sambalpur than Bilaspur being situated on the eastern side of Padampur.

(C) Chandrapur Malkhordha :—

These are two adjoining areas and Chandrapur is only 22 miles from Padampur with a direct road communication.

A Sub-division at Padampur will be very much convenient and will make administration cheaper.

(D) Khariar :—

Khariar adjoins Borasamber which is a tail end of Bargarh Sub-division.

Khariar and Borasamber will form a very suitable and convenient Sub-division.

1. AREAS IN THE DISTRICT OF RAIPUR, C. P.

Phuljhar.—This Zamindari was created over three hundred and fifty years ago by the Patna Rajas (*vide* C. P. Gazetteer by Charles Grant, page 398). Later it came under the suzerainty of the Maharaja of Sambalpur. *Vide* Reprint, Report on the Zamindaries and other petty Chieftaincies in C. P. by Sir Richard Temple, page 7, paragraph 27.

It remained under Sambalpur for centuries and was served—only about 26 years ago (1905). It has a population nearly half of which is admittedly purely Oriya-speaking and the other half speak Lariya which is as already stated a corrupt form of Oriya.

It is much nearer to Sambalpur than Raipur with which it was most arbitrarily and artificially connected in 1905. The people of the tract were never consulted. There was not even a pretence of an inquiry. Its trade finds its natural outlet towards Bargarh Sub-division of Sambalpur.

The artificiality of the connection with Raipur will be apparent from the fact that throughout the year the quickest route from Saraipally (Headquarters Phuljhar) to Raipur and *vice versa* is *via* Bargarh and Sambalpur. The Zamindar and his family have often seen travelling *via* Sambalpur. In August last the Settlement Officer of Phuljhar had to come to Sambalpur in order to go to Raipur. Recently the Court of Wards Officials of Raipur passed through Sambalpur in order to go to Phuljhar.

The plight of the Oriya-speaking population of Phuljhar under Raipur will be seen from the following facts :—

(a) The Government of C. P. have not started a single Oriya School during the last 26 years. On the other hand they have abolished ruthlessly all the Oriya Schools and have started in their place Hindi Schools thus forcing on the people an alien language as is borne out from the facts given below :—

As soon as Phuljhar was cut off from Sambalpur and placed in Raipur, the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur ordered that the Oriyas, as a whole, should be familiarised with Hindi character and learn to write it.

In 1908 the Circle Inspector Mr. K. B. Williamson in one of his inspection note of Phuljhar School remarks : “ It will be seen that Deputy Commissioner who asked that the boys as a whole should be familiarised with Hindi character and learn to write it has been disregarded. The Managers’ as well as the Deputy Commissioner’s attention is called to this Head Master’s neglect and it will be the latter’s duty to recommend him for reduction of salary if he repeats his negligence. ” The lot of the boys of Phuljhar tract has been pathetically described by Mr. Lingarajeswar, another Inspector of Schools. In his inspection note of Saraipali School in 1912 “ Although the teachers are primarily responsible for the bad progress noticeable in this institution it might be observed that there are several causes besides which brought about this unsatisfactory state of things, the chief of which was the introduction of Hindi about two years ago which is as foreign to the people inhabiting this tract as English itself. ”

Probably this is the only tract where instructions are imparted to the boys in the primary schools through the medium of foreign tongues.

The lot of the boys of this part of the district is rather very hard but the department seems to have decided once for all to finally dethrone Oriya from the seat which it occupied for centuries.

A more candid statement of true facts is not possible. A similar statement will also be found in the remarks of another Circle Inspector of Schools in the visitor's book of Saraipali School in 1920 which runs as below :—

“ The primary school matter in this area has to face the problems of keeping education in and through Hindi to pupils, the mother tongue of most of whom is Oriya. Besides an Oriya teacher is not expected to have sufficiently good command over Hindi to teach Hindi classes really good.”

The Parmana issued by Mr. Apal Narsia, the Dewan of the Phuljhar Zamindari on 6th October 1914 reproduced below will clearly show with what strong hand the language of the people was sought to be killed.

“ The Zamindar is Hindi-speaking man. The Court language is Hindi, text books in Oriya character is not available. Certificate to Oriya candidates who will study Oriya will not be granted, nor he will be given any service. Patwari Manual will not be taught in Oriya.”

Khariar.—Khariar was with Sambalpur for centuries. It has an overwhelming Oriya population—admitted by the C. P. Officials to be 80 P. C. The Zamindar belongs to the Patna Sambalpur family of Rulers. *Vide* Reprint of Report on the Zamindari and other petty Chieftaincies in the Central Provinces 1863 by Sir Richard Temple, K.C.S.I., page 62, paragraph 6.

“ The zamindari is said to have been formed many generations ago out of the three of the eight garhs originally composing the Patna State namely Kholagarh, Gurahagarh, and Kumragarh as well as of Khariar proper which was bestowed by the Raja of Jaipur as his daughter's dowry on the marriage with Gopal Rao, the Chief of the time, it is alleged, a younger son of the Maharaja of Patna.”

2. AREAS IN THE DISTRICT OF BILASPUR, C. P.

Chandrapur-Cum-Padampur.—The chieftaincy of Chandrapur was abolished under British regime. It was being administered as a Khalsa (Khas-Mahal) area till Rup Singh was installed as its Talukdar under peculiar circumstances—along with Padampur which has always been a Khalsa area. The history of this muddle has been given in pages 52—56 of Sir R. Craddock's note, dated 30th June 1889 on the status of the Zamindars of the Central Provinces, *vide* Appendix IV. The so-called zamindar of Chandrapur-Padampur is a myth. It is a creation of the District authorities which under peculiar circumstances Government was bound to accept. We claim this tract as Khalsa area of the Sambalpur District.

The tract was administered from Sambalpur for centuries till it was most arbitrarily separated in 1905. Padampur is overwhelmingly Oriya. Chandrapur has been shown to have a minority of purely Oriya population. But as has been shown above the majority of the population speaks corrupt form of Oriya.

Malkhorda and Jogni Group of villages.—Malkhorda is a jagir held by the Zamindar of Phuljhar and the Jogni group of villages (names of which mentioned in paragraph above) are Khalsa villages. These

areas have a peculiar history of their own. In the Notification transferring Sambalpur District to the Orissa Division of Bengal in 1905 the only areas excluded are "Chandrapur-Padampur Zamindari and Phuljhar Zamindari", *vide* Appendix II and Appendix III. It is not clear under what authority the Government of C. P. declined to transfer Malkhorda and the Jogni group of villages. Their retention in the Bilaspur District of the Central Provinces for 18 years was most illegal. There is no justification whatsoever for forcing these 20+9 villages into Bilaspur District of C. P. Historically, linguistically, from the point of view of communication, Revenue system, social customs and indeed in every way, they form part of the Sambalpur District. Malkhorda is a jagir held by the Zamindar of Phuljhar. As Phuljhar must come to Sambalpur, so must Malkhorda. Severing the 9 villages of Jogni group from Sambalpur District most illegally in 1905 and most arbitrarily legalised in 1923 has been an outrage which must be redressed.

3. TWO FEUDATORY STATES.

Sarangarh.—Sarangarh, a Feudatory State, which has been under the Maharajas of Sambalpur for centuries. It was administered by the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur. It is officially stated that it has a population of 24 per cent. of Oriya. The rest of the population speak Laria, a corrupt form of Oriya, with neither script nor literature.

Raigarh.—Raigarh, a Feudatory State, has always been with Sambalpur. It is stated to have a population only 15 per cent. of which is Oriya but we assert that the whole State is Oriya-speaking.

Status of District of Sambalpur.—We feel strongly about our district being treated as a backward district. This stigma was not attached to it before 1924. We insist that our former prestige be restored. At the same time our revenue system being different from the rest of Orissa we must also insist that provision be made in the new constitution to legislate for Sambalpur only after consulting the local authorities and representatives of the district.

CONCLUSION.

We record our gratitude to Government for instituting this enquiry. It seems as if our dreams will come true. The British Government and British ideas are largely responsible for the new spirit of nationalism that has come over Orissa. Time is now ripe for satisfying this craving on the part of the Oriyas to revive their past glory under present conditions. It is because we have full faith in British justice, that we have waited for over half a century for the Government to do its duty to Orissa in the only way possible, i.e., bringing all Oriyas under one and a separate administration.

As we have said before, our kingdom of Sambalpur known as Atharagarh—started breaking up when it came under the British. We look up to the British Government to respond to our faith in its justice by restoring that territory except where present limitations render it impossible.

In the words of Lord Curzon, "Were the Orissans an agitating people, which they are not, they would soon make their protests heard. As it is, they have been sacrificed without compunction." It is gratifying to note that this injustice will now be redressed.

APPENDIX I.

REPRINT ON THE ZAMINDARI AND OTHER PETTY CHIEFTAINCIES IN THE CENTRAL PROVINCES 1863 BY SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, PARAGRAPHS 27—29, PAGES 7 AND 8. THIS IS THE OFFICIAL REPORT FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF C. P.

The origin of the tenures by the Sambalpur Garjat chiefs is not clearly known. It can only be with certainty alleged that it is very ancient. The earliest authentic information we have of them is that they were first independent, then they were held in subordination to the most powerful of their number the Maharaja of Patna. In the later times the Maharaja of Patna was forced to share his supremacy among the chiefs with his relative the Maharaja of Sambalpur and this was the situation when all fell under the domain of the Maharattas about 1755 as tributaries. When these were ceded to the British Government in 1818, advantage was taken of the circumstances under which Sambalpur and Patna were found to annul the dependency of the other zamindars on these two chiefs; and in 1821 separate Sanads were granted to each zamindar and separate engagements taken.

At this period the affairs of these chieftainships were administered from Ranchi Chhotanagpur.

Footnote, page 8.

“The chieftainships which formerly owed allegiance to Sambalpur and Patna were including those two eighteen in number. They were known for many ages as the Athara (18) Garh.”

Page 9, paragraph 30.

“In 1861 the management of these chieftainships was transferred to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals, Cuttack.”

Page 9, paragraph 31.

“In 1862 Sambalpur was transferred to the Central Provinces.”

Footnote, page 9.

“Two of the Garjats which originally belonged to the Sambalpur and Patna groups, Baud Athmallik, had previously in 1837 been transferred from the superintendence of the Ranchi agent to that of the Superintendent of Cuttack Tributary Mahals with whom they still remain. Again at the transfer in 1861 two others Vig-Gangpur Bonai remained with Chhotanagpur.

Thus of the *Atharagarh* fourteen only are within the jurisdiction of the C. P. and of these two, *i.e.*, *Sambalpur* and *Chandrapur* are no longer managed by the Chiefs. There remain twelve. But one, *viz.*, *Bargarh* has been given to the Chief of another, *i.e.*, *Raigarh*. Therefore only eleven distinct chieftaincies of the Sambalpur and Patna groups remain now attached as Chieftaincies to this administration. They are noted here for convenience:

- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. Patna. | 7. Sukti. |
| 2. Bindra Nayagarh. | 8. Raigarh and Bargarh. |
| 3. Khariar. | 9. Bamra. |
| 4. Borasamber. | 10. Rainakhole. |
| 5. Phuljhar. | 11. Sonepur.” |
| 6. Sarangarh. | |

APPENDIX II.

PROCLAMATION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT (PUBLIC),
No. 2833, DATED SIMLA, THE 1ST SEPTEMBER 1905.

In exercise of the powers vested in him by section 4 of the Government of India Act, 1865 (28 and 29 Vic. C. 17) the Governor General in Council is pleased to declare and

appoint that with effect from the 16th day of October, one thousand nine hundred and five, the District of Sambalpur (except the Chandrapur-Padampur Zamindari and the Phuljhar Zamindari) which now forms part of the Central Provinces, shall cease to form part of those provinces and shall be subject to and included in within the limits of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William.

APPENDIX III.

NOTIFICATION BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT (JUDICIAL), No. 1363, DATED SIMLA, THE 1ST SEPTEMBER 1905.

In exercise of the powers conferred by the Indian High Court's Act, 1865 (28 and 29 Vict. C. 15), section 3, the Governor General in Council is pleased to authorise and empower the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal to exercise with effect from the 16th day of October one thousand nine hundred and five within that portion of His Majesty's dominions in India, which is comprised within the limits of Sambalpur District (except Chandrapur-Padampur Zamindari and the Phuljhar Zamindari) and is not included within the limits of places for which the said High Court was established, all such jurisdiction and powers as the said High Court may from time to time exercise within the limits of the places for which the said High Court was established.

APPENDIX IV.

NOTE ON THE STATUS OF THE ZAMINDAR OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES BY MR. R. H. CRADDOCK, PAGES 51-56, PARAS. 126 TO 133 (BOTH INCLUSIVE).

126. Unlike all the other Zamindars of the provinces, these Sambalpur Non-Feudatories have hitherto not had their original tenure much altered by the British Government, and above all it has not been complicated by the formal grant of the "proprietary right" which has so revolutionized land tenure in this country.

These conclusions regarding the classes (a) and (c) of the Sambalpur Chiefs are not satisfactory, in that I cannot find exact information; but since their status has yet to be finally determined on, it is not to be regretted that Government has still a free hand in the matter.

127. *Chandrapur and Padampur*.—The only matter remaining before the second part of this note is completed, is the consideration of the Chandrapur-Padampur Zamindari so-called.

Allusion has already been made to Rup Singh in the correspondence between the Bengal Government and the Commissioner of Cuttack and a good deal of correspondence has passed from time to time in which points regarding his status have been raised. The files have, however, been only in my possession for a day, and I am unable to give anything more than the barest outlines of the case from such notes as I hurriedly took.

This Rup Singh was of humble station, but had risen to the post of Munsif of Sambalpur, and in 1857, for past and present services, was made a Rai Bahadur in Lord Dalhousie's time. Colonel Forster, the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, in 1858 (No. 179 of 4th August 1858) recommended the grant of what he called six "villages" which had been confiscated from their proprietors, whom he called "gountias", stating the Government demand, which he called "Jama", as a reward for his meritorious services to Rup Singh. This grant was sanctioned in the Government of India's No. 2149 of 26th September 1858, to the address of the Government of Bengal, the six so-called villages being, Kolabira, Rampur, Barkilla or Bhedan, Patkulunda, Khassal and Konkutta.

After the unfortunate execution of the Zamindar of Kolabira and when the restoration of the estate to his heirs became necessary as an act of reparation complete restitution became matter of policy in the case of all the estates in order to restore the Government credit.

Consequently, a difficulty arose regarding Rup Singh. The Bengal Government, however, would not listen to any proposals which were unfavourable to Rup Singh's interests.

In their letter No. 2098 of the 7th August 1861; the Bengal Government, while expressing regret at the erroneous terms in which the grant was recommended, said there could be no doubt what Colonel Forster intended, as the specification of the Jama was correctly given, and therefore, they said, that in any arrangements to be made Rup Singh must not be asked to agree to anything which would leave him in any respect a loser.

Mr. Shore, the Commissioner of Cuttack, in his letter No. 435 of 26th December 1861, to which I have had occasion to refer before, did his best to prevent any mistaken liberality. He says "Colonel Forster must be left to explain how he came to call 'Zamindars' Gountias and 'large estates' villages", "he may have been deceived by Rup Singh * * * * *"
"I respectfully submit that not what Colonel Forster intended to recommend but what Government intended to grant, is the real point."

In another place he says,—“Even before Karna—gar's surrender Rup Singh had made a request for the forfeited estate, which was promptly and indignantly rejected by Mr. Cockburn. Mr. Cockburn went further and wrote to Colonel Forster warning him against listening any such impudent requests.”

Government had therefore very good grounds for settling Rup Singh's claims with a very small grant, but there were political reasons which tied its hands.

128. When the country had to be pacified it was expedient to restore the rebellious who submitted, much more so to reward those who, whatever their motives, had remained loyal. Otherwise the mere fact that the 'Jama' had been correctly specified would not have validated a grant procured by such manifest misrepresentation to say nothing of the fact that the 'Jama' should have been described as 'tackoli' or quit rent, a very different matter.

Rup Singh was undoubtedly an exceedingly shrewd man, whatever other virtues he may have possessed.

If he had held out against the rendition of the estates, he was exposed to two dangers : (1) the vengeance of the ousted holders, (2) the precarious nature of his own title which was not supported by way deed, but rested merely on the letter making the grant, in which moreover the property granted was erroneously described. Consequently, he made a virtue of necessity and yielded gracefully, the result being that he got two whole Pargannahs handed over to him at a quit rent fixed for 40 years. It would seem, however, that the period during which he held the forfeited estates was to be deducted from the 40 years (*vide* below). The proposals were sanctioned by the Government of Bengal in their No. 172 of 23rd January 1862.

Rup Singh was supposed to make less income than he had done from the 6 mahals. His own estimate, however, seems to have been taken of this letter, which of course it was to his interest to exaggerate as much as possible. It was calculated, however, that he would fully make up the difference "by abawabs and other means by which a zamindar can always realise more than the Government."

The estate was to be "his absolutely to transmit to his descendants, to sell or to dispose of in any manner he pleases, subject of course to the chance of an enhancement of Jama on the settlement after 40 years."

Nothing was said about the tenure of the gaontias under him subordinated by a stroke of the pen to a newly created Zamindar empowered to levy new dues, and the question of fresh settlements with them was not touched upon. Rup Singh dies two years after the grant and was succeeded by his son Harihar Singh, the present holder who was at that time a mere child, and hence the doubtful questions regarding what the Zamindar so-called could or could not do remain in abeyance.

The sanad given by Major Impey is for 36 years, the question of whether the 4 years in which Rup Singh held the forfeited estates having been begged by that officer. There does not seem to be any other authority for Major Impey's view, in fact the letters of Mr. Shore and the Bengal Government of 1862 seem directly opposed to it.

129. Rup Singh was, however, a man well able to look after his own interest and he apparently never objected to the sanad, that sanad must now bind his heirs. He was simply told not to disturb the possession of any gaontias except on their failure to pay

revenue, and even in that case it was provided that gaontias had the right of appealing against ejectment to Government officers.

130. The real question, however, regarding the positions and rights of these gaontias and by whom their jamas could be enhanced, did not come up until the renewed settlement operations in 1874 rendered a decision on these doubtful points necessary. A reference was accordingly made for the decision of the Chief Commissioner enquiring—

- (i) as to who was to make the new settlement of the estate as affecting the interests of the village gaontias, the zamindar or the Government? and
- (ii) What rights were secured to the said gaontias?

The two questions really are one and the same and the answer depends upon the precise status of the Zamindar so called. In letter No. 191-11 of 16th January 1874, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh, the position was reviewed.

A fresh enhancement was justifiable, because at the time of the original grant it was fully contemplated that Rup Singh should not suffer in income by the exchange. It was conceded guardedly that Rup Singh might under the terms of his grant have claimed to make this fresh assessment himself, but it was held to be well that owing to circumstances this claim had not been pressed, "because the means by which Rup Singh could have increased the assets of his estate were not such as could fairly be applied to men who had recently been Khalsa malguzars."

It was laid down that "rights which have grown up antecedent to the connection of the superior proprietor with the estate, are of a kind that require to be duly protected." Finally, it was said that "the Government in the interest of the people withdraws from the superior proprietor the power of revision."

These orders merely decided the question by whom the assessment was to be made, it did not define the rights of the gaontias in relation to the Zamindar.

131. In the course of the correspondence the opinion has been more than once expressed that Government can of course create a zamindari if it chooses. The argument in support of these does not appear sound.

It is argued that Native Governments could do so, and hence so can we, but there are two considerations which effect the validity of the argument as applied to Rup Singh's case. The zamindaries created by the Native Government were almost invariably over waste tracts where no prior rights existed; and secondly the Native Governments did just as much as they had power to do, they did not have any of their executive actions hampered by statute law.

132. There is a precedent in this case also, and a very apt one, moreover, in the case of one Lokenath. Lokenath is mentioned in the early correspondence of the troublous times of 1858-62 as having been loyal subject and having rendered good services to Government.

Major Impey in reporting on the Khalsa zamindaries in his letter quoted (No. 211 of 22nd April 1863), mentions the zamindaries specially granted of Chandrapur-Padampur to Rup Singh and Rampalla to Lokenath.

The Commissioner, Chhatisgarh, in his letter No. 100 of 7th August 1876, on the abawabs leviable by Harihar Singh, requires a decision of the Secretary of State in this Lokenath's case, in which it was held that Government had not the power to impose obligations of the kind upon gaontias, to which they had not been subject before in this summary fashion. What correspondence or orders passed on this subject besides this one order of the Secretary of State, cannot be ascertained from any file that I have come across, but at all events Rampela is no longer a zamindari as it was then reported to be by Major Impey.

133. The orders that have been passed respecting the status of the gaontias of Padampur-Chandrapur are all of the nature of a compromise and provisional upon the rights of the Zamindar as they may be determined hereafter.

Thus his right to levy certain abawabs was affirmed in a Secretariat letter of August 1876, the Settlement Officer having procured a somewhat grudging assent from the

gountias to the particular abawabs and it having been proved that they had been actually paying them in Rup Singh's time.

On the one hand, again, in one Ghasi Ram's case (a gountia), the orders of the Government of India No. 276 of 30th March 1876 practically imply the Zamindar to be merely a superior proprietor. This was in favour of the gountias as also a direction by the Chief Commissioner in letter dated 2nd November 1875, protecting all rights in villages antecedent to Rup Singh's possession, which were to be the same as in Khalsa. On the other hand, in the same letter he was given full powers in villages where such antecedent rights had not existed, and even in the case of persons given gountia rights as in Khalsa villages, every decision was to be subject to a distinct provision that all rights conferred were subject to the recognition of superior proprietary rights in favour of Harihar Singh, in accordance with such orders as Government might finally pass.

Excess wastes were left with the Zamindar; and when the gountias made a long and obstinate resistance to accepting pattas signed by the Zamindar, the Chief Commissioner in his proceedings of 3rd November 1881 decided against them. The position is still, as it always has been, an anomalous one, and an authoritative decision upon the precise status of the Zamindar has still to be obtained.

More has been decided in his favour than against him, but the most important right, i.e., that of enhancing the revenue of the gountias, has been decided against him.

The wajib-ul-arz in these Zamindaris is the same as in the Khalsa except for the special privileges accorded to the Zamindar, which have already been described, and which are embodied in it.

In spite of the fact, however, that he has been as favourably treated as was possible and that under his sanad he is said to hold in "Zamindari" tenure, he is still as he has been from the first but a spurious Zamindar.

APPENDIX VI.

NOTES ON THE GURJHAT STATE OF PATNA, BY MAJOR H. B. IMPREY, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF SAMBALPUR.

D/Camp Deogaon, Illaugh Jhorasinga, Patna—29th May 1863.

The following sketch of the history of the Gurjhat States of Patna is founded upon the records, genealogical trees and traditions maintained by successive Rajahs. Although there may be errors in the calculation of periods, and mistakes in the incidence of events, yet considering how all Natives of pretension or position strive to keep up a remembrance of their ancestors through the services of Brahmins, and how strictly they themselves cherish the links of private history (as instance the custom of the Hindus to religiously pronounce the names of three preceding generations while engaged in their ablutions), it may be assumed that such records and links, when adjusted by other circumstantial data, as in this case, will generally form a pretty correct chain of evidence in respect to main facts.

2. *Origin of the Maharajahs.*—The Maharajahs of Patna claim direct descent from a race of Rajput Rajahs of Gurh Sumbul near Mynpooree and count back the individuals of this race for 32 generations.

3. *Foundation of one State, Patna from a cluster of 8 "gurhs".*—It is narrated that these Rajahs used to be in constant attendance at the court of Dilhee till the last, named Hutumbur Sing, having intrigued and run off with one of the daughters, was pursued and killed and his family forced to fly. Amongst the wives of this Rajah was one who escaping arrived enceinte, in Patna, and found refuge with the chief of Kholagurh, being one of 8 gurhs, as noted below:—

- (1) Patna
- (2) Salabhata,
- (3) Kangaon,
- (4) Jhorasinga,
- (5) Sindeekela,

revenue, and even in that case it was provided that gaontias had the right of appealing against ejectment to Government officers.

130. The real question, however, regarding the positions and rights of these gaontias and by whom their jamas could be enhanced, did not come up until the renewed settlement operations in 1874 rendered a decision on these doubtful points necessary. A reference was accordingly made for the decision of the Chief Commissioner enquiring—

- (i) as to who was to make the new settlement of the estate as affecting the interests of the village gountias, the zamindar or the Government? and
- (ii) What rights were secured to the said gountias?

The two questions really are one and the same and the answer depends upon the precise status of the Zamindar so called. In letter No. 191-11 of 16th January 1874, from Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, to Commissioner, Chhatisgarh, the position was reviewed.

A fresh enhancement was justifiable, because at the time of the original grant it was fully contemplated that Rup Singh should not suffer in income by the exchange. It was conceded guardedly that Rup Singh might under the terms of his grant have claimed to make this fresh assessment himself, but it was held to be well that owing to circumstances this claim had not been pressed, "because the means by which Rup Singh could have increased the assets of his estate were not such as could fairly be applied to men who had recently been Khalsa malguzars."

It was laid down that "rights which have grown up antecedent to the connection of the superior proprietor with the estate, are of a kind that require to be duly protected." Finally, it was said that "the Government in the interest of the people withdraws from the superior proprietor the power of revision."

These orders merely decided the question by whom the assessment was to be made, it did not define the rights of the gountias in relation to the Zamindar.

131. In the course of the correspondence the opinion has been more than once expressed that Government can of course create a zamindari if it chooses. The argument in support of these does not appear sound.

It is argued that Native Governments could do so, and hence so can we, but there are two considerations which effect the validity of the argument as applied to Rup Singh's case. The zamindaries created by the Native Government were almost invariably over waste tracts where no prior rights existed; and secondly the Native Governments did just as much as they had power to do, they did not have any of their executive actions hampered by statute law.

132. There is a precedent in this case also, and a very apt one, moreover, in the case of one Lokenath. Lokenath is mentioned in the early correspondence of the troublous times of 1858-62 as having been loyal subject and having rendered good services to Government.

Major Impey in reporting on the Khalsa zamindaries in his letter quoted (No. 211 of 22nd April 1863), mentions the zamindaries specially granted of Chandrapur-Padampur to Rup Singh and Rampalla to Lokenath.

The Commissioner, Chhatisgarh, in his letter No. 100 of 7th August 1876, on the abawabs leviable by Harihar Singh, requires a decision of the Secretary of State in this Lokenath's case, in which it was held that Government had not the power to impose obligations of the kind upon gountias, to which they had not been subject before in this summary fashion. What correspondence or orders passed on this subject besides this one order of the Secretary of State, cannot be ascertained from any file that I have come across, but at all events Rampela is no longer a zamindari as it was then reported to be by Major Impey.

133. The orders that have been passed respecting the status of the gountias of Padampur-Chandrapur are all of the nature of a compromise and provisional upon the rights of the Zamindar as they may be determined hereafter.

Thus his right to levy certain abawabs was affirmed in a Secretariat letter of August 1876, the Settlement Officer having procured a somewhat grudging assent from the

gountias to the particular abawabs and it having been proved that they had been actually paying them in Rup Singh's time.

On the one hand, again, in one Ghasi Ram's case (a gountia), the orders of the Government of India No. 276 of 30th March 1876 practically imply the Zamindar to be merely a superior proprietor. This was in favour of the gountias as also a direction by the Chief Commissioner in letter dated 2nd November 1875, protecting all rights in villages antecedent to Rup Singh's possession, which were to be the same as in Khalsa. On the other hand, in the same letter he was given full powers in villages where such antecedent rights had not existed, and even in the case of persons given gountia rights as in Khalsa villages, every decision was to be subject to a distinct provision that all rights conferred were subject to the recognition of superior proprietary rights in favour of Harihar Singh, in accordance with such orders as Government might finally pass.

Excess wastea were left with the Zamindar ; and when the gountias made a long and obstinate resistance to accepting pattas signed by the Zamindar, the Chief Commissioner in his proceedings of 3rd November 1881 decided against them. The position is still, as it always has been, an anomalous one, and an authoritative decision upon the precise status of the Zamindar has still to be obtained.

More has been decided in his favour than against him, but the most important right, i.e., that of enhancing the revenue of the gountias, has been decided against him.

The wajib-ul-arz in these Zamindaris is the same as in the Khalsa except for the special privileges accorded to the Zamindar, which have already been described, and which are embodied in it.

In spite of the fact, however, that he has been as favourably treated as was possible and that under his sanad he is said to hold in "Zamindari" tenure, he is still as he has been from the first but a spurious Zamindar.

APPENDIX VI.

NOTES ON THE GURJHAT STATE OF PATNA, BY MAJOR H. B. IMPEY, DEPUTY COMMISSIONER OF SAMBALPUR.

D/Camp Deogaon, Ilaguh Jhorasinga, Patna—29th May 1863.

The following sketch of the history of the Gurjhat States of Patna is founded upon the records, genealogical trees and traditions maintained by successive Rajahs. Although there may be errors in the calculation of periods, and mistakes in the incidence of events, yet considering how all Natives of pretension or position strive to keep up a remembrance of their ancestors through the services of Brahmins, and how strictly they themselves cherish the links of private history (as instance the custom of the Hindus to religiously pronounce the names of three preceding generations while engaged in their ablutions), it may be assumed that such records and links, when adjusted by other circumstantial data, as in this case, will generally form a pretty correct chain of evidence in respect to main facts.

2. *Origin of the Maharajahs.*—The Maharajahs of Patna claim direct descent from a race of Rajput Rajahs of Gurh Sumbul near Mynpooree and count back the individuals of this race for 32 generations.

3. *Foundation of one State, Patna from a cluster of 8 "gurhs."*—It is narrated that these Rajahs used to be in constant attendance at the court of Dilhee till the last, named Hutumbur Sing, having intrigued and run off with one of the daughters, was pursued and killed and his family forced to fly. Amongst the wives of this Rajah was one who escaping arrived enceinte, in Patna, and found refuge with the chief of Kholagurh, being one of 8 gurhs, as noted below :—

- (1) Patna
- (2) Salabhata,
- (3) Kangaon,
- (4) Jhorasinga,
- (5) Sindseekela,

- (6) Kholagurh,
- (7) Goorbagurh,
- (8) Koomnagurh,

which at that time alone formed the territories of Patna, being comprised within the three rivers, Ung, Mahanuddy and Tel and bounded on the west by Khurriar (a possession then of Jeypur) and Brindanaṭwagurh; and the chiefs of which took it in turns, a day at a time to exercise full authority, as Rajahs over the whole. She was placed in charge of the said Chief's Brahmin at Ramoor, and there gave birth to a boy, named Ramaee Deo. The Chief adopted the boy and subsequently on his coming of age, himself being sick and weary of rule, resigned his position to him. Ramaee Deo soon after this succeeded in murdering the other seven Chiefs, and usurping to himself the whole and permanent authority in Patna. Finally he married a daughter of the ruler of Orissa through whose influence and power he was enabled to maintain his usurped position.

4. *Extension of territory and dominion to the right bank of the Mahanuddy.*—It would appear during the time of Ramaee Deo and the two succeeding Maharajahs that the territories and dominion of Patna became extended beyond the Ung River to the right bank of the Mahanuddy; embracing—

1st.—Patna Proper, as now, but with the addition, to the west of 3 gurhs, *viz.* Kholagurh, Goorbagurh, and Koomnagurh, at present included in the Gurhat State of Khurriar, and of 12 villages known then as "Baragam" afterwards as "Borasambur" and subsequently detached as portion of the Gurjhat State of that name, and to the east, in continuation between the rivers Ung and Tel to the Mahanuddy.

2nd.—As annexed to Patna Proper, all the land embraced within the Ung and Mahanuddy rivers, and bounded on the west by Phooljhur and Sarungur, which now comprises the southern portion of Sambalpoore and parts of Sonepoor.

3rd.—
4th.—
5th.—

} As tributary dependencies, the Gond Gurjhat States of Brindanaṭwagurh, Phooljhur and Sarungur.

5. The lands and estates lying contiguous to the left bank of the Mahanuddy were, it is believed, at that time attached to Surgooja, with the exception of the north-western portion of the present Sambalpoore district, known as Chundurpoore and Bhortia, which belonged to Ruttunpoor.

3. *Subjugation of States and acquisition of territory on left bank of Mahanuddy.*—The fourth Maharajah, Pirthee Singh Deo, subjugated and made tributary to Patna, the three dependencies of Sirguja, named Bumaee, Gangpoor, and Bamra, and annexed to Patna itself by dispossession from the Rajah of Bamra, the Zemindaree of Rehracole and so much of the lands (now) of Sambalpoore on the left bank of the Mahanuddy, as were contained between Rehracole and Bamra to the east, Bamra and Gangpoor to the north, and to the west, by the river Eebe to its sudden bend westward and from thence by a line running south, to the spot at the extremity of the present city of Sambalpoore where now the jail bridge stands.

7. *Erection of a fort in Phooljhur.*—Maharajah Bikrumadit Deo, the ninth Rajah of Patna, erected a fort in Phooljhur at Seespalgurh, where its remains are said to be still traceable—a proof of the unflinching authority then exercised over the Gurjhat States.

8. *Acquisition of the Gurh of Chundurpoor.*—It is probable that the erection of this advanced post in a tributary State had, for its aim, as much the extension of dominion, as the maintenance, in security, of existing dominancy; for no sooner did the next ruler, Maharajah Baijul Deo (2nd), succeed to the Guddee, then he advanced to Chundurpoor and forcibly dispossessed the Ruler of Ruttunpoor of that "Gurh" with its surrounding lands.

9. There still remained, to complete the circle known afterwards as the "18 Gurhs": 1st—the three Northern Gurjhat States of Raigarh, Burgurh and Suktee (dependencies of Sirgooja), 2ndly—the central tract of land (now an integral portion of the Sambalpoore dis-

trict) falling between the Eebe and the line drawn therefrom, as before observed, to the present Sambalpoore Jail Bridge, and the Gurjhat State of Sasungurh (also belonging to Surgooja), and lastly the two eastern Gurjhat States of Boud and Atmulliek.

10. It never fell to the lot of Patna itself to include these remaining States and lands within the scope of its authority or possession. The completion of the circle was not effected till Patna had retired from the bank of the Mahanuddy, so far as the mouth of the Ung river near Binka, and a new State had sprung up under its auspices (on the north of the Ung) afterwards known as Sambalpoore. It might therefore seem foreign to the object of these "Notes" as touching Patna to speak of the rise and power of this second State. Nevertheless the advance of the latter was so intimately connected with, and so immediately the result of, the dominion of the former, and against the decline of the former so direct an issue of the rise of the latter, that it is necessary to trace the history of the extension of power across the Mahanuddy in so far as the grouping of the once known 18 "Gurhs" shall be concerned.

11. *Relinquishment by Patna of territory and dominion on the left bank of the Ung river. Creation of new State of Chowunpoor. Subjugation of other States dependencies of Sirgooja and acquisition of further territory.—Erection of fort of Sambalpoore and foundation of Sambalpoore State in lieu of Chowunpoor.*—Nursing Deo, the 12th Maharajah of Patna, and his brother Bulram Deo quarrelling, the former made over absolutely to the latter (probably on compulsion) all such portions of his territories as lay north of the river Ung the engagement between the two brothers being, that each was to be perfectly independent of the other. Bulram Deo taking possession of his allotment erected a fort on the right bank of the Mahanuddy exactly opposite the present city of Sambalpoore, at Chowunpoor (where to this day the traces of his fort are visible) and adopted the title of Rajah of Chowunpoor. Shortly after this he dispossessed Sirgooja of the dependencies of Suktee, Raigurh, and Burgurh and of the remaining portion, as before noticed, of Sambalpoore and finally included Boud and Atmulliek (now Gurjhat State of Cuttack) amongst the number of his tributary Muhals. After this he abandoned the fort of Chowunpoor, and crossing the river, erected a new fort on the opposite bank. To this he gave the name of Sambalpoore from the number of Seemul trees that existed then on its site. Then changing his own title to that of Maharajah of Sambalpoore, he founded a dominion which soon took the real ascendancy over the parent State of Patna.

12. The two States of Patna and Sambalpoore were now distinct, and the area of the "18 Gurhs" was now fully embraced: But as yet this number of Gurjhat States with independent Chiefs, tributary to the two paramount rulers of Patna and Sambalpoore, were not fully formed.

13. *Enumeration of the 15 "Gurhs" of the Sambalpoore and Patna group.*—The then existing Tributary Gurjhat States attached to Sambalpoore were Phooljur, Sarungurh, Suktee, Raigurh, Bunnaee, Gangpoore, Bamra, Boud, Atmulliek, and, by admission of the Sambalpoore Maharajah, Rehracole. To these may be added Chundurpoore, retained by the Maharajah under his own immediate authority. In Patna the only dependency was Bindanawagurh. The total therefore of the 18 "Gurhs" or Gurjhat States, during the time of Nursing Deo, and Bulram Deo, Maharajahs respectively of Sambalpoore and Patna, was 15. Wanting to complete were Sonepoor in the one case, and Khurriar and Borasambur in the other.

14. *Formation of the 8 remaining Gurjhat States.*—The necessity of providing for younger sons caused the alienation from the parent States of Sonepur and Khurriar. Thus Sonepore, as far as the left of the river Ung (the land on the right to the Tel river till, as before noted, belonging to Patna) its chief town being Binka, was constituted an independent tributary Gurjhat State by the 4th Rajah of Sambalpoore, who made it over with the title of Rajah to his 2nd son Muddum-Gopaul. And again the 15th Maharajah of Patna giving over three "Gurhs" of the original 8 of Patna, viz., Kholagurh, Goorhagurh, and Koomragurh, to his younger son Gopaul Ray, and the latter obtaining Khurriar as a dowry on his marriage with a daughter of the Rajah of Jaipoor, those gurhs merged into Khurriar, and the whole now constituted one Gurjhat State with the title of Rajah.

15. The last created Gurjhat was Borasambur, the present Chief of which owes his position to the cunning and power of an ancestor. Originally Borasambur consisted

of eight villages, which went by the name of "Atgaon", and formed a small Zemindari part of the integral estate of Patna. It is stated that one of the Zamindars of "Atgaon" having saved the life of a Sambur deer by killing a "bora" or boa-constrictor, which had attacked it, the name of the Zemindari was changed to Borasambur. Notwithstanding the smallness originally of the area of the Zemindari, the proprietor was a man of some importance. He was Chief of his caste-men, Bhinjwals; and, on the occasion of a new Maharajah being raised to the guddee it was his especial duty to take the latter on his lap and fold over his head the turban of State. Again the Zemindar held an important position. His lands were situated alone on the north side of the range of hills called Goondmardhum which form part of the northern boundary of Patna, and thus he could hold the approaches through those hills to Patna for or against any hostile forces. It would appear that during the first inroads of the Mahrattas the Zamindar of Borasambur was successful in guarding these approaches. For this service he was granted an extension of property on the Patna side. What the real grant was it is impossible now to say; but when the Maharajah of Patna, in A. D. 1818 was released from the captivity, in which he had been kept for 14 years by the Mahrattas, under orders of the British Government, and replaced in possession of his estates by Major Roudgsedge, it was found that the Zamindar had encroached upon a large tract of Patna territory, and it is said had possessed himself also of some 84 villages of the Phooljur Gurjhat. Complaint was made by the restored Muharajah of Patna, and he was forced to retire to his proper side of the hills, a gainer however so far that he retained the 84 villages of Phooljur and was allowed to hold possession of Borasambur with them in his own right from that time, as an independent tributary chieftain.

16. *Completion of the 18 "Gurhs".*—Thus then was completed the cluster of the 18 "Gurhs", as follows:—

- | | |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Patna. | 10. Bunnæ. |
| 2. Sambalpoore. | 11. Raigurh. |
| 3. Sonépoor. | 12. Burgurh. |
| 4. Bamra. | 13. Suktee. |
| 5. Rehracole. | 14. Chundurpoor. |
| 6. Gangpoor. | 15. Sarungurh. |
| 7. Boud. | 16. Brindanawagurh. |
| 8. Atmullik. | 17. Khurriar. |
| 9. Phooljur. | 18. Borasambur. |

17. *Loss to Patna of the land on the right bank of the Mahanuddy between the Ung and Tel rivers.*—Before proceeding to notice the ultimate severance and distribution of these States, it is necessary to refer back briefly to the time of Ram Sing Deo, the 21st Maharajah of Patna. This chieftain, having recovered possession of his Guddee from one usurping uncle, after a reign of nearly 60 years, and at the age of 80, was ultimately forced, on a general insurrection, to flee his country. He sought refuge at Binka, the seat of the Rajah of Sonépoor; and fearful of pursuit or treachery promised the latter a grant of that portion of his estate which fell between the Ung and Tel, if he would protect and assist him. The Rajah of Sonépoor was not slow to take advantage of the offer. The son secured to himself the possession of the promised land; but assistance was confined to personal protection. The aged Maharajah 3 years after died a refugee at Sonépoor, without a blow being struck for his restoration. This insurrection caused the loss to Patna of the last relic of its early acquisition.

18. *Gurjhat States brought under direct supervision of the British Government.*—The incursions and depredations of the Mahrattas had now caused the intervention of the British Government for the protection of the Gurjhat States. This ultimately resulted (in 1821) after that Boad and Atmullik had been transferred to Cuttack, in the rest being separately disconnected and placed under the immediate control and supervision of British agency.

19. In 1861 the States of Bamra and Gangpoor were transferred to Ranchi; and thus the circle of Gurjhate States became reduced to those exhibited in the annexed Schedule—Appendix No. 2.

20. *Summary.*—To sum up, reverting to Patna. It will be observed that, between the time of its foundation by Ramaee Deo and the reign of its 12th Maharajah, or, say, during a period of 340 years, Patna had grown, from a comparatively small State of 8 united gürhs, held by chiefs who each in turn for a day aped supreme authority over the rest to a powerful Province extending in territory and dominion for miles across the Mahanaddy to the confines of Sarungurh, and on the left bank from the borders of Atmullik to a line drawn northward from the west end of the (present) city of Sambalpore falling in with the river Eebe, to Gangpoor, and its authority—embracing the Gurjhat States, surrounding these possessions, of Brindanawagarh, Phooljur, Sarungurh, Gangpoor Bunnæe and Bamra; that by the abandonment of all its property and dominion on the North or left side of the Ung river, it relapsed to the area of its original 8 gürhs, including the plain between the Tel and Ung rivers, and to the authority over the one Gurjhat State of Brindanawagarh. That subsequently it first alienated 3 of its original gürhs and afterwards had to relinquish 12 of its most important villages, in return for all which, with additional lands from other quarters, it obtained control over two newly created Gurjhat States, viz., Kharriar and Borasambur. That previously to the last noted relinquishment it had lost the tract of land between the Tel and Ung rivers; and that, lastly being brought itself under the direct control of the British, it became deprived of the last vestige of its power; the control of its 3 tributary States (Brindanawagurh, Kurriar and Borasambur) and thus finally fell into a smaller circle of power and property than that which it embraced when, some 600 years before (dating from the usurpation of Ramaee Deo) it had first sprung into powerful existence.

21. Such then is the history of the extension and contraction of the territories and dominions of Patna. Like as its first sacrifice of ground, and of prospect of further advancement, was owing to family discussion, so also was the final loss of the last tract of its former acquisitions caused by family dissensions. In the one instance however it was left with the substance of conquest, and the opportunities, from arrested ambition of employing such to the development of its own reserved dominions; but in the other it was brought ultimately to entire ruin. A glance at the present features of the country of Patna, and a brief review of the dissensions that occurred during the time of Ram Sing Deo, and of their results, will serve to explain these last assertions.

SUPPLEMENTARY MEMORANDUM.

We beg to submit this supplementary memorandum for favour of your consideration.

That Bindra Nuagarh, now a zamindari, was one of the eighteen Garjats of the Sambalpore Kingdom, as already shown in paragraph 1(f) at page 2 of the original memorandum. It is an Oriya country. The people of this tract have no affinity with the C. P. people in language, customs, manners, religious rites and culture.

The position of this tract is shown in our map (not printed) already submitted and a glance at it will show that it is a part of natural Orissa.

We pray that this tract be amalgamated with the future Orissa Province.

APPENDIX 3.

A (4).

MEMORANDUM FOR GANJAM.

1. It is a matter of history that the kingdom of Orissa extended roughly from the Ganges to the Godavary. Following civil wars in the kingdom of Orissa, it was dismembered and portions of the kingdom were seized by the neighbouring powers who were subdued at different times by the British power, so that the several portions which once formed part of the ancient kingdom of Orissa were annexed to different British provinces on account of their local proximity regardless of any racial affinity. Unfortunately for the Oriyas they found themselves at the tail-end of every province and far off from the seats of provincial governments from which radiated British civilisation and enlightenment which, in consequence, least affected the Oriyas. On the other hand, their neighbours in different provinces having grown powerful by their closer contact with the British power at the provincial centres became intermediaries between the British power and the Oriyas and practically supplanted the Oriya language by their own. In the district of Ganjam Oriya was not recognised as a court language until 1890 when on the recommendation of a sympathetic Collector, the Madras Government issued G. O. 2024/Judicial, dated 15th December 1890. In Jeypore Oriya was recognised as court language much later.

2. The Oriyas being a helpless minority in every province, their customs and manners underwent considerable change owing to overpowering influence of their more powerful neighbours. Unfortunately the change brought about was not uniform upon the community as a whole, as it was exposed to varying influences in different provinces. The Oriyas sought protection at the hands of the provincial Government against the aggression of the neighbours and the provincial Government, alive to the helpless condition of the Oriyas, issued orders from time to time directing the use of Oriya language and employment of Oriyas and affording facilities to Oriyas for education. In spite of all that the provincial Government did, the Oriyas were at a disadvantage in the competition with their neighbours.

3. So, in 1902 the Oriyas realised that, unless they were placed under one provincial administration, they could be swamped and become extinct as a distinct race in spite of their glorious past.

The agitation for amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts which began towards the end of 1901 was successful only to the extent of bringing the district of Sambalpur into the Orissa division which was till 1905 included in Bengal. But the Oriyas, undaunted by the failure to secure their cherished ambition in full, and depending upon British Justice, have been carrying on their agitation.

4. The Government of India Act of 1919 which aimed at introducing some measure of responsible government placed the Oriyas at a greater disadvantage, as the Oriyas found themselves in hopeless minority in every legislature, so that they are not in a position in any legislature to make their voice felt. Furthermore, they were deprived of the protection afforded by sympathetic officers which they were having in a more or less degree prior to the Reforms. The Oriyas therefore realised the urgent necessity for the formation of an

Oriya province wherein their national genius and culture might be fostered, developed and strengthened.

5. Unfortunately during the British regime people of other races settled in tracts of country which were previously the home of the Oriyas. In Volume III of the well-known Firminger's Fifth report on East India Affairs (1 & 2) at page 79 the Oriyas are described as the natives of the soil. In dealing with the Raj family of Vizianagaram in the Vizagapatam district in Vol. III of the Report it is stated as follows :—

“ In general the history of all the Ranzees, or tribe of Raohewar in the circars, trace their origin to a dependence on the ancient rajas of the country either as Chelaks or favoured slaves, managers, talukdars, or renters of the sub-divisions of the sovereign domain ; and such also was the rise of all the other petty holders of land existing in this province, whether descended from the Velmawars of Telinga, or natives of the soil itself properly called Oriya.”

In dealing with the population of the Northern Circars Mr. James Grant, in his political survey of the Northern Circars reproduced in Volume III of the Fifth Report, says

“ They (the native inhabitants of Northern circars) are parts of the two nations of Telinga and Oriya, *Woria* or Orissa formerly divided from each other by the Godavary, but since their union under the Government a good deal mixed among themselves, as well as with some of the neighbouring tribes.”

6. The Oriyas from the beginning of this agitation have been claiming the whole of the Ganjam district including the Agency (minus the Chicacole taluk with its dependent taluk of Narasannapeta), and the Jeypore Agency consisting of the Koraput division comprising the Pottangi taluk including Pachi-Penta Agency, Koraput, Paduva, Jeyapur, Navarangapur and Malkanagiri taluks, and the Gunupur, Bissamkattak and Rayagada taluks and the Narayanapatnam Thana of the Jeypore Estate in the Parvatipuram taluk in the Parvatipuram Sub-division in the Vizagapatam district as Oriya-speaking tracts, even though a large Oriya population reside outside these areas. The population of the aforesaid tracts consists of either Oriyas or Oriya-speaking aboriginal tribes with a very small Telugu-speaking population at the borders of the Godavary.

7. The aforesaid tracts consist mainly of estates owned by Oriya Rajas or Zemindars, who have derived their title from the Oriya kings, the sovereigns of all these tracts. Telugu found its way into Jeypore in 1880 or thereabouts, the then Maharaja having entertained a Telugu man to carry on correspondence in Telugu with the Government officials, Oriya not having been then recognised as court language, but in the estate offices Oriya was the only language in use. In 1889, when the Jeypore Estate was placed under the management of the Court of Wards during the minority of the then Rajah, Telugu language and Telugu officials replaced the Oriya language and Oriya officials, so that the foot-hold so gained by Telugu language and Telugu officials has been retained in spite of G. Os. of the Madras Government recognising Oriya as the sole court language in certain taluks and prescribing the Oriya test for Government officials serving in the Jeypore Agency. So the Telugu population now found

in the Jeypur Agency found its way into the Agency since the management of the estate by the Court of Wards and in consequence thereof.

8. The Estate of Parlakimedi in the Ganjam district adjoins the Jeypore Estate, and is owned by a lineal descendant of Kopilendra Deo, one of the most powerful kings of Orissa. The Rajas of Parlakimedi, Bodokemedi and Sanokimedi are distinguished by the title of Gajapathy in token of their descent from the Gajapathy kings of Orissa. The territories owned by them adjoined one another until the Parlakimedi agency was cut off from the Parlakimedi Estate, and the Balliguda Agency from the Sanokemedi estate, the Ramagiri Udayagiri taluk in the Ganjam Agency is held on feudal tenure by the Zamindar of Bodokemedi. The Oriya Zamindars of Mandasa, Jarada, Budarsingi, Surangi and Bodogodo held tracts in Ganjam Agency on feudal service. The Ghumsur Udayagiri Taluk in the Ganjam Agency became Government property in 1836 or thereabouts along with Surada estate and its Agency appanage, when the Ghumsur Estate was bought in by Government along with the Surada estate which had, in its turn, been purchased by the Ghumsur Zamindar about two years previously at a revenue sale. The Agency appanage of the Jalantra estate was resumed by Government as the estate was sold in execution of a decree of the civil court. The Ganjam Agency adjoins the Jeyapur Agency and the Khond Mahals of Orissa and the Ganjam and the Jeyapur Agency people have kinship and matrimonial ties and have the same customs and manners and language denoting their racial identity. The aboriginal tribes have no written language of their own and the attempt made in certain quarters to give them a written language has been neither successful, nor useful to the aboriginal tribes. Centuries ago the aboriginal tribes in the aforesaid Agency tracts came into contact with Oriyas who ruled them, educated them, and gave them such civilization as they possessed before the advent of the British rule. Even under the British regime the work began by the Oriyas is continued by the provincial government, so that Oriya language is taught in schools started for the aborigines. Almost all the hill chiefs are Oriyas or Oriya-speaking. It is but right that the aforesaid Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam should be included in the proposed Utkal Province.

9. The Ghumsur taluk and the Aska taluk and the Surada taluk comprising the Estates of Bodogodo, Sergoda, Sanokimedi, Dharakote and Atgada, the proprietary estates of Aska, Devabhumi and a portion of the Ryotwari tracts of Chatrapur taluk, etc., are within the jurisdiction of the Aska District Munsiff Court, the court language of which is recognised to be Oriya only by G. O. 456-Judicial, dated the 5th March 1913. The Chatrapur sub-division comprises the taluks of Kodala and Chatrapur. The Kodala taluk consists of the estates of Atgada and Khallikote owned by the Raja of Khallikote. The Raja is an Oriya and has relationship with the rulers of Feudatory States in Orissa. The population consists entirely of Oriyas or of Oriya-speaking people. The Chatrapur taluk comprises three small estates owned originally by Oriya Zamindars but one of which is now owned by the Raja of Bobbili and the other by the Zamindar of Chemudu in Vizagapatam district, who is an Oriya. The people of all the three estates are entirely Oriya or Oriya-speaking. The population of the Ryotwari tract of the Chatrapur

taluk consists mainly of Oriyas and the sprinkling Telugu population speaks Oriya and is ignorant of Telugu except in towns, where it comes into contact with Telugu officials.

10. The Berhampur Taluk comprises the ancient Mohuri estate which was owned by an Oriya Zamindar, but was bought in by Government in 1836 or thereabouts. The population consists mainly of Oriyas. The Telugus also know Oriya. All the Hindu merchants of Berhampur used to maintain their records and accounts in Oriya but some of them have begun to use Telugu after the agitation for amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts began. The Kalinga Komaties who have no relations south of the district and have their kith and kin in northern Ganjam and in Orissa, who do not know Telugu at all, have adopted Oriya customs and manners and celebrate Oriya festivals and have Oriya priests. The weavers of Berhampur also know Oriya having settled in Berhampur from a very long time. The Kalinjis of Berhampur have adopted Oriya customs and manners and have Oriya purohits. The Reddis also know Oriya and have adopted Oriya customs and manners having been cut off, for centuries, from their kith and kin in the southern districts of the Madras Presidency. The Bodokhemidi Estate in Berhampur Taluk is an Oriya Zemindari.

11. The Ichapur Taluk comprises three Zamindariies owned by Oriya Zemindars who have relationship with Feudatory Chiefs and Zamindars of Orissa. The people are Oriyas and speak Oriya. The Uddanam villages which are situated on the seacoast are inhabited mainly by Odias, a section of Oriya Sudras and Kalinjis. The Odias speak Oriya and the Kalinjis who have no relationship south of the district also know Oriya. The Reddis in Ichapur Taluk also know Oriya.

12. The Sompeta Taluk comprises the estates of (1) Jalandra ; (2) Budarsingi ; (3) Mandasa ; (4) Peta Hunda and Baruva ; (5) a portion of the Chikati estate and the Ryotwari tracts on the sea-shore known as Uddanam. What has been said with regard to the Uddanam villages of the Ichapur taluk holds good with regard to the Uddanam villages of Sompeta taluk also. The Jalandra Estate was owned by an Oriya Zamindar but is now in the hands of the Raja of Vizianagaram. The people are either Oriyas or Oriya-speaking. The observations made with regard to the Kalingis of Berhampur taluk hold good with regard to the Kalingas of the Jalandra estate as well. The people of Budarsingi are Oriyas and the Zamindar is an Oriya. The Zemindar of the Mandasa estate is an Oriya and the population consists of Oriyas, Kalingis and Kapus. What has already been said with regard to Kalingis, also applies to Kalingis of the Mandasa estate. The Kapus of the Mandasa Estate know Oriya and have kinship with the Kapus of Bodokhemidi Estate who speak only Oriya. They have no relationship with people beyond the district. The proprietary estates of Baruva, Peta, and Hunda are owned by Oriyas and are peopled by Oriyas, Kalingis of the same class as reside in Berhampur Taluk and know Oriya, and most of them get Oriya Puranas read out to them by Oriya Brahmins. The portion of the Chikati Estate in Sompeta taluk is owned by an Oriya Zamindar and is peopled by Oriyas or Oriya-speaking people. The Kalingis residing in this part of the Chikati estate are of the same class as the Kalingis of Berhampur taluk.

13. The Tekkali Taluk consists of the estates of (1) Tarla ; (2) Nandigam ; (3) Tekkali ; and (4) small proprietary estates. The owners of Tarla, Nandigam and Tekkali are Oriyas as well as of some of the small estates. The people are Kalingis, Kapus and Oriyas. The remarks already made about the Kapus, Kalingis, hold good with regard to Kappus and Kalingis of these Estates.

14. The Parlakimedi taluk consists of the Parlakimedi Agency, the Parlakimedi estate and the Hiramandalam village belonging to the Raja of Vizianagaram.

15. Observations have already been made with regard to the Parlakimedi Agency. The village of Hiramandalam originally belonged to the Parlakimedi estate but was excluded from it before or at the time of the Permanent Settlement. The population of the village consists of Oriyas, Kapus and Kalinga Komaties.

The Estate of Parlakimedi is owned, as has been stated already, by a descendant of Kapilendra Dev, a king of Orissa and is an Oriya. The population consists of Oriyas, Kapus and Kalingis. Oriya was the language of the estate before 1832 when a Telugu gentleman was appointed as manager of the estate which was then under the Court of Wards. Gradually Telugu and Telugu officials replaced Oriya and Oriya officials. During the transitory period the Court of Wards found it necessary in 1850 or thereabouts to appoint an Oriya Shirastadar beside a Telugu Shirastadar. As Oriya was not recognised as court language and Telugu was the language used in the estate office during the administration of the Court of Wards, Oriya found no place in the land of such Oriya poets as Gopal Krishna Patnaik, Padmanabha Poricha, Gourahari Poricha and others. A grandson of Gopalkrishna Patnaik learnt Telugu to the neglect of his mother tongue because, as a village accountant, he was forced to maintain its accounts in Telugu. Even in 1912 when grouping was introduced in the Parlakimedi estate, when Mr. Bhore (now Sir Joseph Bhore) was the Sub-Collector of Chicacole division, the Manager-in-charge of the Parlakimedi estate under the management of the Court of Wards objected to the appointment of one Ramachandra Naiko or Naidu as Headman of the Nulakajodu group on the ground that he knew Oriya only and did not know Telugu, but the Sub-Collector over-ruled the objection and appointed Ramachandra Naiko or Naidu as Headman. Ramachandra Naidu belonged to the Kapu caste. He is an instance of a Kapu learning to read and write Oriya voluntarily. The head of the Kapu caste is known as Mondolo Naiko, an Oriya title which he receives from the Raja of Parlakimedi and resides at Bhusukudi, a village in the estate. The caste head and other members of the family know and speak Oriya.

16. The census of 1901 which were compiled before any agitation was started for amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts under one provincial administration and Risley proposals of the Government of India can alone be taken as correct and reliable, the census figures of 1911, 1921 and 1931 having been compiled by and under the guidance and supervision of persons interested in the agitation and counter-agitation relating to the amalgamation of Oriya-speaking tracts. Corrupt forms of the Oriya language have been misrepresented as independent languages and certain Oriya castes and classes have

been falsely returned as Telugu or Telugu-speaking in the census figures of 1911, 1921 and 1931.

17. It is not only just but also absolutely necessary for the preservation of the Oriya community and its culture from extinction that a separate province should be formed incorporating all the Oriya-speaking tracts including the areas described in paragraph 6 *supra*.

APPENDIX 3.

A (5).

MEMORANDUM OF THE GANJAM LANDHOLDERS ASSOCIATION.

The President and the Members of the Ganjam Landholders Association accord a cordial welcome to you, President and the Members of the separate Oriya Province Enquiry Committee, and earnestly make the following submissions for your careful consideration.

The District of Ganjam is almost all Zamindari and the Zamindars who have acquired vested interests and have got a large stake in the District have derived their power and Estates from the Gajapathi kings of Orissa who granted them their lands on condition of feudal service and of keeping in check the wild aboriginal tribes of the hills. Most of these Zamindars were recognised by Sri Purushotama Deo who ruled over Orissa in 1479 to 1504.

Historically speaking, therefore, the district of Ganjam was an integral part of the Orissan Empire for centuries with its hoary civilisation until its disruption in 1565. Most of us of the District have got their kith and kin among the feudatory chiefs and Zamindars of present Orissa from time immemorial (as stated in the 5th Report of the East India Company's Affairs) and their separation from them is a mere matter of accident due to several causes, and Ganjam, a relic of disrupted Orissa, is subjected to several disabilities, social, linguistic, religious, administrative and political. Geographically also Ganjam has many physical features in common with Orissa and at different points of the district there are very ancient footpaths and roads to facilitate frequent social intercourse and commercial transport.

The Celebrated Simon Report also recognises the need for a separate Oriya province the boundaries of which are matters of detail within the scope of your present enquiry.

The Landholders of the District submit that nothing short of the inclusion of the whole of the Ganjam district excluding only Chicacole and Narasannapeta Taluks in the separate Oriya province to be constituted, would satisfy the Landholders and put an end to their social, religious and administrative disabilities now experienced by them.

In approaching the problem as to what portion of Madras is to be tacked on to the new Oriya province when constituted, the Landholders submit that the Historical and Linguistic aspects of the case besides the time-honoured and vested interests possessed by them in the district may be given due and prominent consideration. Further, large tracts of land in the district are endowed by the Landholders to Mutts at Puri and the management of the same by several Mahants of Puri is also rendered difficult if the whole district (minus

Chicacole and Narasanpeta Taluks) is not placed under a unified and separately constituted Oriya province.

Needless to add that greater facilities would accrue to the Landholders of this district which now lies under the natural disadvantage of being separated by more than 600 miles from the headquarters of the province, by its inclusion in the new province.

The Landholders further submit that any proposal resulting in a bifurcation of the Zamindari areas of the district would not only be disastrous but would make their position more insecure and the fruits of reforms inaugurated in 1917 would practically be denied to them.

The Landholders of Ganjam therefore most humbly submit that the above facts may be taken into consideration and that you may be pleased to recommend to the Government of India about the absolute necessity of including the whole district excluding Chicacole and Narasannapeta Taluks, including the whole of Jeyapore in the Vizagapatam district in the separate Oriya province to be constituted on grounds, social, religious, ethnological and administrative, for which the Landholders of the District will be ever grateful to you.

APPENDIX 3.

A (6).

MEMORANDUM OF PARLAKIMEDI.

We, the undersigned residents of Parlakimedi, accord a cordial welcome to you, the Chairman and the members of the Orissa Boundary Committee, and respectfully submit the following memorandum for your favourable consideration.

Parlakimedi has had its fair share of the agitation started in the beginning of this century for the unification of the Oriya tracts into a separate province. Leaders of thought in the Oriya country have given their support to the demand that Parlakimedi is, for more than a score of reasons, entitled to form part of the new Oriya province that is on the anvil. Interested Telugu leaders of the Ganjam District have objected in recent years, without a show of reason, to the inclusion of Parlakimedi in the new Oriya province. But it will be found on careful examination that the claim of Parlakimedi to be amalgamated with Orissa is supported by historical, social, racial, literary, religious and other considerations.

Introductory Remarks.

It is our endeavour to point out that Parlakimedi, which is an integral part of the Ganjam District, was, since the dawn of history, under the same political system with modern Orissa, shared the rising and sinking fortunes of the same ruling house, retained undying social affinities and contributed in great measure to the essential unity of the people inhabiting both the regions until there came a break, violent but only geographical, with the conquest of the Oriya country by foreigners—the Mussalmans, the Mahrattas and the British. Mughal ambition and Mahratta greed led to the conquest of this country and the vagaries of conquest led to the physical separation of Ganjam

from the rest of Orissa. The British have in turn held steadfastly to the unnatural division for reasons of quasi-administrative convenience.

Kalinga from C. 2nd B. C. to the C. 5th A. D.

It is now well-known that the ancient Kingdom of Kalinga, known as Mauryan-India and the Asokan inscriptions, comprised among other parts, the Ganjam District and modern Orissa. Under Kharavela in the second century B. C., the Kingdom of Kalinga expanded into a small empire and wielded in consequence an enormous influence on contemporary Indian powers. The Empire then extended along the coast from the Ganges to the Godavari. Under the Kushans, Kalinga was left untouched. It was unconquered even by the imperial Guptas.

Kalinga in the C. 7th A. D.

The next stage in the history of Kalinga opens with the visit of Hiuen Tsang, the Chinese pilgrim, to India in the 7th Century A. D., Kalinga was certainly outside the pale of Harsha's Empire. Hiuen Tsang tells us that the ancient Kingdom of Kalinga was cut up into three distinct parts, Odra, Kongoda and Kalinga.

Kesari Kings.

The Kara (Kesari) kings of Orissa who reigned from the 5th to the 11th Century "doubtless extended their sway over the neighbouring tracts of Ganjam" (Ganjam District Manual, page 77).

Ganjam, never a part of Telingana.

The Ganjam District was never in, or under, the Tailangadesha, known to modern students as Telingana. A copper plate grant of Mumudi Nayak, ruler of Rajmahendry, issued in 1358 A. C., gives the boundaries of the Tailangadesha. To the north of Tailangadesha lay Kanyakubja (Kanauj), Maharashtra to the west, Pandya to the south and Kalinga to the east. (The Epigraphica Indica, Vol. XIV.) In the "Vachaspatya" the country is described to have extended from the Srisailla or Malikarjuno near the river Krishna into the heart of the Chola Kingdom. Cunningham in his "Ancient Geography" gives us the composition of the five Divisions of India. "Eastern India comprised Assam and Bengal proper including the whole of the Delta of the Ganges together with Sambalpur, Orissa and Ganjam. Southern India comprised the whole of the peninsula from Nasik on the west and Ganjam on the east to Cape-Kumari (Camorin) on the south including the modern district of Berar and Telingana. (Cunningham's "The Ancient Geography of India", page 14.) Lassen says that northern Kalinga is Orissa and that Ganjam forms part of the Oriya country. Rev. A. R. Symmonds, M.A., in his book on "Geography and History of India", 1859, says that the Oriyas or the people of Orissa were formerly separated from the Telugus by the Godavari and that the latter are the original inhabitants of the Districts south of the Godavari, pages 158-159. It follows from the descriptions given by Eastern and Western scholars that though the Tailangadesha sometimes extended beyond its natural boundary the river Godavari, it never incorporated the Ganjam District.

Rise and Expansion of the Ganga Power.

A glorious chapter opened in the history of this country with the rise and expansion of the Ganga power over the entire country of Kalinga. Mukhalinga in the Parlakimedi taluk, was the capital of the early Ganga Kings. Chorogongadeva, a worthy descendant of this family, invaded Orissa, defeated the last Kesari King and brought the whole of Kongoda and Utkal under his control. Thus was established Ganga authority over the whole of ancient Kalinga extending from the Ganges to the Godavari. Under him the status and prestige of the central authority revived and an efficient system of administration was established. In order to keep the turbulent Savaras under control in the Agency tracts, he entrusted them to the charge of the Khandayets from the plains, who were known as the Bissoyees and who have in course of years become the natural leaders of the Savara Community. Choroganga changed his capital from Mukhalinga to Cuttack.

Foundation of the Kamedî Kingdom.

One Kapilendra alias Bhanu Deva of Ganga family of Orissa installed his natural son, Purushottama on the Gadi and his eighteen sons, born to legitimate wives, spread themselves over the wild regions of the kingdom. Kolahombir, the eldest of the eighteen, occupied the Kimeri country, which included, besides the modern Estates of Parlakimedi, Bodokhimedi, Sonnokhimedi, and a large Agency tract, the taluks of Gunupur (now in Jeypore), Hiramandalam and Srikurmam. Thus was established over this wide extent of territory the sovereignty of the Rajah of Parlakimedi, supported by the influence and prestige of royal descent and maintained unimpaired till the end of the 18th Century. The total extent of the Kimeri country was about 3,729 sq. miles (1,023 sq. miles on the plains and 2,700 sq. miles of Maliahs or Hills). The Parlakimedi Raj, therefore, in quite recent times comprised a territory of about 4,000 sq. miles. All the eighteen other Zamindars in Ganjam were under the control of the Parlakimedi Raj down to the latter part of the 18th Century.

The Chicacole Circar, 1571 A. D.

Mukunda Harichandana, the king of Orissa, lost his independence in 1568 and for about 10 years anarchy was rampant in Orissa. "About 1571 Ibrahim, the 4th Monarch of the Kutubshahi line, took advantage of the uncertain rule in Orissa and made himself master of the Godavari and other districts as far north as Chicacole. For about 180 years, the Ganjam District, which, including the Ichapur province, then known by the name of "Chicacole Circar" was controlled either more or less directly by Mussalman authority from Hyderabad." (Ganjam District Manual, page 80.)

Mahrattas in Orissa, 1740 A. D.

The downfall of the Mughal Empire gave the Mahrattas their chance. Finding no one in central India to oppose them, they soon overran the country from west to east establishing themselves in the province of Orissa about 1740. It is interesting to note in this connection that, inspired by natural affection for Orissa and the desire to regain his ancestral throne, Jaganath Narayan Deb, the Rajah of Parlakimedi, invaded Khurda in 1760 to wrest the kingdom

from Beerakishore Deb and bring the people under Ganga rule, but was defeated by the Mahrattas under Sivabhatta Samant Rao. In the meanwhile, the Chicacole Circar continued to be administered by the Mussalman Foudjars at Chicacole with the assistance of their Naibs at Ichapore.

Northern Circars in English hands, 1766 A. D.

In 1753, the Chicacole Circar was ceded to the French by Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-mulk of the Deccan. However, the Circar still continued to be administered by a Mussalman Foudjar subject to the authority of the French. At this time, the Carnatic became the theatre of warfare between the English and the French and both gave free play to their territorial ambitions. During this contest, the fate of Ganjam was being decided. The war of succession in Hyderabad threw the British and the French in hostile camps. To end a complicated story, the English won in the conflict. The northern Circars including the Ganjam District passed into the hands of the English in 1765. The cession of this territory was formally ratified by treaty the next year in 1766.

Dismemberment of Orissa, and the ills of Parlakimedi.

It is to be remembered that though the Ganjam District was temporarily separated from the rest of Orissa in the course of its history, the difficulties were never so emphasised as under British rule. In spite of the political vicissitudes that Orissa has been through in the centuries of her history, the cultural unity of Orissa remained unimpaired. Even Muslim occupation was not productive of the manifold disadvantages that the present dismemberment of Orissa has ushered in, and Parlakimedi has suffered most of the other outlying tracts in vital points of her existence. The ills of Parlakimedi consequent on the vivisection of natural Orissa, were increased tenfold by the importation of a race of intermediary rulers—the Telugus—with the passing of the Samasthanam under the Court of Wards which continued to manage it for a century. During this time, the Telugus flocked into this Taluq in ever increasing numbers and the administrative machinery was manned and reinforced by an immense majority of Telugu people. With the influence and prestige that ordinarily accompany the governing hands, the Telugu officers sought in the past to the best of their ability to checkmate the onward march of the native Oriya people in all progressive spheres of life. Bereft of inspiration native enterprise was stifled and intellectual stature dwarfed.

Immigration of Telugus begins.

Upon the British acquisition of the Northern Circars, the District was rented out to Sitaram Raz, the brother of Vizia Ram Raz, Rajah of Viziyana-gram for a period of ten years until 1777 and it was further renewed for ten years. His management of the country was most oppressive. Sitaram Raz dispossessed the Brahmins of their charity lands of Agraharams and in recompense bestowed upon them Haveli villages. The manufacturers and the artisans of the country emigrated in large numbers and went to the other places where they were less oppressed. (Ganjam District Manual, page 129.) It is reasonable to suppose that the native manufacturers and artisans, who were rendered homeless, did make room for men of the renter's liking and as they belong to the south of this District a large number of them must have been Telugus. For a long time, the British were not able to take direct charge

of the administration. The Haveli lands increased in extent and they were rented out, as their names show, to Telugu bidders. A succession of Telugu renters in these parts gave their kinsmen a higher social status and, besides the revenue establishment, many Telugu people should have availed this opportunity and settled down supported by the authority and prestige of Telugu renters.

Increases during the Rebellion.

The immigration of large numbers of Telugus continued during all the years that the Kimedi country was in a state of rebellion. A study of the Census reports of the years 1901 to 1911 and 1911 to 1921 has shown that during these years 15,172 people have migrated from Ganjam to Vizagapatam while 38,335 people from the plains of the neighbouring district of Vizagapatam have immigrated into the Ganjam District..

Regime of the Court of Wards.

While Parlakimedi was under the Court of Wards, our Telugu officers sought to supersede the Oriya language and give Telugu a precedence. The whole establishment from the Manager at the top to the petty clerks at the bottom consisted of Telugu people only. Hence, all the office records including vouchers and receipts which were till then in Oriya were now maintained in Telugu. When one Subbarao Mudaliar was the Manager, he seems to have made knowledge of Telugu imperative. On this the Oriyas of Parlakimedi set up a steady agitation to restore Oriya to its natural place. Deputations and memorials were addressed to the Madras Government in order to grant the Oriya language its legal status. The Government persisted in refusing to listen to the demands of the people. Finally in 1890 the Government recognised Oriya as the Court language of Ganjam District and expressed the wish to make appointments with reference to percentage of population. Even to-day it exists as merely a pious wish.

Parlakimedi streets and their formation.

One fact should impress the Commission that the Oriya inhabitants of this place are certainly older in time and the Telugus have settled in Parlakimedi only in recent years. Since the Vedic Age, the Hindu society is composed of the four traditional castes, Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudras. It is noteworthy that in Parlakimedi the Oriya population has organised itself into the four component parts and attained stability of structure. In the Parlakimedi town each Oriya caste has occupied a separate area for itself and every street is named after the particular caste that resides in it, such as Brahmin, Katikia, Karana, Pandara, Odia, Chitrakara, Bhandari and Relli. This points to the inevitable conclusion that centuries of occupation have made residence so comfortable. No Telugu Caste on the contrary occupies a separate street for itself. Most Sudra castes such as the Ghasis, Panos, Fishermen, Potters and others whose services are indispensable to the Hindu society speak Oriya, observe Oriya festivals and ceremonies. Prospects of trade and profit have invited a handful of Vaisyas while the Telugu Sudras, rather cultivators, and workers in the fields have come in from Vizianagram and the south, and settled in the course of the last century. Hence the Telugus have not got a self-contained

organization of village life with their artisans and menials necessary for their society in the manner Oriya villages possess.

Mutts and Temples.

All the temples and Mutts that exist in this taluk are the result of royal and private charity and employ only Oriya priests. The deities installed are given Oriya names, such as Radhakrishna, Gopinath, Raghunath, Rama and Jagannath. One or two Telugu Temples that are found now to exist were built within the last 60 years. It is also instructive to know that almost all these temples of the taluk have to get the sanction of the Radhakant Mutt, Puri, the accredited seat of the 'Gaudia Sampradaya' and have to conduct their worship with a ritual approved of by the Mahant of the Radhakant Mutt who is the Religious Guru of the Rajah of Parlakimedi. This emphasises the religious unity of the Oriyas who have been separated and now claim to be united. The existence here of the temple of God Jagannath with the Great Car Festival characteristic of, and peculiar to, the Oriyas goes to prove that this is an Oriya country.

Inam Lands.

Nearly 70% of the inam lands of this taluk is held by Oriya Inamdars. The names of the villages of the taluq show that they are mostly aboriginal and Oriya names, while a comparatively few villages bear Telugu names. This should have been otherwise if the Telugu people had settled earlier in this area.

Rajah's Institutions.

The vested interests are admittedly a substantial part of the body politic and modern practice gives them the consideration they deserve. The Rajah Sahab of Parlakimedi runs at his cost many useful institutions such as a Second Grade College with a residential hostel, a Sanskrit College, an Oriya and Telugu Girls' School, an Industrial School, a Veterinary Hospital and a well-equipped model Home Farm. Except for a few minor educational institutions in the town and the taluq the whole population of the Estate depend upon the Rajah Sahab for all their needs of life and society. The new province in the event of union will enjoy the benefit of these institutions. The Samasthanam has constructed a Rail road to the extent of 57 miles which is no less than a boon to passengers and traders. This line, proceeding as it does, as far as Gunupur, establishes direct communication between the plains of Parlakimedi and the hills of Jeypore, thus facilitating traffic in the natural products of the Agency, bringing them to the plains and in the commodities such as salt, dried-fish, finished products, etc., of Parlakimedi and Tekkali taking them into the Agency. This is the main channel through which the forest produce of the vast hill tracts can at all go out into the market and foreign goods imported into the interior. On the whole this has resulted in powerfully aiding the industrial development of these parts. Besides, the Forest, Salt, Engineering, the Railway and the other departments give employment to hundreds of people. The wishes of a man of the Rajah's position and importance should be given due consideration. Likewise, the opinion of the Mahants, the Bishoys and other Mokhasadars cannot be ignored.

Physical features, Communications, Trade and Commerce.

Geographically Parlakimedi has many physical features in common with Orissa and the other parts of Ganjam and there are many facilities for trade and commerce. From ancient times there have been foot-paths and roads connecting Parlakimedi plains and hills with Jeypore Agency, Kalahandi and Bastar on the west and north-west, and with Berhampur, Ghumsoor, Orissa and Sambalpur on the east and north-east, and along these channels trade and commerce between all the parts mentioned used to be carried on even till recent times by carts and mainly by khaudo (caravan cattle). The commercial enterprise in these parts has from remote times been chiefly in the hands of Oriyas. The inhabitants of the whole Batta Gaudo street trade in castor, cocoanuts, and fibres; the Tellis in oils, the Pondaras, Rellis, Keutos and Kondoras in vegetables and fish; the Paindas and Rellis in Agency produce such as oranges, nuxvomika, roots, oils and honey; the khaudos in salt and dried fish; the Oriyas in rice and vegetables; the Goudos in cattle and their ghee and milk. The two famous breeds of buffaloes known as Kolahandia and Sambalpuria are popularly purchased and used by local cultivators. Oriyas have never been wanting in undertaking even larger Commercial enterprises such as paddy, groundnut, timber, etc.

Development of Industries.

The facilities of communication by road have given an impetus to the development of industries and now with the help of 57 miles of Railway the development of industries is possible. The horn-work, the wood-work and wood carving, the stone-work, the pottery, the metal work, the rattan and "Jaikhadi" work, the dolls and models prepared by chitrakaras, all these will improve. Again, industries in agricultural products such as jaggery, jute, lac, etc., and in all other commodities will thrive well.

University.

The Rajah's College of Parlakimedi together with the Khallikote College at Berhampur and the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack will form the nucleus of a University for Orissa. The Rajah's Sanskrit College of Parlakimedi and the Puri Sanskrit College can adequately impart instruction in the oriental studies of the Orissa University.

The Onko of Parlakimedi Raj.

The Oriya people of Parlakimedi use, and have been using, from remote times the Onko (era) of the Local Maharajah in their horoscopes. In the inscriptions of Mukholingo the Onko of the king who issued them is used, just as in the Acts of the British Parliament the regnal year of the Sovereign is used, and not the Christian era. The Parlakimedi Onko is confined to this taluq alone while the rest of the Oriyas use the Onko of the Maharajah of Puri. The Telugus of Parlakimedi do not use either the Puri or the Parlakimedi Onko. This fact should convince any one that, if the Telugus settled in this place before the days of British conquest, that is when the Local Maharajah was independent, they could not have used any era other than that of the reigning king.

Palace Servants.

All servants of the palace, from very early times, including high priests and menials were, and are still Oriyas. Holders of royal titles which are conferred on them with reference to the service of each were, and are, now confined to the Oriya population. Some of those titles are Poricha, Jenna, Sasomolo, Mohapatro, Bissoyi, Lenka, Majhi, Dondo Naiko, Sodosyo, Pattojoshi, Khadenga, Panigrahi, Nayoko, Hodopo, Nisonko, etc.; and were assigned to the various departments of the State.

Oriya Poets in Parlakimedi.

It should be borne in mind that Oriya literature and art have been enriched by the genius of Parlakimedi. Poets like Gopalkrishno Patnaik, Roghunatha Poricha, Padmanabha Poricha, Gaurahari Poricha, Harikrisno Mahapatro, Madhusudan Panigrahi, Chaitayano Rajguru and eminent literary people like Syamasundoro Rajguru and Gopinatho Nanda Sarma, have made Parlakimedi a noted cultural centre. The Ancestors of the present Rajah of Parlakimedi such as Jagannath Narayanna Deb, Padmanabha Narayanna Deb and Padmanabha Deb were poets of a high order. These great men have become the proud hegemony of natural Orissa in the modern age. Moreover, they have enriched Oriya literature and culture to such an extent that the Oriya race looks upon the place of their birth as too sacred and important to be disintegrated from the Oriya country. No great man of letters on the other hand has been born among the Telugus of this taluq of whom they can speak with admiration. The Oriya theatre established by the late Sri Padmanabha Deb is the first of its kind in Natural Orissa. Oriya dramatic art and music are kept alive here through the theatre and the Lilas, Sokhinatto and Dasakathiya Nato. Again, these and the works of the poets and authors mentioned above have so influenced the language that no difference is traceable between the Oriya language of Orissa and Parlakimedi, although the latter is situated close to the Telugu Country.

Architecture and Paleography.

This Taluk contains a number of temples built by Ganga kings. During the reign of Madhukamarnaba many beautiful temples were built at Mukhalinga which are even earlier than the famous temples of Puri and Konarka. These and other temples of this Taluk such as Meliaputi, Neelakantheswara, and Ramalingeswara are built completely after the Orissan style of architecture, quite unaffected by Chalukyan or Dravidian ideas. The Mukhalinga temples are a glorious example of the state of excellence to which Oriya architecture had attained. This brings home to our minds that the Oriya culture was predominant in this region centuries before the Telugus set foot on this soil. "The inscriptions of this part (Kalinga) of the country show no trace of the ancient Dravidian alphabet and it is possible that the inhabitants never possessed it. The character which they afterwards acquired came directly from the Asoka alphabet though independently of the chera above mentioned, and forming a quite separate family". (Ref. Madras Administrative Manual, Vol. I, page 132.)

Affinities.

It is needless to mention that the closest affinity exists between the Oriyas of Parlakimedi and Orissa in matters of food, dress, customs, manners, marriage, funeral, and other ceremonies. History shows us to be a people accustomed to live under the same authority till the present dismemberment. Though the administrative unity has been broken, the unity of common ideals with the bond of blood-relationship continues unhampered. Blood-relationship exists between the Rajah of Parlakimedi and the Feudatory Rajahs and Zamindars of Orissa; between the Oriya people of these parts and with those of Natural Orissa.

The Savaras, their assimilation of Oriya culture.

The Savaras that predominate the Agency tracts of Parlakimedi are recognised on high authority to be one of the many species of a single genus. Mr. B. C. Mazumdar advances the theory that the Savaras of Ganjam, the Saharas of Cuttack and Baleswar, the Hos of Singhbhum, the Santals, the Bhuyans, the Kols, and the Binjhals of the Orissa Feudatory states are branches of the same family. (Ref. "Aborigines of Central India" by B. C. Mazumdar.) The Savaras, with whom we are concerned, are certainly the pre-historic inhabitants of Ganjam. For centuries they have lived with their Oriya neighbours in the plains. "The Khonds and Savaras of Ganjam district are so intimate with the Oriyas, and have adopted in so many cases their manners, customs, and language" (Stanley P. Rice), that they feel quite at home with their Oriya neighbours. An ancestor of these Savaras by name Basu Soboro had the sole right of worshipping God Jagannath at first. The Savaras are now educated in the Oriya language. Responsible officers of the Madras Government have found on careful examination that the Savaras should, for historical reasons, adopt the Oriya language as the medium of instruction. Accordingly, Elementary schools employing Oriya teachers have been started in recent years. The Sohoras of Cuttack and Balasore speak Oriya but with a peculiar accent. If the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam are united with Orissa all the aborigines of central India would be brought together under a single province. Thus would be formed a homogeneous union of all the aborigines that belong to the Kolerian race and speak the Munda language.

The Census Errors.

The map of the Oriya-speaking tracts, appended in the Indian Statutory Commission Report, Vol. 2, shows that the Oriya population in this taluq ranges from 10 to 25 per cent. But any one who has moved through the taluq and has a bit of contact with typical villages will easily see that the ratio indicated in the map is not even half of what it ought to be. The census report of 1931 is expected to give details of Oriya and Telugu population in the taluq. But that the census figures as between the Oriyas and the Telugus of Ganjam have always been unreliable and inaccurate, except probably in 1901, can be easily proved (see pamphlet "The Census Errors of Ganjam") from the inaccuracy and discrepancies characteristic of the district census figure.

At the time of census enumeration, the Telugu or the Telugu-influenced enumerators and Supervisors who form the major part of the District census department have been generally, either intentionally or unintentionally, agents in marking the mother tongue of thousands of Oriyas of these parts as Telugu. The consciousness of race-superiority of these intermediary rulers (Telugus) is responsible for the negligence on their part to see that sufficient enquiry was made in doubtful cases before a person's mother tongue was noted. Very often they put questions in Telugu and elicited answers from the frightened innocent Oriya villagers in imperfect Telugu, and that gave a clue that his mother tongue was Telugu. Sometimes when an Oriya replied that he was a Kampo, he was at once presumed to be a Kapu (a Telugu Caste) and assigned Telugu as his mother tongue. Again the hierarchy of Civil Officers, the superior cadre among whom in these parts are mostly Telugu, are an object of terror to the meek enumerators if they happened to be village writers, and this mental state is no little responsible to the erroneous representation of the thousands of Oriyas as Telugu-speaking or of Telugu castes.

The second source of errors is the way in which Oriya and Telugu castes are classified. In the census of 1901 Oriya castes such as Kampo, Kalinji, Kumbharo, Dhoba, Mediri, Odiya have been described as Kapu, Kalingi, Kum-mari, Tsakala, Dedara, Odde and included under Telugu castes, although the former have nothing to do with the latter and are quite distinct from them. Again, purely Oriya castes such as Kabiti, Liyari, Bhoi, etc., are entered under Telugu caste-heads.

In 1911 Census, the same kind of mistakes continued. An apparently judicious step was taken in separating Kalinjis from Kalingis, but the former who speak Oriya, although an undoubtedly Oriya caste, were entered under Telugu caste-heads side by side with the latter. In 1921 a *via media* step appears to have been taken to avoid classification of castes altogether. All castes, irrespective of Oriya, Telugu, Tamil, etc., are alphabetically arranged and under each caste the numbers are given showing the language they speak.

The classification of castes at the Census office is not free from manipulations inspired by a deliberate determination to reduce Oriya numbers or from mistakes due to wrong notions of Oriya castes on the part of clerks who were mostly Telugus.

The foregoing explanation may throw some light on the sources of error in the Census figures of these parts. It is doubtful if the census figures of 1931 would be free from these errors.

Conclusion.

We have endeavoured to place before the Committee how Parlakimedi has, through ages, been racially, culturally and linguistically bound up with Orissa, and how in modern times, tacked on as it is to the tail-end of the Madras Presidency and cut off from Orissa, has had to bear many disadvantages. Poor representation in the Legislatures does not give us an effective voice in their deliberations, our language, customs, and manners are overpowered by the imposition of an alien culture and our cultural

progress hampered by an alien and unsympathetic environment. If our language, our literature and our distinct culture have to be preserved, we should be constituted into a separate province with all outlying areas without further delay and further allowing our degeneration. Let Orissa come into her own, occupy her rightful place among the Indian Provinces, progress along the lines of her peculiar genius, control her own destiny, and contribute her mite to the advancement of the Indian nation

APPENDIX 3.

A (7)

MEMORANDUM OF JEYPORE AMALGAMATION COMMITTEE, 1931.

We beg to submit the following memorandum on behalf of the Oriya peoples of Jeypore.

2. While we express our gratitude to the first Round Table Conference for gracefully recognising the Oriya claim, we deplore the omission of any reference to the case of Orissa in the declaration made by the Premier who spoke only of Sind and the N.-W. F. Province.

3. We are grieved that though the Oriya demand for amalgamation is admittedly just and moderate, its fulfilment has been delayed long beyond our patience in spite of repeated expressions of sympathy and our opponents have taken advantage of this delay to weaken us. We cannot but regard it as our misfortune that in these circumstances we are now called upon to fight out our case and establish our claim.

4. What encourages us to approach the Committee with this memorandum is its personnel and the confidence that it has earned since it has commenced its enquiry.

5. The claim of Jeypore Agency is not at all new. It took an active part in the deliberations of the Utkal Union Conference to which it sent delegates from time to time. It placed its case before the Philip-Duff Committee in 1924. It joined the deputation to Simla in 1925. It also sent representatives to the All Parties Conference held early in 1931 at Cuttack.

6. The claims of Jeypore are based chiefly on the following grounds:—

- (i) That Jeypore is undoubtedly an Oriya Country, once a component part of the kingdom of the Gajapati Dynasty and it is not on imaginary grounds that this claim is advanced. In spite of the adversities through which it has passed Jeypore still retains its Oriya character. The *sankalpa* that Hindus of Jeypore recite at religious ceremonies describes this country as situated in Utkal *desa*. Oriya geographical names of villages, rivers, mountains, etc., bear unmistakable testimony to their Oriya origin. There are temples of Jagannath in most of the Taluqs and the car festival is held strictly in accordance with the Puri *paddhati*. The *Chandan Jatra* is also held at several places. The Oriya almanac is in use in every Oriya family and there are village astrologers called *Disaris* who make this almanac. There are Brahmin *sasanas* in the Estate, the Oriya origin of which it is

needless to mention. They bear Oriya names such as Jaganathpur, Dahana, and Lalitadeipur. There is a *vyavastha sabha* at the capital which is on the model of the Muktimandap Sabha of Puri and it prescribes for *prayaschita*, etc. The law of inheritance is Mitakshara, the law prevalent in Orissa. Oriya *parbas* such as *Raja Sankranti*, *Gahma*, *Chitau*, *Gurubar Puja*, *Sudasabrata*, *Sambaradasami* are observed and there are Oriya *Jatra* parties who perform *Ramaila*, *Krishnalila*, *Bharatilila*, etc., in Oriya. 'Pala' is also another popular performance. Telugu *Jatra* performances are unknown in Jeypore. Oriya songs are sung in the celebration of *Chaitraparba* throughout the estate both by Oriyas and aborigines. Oriya Bhagabata, Ramayana and other religious books are worshipped and read in temples and houses where village folk gather in the evening to hear it. The records of the Raj were all along kept in Oriya and it was only during the management of the Estate by the Court of Wards that Telugu was introduced and subsequently Telugu Diwans kept it up. There are Oriya Primary schools in villages. Telugu schools came into being only recently, i.e., during the Court of Wards management. Oriya is exclusively the Court language in three of the Taluqs while it is an alternative language in the rest. The present Maharajah is a distinguished Oriya poet and author. Government Officials posted to Jeypore, especially Police Officers, are required to learn Oriya. The peculiar Oriya custom of tying a *Sari* round the head of a Raj Official still prevails in Jeypore. On the *Dasara* day each year a *sari* is tied round the head of each Naik (village headman or caste headman) in the presence of the Rajah. The Raj family has matrimonial relations in Ganjam and Orissa and none in the Telugu Country in the South. Oriya Brahmins and Karans and other important castes of Jeypore have also similar relations in Ganjam and Orissa. Thus, abundant evidence could be given of the identity of Jeypore as an Oriya country.

- (ii) That in spite of wrong classification at censuses the Oriya population is the largest. For instance the census of 1921 recorded the following figures :—

Total population	..	..	..	..	9,38,576
Oriya population	..	..	..	..	4,81,756
Aborigines population	..	..	..	..	3,39,842
Telugu population	..	..	..	..	1,16,978

- (iii) That Telugus are recent settlers in Jeypore and the Court of Wards management which was followed by management by Telugu Diwans, swelled the Telugu population.
- (iv) That there are trade connections between Jeypore and other Oriya-speaking tracts, viz., Parlakimedi, Kalahandi and Bastar,

(v) That Cuttack is nearer Jeypore than Madras. It provides much better educational facilities and the cost of education at Cuttack is not so heavy as in Madras.

(vi) That even if Orissa cannot have a High Court, the Circuit Court which comes to Cuttack quarterly will be more advantageous to the people of Jeypore than the Madras High Court.

7. The Telugu population of Jeypore has always received excellent treatment from the Jeypore Raj and has nothing to fear from amalgamation. The late Maharajah made a donation of one Lakh to the Andhra University and the present Maharajah has promised an annual contribution of one Lakh of Rupees to that University. There are provisions for a large number of scholarships which are given to both Oriya and Telugu boys. There is a separate Telugu Girls School at Jeypore and large number of appointments under the Raj are held by Telugus. So Telugu interest has never been neglected.

8. We do not lose sight of the aborigines who have excellent relations with Oriyas and depend upon them in various ways. They also use and assimilate the Oriya language and will not be inconvenienced by the change.

9. By its separation from Orissa, Jeypore suffers numerous disadvantages and it is not unreasonably feared that if the present state of things continues the Oriya race, language and culture will disappear from it.

10. It is by no means a vain hope that amalgamation will lead to the development of Jeypore in various ways, improve its language and culture, give better educational facilities and higher political status, moreover the extensive estate of Jeypore will feel proud when it forms an integral part of the Orissa Province.

We pray therefore that the whole of Jeypore Agency be amalgamated with the proposed Orissa Province.

JEYPORE,

G. C. SAMANTAROY,

Dated 31st December, 1931.

President,

Jeypore Amalgamation Committee.

APPENDIX A.

GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, REVENUE DEPARTMENT RESOLUTION.

G. O. No. Press 407, dated 3rd March 1922.

Read the following :—

Letter from the Secretary to the Utkal Hitaishini Samaj, Parlakimedi, No. 47, dated 12th October 1920.

Letter to same No. 425/C, dated 10th February 1921.

Endorsement to the Agency Commissioner, No. 420-C/21-1, dated 16th February 1921.

Letter from same No. R. C. 1653/21, dated 12th March 1921.

Letter from the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, No. 2052, B.I., dated 26th May 1921.

Letter from the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, R. O. C., No. 1786/21, dated 17th August 1921.

ORDER.

The appended notification fixing court language for Civil and Criminal Courts in the Agency Division will be published in the Fort St. George and the Agency District Gazettes.

2. The Court language for a Revenue Court will be same as that for the Civil or Criminal Court having the same jurisdiction.

(BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL.)

Secretary to Government.

NOTIFICATION.

In exercise of the powers conferred by Section 6 (b) of the Scheduled Districts Act, 1874 and Section 558 of the Code of Criminal Procedure 1898, the Governor in Council is pleased to declare that with effect from 1st April 1922 the Court languages in the Civil and Criminal Courts in the Agency Division shall be as shown below :—

Description of Court.	Court language.
1. Court of the Agency Commissioner	Oriya and Telugu.
2. Court of the Judicial Assistant to the Commissioner	Do.
3. Court of the Assistant Commissioner, Kondh Agency	Oriya.
4. Do. Savara Agency	Telugu and Oriya.
5. Do. Chats Agency	Do.
6. Do. Oriya Agency	Do.
7. Do. Koya Agency	Telugu.
8. Rampa Agency	Do.
9. Civil and Criminal Courts in Balliguda taluk	Oriya.
10. Do. Gumsor Udayagiri taluk	Do.
11. Do. Ramagiri Udayagiri taluk	Do.
12. Do. Gunupur taluk	Telugu and Oriya.
13. Do. Rayaghada taluk	Do.
14. Do. Bissemkatak taluk	Do.
15. Do. Padwa taluk	Do.
16. Do. Pottanghi taluk	Do.
17. Do. Jeypore taluk	Oriya.
18. Do. Koraput taluk	Do.

Description of Court.				Court language.
19.	Civil and Criminal Courts in Malkangiri taluk ..	..	..	Telugu and Oriya.
20.	Do. Nowrangapur taluk	..	..	Oriya.
21.	Do. Bhadrachalam taluk	..	..	Telugu.
22.	Do. Nugur taluk	..	..	Do.
23.	Do. Polavaram taluk	..	..	Do.
24.	Do. Yellavaram taluk	..	..	Do.
25.	Do. Chodavaram taluk	..	..	Do.
26.	Do. Gudem taluk	..	..	Do.

APPENDIX B.

R. C. No. 4125-23.

Office of the Agent to the Governor, Vizagapatam.

Dated 3rd January 1924.

MEMO.

The following clause will be inserted in the Agency Sanads renewed for the year 1924.

No Oriya case may be undertaken unless the Sanad-holder has a knowledge of Oriya. He should not undertake the conduct of cases in which Oriya is the chief language, unless he is well acquainted with that language.

APPENDIX C.

PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING OF THE TALUQ BOARD, KORAPUT, HELD ON 9TH DECEMBER 1924.

Present :—

OFFICIALS.

1. Sreeman A. R. Rath Mahasayo, President.
2. Mr. G. F. Duckworth, I.M.D., Vice President.
3. M. R. Ry. C. S. Prakasa Row Pantulu Garu, Tahasildar, Jeypore.
4. M. R. Ry. D. Appalanarasimham Pantulu Garu, Dy. Tahasildar, Koraput.
5. M. R. Ry. K. Anantha Rao Pantulu Garu, Dy. Tahasildar, Pottanghi.
6. Mr. Moinudin Khan, Dy. Tahasildar, Padwa.

NON-OFFICIALS.

7. Sreeman Sreenivasa Panda Mahasayo, President, Union Board, Jeypore.
8. M. R. Ry. D. V. Narasimham Pantulu Garu, Pleader, Jeypore.
9. M. R. Ry. S. V. Yagnanarayana Pantulu Garu, Supervisor, Jeypore Estate, Nowrangapur.

Views of the Taluq Board are required regarding the amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts under one administration.

Reference.—Letter dated 15th November 1924, from A. C. Duff, Esq., I.C.S., on special duty, to the President, Taluq Board, Koraput.

RESOLUTION.

The Board is of opinion that it is desirable and necessary in the best interest of the Oriyas that all the Oriya-speaking tracts should be amalgamated under one administration.

A. R. RATH,

9th December 1924.

President.

APPENDIX D.

PROCEEDINGS OF A MEETING OF THE UNION BOARD, JEYPORE, HELD ON 2ND DECEMBER 1924.

Resolved to urge on the Government of India through the Commission to immediately carry out into action the policy (a separate Province for the Oriyas) enunciated in the Montagu-Chelmsford report on Indian constitutional reform.

Carried unanimously.

2. Resolved that the Oriya-speaking tracts in the Vizagapatam Agency (Jeypore Zamindary) may be amalgamated with Orissa as early as possible for :—

- (a) Better facilities for themselves in a province which the Oriyas can legitimately call as their own.
- (b) The Oriyas in these parts are being gradually absorbed by the more advanced neighbours.
- (c) The Oriya language is in fact deteriorating day by day.
- (d) The present state of things is highly injurious to the best interests of the Oriya community.
- (e) None of the administrations under which the Oriyas are now living will ever be able to make the cause of the Oriyas its chief concern.

Carried unanimously.

MEMBERS OF THE BOARD PRESENT.

Sreeman Harihoro Missro Mahasayo.

Sreeman Narasingo Samantaroy Mahasayo.

M. R. Ry. B. Madhav Acharior, L.M.S., Assistant Surgeon, Jeypore

Mr. John Same.

Sreeman Brojokisore Mahanty Mahasayo.

SREENIVASA PANDA,

President.

APPENDIX 3.

A (8)

MEMORANDUM ON THE UTKAL PROVINCE SUBMITTED BY THE UTKAL UNION COMMITTEE.

On behalf of the Utkal Union Committee, representing the Oriya people, I beg to accord you a cordial welcome to this Holy land of India and submit the following memorandum on behalf of the Utkal Union Committee for your favourable consideration.

Since the days of Sir Stafford Northcote, when all Orissa was strewn over with two millions of corpses owing to the great famine up till the time of Sir John Simon, the question of uniting dismembered Orissa under one administration, had cropped up from time to time, and the continual prayers and tears of the people failed to move the adamant administrative inertia and to goad the authorities on to action in righting the wrong perpetrated accidentally or through callous indifference. Now it has fallen to the lot of this impartial august body to right the wrong and do bare justice which is long overdue and thereby retrieve the honour of British administration by mending or ending an ancient historic race.

Oriya's peculiar position.—We do not say that the present political geography of India is an ideal one, but looking at the map of India one will find, at a glance, that under one Central Government India has been divided into several administrative units where, people, racially, linguistically and ethnologically connected, have, generally speaking, either been grouped under one administration or have been so placed as to command sufficient attention from their respective Provincial Governments. Unfortunately, the Oriya people who have spread over an area 41,816 square miles of British Territory and over 46,704 square miles of Feudatory States and number ten millions souls and who possess a common culture, a common language, a glorious history and countless tradition, who belong to the same race and ethnologically conform to the same type and who, for centuries under the native rule, were under one administrative unit, have, through process of time, and through administrative inadvertence and total negligence, been put under four administrative units or provinces at the present moment and are everywhere in a microscopic minority.

A separate administration for Oriyas no longer hypothetical.—The Oriya people have always held that their case is singular and stands apart from the general principle of territorial adjustments, if any, and this has been recognised as such by the Royal Statutory Commission, the Bihar and Orissa Government and the India Government and also by the Round Table Conference. The question of a separate administration for the Oriyas should now be considered as a settled fact and should no longer be qualified with suspicious 'ifs' and 'buts', nor need it be hedged in by imaginary and hitherto unworked financial or other improvised barriers.

Provincial Autonomy will prove a death-blow to Oriyas without separate administration of their own.—Under the regime when the provinces were dependent entirely upon the Central Government in all matters, uncontrolled by the vote of the Provincial Legislatures, the minority race had some chance of getting a hearing if it could manage to find an opportunity behind the screen

of official support, in spite of the intermediary ruling power. Now, with the transfer of power from centre to the provinces and from bureaucracy to the people, it is certain that the minor partners will go to the wall. As a matter of fact, with the introduction of reforms during the past years no Oriya could find a seat in the Legislature of Bengal from Midnapore, and of C. P. from the Khariar, Phuljhar and Padmapur area, to voice the peoples' grievances. The stone-wall of influence of the major partner has proved too strong for them to penetrate. Perforce the Oriyas have been content to bask under only the reflected light of the benefits of administration. *Ipsa facto* the benefits of reforms have been denied to them. The chances of deriving any benefit will be still more minimised with the imminent realisation of complete Provincial autonomy. Hence the authors of the Simon Report very rightly recommend that the union of the Oriya-speaking tracts under a separate administration is an "urgent case for treatment" and should be effected before the "mould" of Reforms "is set".

The Royal Statutory Commission Report mentions at page 26, paragraph 38 of Volume II :—

"But now that the Provinces have a real political existence of their own, the situation is changing, and if, as we hope, the time is coming when each Province will not only have its own Provincial Government and its own Provincial resources, but will form a unit in a federated whole, it is extremely important that the adjustment of Provincial boundaries and the creation of proper Provincial areas should take place before the new process has gone too far. Once the mould has set, any mal-distribution will be still more difficult to correct."

Component parts of the Utkal Province and boundary.—We give a list of areas suggested to be included in the Orissa Province :—

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

1. The Orissa Division.
2. The District of Singhbhum.
3. Thanas of Barabhum, Manbazar and Chandil of Manbhum District.

BENGAL.

4. The Sub-divisions of Contai and Jhargram and the Thanas of Khargpur, Narayangarh, Danton, Mohanpur and Keshiari of the Sadler Sub-division of the Midnapur District.
5. The Thanas of Similiapal, Raipur and Khatra of Bankura District.

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

6. Khariar and Phuljhar and Bindra Noagarh of Mahasamand Tehsil of Raipur District.
7. Chandrapur, Padmapur, Malkhurda zemindaries and 9 Jogni villages of the Bilaspur District.

MADRAS.

8. The District of Ganjam (including the plain and the agency tracts excluding Chicacole and Narsanpeta Taluks).

9. Vizagapatam Agency (including the Zamindary of Jeypore and excluding Gudem Taluk).

The reasons for the inclusion of the above areas briefly stated, are as follows. We take them one by one.

- (1) The inclusion of Orissa Division needs no comment. In itself it might be a small Governor's Province.
- (2) The district of Singhbhum, which is divided into three distinct areas—Porahat, Kolhan and Dhalbhum—should be included in Orissa as :—
 - (a) Singhbhum historically belonged to Orissa.
 - (b) Of all the Aryan inhabitants of the District, the Oriyas are the largest in number and are evenly distributed throughout the District. Many returned as Bengalee-speaking are really Oriyas by race.
 - (c) The principal aboriginal tribes who form the majority in the District of Singhbhum can find their kith and kin in the Fendatory areas of Orissa and nowhere else.
 - (d) Inclusion of Singhbhum would give flood-stricken Orissa an industrial centre.

Bibliography—Appendix to Administrative History of Northern Orissa.

Grant's Fifth Report.

Singhbhum District Gazetteer.

Baillie's Memorandum on Midnapore.

- (3) The three Thanas of Barabhum, Manbazar and Chandil of Manbhum formed part of the defunct district of the Jungle Mahals of Midnapore (1805—1829) and the Oriya people predominate in these areas (*vide* Appendix to Administrative History of Northern Orissa).
- (4) The Midnapore District was proposed to be partitioned into two by the Government of Bengal and the portions we propose to include in Orissa was sought to be constituted into the Hijli District but the scheme has since been abandoned (*vide* Report of the Bengal District Administrative Committee, 1913-14, and proceedings of Bengal Legislative Council, March, 1917).

Other bibliography is as follows :—

Appendix to Administrative History of Northern Orissa.

Grant's Fifth Report—extracts reprinted and appended.

Geography of Orissa by Manmohan Chakraverty.

Adam's Report on Education in Bengal.

Baillie's Memorandum on Midnapore.

- (5) The Thanas of Simliapal, Raipur and Khatra of Bankura District formed part of the Midnapur District and then of the Jungle Mahals, and after several political changes they are now incorporated in Bankura (*vide* Bankura District Gazetteer and Appendix to Administrative History of Northern Orissa).
- (6) & (7). The Khariar, Phuljhar, Bindra Noagarh and Malkhurda, the Gountia villages Chandrapur, Padmapur, were so many feudal states under Sambalpur Raj. Phuljhar and Padmapur were parts of the Sambalpur District till so late as 1905. The Malkhurda villages were transferred from Orissa by the Malkhurda village Gaontias Act in 1923 in spite of the opposition of the Orissa representatives.
- (8) & (9). The areas claimed from the Madras Presidency require the most elaborate treatment. They formed part of Orissa in the past, are almost entirely Oriya tracts and form by far the biggest Oriya area outside Orissa division.

Besides the above area, we beg to suggest that either the whole or part of Chota Nagpur division—excluding the exclusively Hindi-speaking areas be included in the Province of Orissa. In support of our contention, we beg to quote below the recommendations of the Bihar and Orissa Government which we fully endorse.

Government of Bihar and Orissa's practical and statesmanlike recommendations.—Bihar and Orissa Government have said on the Simon Report :—

“The population of an enlarged Orissa will not exceed seven millions in British India and its revenue will be limited. Thus the addition of Chota Nagpur division and of Santhal Perganas would bring it nearer to the standard of a minor Province and would thus help to support the over-head charges. Later, as the backward tracts reach a stage when they can merge in the normal administration, it will be easier for the advanced aboriginal to hold his own against the Oriya than it would be against the more combatant Bihari. An immediate advantage of this amalgamation would be that the buildings for the new Government would be available at Ranchi, and the opening of the new Province would be facilitated, Cuttack at present having no buildings which would be suitable for the Provincial Government.” * * * “The Local Government are of opinion that parts of Santhal Perganas, Manbhum, Hazaribagh, Palamau, Singhbhum and perhaps Sambalpur and Angul need not be retained in the special position, but might, owing to the large proportion of the non-aboriginal population, take their place under the Government of Bihar or of Orissa.”

The Government of Bihar and Orissa further point out “that it will be advantageous in more ways than one that the excluded areas should be attached to Orissa”.

We also suggest that the native states of Bastar, Raigarh, Sarangarh, Jashpur and Udaypur may be grouped together with the Orissa States as they contain an appreciable number of Oriya people.

The reason of our proposal to associate some of the Feudatory States is this—that the Atlee Sub-Committee suggests that the Orissa Feudatory States should be brought under relationship with the administration of the Orissa Province. But we note that whatever be the future relationship of the States with Orissa, their geographical contiguity, linguistic, social and economic interests are bound up with those of British Orissa and so all the Oriya States should be grouped together.

A detailed examination of the component parts of Utkal.—Now, we propose to deal in detail the areas proposed to be brought within the ambit of Orissa Province.

BEHAR AREAS.

Singbhum.

(A) The district is divided into three distinct areas :—

- (a) *Porahat*—which was an Oriya Feudatory State till the Sepoy Mutiny.
- (b) *Dhalbhum*—which was sometimes part of Midnapore Oriya area and sometimes of the Mayurbhunj State.
- (c) *Kolhan*—which was carved out of the territories of the Oriya Rajas of Porahat, Seraikela, Mayurbhunj and Kharsawan.

(B) *History.*—Here, as elsewhere in other outlying territories, the Oriyas lay great emphasis on the facts of history of quite recent date. If Singbhum was historically connected with any province, it was with Orissa. Some of the outlying territories of Orissa might not have contributed for some period towards the main context of Orissa's history but the fact stands that Singbhum used to draw its inspiration from Orissa in the past. It is sometimes suggested that most of the Rajas of the Orissa States including Seraikela and Kharswan are Rajputs and are not Oriyas. But the inference is groundless inasmuch as all Rajas (Khatriyas) throughout India claim their descent to some Rajputra clan, but they have adopted the country and language of their subjects as their own.

(C) *Language and race.*—The Oriyas have all along held that the Census figures in so far as they relate to the Oriya speaking persons, are not reliable. They have always complained about it and that their complaint is just can be judged from the fact that the Atlee Sub-Committee had recommended that special care should be taken during the time of Census enumeration, which was, however, not strictly adhered to.

Even taking the inaccurate Census figures as correct, we find a few very pertinent facts, the importance of which cannot be exaggerated. Of all the non-aboriginal races in Singbhum the number of Oriya is the greatest. Barring the floating population of the industrial towns, they form the majority of the Aryan races of Singbhum. This floating population may not be exactly floating but its presence can be no better ground against the inclusion of Singbhum in Orissa than the presence of non-Bengalees against the retention of Calcutta in Bengal. It is the original inhabitants, Oriya and allied castes of tribes, whose presence should be the only deciding factor. The native character

ter of the Oriya population in the District is sometimes challenged in some quarters. The fact that they are more or less evenly distributed throughout the district is a proof positive against any such absurd suggestion.

Census statistics as regards race is equally inaccurate. Many essentially Oriya castes have been counted as non-Oriya. On the other hand, many semi-aboriginal castes like Kurmi Mahtos have been taken as full-fledged Bengali. Many aboriginal and semi-aboriginal tribe like Gond, Ghasi and Bhuiya who are found living side by side with the Oriyas in the Oriya zone and have assimilated Oriya custom and culture and use the Oriya language for all practical purposes should not be classified otherwise.

(D) *Aboriginal races.*—Though we do not propose to minimise the aboriginal question, we beg to point out that sometimes attempts are made to make much capital out of this question. The aborigines themselves do not belong to one race. They have their own particular sympathies and antipathies towards each other. The real crux of their question is that they need special laws to protect their interests. Care should be taken, if possible, that no particular race or races of aborigines should unequally be yoked to an administration which contains no member of them under its fold. These aboriginal tribes excepting the Santals are again strictly localised in particular areas. We beg to draw the attention of the Committee to our detailed treatment of the aboriginal question in our Appendix “Aborigines and their problem”.

We need not describe in detail the fact that the Hos have absolutely no member to represent them outside of Oriya country including Singhbhum, and that they are racially different from the Oraons of Ranchi who are very insignificant in Singhbhum. A few educated Hos under the influence of the intermediary ruling race may fail to take a far-sighted vision, but as the Census statistics of immigration and emigration of the district and the distribution of Oriya functional castes in Ho villages show, the mass of their uneducated brethren persist in having relation only with the Oriyas. As regards the Mundas, it may be pointed out that only five or six per cent. of the entire Munda population live in Singhbhum. The great majority of the Bhumijis live in the admittedly Oriya country. The tradition of Bhuiyans of Singhbhum offers sufficient ground to count them as Oriyas.

What is clear from the above is that the inclusion of Singhbhum in Orissa means the amalgamation of the Ho and a few other aboriginal races. The number of aborigines who would be included in the proposed province is very considerable. Singhbhum should not, therefore, administratively be severed from Orissa on the plea of the interests of the aborigines, whose real interests are, as if by Providence, cast with those of the Oriyas.

Be it noted here that the majority of the aboriginal people do not properly understand where their interests lie. We leave it entirely to the Government to judge for them to see if they should allow these people to be swamped by the ‘combative Bihari’ or the all-absorbing Bengalee.

(E) *Geography and economic interests.*—That Singhbhum is not geographically connected with Orissa is an absurdity. It is surrounded almost on all sides by the Oriya country and is topographically similar and continuous with

the Orissa Feudatory States. It forms but one plateau with the Oriya tracts from Sambalpur and the Feudatory States of Orissa up till Bastar and Jeypore.

We have dealt in some detail about the proper interpretation of the rest of economic interests elsewhere. What we want to point out here is that the industries of Singhbhum are greatly dependent on the raw materials of neighbouring Oriya Feudatory States. The economic interest of Singhbhum is inextricably bound up with Orissa States.

The inclusion of Dhalbhum, particularly, will give the province an industrial centre (Jamshedpur) where disciplined and orderly labourers could be recruited locally. The new Province which is always threatened with floods and famines will get an industrial centre where the people may find work when their lands are devastated by floods. When their lands fail to feed them, may provide for their hands to earn a living. The ancient monuments of the Oriya people—the Black Pagoda of Konarak, the temples of Puri, Bhubaneswar and Jajpur—indicate the inherent industrial genius of the people who should be given a chance for proving their genius, by allowing them an opening to an industrial centre.

(F) We deal elaborately on the historical aspect of Singhbhum and South Manbhum areas in our Appendix “Administrative history of Northern Orissa”. Other bibliography is as follows :—

Grant's Fifth Report.

Singhbhum District Gazetteer.

Bailey's Memorandum on Midnapore.

South Manbhum.

* We propose to include South Manbhum in Orissa Province.

By south Manbhum we mean the Thanas of Manbazar and Barabhum and Chandil and a portion of Sadar Thana of Manbhum—

Thana.	Area in sq. mile.	Population.
Chandil	395	1,00,715
Manbazar	258	97,504
Barabhum	395	1,41,829
South of Manbhum Thana	200 (approximately).	70,000 (approximately).
	1,428	4,10,048

The configuration of this area is the same as that of Dhalbhum and West Midnapur.

History.—These areas formed a part of Midnapur District (which was the Orissa of the time of the grant of Dewani to Lord Clive and at the time of Permanent Settlement) and were subsequently transferred to Jungle Mahals which was a district created in 1805 and dissolved in 1833; and after the dissolution of the Jungle Mahals the Manbhum District was formed and the areas remained within the jurisdiction of that District. Some of the zemindars of those areas are connected with the Kshetriya Rajas of the South. These areas along with Singhbhum and Mayurbhunj formed part of the Oriya kingdom of

Khiching in the 10th century (*vide* Report of the Archæological Survey of India by Cunningham, Volume XIII).

Castes and Tribes.—There are Oriya Hindus in this area. Utkal Brahmins predominate. The family names and surnames of most of the people are Oriya. There are people of other Oriya castes having corresponding numerical strength. The aborigines of this area are Santals who are akin to Santals of West Midnapore and Singhbhum. There is also a sprinkling of Hos, Oraons and Mundas who are akin to their tribesmen in Singhbhum and the contiguous native states. They speak their tribal language and Oriya and have been forced to adopt Bengalee for practical purposes just as the Oriyas of Midnapore have done. The Oriya Hindus will not feel any difficulty from linguistic considerations. There is a tendency of the people of South Manbhum to migrate to south, i.e., for working in the industrial areas of Singhbhum and cultivate lands in the States of Orissa. 5,836 of Manbhum people immigrated to Singhbhum and 2,975 people to Orissa States according to Census (1921) and the aborigines will like to be linked with those of Singhbhum.

The communication, as exists, is satisfactory. By the inclusion of this portion the Chandil junction will be in Orissa and that will serve as a convenient route for Ranchi from Singhbhum and Orissa. In North Manbhum Bengalees predominate. Hence we exclude that area from our consideration.

These areas supply labour to Jamshedpur to a certain extent and they should, for that reason, go along with Singhbhum with Orissa, and this area is the connecting link between Bankura portions and Ranchi with Singhbhum as the Sini-Adra line passes through this area. Moreover the Manbhum Sadar Sub-Division is a bulky area whose size could be reduced by the separation of this tract. This area along with Bankura portions is a suitable hinterland for the Contai coast. There will not be any administrative inconvenience considering the composition of the population of this area.

The Bihar and Orissa Government in its despatch admits that there are Oriya admixtures in the Manbhum District and in their discussions on excluded areas suggest that an enquiry might be instituted in this respect. The Oriya admixture referred to by the Bihar and Orissa Government properly refers to the South Manbhum portions which we claim. Inclusion of Ranchi presupposes the inclusion of the South Manbhum and these areas emerge as a distinct entity in Chota Nagpur.

The inclusion of this area will also add symmetry to the area and boundary of the proposed province.

Ranchi.

Our proposal for inclusion of Ranchi is based not on the grounds of linguistic or ethnic affinity but on administrative convenience. We enumerate them below :—

1. The Government of Bihar and Orissa in their despatch on the Simon Commission's Report have suggested that Ranchi may be the provincial headquarters of the proposed Orissa Province as it has

the Orissa Feudatory States. It forms but one plateau with the Oriya tracts from Sambalpur and the Feudatory States of Orissa up till Bastar and Jeypore.

We have dealt in some detail about the proper interpretation of the rest of economic interests elsewhere. What we want to point out here is that the industries of Singbhum are greatly dependent on the raw materials of neighbouring Oriya Feudatory States. The economic interest of Singbhum is inextricably bound up with Orissa States.

The inclusion of Dhalbhum, particularly, will give the province an industrial centre (Jamshedpur) where disciplined and orderly labourers could be recruited locally. The new Province which is always threatened with floods and famines will get an industrial centre where the people may find work when their lands are devastated by floods. When their lands fail to feed them, may provide for their hands to earn a living. The ancient monuments of the Oriya people—the Black Pagoda of Konarak, the temples of Puri, Bhubaneswar and Jajpur—indicate the inherent industrial genius of the people who should be given a chance for proving their genius, by allowing them an opening to an industrial centre.

(F) We deal elaborately on the historical aspect of Singbhum and South Manbhum areas in our Appendix "Administrative history of Northern Orissa". Other bibliography is as follows :—

Grant's Fifth Report.

Singbhum District Gazetteer.

Bailey's Memorandum on Midnapore.

South Manbhum.

* We propose to include South Manbhum in Orissa Province.

By south Manbhum we mean the Thanas of Manbazar and Barabhum and Chandil and a portion of Sadar Thana of Manbhum—

Thana.		Area in sq. mile.	Population.
Chandil		395	1,00,715
Manbazar		258	97,504
Barabhum		395	1,41,829
South of Manbhum Thana		200 (approximately).	70,000 (approximately).
		1,428	4,10,048

The configuration of this area is the same as that of Dhalbhum and West Midnapur.

History.—These areas formed a part of Midnapur District (which was the Orissa of the time of the grant of Dewani to Lord Clive and at the time of Permanent Settlement) and were subsequently transferred to Jungle Mahals which was a district created in 1805 and dissolved in 1833; and after the dissolution of the Jungle Mahals the Manbhum District was formed and the areas remained within the jurisdiction of that District. Some of the zemindars of those areas are connected with the Kshetriya Rajas of the South. These areas along with Singbhum and Mayurbhunj formed part of the Oriya kingdom of

Khiching in the 10th century (*vide* Report of the Archæological Survey of India by Cunningham, Volume XIII).

Castes and Tribes.—There are Oriya Hindus in this area. Utkal Brahmins predominate. The family names and surnames of most of the people are Oriya. There are people of other Oriya castes having corresponding numerical strength. The aborigines of this area are Santals who are akin to Santals of West Midnapore and Singhbhum. There is also a sprinkling of Hos, Oraons and Mundas who are akin to their tribesmen in Singhbhum and the contiguous native states. They speak their tribal language and Oriya and have been forced to adopt Bengalee for practical purposes just as the Oriyas of Midnapore have done. The Oriya Hindus will not feel any difficulty from linguistic considerations. There is a tendency of the people of South Manbhum to migrate to south, i.e., for working in the industrial areas of Singhbhum and cultivate lands in the States of Orissa. 5,836 of Manbhum people immigrated to Singhbhum and 2,975 people to Orissa States according to Census (1921) and the aborigines will like to be linked with those of Singhbhum.

The communication, as exists, is satisfactory. By the inclusion of this portion the Chandil junction will be in Orissa and that will serve as a convenient route for Ranchi from Singhbhum and Orissa. In North Manbhum Bengalees predominate. Hence we exclude that area from our consideration.

These areas supply labour to Jamshedpur to a certain extent and they should, for that reason, go along with Singhbhum with Orissa, and this area is the connecting link between Bankura portions and Ranchi with Singhbhum as the Sini-Adra line passes through this area. Moreover the Manbhum Sadar Sub-Division is a bulky area whose size could be reduced by the separation of this tract. This area along with Bankura portions is a suitable hinterland for the Contai coast. There will not be any administrative inconvenience considering the composition of the population of this area.

The Bihar and Orissa Government in its despatch admits that there are Oriya admixtures in the Manbhum District and in their discussions on excluded areas suggest that an enquiry might be instituted in this respect. The Oriya admixture referred to by the Bihar and Orissa Government properly refers to the South Manbhum portions which we claim. Inclusion of Ranchi presupposes the inclusion of the South Manbhum and these areas emerge as a distinct entity in Chota Nagpur.

The inclusion of this area will also add symmetry to the area and boundary of the proposed province.

Ranchi.

Our proposal for inclusion of Ranchi is based not on the grounds of linguistic or ethnic affinity but on administrative convenience. We enumerate them below :—

1. The Government of Bihar and Orissa in their despatch on the Simon Commission's Report have suggested that Ranchi may be the provincial headquarters of the proposed Orissa Province as it has

a number of buildings suitable for the Provincial headquarters, whereas Cuttack has got no such buildings at present.

2. Ranchi may continue to be the summer capital, though of the Orissa Province and Bihar may fall on Hazaribagh for the summer residence.
3. Though the configuration of the Chota Nagpur is the same in all its parts, Ranchi is more connected with Singhbhum than with Palamau and Hazaribagh. As yet Ranchi could not be linked with Daltonganj and Hazaribagh by Railway though it is linked with Singhbhum. There are ranges of mountains in the north and north-west of Ranchi (of which Oriya hill is one) which separate Ranchi from Palamau and Hazaribagh and these hills are water-parting lines between Ranchi on one side and Palamau and Hazaribagh on the other.

History.—Some portions of Ranchi were under Mayurbhanj State of Orissa, e.g., Tamar (*vide* Ranchi Gazetteer, page 260) and generally the aboriginal people of Ranchi were connected with the aboriginal people of Singhbhum and Orissa States and the so-called Rajput zamindars of Ranchi are connected with Rajas of Orissa.

Race.—We see that the people of Ranchi have little in common with the people of North Chota Nagpur, *viz.*, Palamau and Hazaribagh as regards their castes and language. The people of Ranchi may be divided into three broad divisions :—

- (1) The Hindus.
- (2) The Hinduised aborigines.
- (3) The aborigines.

Of the Hindus the Brahmins include a large number of Brahmins of Orissa (*vide* Ranchi Gazetteer, page 61). Some of the other Hindu castes like Kurmi Baniya, etc., are found in Singhbhum District. Among the Hinduised aborigines the Chik Barks are mainly found in Ranchi—they are so to say absent in North Chota Nagpur. The Ghasis, Gonds and Pans of Ranchi are akin to those of Singhbhum and Sambalpur tracts. The most important of the tribes of Ranchi are Mundas, Oraons, Kharias, Turis, Asurs, Korwas, Birhors and Nagesias. The first three have large numbers and the others have very small populations. But all these tribes are mainly found in the Ranchi District. They are also found in larger numbers in Singhbhum, though North Chota Nagpur has got a sprinkling of these people. Singhbhum and contiguous Orissa States have got the next largest number of the Munda people. So also in the case of Oraon and Khariar.

The figures are :—

Munda—

Ranchi	..	..	..	..	255,334
Singhbhum	..	..	..	..	33,313
States ..	..	..	..	..	48,308
North Chota Nagpur	..	..	..	..	17,913 (Palamau and Hazaribagh).

Oraons—					
Ranchi	..	..	..	..	286,791
Singbhum	..	..	..	..	7,904
States ..	..	..	..	..	60,445
North Chota Nagpur	..	..	..	..	48,103
Kharia—					
Ranchi	..	..	..	..	38,864
Singbhum	..	..	..	..	5,649
States ..	..	..	..	..	35,046
Sambalpur	..	..	..	..	7,212

In any scheme of administrative changes the importance of these three tribes will be seriously considered and it should further be considered that these people have their fellow tribesmen in Singbhum and the contiguous Feudatory States of Orissa. Right through the introduction of Hindi language in courts and schools the Hinduised aborigines have adopted Hindi language still these tribes have stuck to their language and there is very little difference between the number of the people in the tribe and the speakers speaking the language of the tribe.

Language.—The language is mainly Hindi, Mundari and Oraon. The Hindi of Ranchi is mainly Bhojpuri. It is not Hindi proper and is different from the language of South Bihar or North Chota Nagpur. The number of Maghai (another Hindi dialect) speakers is very small. We shall therefore concern ourselves with the main aboriginal languages. There are further more Munda or Oraon-speaking people in Singbhum and contiguous native states of Orissa than in South Bihar or North Chota Nagpur. So if Ranchi be included in Orissa they will get more fellow men speaking their language in Orissa than in Palamau and Hazaribagh. These languages are spoken to some extent in the Sambalpur District. We thus see that Bihar has no better claim over Ranchi than Orissa so far as language of these tribes is concerned.

We give the figures for language—

Mundari—					
Ranchi	..	..	..	..	326,506
Singbhum	..	..	..	..	38,633
Orissa States and Sambalpur	..	..	..	..	60,879
Other Bihar Districts	..	..	..	..	Practically nil.
Oraons—					
Ranchi	..	..	..	..	321,502
Singbhum	..	..	..	..	8,056
Orissa States and Sambalpur	..	..	..	..	180,149
Kharia—					
Ranchi	..	..	..	..	61,101
Singbhum	..	..	..	..	2,084
Orissa State and Sambalpur	..	..	..	..	40,503

Communication.—If Singbhum be included in Orissa Ranchi will find better communication in the proposed province than it has in Bihar. We

have referred to it already. However, the new narrow gauge line *via* Chandil Murree connects Ranchi with Singhbhum and the Bombay-Nagpur-Howrah Line of the B. N. Railway. There are good motorable roads connecting Chai-bassa with Simdega and Ranchi.

Tenancy Laws.—Tenancy laws of Ranchi are the same as that of Singhbhum.

Industry.—Ranchi has got tea gardens to which Orissa can supply skilled labour. We include the Ganjam Vizag Agency also in our proposed Province. Ranchi has a majority of aboriginal population. The Ganjam and Vizag Agencies have also a large number of aboriginal people. Though the aborigines of the North differ from those of the South, still by the inclusion of all the aboriginal people in Orissa their care may be entrusted to a single provincial administration. We may incidentally refer to Santals. Their geographical distribution is such that they cannot be included in a single province—some remaining in Bengal districts and some in Santal Pergannas of Bihar. In the proposed Province it may so happen that Khonds, Savars, Gadavas and Projas of Madras area will be great support to the Mundas, Oraons, Kharias and Hos and this change should be welcome to them.

In case Ranchi be the provisional headquarters of Orissa and also the summer capital of the new province, Ranchi will receive more attention than all other areas. As we include Singhbhum in Orissa, the rising industrial city of Jamshedpur must have a big area surrounding it in order to ensure a due balance between the country and town.

People of Ranchi have a tendency for migration towards Singhbhum for labour in industrial areas and for Orissa States for cultivation. Thus economic interest of Ranchi lies in Orissa to a certain extent. According to 1921 Census, 10,479 people went to Singhbhum and 30,430 went to State. The tendency of migration is towards south.

Lastly, it will not be out of place to mention that we demand Singhbhum mainly on racial and linguistic considerations. We further include South Manbhum comprising Manbazar, Barabhum and Patkum Thanas on historical ethnic and linguistic grounds. The junction of Ranchi is Chandil which lies within Patkum Thana. These areas comprise a block in themselves.

It is of course in fitness of things that when Orissa will be separated from Bihar, Chota Nagpur should be parcelled out between the two. Palamau, Hazaribagh and North Manbhum will remain with Bihar and Ranchi, Singhbhum, and South Manbhum should come to Orissa. North Chota Nagpur is more connected with Bihar and South Chota Nagpur with Orissa. All the coal centres will remain in Bihar and we do not claim them and the question of aborigines will be settled for ever.

Bihar will find out another summer capital. Hazaribagh will be best suited for the purpose. Bihar will be satisfied with an industrial area, viz., Jharia, Giridi, etc., and Orissa with Jamshedpur.

The people of South Chota Nagpur may in course of time merge in normal administration and may hold their own against the Oriyas in combination with the other aborigines found in South and as North Chota Nagpur has more

of Bihari admixture and South Chota Nagpur comprising Ranchi, Singhbhum and South Manbhum has more Oriya admixture, this proposal of ours will prove most natural division of Chota Nagpur among the Biharees and Oriyas and there is a tendency on the part of the people of South Chota Nagpur to migrate to south, i.e., Orissa and there is a tendency for the North Chota Nagpur people to move towards north.

BENGAL AREAS.

South-West Midnapore.

The area claimed from the Midnapore District in Bengal consist of the following :—

	Area. in sq. miles.	Population.
1. Contai Subdivision	2,564	1,243,530
2. Jhargram Subdivision		
3. Danton, Narayangarh and Khargpur Thanas of Sadar Subdivision.		

History.—Midnapore was all along a part of the Orissa kingdom. In Mohamedan times it was a part of the Subah of Orissa. In the early British days, Orissa was meant by the term of Midnapore (*vide* R. D. Banerji's History of Orissa, M. M. Chakraverti's Geography of Orissa). In our Appendix on the history of the jungle Mahals and history of Northern Orissa, we describe the historical changes in detail.

People of South-West Midnapore are mainly Oriyas. They are very much like those of Balasore and Mayurbhunj in manners, customs and language. This area is claimed more on the basis of race than of language, as the language of the intermediary ruling race has been forced upon them. Almost all people of this part have Oriya surnames they being important proof of their Oriya origin.

The language of South-West Midnapore has undergone a change. From Dr. Grierson's Linguistic Survey we learn what was the state of language at the beginning of the century. The percentage of Oriya fell down from 22 to 5 p. c. in the District from 1891 to 1921. There was deliberate attempt made by the Bengalee officials to efface the Oriya altogether from the District and as a result we find the Oriya percentage as *nil* in the two Thanass of Egra and Ramnagar contiguous to North Balasore.

Several Oriya castes have been omitted in the later censuses and some Oriya castes have been classed along with the corresponding Bengalee castes. The Bengal Government, in 1922 in their letter to the Government of India, had to admit that language figures obtained in the Census for Midnapore is not reliable. The Bengalee and Oriya languages have greater similarity with each other and Oriya people have adapted themselves to the Bengalee language for official purpose. But the spoken language lies as Oriya in substance. But as we have pointed out before the demarcation of Midnapore is to be guided on racial considerations.

The fact that many Oriyas have been denationalised by forcing stand in their own in the Schools and Courts, should in no case a language, not way of including South Midnapore with Orissa. The Government is responsible for

this denationalization and justice demands, they should right the wrong they have done to a people by cutting off their tongue. Adam's Report on Education in Bengal gives a fair number of Oriya schools in Midnapore. The Committee may well enquire into the existence of Oriya Primary Schools in Midnapore at the present moment and won't find one even in the whole District. Since the policy of education was taken over by the Government, the Oriya schools began to disappear one by one gradually till they were totally uprooted. Even after the forced banishment of Oriya in Midnapore, the mass still retain a desire for union with Orissa though intimidated by their intermediary ruling power and by their own Oriya brethren who after receiving education in a foreign tongue are not ashamed to disown their birth-right.

South-West Bankura.

We demand inclusion of South Bankura in the proposed Orissa Province. By this we mean the Thanas of Khatira, Raipur and Simlapal Thanas.

	Thana.				Area.	Population.
Khatira	..	..	..	..	166	57,987
Raipur	..	—	..	..	227	83,244
Simlapal	..	—	—	..	119	35,739
					512	176,970

These areas were formerly a part of Midnapore District at the time of Dewani and Permanent Settlement. These comprised 7 Pergannas—Chatna, Supur, Ambikanagar, Simlapal, Bhaliadiha, Shyamsunderpur and Phul Kysuma. These were included under the term of Orissa of the Dewani grant. Subsequently they were transferred to the District of Jungle Mahals in 1805 and in 1833 the Jungle Mahals were dissolved and these five Pergannas were transferred to Manbhum District and afterwards to the newly formed Bankura District in 1879 (*vide* Bankura Gazetteer, page 42). The Tunga families who are prominent Kshatriyas are Oriyas. The Samantbhum area lying in these areas was founded by an Oriya Chieftain. A portion, *viz.*, Dhalbhum is also included here. The zemindars of these areas are mostly Oriyas. The zemindar of Simlapal is an Oriya Brahmin who migrated from Puri along with 252 Brahmin families of Orissa. Their posterity have increased in number and comprise the Brahmin population of the area. There are corresponding numbers of other Oriya castemen (*vide* Gazetteer of Bankura, page 176).

Sterling also mentions in page 47 of his History that Bishnupur was included in Orissa. These areas were under the zemindar of Bishnupur. The village terminations having 'bhum' affixed are Oriya ones.

There are Oriya Bauris in large numbers and Santals also who are akin to Santals of West Midnapore, South Manbhum and Dhalbhum.

There are good roads connecting these areas with Manbazar, Barabhum and Jhargram of Midnapore. These areas, if included in Orissa, might swell the area of the South-West Midnapore District. Specially the people of these parts are connected with the people of Dhalbhum and West Midnapore so far as their habits, customs and manners are concerned. In fact all these people formed the main population of the defunct district of the Jungle Mahals and hence they should be linked to Orissa from a historical point of view. The

high class people are Oriya Brahmin connected by ties of social relationship with those of contiguous area lying to the south. A look at the map will show that this part is an unnatural projection of the Bankura District towards south-west. In fact it was not a part of Bankura as we find in History.

The people have adopted a mixed Bengalee language, but are more connected with Oriya people of Jhargram and Dhalbhum in other ways. They should be restored to Orissa for their own interests. The Santal people of this area need not object to their inclusion in Orissa as they will find their fellowmen in new Orissa Province in large numbers.

There is a tendency of the people of Bankura to migrate to Manbhum and Singhbhum Districts. The South-West Bankura people naturally migrate to work in the Singhbhum industrial areas. This is a factor which should be considered in judging of the economic interest involved.

Central Provinces Area.

The areas claimed from Central Provinces have been stated above. That those areas formed an integral part of Sambalpur Oriya tract in the past and still continue, except for administrative purposes, to be so at present, is a fact which must have been dealt with in great detail in the local memoranda submitted on behalf of the Oriya people of those areas. Some of our appendices will prove complimentary to them. We have dealt with, at great length, the views that have been advanced from time to time against their inclusion in Orissa in our Chapter 'Adverse Opinion of Provincial Governments reviewed'. We would like to add the following observations :—

The aborigines in those areas like the Gonds are akin to those of Sambalpur and neighbouring feudatory states. Oriya is the main language spoken in these parts, the other is a hybrid dialect named Laria which has no potentiality for absorbing the tribal dialects. It is sometimes held that Chhattisghari Hindi, which, it is taken for granted, is more virile than Oriya, is pushing back and rapidly replacing the Oriya tongue. But as facts stand, the Oriya tongue has fairly successfully maintained its position in these parts inspite of the fact that systematic attempts have for a quarter of a century or more, been made to strangle it. Oriya is not the Court language in these parts and Government does not recognise Oriya Primary Schools.

We have dealt elsewhere what we think of the argument of communications advanced by C. P. Government. We hold that these tracts will be more efficiently administered from Sambalpur than from Raipur.

The people of these parts continue to suffer from the same administrative disabilities which the people of Sambalpur were suffering from up till 1905. We would like to quote below a few lines from a letter addressed by the C. P. Government to the Government of India (letter No. 2646-A., dated the 16th March, 1904) where the Chief Secretary to C. P. Government, Mr. B. Robertson, I.C.S., C.I.E., described the disabilities the people of Sambalpur were suffering under which can be said with equal emphasis with respect to Oriya areas still in the C. P.

"As the Government of India have noticed the existence of one Oriya-speaking district in a Province, of which all the other districts are either Hindi

or Mahratti-speaking, has caused serious inconvenience. This inconvenience is felt particularly in connection with the administration of the Police."

"The difficulty of maintaining an efficient Oriya-speaking Police force in Sambalpoore under present conditions, is very great. In April 1903, the Chief Commissioner received a representation from the Inspector General of Police regarding the difficulty of administering the Police of the District under the orders re-introducing Oriya into the Police Department. A complaint made by those who applied to the Government for the restoration of Oriya language was that Oriya could not enter up Police diaries in Hindi and that Hindi-speaking men from other Districts could not enter them up in Oriya". "As has been stated above, the Chief Commissioner apprehends that the difficulty of having a Oriya-speaking class of officials in other departments may prove to be greater than was anticipated."

Madras Area.

Oriya tracts of Madras Presidency.—The Oriya tracts of the Madras Presidency constitute the major portion of the Oriya country lying outside the Orissa Division of Bihar and Orissa. The area and population of these areas are as follows :—

	Area in Sq. miles.	Population in 1921.
Ganjam District (Plain and Agency) (minus Chicacole and Narusenpeta)	7,459	1,757,770
Vizagapatam Agency (minus Gudem Taluk) ..	11,368	938,576
Total ..	18,827	2,696,346

History.—Since the dawn of history these areas have formed parts of the great Kalinga Empire extending from the Ganges to the Godaveri river. From Asoka inscriptions we learn that Tosali (modern Bhubaneswar) was the head-quarter station of Kalinga and Jaugada (near Aska in Ganjam) was the headquarters of her southern border division and the inscription refers to the administration of the border tribes who were the ancestors of the Konds and Savars now found in abundant numbers in these areas. After disintegration of the Kalinga Empire it was broken up into three Kalingas, the southern Kalinga or Kalinga proper including these areas. There is unmistakable evidence in history to point out the fact that the Vizag Agency areas were the original home of the Odra tribe. Whatever might have been the southern limit of the southern Kalinga it is an established fact that the country of the Andhras was distinct from the country of Kalinga. The Andhras might have made inroads into the coastal plains of the north of the Godavery in course of time. But the area with which we are concerned, is not the national home of the Telugus. During the time of the Ganga kings all the different Kalings were again united—the Gangas of Mukhalingam (near Parlakimedi) conquering the Northern Orissa and ruling all the tracts from Cuttack. The Suryavansi kings of Orissa of course extended their territory further south, with which we are not concerned. During the Mohamedan regime this great country of the Oriyas was again disintegrated, the portion beyond the Chilka was detached from the main stock and has passed through a series of political and administrative changes. Its annexation was a matter of conquest. However for a

certain period the Kalinga Sircar (including the portion in question with headquarters at Chicacole) was included under the rent roll of the Orissa Soubah. All the principal Rajas and zemindars of these parts claim descent from the Chiefs who were dependent on the Rajas of Orissa (*vide* the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Manuals and Gazetteers and the Fifth Report of the East India Company, Vol. III, and History of Orissa by R. D. Banerji and Brigg's History of the Deccan). For the historical connection of these parts we must look to the Hindu period. With Mohamedan rulers it was a matter of temporary conquest constantly changing hands. The British administered the areas handed down to them as they were at the time.

It was the Oriya who civilised the country and was responsible in spreading civilisation among the aborigines constituting the Konds, Savaras, Gadabas and Parojas. It is during the British period that the Telugus became an intermediary ruling race and gradually spread towards the north as far as the Chicacole Taluk: Then there was not the Vizagapatam harbour or the Waltair Junction. Whatever might have been the changes introduced by the intermediaries, Ganjam ever remained a fountain head of Oriya literature and the social relationship between Oriya Rajas of Orissa and Ganjam and Jeypore remained in tact and the people of both the parts were tied also by relationship.

Boundary.—The Eastern Ghat mountains form a natural boundary between the Vizag plains and Vizagapatam Agency, between the Telugus of the coast and Oriyas of Hill so far as the Jeypore zemindary is concerned, and as regards Ganjam Oriyas abound both in hills and plains though of late years Telugus have proceeded northwards beyond Chicacole to live in coastal towns for the purpose of agriculture and trade and service by being encouraged by the privilege they enjoyed as intermediary ruling power over the Oriyas.

Races.—The Hindu people of these areas are mainly Oriyas, the Konds and Savaras being mainly found in the hilly tracts. The Telugus who are found in these areas are recent immigrants, their family names indicating that they hail from the south. We boldly point out that the sponsors of the anti-Oriya movement in Ganjam had their original home beyond the Godavery in the south. The Kshetriya Rajas are all Oriyas as are most of the native inhabitants. During the last few Censuses there has been a great deal of manipulations on the part of the Telugu officials to swell their numbers, and they have gone so far as to reduce the number of Oriya castes and to get the Oriya caste people incorporated in the Telugu caste people. Herewith we affix an Appendix to prove the details of such manipulations. As regards the aborigines though they might be of Dravidian or Kolarian origin they have their fellow tribesmen in abundant numbers in the contiguous states of Orissa. Konds, Savars, Gadabas and Parojas are found nowhere else in the Madras Presidency—the aborigines of Rampa and Koya Agency of the Godaveri District being distinct from the former, in habits, manners and language. It is in the interests of these backward tribes that they should be incorporated in the Oriya Province, wherein they find proper scope for their development, they having lived for centuries side by side with the Oriyas in villages within the Hill areas.

Language.—The language of the area is mainly Oriya. Mr. Grant declaring in the early eighties of the 18th century that half the people of the

North Sircars were Oriya and half Telugu. It is certain that at the time Grant's Report was written, the whole of the Vizag plains was an Oriya-speaking tract. In spite of deliberate massacre of the Oriya language by the Telugu officials it has still reared its head, so much so that though cut off from the main Orissa for several centuries in the Agency portions we find Taluks having 90 per cent. of Oriya-speakers. The Oriya language has been a great civilising influence among the aborigines so much so that the unsympathetic Madras Government had to introduce the Oriya as Court and official language in the Kond and Savar divisions so late as 1920.

As regards the Telugu-speakers of the Ganjam area, they are found sprinkled over a vast territory. The only area in which they are found as a compact body are Chicacole and Narusenpeta Taluks, which we have deliberately though unwillingly excluded from our demand and the proportion of Telugus who will remain in Ganjam minus Chicacole will probably be not ten per cent. of the Oriya-speakers of the districts, some of them being of the type of the Nolias, a fishing tribe found near Puri coast. We can't but point out to the manipulations at the time of the Census specially in 1911 and 1921 after the Oriya agitation became stronger and more defined. There was deliberate attempt to get the number of Oriya-speakers reduced (*vide* note on Ganjam Census).

The people of Ganjam and Jeypore follow the customs, manners and religion of the people of Orissa the connection being kept intact by the marriage relationships between the areas. The aborigines follow their tribal religion in a manner after that of the aborigines of Orissa.

We need not encounter the difficulties the Oriya people undergo in the matter of education, service, etc., and how the Oriya people have always been a source of anxiety to the Madras Government.

So long the agitation was based on the basis of race and language but the question of economic interest has been pointed out as an obstacle in the path of amalgamation. Now we don't understand exactly what is meant by this. Of course in recent years we have seen the growth of a Vizagapatam harbour and the construction of the Raipur Vizianagram line. Of course the direction of trade is with the Vizagapatam Port. But that is no reason why an ancient race should be vivisected. Harbours and Ports are not provincial concerns. There is no such provision anywhere in the Statutes that the people belonging to the area round about the Port should monopolise the capital labour of the area. The monopoly of trade must not be in the hands of the people of the Province in which the port is situated. The port is a creation of yesterday. But the nation is a creation of centuries. We can't stretch our imagination to the day when the Oriya people of the Jeypore zemindary will be converted into Telugu labourers and capitalists. The cities and ports are cosmopolitan in their character. We think the Andhra people will be the last persons to exclude from their demands Nellore and Chittur Districts in their scheme of a separate Andhra Province because of the nearness of those areas to growing city and port of Madras. Even if the Oriyas tracts we demand be separated from Madras Vizagapatam will still have a sufficient area left towards its north and west. In case the Raigada and Bissam Cuttack Taluks are retained in Madras for the sake of Vizagapatam Port it is but meet and proper that Raipur

District should be demanded by the Madras Government. If there be no convenient roads connecting Ganjam with Vizag Agencies, it will not be a ground against the amalgamation. As the Raja of Bobbili has pointed out in his memorandum before the Round Table Conference for a separate Andhra Province, that the Tamilians have usurped all monies reserved for nation building departments to be spent in Tamil area, so Telugus have caused the money set apart for northern portion of the Presidency to be spent in their interests. After all want of direct connection of agencies with Ganjam is gradually being removed by the extension of the Parlakimedi Railway and if it be joined with Vizag Raipur line and extends *via* Jeypore, Nawrangpur to Jagadalpur it will solve the problem of communications.

We must not omit the fact that the Andhras who took their lessons from the Oriya agitation have very lately been insistent on their demands for a separate Andhra Province and have recognised the strength of the Oriya people in the north of the Presidency and they have excluded major portions of Ganjam and Vizag Agency in their proposal for their province. Their evidence before the joint Committee also confirms the same view. Dr. Sitaramayya also puts forth the same view in his pamphlet on "The Reorganisation of the Indian Provinces".

The Madras Government is very zealous of its Provincial areas. In view of the agitation of the Andhras for a separate Province of their own, this Commission should decide the Oriya question on its own merits. The Oriya people are sick of the paternal care so far bestowed by this Provincial Government. The little piece of argument now adopted by the Madras Government regarding the Rusikulya Canal system is a child's plea. That the Madras Government has after 150 years spent a few lakhs over the canals of Ganjam is no argument why the District should be kept as a perpetual security. In these days of western civilisation this Shylocklike demand for a pound of flesh sounds anti-diluvian.

Regarding the plea of administrative inconvenience we might at once put forth the suggestion that the reason lies not in actual inconvenience but in the loss of a source of exploitation which the intermediaries cannot brook. If there is a fair amount of domiciled Telugus they may hold the same position as the domiciled community of Orissa does in Orissa. The unity in the national home of the Oriyas cannot be jeopardised for the sake of the settlers insisting to exploit an inoffensive race which has been mercilessly kept under perpetual thralldom of another race through no fault of theirs. If the Andhras demand that 20 p. c. of Andhra population in any area should be classed as the Andhra country why should they not in all fairness concede the same to the Oriyas. The advanced race needs no protection while the weaker ones need it for self-existence.

As regards personal law and land laws which the interested parties point out as stumbling block, the less said the better. For we have the experience of Sambalpur which has welcomed the change in administration under Bengal (now Bihar and Orissa) while retaining its special landlaws, etc.

Regarding financial estimates there are varied versions and we are not now in a position to examine them whatever the Madras Government might say.

The Ganjam District is not a deficit District and it can pay its way and have a balance set apart which may be utilised for the deficit Agency areas. The administration of Agency areas is a matter which the Government is to some extent interested when the province is created and the financial relationship between the centre and the Province be considered, the Agency matter should be a factor which should find its due place in the settlement or the adjustment. The Agency may be administered with less cost in Orissa than in Madras.

At present Madras is a province having the biggest area of all the provinces, the Oriya areas lying several hundred of miles off, and the unwieldiness of the area is to be removed by detaching this portion under demand, whatever be the future relationship between the Andhras and the Tamils.

Lastly, the Southern Province has recently developed a barrier in the progress of the self-governing institution, *viz.*, the Brahmin and non-Brahmin cleavage which is totally absent among the Oriya people. It is proper time that before this rank weed enters its roots deep down the Oriyas of Madras should be separated from their Telugu brethren and spared of the evil influence of this rival communalism which plays a prominent part in the Southern India politics.

If Orissa were at all to be created a separate province it cannot but include the proposed Madras area within its boundary. It is for this area alone that Phillip-Duff enquiry was instituted. These areas form a compact zone which cannot be broken up. The Ganjam plain sails in the same boat with the Ganjam Agency and the Ganjam Agency sails in the same boat with the Vizag Agency. The zemindaries form a solid block. Geographical entity demands its separation from Telugu plains. It is the only area which can considerably increase the size of the proposed Orissa Province. The loss of area in the Ganjam District by exclusion of Chicacole may be compensated by the addition of Khondmahal Subdivision. All these Madras areas will form two Districts entire being the two biggest Districts of the new Province.

To Orissa, commonly subject to natural calamities, the salt industry of Ganjam will stand in good stead and supply labour to people who are periodically afflicted by floods and scarcities and will serve to stimulate the revival of the strangled salt industry in the coastal area of the present Division of Orissa.

As regards the wishes of the Madras Oriyas, it has been ascertained by Phillip and Duff Committee. As regards the Vizag Agency which almost comprises whole of the zemindary of the Raja of Jeypore the said Committee was mainly guided by the wishes of the late Raja. But now the present Raja, Raja Bikram Dev Barma, is the zemindar. It was he who led the Oriya deputation on behalf of the Oriya people of Jeypore and gave evidence before the Phillip-Duff Committee.

All these facts are put forth for consideration the Madras Oriya areas deserve.

Acid test of Provincial Area.

Next we propose to deal how far the conditions of a separate province are realised in the case of the proposed Orissa Province.

Acid test of an ideal provincial area.—The acid tests of an ideal provincial area as suggested by the Statutory Commission are :—language, race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town and between coast line and interior. “Most important of all perhaps for practical purposes, is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed both on the side of the area that is gaining and on the side of the area that is losing territory.”

Let us first examine the last and “the most important of all” tests adumbrated by Sir John Simon. As to the test of the general agreement one may pertinently ask whose general agreement is necessary? Is it the general agreement of Governments concerned or the dis-membered people who seek union or have been coerced not to seek union with the parent stock like the confirmed jailbird or of the dominant people who want to keep their weak brethren in perpetual subjection? On this point the authors of the Montford reforms remark that “generally speaking we may describe provincial patriotism as sensitively jealous of its territorial integrity.” If an all-India politician of the brightest lustre be scratched, the provincial blood will flow in torrents. Even the Provincial Government betray a mentality and an advocacy as could only be expected from a professional Advocate. The despatches and letters of the Governments of Madras and C. P., since the days of Lord Curzon right up to the time of Sir John Simon, betray an advocacy for the majority community and a sensitiveness for territorial integrity which no Government constituted for the good government of various peoples under their charge can ever resort to. A tendency of “pouring more oil on the oil-besmeared head”, as the Oriya proverb puts it, is too much with the Governments of Madras and C. P. to brook any suggestion of an infringement of their territorial boundary. Again the “intermediary ruling power”, i.e., the major partners of the Province who feed fat upon the minor partner and appropriate to themselves all the loaves and fishes of service and hold the string of commerce, trade and industry and who force the Oriyas to give up their mother tongue, can never tolerate to be rid of their prey. Under the circumstances mutual agreement can hardly be expected. All imaginable obstacles and pleas will be put forward by the people and the Governments to keep their territorial integrity in tact. It is for the Government to right the wrong they have so long permitted through their solid callousness. If they fail the destruction nay annihilation of an ancient race, of an ancient language, of an ancient civilisation will lie at their door. It must be remembered it was not by mutual consent that the Oriyas preferred to remain under four different Governments, nor it was by common consent that Oriya was banished from the courts and schools of Midnapore Oriya area, C. P. Oriya area and Singbhum. It is but just that the authors of the wrongs committed should undo what they have done. It is no honour to sift responsibility to other's shoulders.

Now, let us turn to the other important tests of race, religion, language, economic interest and geographical contiguity.

Race, Language and Religion.—The areas claimed by the Oriya people are inhabited mostly by the Oriya race who speak “a common language (might be with local variations) and possess a common culture, are mostly of the same religious faith, observe the same ceremonials and are governed by the same law of inheritance, and geographically comprise a contiguous whole. Purana, history and tradition can trace them hundreds of years back as could be seen from the annexed appendices”. The claims, put forward by the Oriya people of Singhbhum, Midnapore, Ganjam, Jeypore and C. P. Oriyas separately, conclusively prove the racial affinity, the linguistic similarity and the historical oneness of the race. It is not a sentimental cry for union. It is a life and death struggle of the Oriya race and language for self-preservation and self-determination. The backward people who form majorities in certain areas claimed by us are all Oriya assimilating people both with respect to language, manners, customs and religions.

We quote below a few authoritative opinions as regards a few aboriginal races, *e.g.*, Savars, Khonds and Hos. Other relevant points will be found in the Appendices. B. V. Russel and Rai Bahadur Hiralal in their “Castes and Tribes of the Central Provinces of India” divide the Savars into two main branches and the eastern branch is divided into two main divisions, *e.g.*, Oriya and Laria. “The total number of Savars enumerated in India in 1911 was 6,00,000 of which Bundelkhand District contained about 100,000 and the Oriya country the remainder” (page 500). The Government of India in their letter No. 3678, dated the 3rd December 1903, addressed to the Government of Bengal state—“the majority of the people of Ganjam Agency tracts speak Kond—a Dravidian language, which, as education spreads, is certain to give place to Oriya”, Memoranda of the Indian Statutory Commission, Vol. IV, page 572, para. 12 d. In page 570, para. 9, the same letter states “In the centre of that District (Singhbhum) 2,35,000 (according to Census of 1901) speak a Munda language named Ho which in course of time will probably give place to Oriya.”

The interests of the aboriginals cannot, therefore, lie elsewhere than in Orissa, placed as they are in the heart of the Oriya country or within the sphere of cultural influence of the Oriyas.

Next we turn to the test of “Economic interest”. If by this is meant Railway communications and the flow of trade towards ports, we are afraid that many existing provinces will fail to satisfy the conditions, for India as a whole forms but three or four economic entities.

Economic interests do not respect provincial boundaries and have never been a criterion of province making in the past and nor should it be so in the future. Provinces of the future, however autonomous they might be in other respects, can never attain the position of independent states with powers of raising tariff walls and so nothing can prevent the nationals of one province from trading with the other. Consequently we fail to visualise the wisdom of denying the principle of racial self-determination to any number of our people on that score.

Moreover communications in the past were undertaken to suit the administration and not *vice versa*, while maintaining that there already exist

intercommunications between Orissa proper and the outlying territories we expect that the new Government will develop its communications to suit its own administration if there be any deficiency in this respect.

Railways and Roads either already exist connecting Orissa with its outlying territories or are nearing completion or are fast developing to supply any deficiency in this respect actual or visionary (*vide* Appendix on Roads and Communications).

What is more significant that economic interest in the sense of communications is economic relations of the people concerned and it will be interesting to note that the aborigines of the Hills and interior have exclusive economic relations with the Oriyas who live amongst them.

From what has been said before it is evident that all the tests suggested by the Royal Commission are fulfilled by the suggested Orissa Province.

Adverse Opinions of Provincial Governments reviewed.

One of the terms of reference of this Committee is to enquire into the "Financial, administrative and other consequences in the adjoining territories of British India."

Adverse Opinions of Provincial Governments. Reviewed.—Although we will deal with these points subsequently we beg to submit at the outset that our case should be judged on its own merits without reference to how the interests vested or otherwise of adjoining provinces will be affected. It will not be out of place to point out and examine the attitude of some Governments concerned with regard to the Oriya problem. The law of Prescription and Easement is too much with them. On no account they would take into consideration the injustice done to the Oriyas. Though they admit the wrong, they refuse to right it. They want to palliate. Let us examine some of their arguments.

C. P. Government.—The Central Provinces Government resile from their declarations from time to time. This may be due to the pressure from the dominant partners of the Province. Mr. Roughton, Finance Secretary to Central Provinces Government, stated before the Simon Commission that they needed "some wealthier areas from elsewhere for their expansion". Perhaps this idea obsessed the Central Provinces Government to resile in 1926 from the position they took up in 1922, as regards the amalgamation question. In 1922, they reported that in Padmapur in Bilaspur District the number of Oriya-speakers was 76 per cent. of the total population and that there were 50 per cent. of Oriya-speaking people in Phuljhar. The Governor in Council considered that "there was a *prima facie* case for transferring the Khariar Zemindary Estate of the same District in which the Oriya population amounted to 77 per cent. of the whole and filled a compact area". But in 1926 the Governor in Council found himself "unable to accept the view previously expressed" and opposed the transfer of Khariar. They maintained that "the Khariar zemindar was the admitted head of the Raipur Group of zemindars and as such, it should not go to Orissa". To this we can say that the Khariar zemindar will also be the head of the zamindars of Sambalpur

MC120C(WOP)

District if that zemindary is transferred to Sambalpur. The land revenue system of the zemindary, which was made an excuse of, by the C. P. Government, is also prevalent in Sambalpur and the C. P. Oriya can in no way be inconvenienced on that score. The plea of Vizianagaram Railway connecting Khariar more closely with C. P. is an important argument against other racial, linguistic and social considerations and if the argument be pressed home, it will justify linking Raipur and Bilaspur Districts with Vizianagaram, if not with Sambalpur. The Government of C. P. again said that "Oriya spoken in that estate (*i.e.*, Khariar) was gradually melting into Chhatishghari Hindi" (Vol. IV, page 550). The Oriya people strongly resent this strangulation of an ancient tongue and it is this very danger that gives the whole question a serious aspect.

Vandalism of ancient monuments and temples is a matter of history and surely the C. P. Government are out for a different kind of vandalism by exterminating an ancient race and language and thereby to secure glory to British justice and administration.

Financially, perhaps these areas do not add much to the C. P. coffers but the tendency to spread the overhead charges is too much with them. If nobler considerations weigh with the C. P. Government, we doubt not they will resile from the position they took up in 1926 and will freely and gladly do justice to the Oriyas.

Madras.—The attitude taken by the Madras Government ever since the question has been mooted, is a matter of grave concern to the Oriyas. We propose to deal with and expose the fallacy of some of the arguments which they have advanced from time to time. In 1903, they opposed the amalgamation of Ganjam on the grounds of

- (1) Complication of judicial arrangements,
- (2) Land Revenue system as distinct from that of Bengal, and
- (3) District records which were kept in Telugu.

In 1922 they went to the length of denying the existence of any general desire of the Oriyas for amalgamation. They also pointed out "the intimate relation between forest areas and the rivers of the plains", and went so far as to say that a commission of enquiry to go into the question, would not justify the expenditure involved. The Government of India's institution of the Phillip and Duff Committee even after this recommendation by the Government of Madras would clearly prove how the arguments weighed with the Government of India. Nothing daunted, the Government of Madras criticised the action of the Government of India and put forward the following arguments in 1926 and strongly criticised the Phillip and Duff Report. They said (1) that the statistics of language were misleading, (2) that the aboriginal tribes in the Agency had no linguistic or ethnic affinity with the Oriya population, (3) that there was no distinct area of the District which was peopled entirely by the Oriyas, (4) that there was no intimate relationship between the Oriyas of Ganjam and the Oriyas of Orissa, and (5) that the mass of the Oriya population of Ganjam was not sufficiently advanced to be competent to judge where its interests lay.

As to the first series of objection in 1903, we can only say that the complications of judicial arrangements and keeping of Telugu records were forced upon the Oriya people which after 20 years they wanted to palliate as we will show below.

As regards the second series of arguments that there was no general desire for amalgamation and that the Oriya movement was "one which crops up from time to time in languid fashion and recedes after failing to arouse general interest", we beg to point out that they are a complete misrepresentation of facts. We give below an extract from the opinion of the Madras Government to illustrate the extent to which they have gone in misrepresenting the Oriya case.

In 1904, Sir Murray Hammick, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, said—

"That the agitation was not genuine, and that it was imported from outside." They said, "the real originator of the movement was, it is understood, one Mr. Madhu Sudan Das, a Pleader of Cuttack and a member of Bengal Legislative Council. He appears to have no interest in Ganjam except in so far as being a native Christian, his sympathies are with the Baptist Mission in Ganjam to which the "transfer would be convenient as its headquarters are at Cuttack" (*vide* page 146 of the Further Papers relating to the reconstitution of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam presented to both houses of Parliament by both Houses of His Majesty).

As regards the absence of relationship between the Oriyas of Ganjam and those of Orissa, we say that it is nothing but a dignified piece of falsehood coming, as it does, from one of His Majesty's Provincial Governments. All the Rajas and the people of Ganjam have social and matrimonial connections in Orissa Districts and States from time immemorial right up to day.

Regarding the contention that the Oriya population of Ganjam was not sufficiently advanced to judge where its interests lay, we submit that the Government of Madras is the last place where the interest of the Oriyas of Ganjam could possibly lie. Assuming the statement to be true, the Committee, we pray, should kindly apportion the responsibility for this insufficient advancement on the part of the people. So late as 1926 they said that they were "taking steps to palliate the disabilities of the Oriyas notably with reference to the use of the Oriya language in public offices and the employment of Oriyas in public services". This idea of palliating disabilities which dawned upon the Madras Government after the rule of over a century and a half, and after the Phillip and Duff Enquiry, conclusively proves that the Government was directly responsible for imposing these disabilities on the Oriya people. Palliation is always a bad substitute for removal. It is no wise statesmanship to advertise measures of palliation and call them as such.

As regards the objection that no part of Ganjam is exclusively occupied by the Oriyas, we beg to point out that in these days of Railways and other facilities of communication it is impossible to find one distinct area peopled exclusively by one race. Commercial, agricultural and other interests attract enterprising people from extreme parts of India and it is absurd to expect economic

isolation. If in the heart of Madras or Vizag a strong influential minority of Marwaris, Gujratis or Punjabis might have comfortably settled and held the strings of trade, will that fact justify the adding of Vizag or Madras to the tail end of Marwar, Gujrat, or the Punjab.

In 1922 the Madras Government stated that the 'Madras Ministers' fully concurred in their view. The Ministers were certainly not Oriyas and had interests directly opposed to theirs. In 1926 they said that the "view of the Governor in Council was shared by the Hon'ble Ministers, one of whom being a native of the Ganjam District and one of its representatives in the Legislative Council was in a position to speak with special authority". Now, we hope the Government of Madras will not hesitate to recognise the "special authority" of the then Minister Sir A. P. Patro, when he thus speaks at the first Round Table Conference "As one interested in the formation of a separate Province for the Oriyas I support the proposal whole-heartedly. The formation of a separate Province for Oriyas has been agitated for since 1902. I was the first to lead the agitation about this matter."

Most humbly we beg to lay before the Boundary Commission to go thoroughly into the somersaults of arguments advanced by the Government of Madras from time to time up till now with regard to the Oriya question. The opinion of the Madras Government seems to echo the views of the Ganjam Defence League. Perhaps the only point the Government failed to pick up, is the statement of Mr. Rammurti as a witness on behalf of Ganjam Defence League before the Royal Commission that Oriyas are governed by the Daya-bhag Law of inheritance.

The Government of Madras from the very outset of the movement tried to misrepresent and mislead the Government of India. When no credit was placed upon their statements they resented and asked the Government not to lend themselves to Oriya agitation. We quote the following :—

- (1) "His Excellency the Governor in Council is surprised to find that a like confidence has not been reposed on the opinion expressed by this Government and is at a loss to understand upon what ground this apparently invidious distinction has been drawn.
- (2) Already, as previously quoted, an attempt has been made to raise this question for the Canarese-speaking populations and with the example of the contemplated concession to Oriya sentiment before them, it is not improbable that a similar demand may be expressed for an Andhra Province and so forth. The argument of sentiment upon which the present proposals are chiefly based can be applied with greater force to the Telugus, Malayalese or Mahrattas because these races are not less conscious of their unity and are more advanced educationally, economically and politically than the Oriyas."
- (3) "Had the Government of India actually proposed lending themselves to the agitation they could not surely have chosen a better way. The Governor in Council cannot doubt that their action was in fact interpreted by the leaders of the transfer agitation as a gesture of encouragement."

It would be a volume to examine all the arguments of the Government of Madras from time to time and expose their fallacy and mis-statements. The few instances given above indicate their partiality towards the powerful partner. The Oriya people justly think that the Government of Madras are too much under the sway of our intermediary ruling power and repeat what they put to them without any attempt to test the truth on their own behalf or at the instance of the Government of India. It would not be out of place to ask the Commission to enquire how many times during the last century the Governor of Madras came in contact with the people of Ganjam in Ganjam. Our request is that the Boundary Commission should call for all original letters addressed to the Government of India since 1903 on this question of Oriya amalgamation up till now and we pray for no favour but bare justice when we ask them to test their arguments and find out what is what.

Consequences on Adjoining British Territories.

We propose to deal in this Chapter with the third term of reference of the Committee, i.e., what would be the administrative, financial and other consequences in the adjoining territories of British India ?

This aspect of the term of reference, we fear, would prejudicially affect our interests for we hold that our case should be dealt with on its own merits. Justice of this contention will be apparent from what we have said in the Chapter "Opinion of Provincial Governments".

We take it that these administrative, financial and other consequences refer, mostly, to the Provincial Government of the outlying territories concerned. We would also refer to how the people in the adjoining areas shall be affected.

Bengal.—The areas proposed to be transferred from Bengal are not so much as to demand any serious attention by the Government of Bengal. The District of Midnapore is too big to be efficiently managed as a single District. With a view to partitioning it into two Districts, the Bengal Government had actually brought forward proposals in 1913-14 (*vide* Report of the Bengal District Administration), but the proposal was any how dropped though a huge sum was spent over the construction of the headquarters buildings of the Hijilee District at Kharagpur.

For good and efficient administration the District is to be divided into two Districts. Now that the Oriya consciousness has been fully aroused, the proposed transfer would relieve them of this linguistic and racial trouble and would make Bengal's homogeneity complete.

The people of the locality also who are Oriyas stand to gain by being placed under the same administration as the Oriyas of Orissa. Their long-standing grievances and disabilities are certain to be removed by a Government which would be their own. The finances of Bengal would not be affected to any noticeable extent and the Government of Bengal under whose care the majority of the Oriya people was placed since British conquest, will not grudge to transfer a handful of Oriyas still left under their charge by the partition of Bihar and Orissa in 1912.

Madras.—We have dealt elsewhere about the attitude of the Madras Government towards the question of Oriya amalgamation which is anything but sympathetic. We hold that administrative, financial and other consequences of the transfer of Madras Oriya tracts to the Orissa Province can in no way affect the Madras Government. So far as Ganjam plains are concerned, they will be relieved, according to the calculations of the Bihar and Orissa financial expert of a deficit District. It is sometimes maintained that the agency tracts (Ganjam and Vizag) are deficit areas. So the Government of Madras can plausibly have any objection to the transfer on the score of finance. Amongst the Provincial Governments the Government of Madras has the biggest income and so they lose nothing. The suggested transfer would also lessen their administrative troubles by removing the linguistic difficulty. The Government of India remarked in 1903—"The Government of Madras have repeatedly complained of the anxieties imposed on the administration by the great diversity of languages (Oriya, Telugu, Tamil, Malayalam and Kanarese) with which the Madras Civilian are called upon to cope and which rendered the transfer of officers from one part of the Presidency to the other a matter of great difficulty and often of positive detriment to the public interest. These disadvantages exercise an injurious effect not only upon the administration but also on the people." At another place they said—"this change would relieve both the Central Provinces and Madras of a troublesome excrescence upon their administrative system".

The Government of Madras were afraid lest yielding to the Oriya case may bring forth other similar demands in the Presidency. Whether they yield to the Oriya case or not the spirit of the time is bound to give rise to many similar demands. The Government of Madras should recognise like others, that the Oriya case stands apart from other similar demands.

Of all the Indian Provinces, the Madras Presidency has the largest area to administer, with a great variety of languages. The transfer of the Oriya tracts will make it a bit more homogeneous. It will relieve them of an ever complaining and 'troublesome' area.

So far as the Telugu people of the locality are concerned, it may be pointed out that the definitely Telugu-speaking areas of Chicacole and Narasanpeta have been excluded from the proposed scheme. It cannot be helped that a small minority of Telugus would come inside the proposed boundary. They are new-comers who have adopted this country by choice.

In these days of communication and convenience it is impossible to confine one locality to one people. There must be an intermixture of races and languages. The minority community of a particular area where another race dominates must have to cast its lot with the majority.

. *Bihar and Orissa.*—The Government of Bihar and Orissa have always expressed sympathy with the ideal of an Orissa Province. Their concern goes further. They are not so sensitively jealous of their territory. High ideals of Government actuate them when they say—"The problem of Orissa is, however, urgent; delay over its solution will cause resentment among the Oriyas" (*vide* B. and O. Government despatch on Constitutional Reforms, paragraph 38).

The Government of Bihar and Orissa as seen from their own statements will not be affected financially. They state—"By the separation of these areas (i.e. Orissa and Chota Nagpur) from Bihar proper, the latter would obtain some relief" (*vide* Bihar and Orissa Government Despatch on 'Constitutional Reforms', paragraph 55).

So far as the non-Oriya people, who are mostly aboriginal and are affected by our suggested change, are concerned, it may be pointed out that it will be to their advantage to be placed under the Government of Orissa which contains such a big number of them under its fold. They will form a respectable minority in the proposed Province perforce demanding sufficient attention from the Government of Orissa and will be able to retain their own individuality and protect their interests more effectively against the Oriyas than against other advanced nationalities.

Popular opinion among the Biharees has always been sympathetic towards the Oriya aspirations. It was Mr. Sachchidanand Sinha who while moving a resolution in the old Imperial Council for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts, declared he would not object to Orissa being separate from Bihar. Prominent Biharee leaders supported unanimously the resolution moved in the Local Council for union of all the Oriya-speaking tracts in 1922. The B. and O. Provincial Committee supported it in their report and so did the land-holders of Bihar.

Administrative Consequences of the new Province.

The chief administrative consequence that will follow the creation of separate Orissa Province will be that the administration will be handed over to a Government which will devote undivided attention to the people under its charges. No intermediary ruling race will intervene between the *Rulers* and the *Ruled*. Responsible Government which up till now, has been denied to the Oriya, will be a reality to them. The natural resources and the advantages which have been given to the people by Providence have never been worked for their benefit. The establishment of a Port, the revival of Salt Industry, utilisation of mineral and forest resources obtained in the Agency tracts should have been worked long long ago, had there been a Government that would mainly and entirely devote its energies towards the same. In short, an all-round development is expected if, for some reasons, developments cannot be effected in the near future, it is admitted that there can be no good Government like Self-Government. The psychological effect of the creation of a separate Province can hardly be under-rated. We leave it to the statesmanship, far-sight and sympathetic consideration of the Commission.

In fine, the creation of a separate Province for the dismembered Oriyas, will be a standing monument of the vindication of the British sense of justice in righting a wrong committed and continued through indifference.

APPENDIX A.

NOTE ON THE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF NORTHERN ORISSA.

I. *Moghul Orissa*.—The changes consequent on the subjection of the province of Orissa to the Moghul Government have been discussed fully by Sterling (*vide* extracts from Sterling, appended). From this account it appears that the jurisdiction of the Raja of Khurda extended from the Mahanadi to the borders of Kimeri in Ganjam; the portion to the North of Mahanadi was placed under seven principal zemindars, *viz.*, the zemindars of (1) Keonjhar, (2) Mayurbhanj, (3) Bishenpore, (4) Fatiabad, (5) Naraingarh, (6) Karanagarh, and (7) Nag or Bagbhum. All the area under Keonjhar is now in Orissa. Singhbhum and Barabhum under Mayurbhanj are now in Manbhum in Bihar and Orissa. Jamirapal and some other portion are now in Midnapore in Bengal. All the area under Bishenpore excluding Manbhum is now in the Districts of Bankura and Midnapore in Bengal. All the area under Fatiabad excluding Ghatsila or Dhalbhum which is included in Singhbhum, can be identified in the Midnapore District. The area under Naraingarh and Karanagarh is now included in the District of Midnapore. Nagbhum or Bagbhum zemindari was under Bishenpore and there was a separate zemindari entitled Nagbhum or Bagbhum. The former can be identified as Bagbhum in Midnapore, but the latter is undoubtedly Nagbhum or Nagpur in the Chota Nagpur area. Grant's "Analysis of Finances of Bengal" mentions one Raja of Nagpur (*vide* extracts appended). During the Moghul period, the Province (Soubah) of Orissa was administered by a Naib-Nazim under the Subadar of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

Ain-i-Akbari furnishes the complete list of the fiscal divisions in Orissa. M. M. Chakraverti, in his "Notes on Geography of Orissa in the 16th century" printed in the Appendix, has fully discussed the area identifying almost all the places mentioned in the Ain. Grant's Analysis of the finances of Bengal, published in the Appendix of the Fifth Report, is also another authority on the Northern Orissa (Midnapore and Hijilee) under the British rule in the latter half of the 18th century.

II. *British trade in Orissa*.—"In 1624 a Farman was obtained from the Moghul Emperor, Jahangir, permitting the English to trade with Bengal, but restricting them to the Port of Pipili in Midnapore. The regular connection of the Company with Bengal, however, did not commence till 1642 when a factory was established at Balasore" (*vide* Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, 1909, Vol. I, page 1739).

III. *Separation of Hijilee from Orissa*.—Hijilee was first dismembered from the Soubah of Orissa, and annexed to that of Bengal, in the reign of Shahjahan according to Prince Shah Shuja's "Improved Rent-roll" for administrative purposes (*vide* Midnapore District Gazetteer, page 26 and pages 183-84).

IV. *Cession of Orissa to the Mahrattas*.—In 1751 A.D. Alivardi Khan ceded to the Mahrattas the whole of Soubah Orissa up to the river Subarnarekha. "The Subarnarekha was not, however, the real boundary, as the Mahrattas held territory north-east of the river in the Pergunnahs Bhograi, Kamarda, Pataspur (now in the Thanas Pataspur and Egra of Contai Sub-division) and Shahbandar, and several villages of the present Thana Gopiballavpur (*Ibid*, page 32).

V. *British possession of Midnapore*.—By the treaty concluded on the 27th September 1760, with Mir Kassim Ali Khan, the then newly appointed Nawab Nazim of Bengal, the British obtained possession of Midnapore including Jellalore in the South of Orissa (*vide* Aitchison's Treaties, etc., 1909, Vol. I, page 260).

VI. *Grant of Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa*.—The Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam, granted a Farman, dated the 12th August 1765, conferring the Dewani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa on the Hon'ble East India Company (*Ibid*, 225).

The remaining portion of Orissa, *viz.*, Hijilee including Tamluk under the Moghul control came under the Company's jurisdiction by this Farman.

The printed volumes of Midnapore records furnish the following informations :—

- (1) Orissa year was in vogue in Midnapore in 1764 (*Letter* No. 29, Vol. I, 1914, page 24).
- (2) Settlement with the zemindars in the plain was made without any trouble. (*Ibid*, pages 24-25).

(3) Settlement with jungle zemindars was effected under military subjection.

"Zemindars possessing the jungles to the westward of Midnapore and which hitherto supported a kind of independence notwithstanding they were avowedly subordinate to the Province, their rents being entered in the Midnapore Cutchery books, and most of them having always paid a *peshcush* or tribute of acknowledgment; that the Chatna zemindar is one of those, and that however adjacent or blended his Districts may be with those of Patchaet, they are actually out of the limits of Bengal" (Midnapore Records, Vol. I, 1914, p. 115, letter No. 143, dated 12th March 1767). In another letter No. 202, dated 7th June 1767, Fergusson writes from Balarampore to Vansittart at Midnapore that "For he (the Chatna zemindar) adds, that he was always considered in the Midnapore Province, and that he had rather quit his country and starve than become a vassal of Patchaet, whereas he will give all the country affords here and eat rice and drink water with contentment" (*Ibid.*, page 153). In another letter Vansittart writes "If you will examine the papers of Murshidabad during Suja Caun's Government, or any time before the Morattoo troubles, they will, I believe, afford you further proof that Chatna belongs to Orissa not to Bengal" (*Ibid.*, Letter No. 210, dated 25th June 1767.)

The volumes contain a large number of letters in which "Mhan Boioon" and "Burr Boioon" occur. The pronunciation of these words is after the Oriya language undoubtedly.

(5) From Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. III, it is found that the river Subarnarekha was not strictly considered to be the boundary of British Orissa and Maharratta Orissa, because the British not only crossed the river in the jungle Mahals where Nayabasan was settled with the Raja of Mayurbhunj; but the Pergunnah Bhelorachaur on the south of Jellasure, now in the Balasore District.

VII. *Orissa in the Regulations.*—Orissa came under the British supremacy in 1803 which is termed in the Regulations as "the Province of Cuttack". But the Bengal Regulations prior to and after the conquest of Orissa, mention the "Province of Orissa", comprised in the District of Midnapore. Midnapore and Hijilee were included in Orissa even in 1829 when the Regulation I of 1829 was enforced in Bengal. By this Regulation Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was divided into 20 divisions and the Districts of Cuttack, Khorda, Balasore, Midnapore and Nuwgan including Hijilee. By Regulation XVIII of 1805, Chatna, Barabhum, Manbhum, Supur, Ambikanagar, Simlapal and Baliadiha were transferred from Midnapore to newly created *jungle Mahals* which was included in the 20th division of the Regulation I of 1829. From this date, Midnapore remained in Orissa Division under the Government of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, until 1912 under one administration when Bihar and Orissa Province was carved out without Midnapore.

VIII. *Territorial changes of Regulation—Orissa Midnapore and Hijilee.*—The area of Orissa mentioned in the Regulation I of 1793, and subsequent ones, is now found to be scattered in the Districts of Midnapore, Bankura in the province of Bengal and in the Districts of Manbhum, Singhbhum and Balasore in the Province of Bihar and Orissa.

(a) *Portion of Orissa transferred to (i) Jungle Mahals, (ii) Manbhum.*—In 1805 (Regulation XVIII of 1805), the Parganas Chatna, Barabhum, Manbhum, Supur, Ambikanagar, Simlapal and Baliadiha were transferred to the jungle Mahals District. By Regulation XIII of 1833 the District of jungle Mahals was broken up—the greater part of it being formed into District of Manbhum to which Dhalbhum including Ghatsila was attached from Midnapore (Midnapore Gazetteer, page 195). The form of the agreement (Kabuliyat) executed by the jungle Mahal zemindars of Midnapore in 1766, printed in the Manbhum District Gazetteer at page 192, mentions a clause by which they all agreed to send the offenders "to be tried by the *Fauzdari of Midnapore*". In 1845-46 Dhalbhum was transferred to Singhbhum (District Gazetteer, Manbhum, page 67 and Singhbhum, page 213).

A further change of the jurisdiction of the District was made by the Government order of the 27th September 1879, by which Pergunnahs Supur, Raipur, Ambikanagar, Simlapal, Baliadiha, Phulkusuma, Shyamsunderpur comprising Raipur, Khatra and Simlapal Thanas were transferred to Bankura District. Thus we see that only Manbhum and Barabhum portion of Midnapore is now left in Manbhum.

(b) *Portion of Orissa in Bankura District.*—Thanas Raipur, Simlapal, and Khatra comprising the Pergannas—Supur, Ambikanagar, Raipur, Shyamsunderpur, Phulkusuma, Simlapal and Baliadiha—are now included in southern Bankura. Pergannas Supur and

Ambikanagar under the Thana Khatra are known even now-a-days as Dhalbhum in Bankura (*vide* Bankura District Gazetteer, page 166. *Ibid* page 164). Chatna finds mention in Grant's Analysis as "Chatna" (*vide* extracts appended). Raipur was in Orissa according to Grant (*vide* Fifth Report, Calcutta Edition, 1917, Vol. II, page 397).

(c) *Regulation Orissa in Singhbhum*.—Dhalbhum formed a part of the District of Midnapore until 1833 when the District of jungle Mahals was broken up. It was then constituted a part of the Manbhum District, and in 1846 it was transferred to Singhbhum (*vide* District Gazetteer, Singhbhum, page 213).

All the authorities on history are of opinion that Dhalbhum belonged to Orissa.

(d) *Regulation Orissa in Balasore and Mahratta Orissa in Midnapore*.—In 1803 the British got Orissa from the Mahrattas by virtue of the Treaty of Deogaon and accordingly the Pergannas Pataspur, Bhograi, Kamardachore and Shahbandar along the sea-side and Jamirapal estate to the south-west of Subarnarekha was annexed to Hijilee (*vide* Midnapore Gazetteer, page 193 and page 218). The Pergannas Bhograi, Kamardachor and Shahbandar belonging to Hijilee were annexed to Balasore before 1836 when Hijilee was attached to Midnapore (*Ibid* pages 34-35). In 1870 Jellasure and its neighbourhood was attached to Balasore. In this connection the remark of the compiler of the Balasore District Gazetteer is very appropriate as to the dismemberment of Orissa on the Bengal Frontier. "On the north, a perplexing series of transfers and retransfers of Pargannas or fiscal divisions went on for a long time between Balasore and Midnapore, some being transferred backwards and forwards as many as three times" (*vide* Balasore District Gazetteer, page 42).

Pergannas Pataspur, Khaloregram and Nayagram originally belonged to Mahratta before 1803. These Pergannas were not annexed to Balasore in Orissa in 1870 at the time of transfer of Jellasure.

From above it will be seen that the Province of Orissa under the British rule before 1803 is now scattered in the whole of Midnapore, in the south of the District of Bankura in Bengal, and in the South of Manbhum and east of Singhbhum Districts of Bihar and Orissa Province.

Language of Midnapore.—That Oriya was the Court language in Orissa along with Persian during the Moghul rule, is evident from several copper plate land grants and calendar of Persian correspondence published by the Imperial Records Department containing a large number of letters from Orissa and thereby prove that Persian was the Court language even at the times of Mahratta rule. "The language of the Courts and public offices was Persian, and it was not till 1805 that orders were passed that in all written communication with the natives of the Province the subject should be written in Oriya as well as in Persian."

By the Section XI of the Regulation XIV of 1805 "Oriya language and character" was ordered to be used in the zillah of Cuttack and Mahratta Pergannas. That part of the Section reads thus "That in cases in which Bengali language and character are directed to be used in the Province of Bengal, *the Oriya language and the character shall be used in the zilla of Cuttack and in the above-mentioned Pergannas*" (namely Pataspur, etc.).

But by the Section IV of the Regulation of 1793, the Government introduced Bengali language in the Courts and public offices in Orissa; the Section reads as follows:—

"The keepers of the records are to keep a register, *in the Bengali and Persian languages in Bengal and Orissa* (Midnapore) and in the Persian language in Bihar, etc."

The Regulations referred to above, clearly show how the Government is responsible for compelling the Oriyas of Midnapore to adopt a foreign language. One thing in this connection requires elucidation. The transfers and retransfers of certain Pergannas from Balasore to Midnapore and *vice versa* have been noted above. The people of Jellasure and its neighbourhood were forced to learn Bengalee from 1793 to 1870 and after 1870 they have been placed in the zone of Oriya language where they have not got any complaint.

The language of the Mahratta Pergannas Pataspur, etc., was declared to be Oriya by the Regulation XIV of 1805 although it was then attached to Hijilee. But after its

inclusion to Midnapore, its language was changed into Bengalee. Referring to the language of this area Sterling wrote the following :—

“In the direction of Bengal, the Oriya language is used tolerably pure ; following the line of the coast so far as the Hijilee and Tumlook Divisions at least, I have been credibly informed that in the Mysadal Parganna all revenue accounts were written on *Tal Patra* or leaves of the palmira tree, in that dialect”. (*Vide* Sterling's History of Orissa, page 29).

APPENDIX B.

THE PROBLEM OF ABORIGINAL TRACTS.

In our memorandum we have referred in general about backward areas.

There are doubts in certain quarters that the Boundary Committee is not competent to go into the question of backward tracts or the excluded areas. To dispel any such doubts we most emphatically commend the following remarks by the Government of India in their despatch on the Simon Report.

“In Bihar and Orissa the problem (of backward tracts) is likely to be connected with the question of the formation of a separate province for the Oriyas and should be considered by the Committee charged with the investigation of that position.

The Government of Bihar and Orissa in their despatch paragraph 38 write as follows :—

“As will appear from the views of the Local Government on the backward tracts, the Boundary Commission should also consider the situation in Chota Nagpur and the Santal Pergunnahs.”

On the strength of the above remarks we venture to deal more elaborately on the backward areas.

These tracts have been referred to as backward tracts in the Government of India Act and with slight alterations have been suggested to be classified as excluded areas in the report of the Statutory Commission. The main aboriginal areas are situated in Chota Nagpur, Santal Pergunnahs, south-eastern portion of Chatagah Division of C. P. and the Madras Agency. All these areas are geographically contiguous to the Orissa Division and Orissa States. At present these are administered by the Provincial Governments of Bihar and Orissa, Central Provinces and Berar and Madras. The relative geographical portion of these areas is such that they cannot be grouped together in a single separate provincial administration. Nor can they in themselves form so many separate administrative units considering their size and the amount of expenditure to be involved and the presence of non-aboriginal element in them. Of course these areas are inhabited by tribes radically different from one another in racial and linguistical characteristics. Even local laws prevailing in these areas vary. If it be considered proper that these people should be placed under special protection it would be better that one single Agency should be entrusted to regulate that protection. The present position of the aborigines being tagged to the tail end of the three Provinces concerned does not contribute to their solidarity. Three Provincial Governments have now to pay divided attention to this special problem. The aborigines in the extreme north of Madras do not receive the required attention from their Provincial Government they living hundreds of miles off from the seat of Headquarters and the Collectors of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavery exercise only a sort of superficial supervision. Similar is the case with the Chhatisgarh areas. Neither of these two Provinces can conveniently incorporate all these aboriginal areas. Even if all the backward areas of Madras and Central Provinces are transferred to present Bihar and Orissa, the administration from Patna will very little improve their lot. Considering all these the best and practical solution will be their incorporation in the proposed Orissa Province.

In dealing with the aboriginal problem we cannot lose sight of the position of the States. The hinterland running from Chota Nagpur Plateau up to the Godavery, though divided amidst so many states and so many Districts may be regarded as a distinct

natural division containing people of a lower state of civilisation. It is owing to historical accidents that these aboriginals of the British areas have been separated from their kith and kin of the Native States. No amount of demarcation into purple and yellow areas can create a social and cultural cleavage among the people tied by affinities of kinship (vide the map attached to Simon Commission Report, Volume I).

We admit that these people have been subject to Hindu exploitation to certain extent, we also hold that the exploitation has gone hand in hand with civilization, we don't like to enter into discussion of the comparative economic position of the Hinduised aborigines. But nobody can challenge that the Hindu culture played a prominent part in raising the status of these people and engrafted their culture through the medium of their civilized tongue and if any race in India can claim to-day to have civilized the aboriginal, the most, it is the Oriya, we don't like to travel into the regions of ethnology, but it is certain that Hindi has driven the aborigines towards the south-east and Telugu to its north-west till pushed by the Oriya and it is the Oriya who has penetrated into the hilly regions lived amongst the rude tribes and made them absorb its culture and language and has been continuing as the functional caste among the thousands of aboriginal villages, and it is the Oriya Rajas, be they of the Rajput origin of semi-aboriginal origin, who have been so long lending special protection to these people. If any nation in India has ever cast his lot with the aborigines and lived its life with the aborigines it is the Oriya.

The aborigines intimate connection with the Oriya will be proved from the fact that in Singhbhum and Ganjam, Vizag, etc., every aboriginal village contains a few of the Oriya functional caste. The aborigines have assimilated Oriya culture and customs.

We should like to discuss the point that the inclusion of all these aboriginal areas would solve two problems, viz., of the Oriyas and aborigines simultaneously. The two problems are inter-dependent and inter-related. If it be proposed that the aboriginal tracts should continue under the existing administrations, the Oriya problem will remain for ever unsolved, moreover it will not, as has already been referred to contribute to the growth of solidarity among the aborigines as no improvement of their status can be effected by their being placed in separate little groups under several Provincial agents who can but pay a scanty share of their divided attention. In Orissa their case will be different inasmuch as the whole population in a greater Orissa will be composed of two races are Oriya and the other a combined aboriginal group forming a strong minority. We should like to refer to the proposals made by the Simon Commission with regard to the introduction of reforms in these areas (Chapter II of Part III, Volume II, Report) we exclude the Burma and the Assam areas out of our consideration as they are situated in the north-east frontier of India. The Chota Nagpur, Santal Pergunnahs, Madras Agency and Sambalpur and Chhatisgarh tracts have already been in the fold of the reforms, though partially, the Commission suggests that there are areas now notified a backward tract which are so advanced that special treatment of the area need not be continued. Even the Central Provinces Government has recommended that the backward tracts of that Province are fit to be treated like any other part of the Province. The Commission further suggests that putting aside these areas at present included among backward tracts which might on further enquiry be found suitable for removal from that category altogether there will remain other tracts which cannot but be considered typically backward and the Commission suggests special treatment for Chota Nagpur, Sambalpur, Santal Pergunnahs and Madras Agency areas. Below we give the percentage of the aboriginal people and speakers of the aboriginal language in the backward tracts of Bihar and Orissa.

					Race.	Language.
Santal Pergunnahs	..	..	..	..	51.1	42.6
Angul	..	..	..	..	73.6	26.2
Hazaribagh	..	..	..	..	34.3	7.6
Sambalpur	..	..	..	..	37.7	6.1
Ranchi	..	..	..	..	79.9	53.4
Palamau	..	..	..	..	49.3	7.0
Manbhum	..	..	..	..	52.0	16.5
Singbhum	..	..	..	..	76.0	56.5

Then the question arises how far the incorporation of these areas in Orissa will affect the interests of the prepondering element of the non-aboriginal people of these areas who are Biharis and Hindi-speaking. Palamau, Hazaribagh, and a greater portion of Manbhum (specially the industrial areas of the District) have a great majority of the Hindi-speaking people and they are more developed than the people of Ranchi and Kolhan of Singhbhum District. The Bihar Government is also of opinion that parts of Santal Pergunnahs, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau, Singhbhum, Sambalpur and Angul Districts need not be retained in the special position but owing to the large proportion of non-aboriginal population take their place under the Government of Bihar or of Orissa.

Let us examine the case of these Districts one by one. The Santal Pergunnah District has a huge aboriginal Santal people speaking their own language. The Santal people are distributed over so great an area and dispersed in such a way among the Bengal District, the Orissa coast and states and the Santal Zone stretching from Santal Pergunnahs upto Balasore that the Santal people cannot be conveniently grouped together under a single administration. Moreover, they occupy a narrow but a long strip of land in Bihar and Orissa and are separated by the Hinduised Bengalee-speaking people of the District of Manbhum.

In any case of redistribution of boundaries the position of the Santals of Birbhum, etc., need not be disturbed and Santal Pergunnahs should not be detached from Bihar as it will not be more conveniently administered from Cuttack than from Patna. Then the logical conclusion follows that the Santals of South Chota Nagpur should remain detached from Santal Pergunnahs.

As regards Sambalpur and Angul they are already in Orissa and surrounded by Orissa States, Angul is preponderatingly Oriya and Khondmals aboriginal and their separation from Orissa is beyond imagination and practical solution. In any scheme of redistribution they must form part of Orissa owing to the preponderance of the Oriya element.

The people of Palamau and Hazaribagh have been much Hinduised and there are a vast non-aboriginal people speaking the Aryan tongue, their proximity to Patna will conduce more to their welfare if they continue under Bihar. The Hindi-speaking people need not be dragged to a lower level of administration for the sake of 7 per cent. of people speaking the aboriginal language.

Their retention in Bihar is desirable. As regards Manbhum it is a District where the Bengalee people predominate in the centre and east. In the north the coal-fields of Dhanbad lie and in the south Oriyas and Santals are found in same proportion as in the contiguous sub-division of Dhalbhum.

The District of Manbhum has a majority of Bengalised Santals who are far advanced in cultivation than the aboriginals of other Districts considering the absence of non-Aryan speech and the cultural atmosphere the north Manbhum should be retained in Bihar as it is suggested elsewhere that the coal-fields should be kept under same administration.

Ranchi is most strongly aboriginal of all these areas, the three principal tribes being Oraons, Mundas, Kharias who are mainly peculiar to this District, these having very little connection with the north Chota Nagpur or south Bihar. Rather these aboriginals are more connected with those of Singhbhum and south Manbhum.

The question of Singhbhum is the knottiest of all. Now to aboriginal Hos who are exclusively found in Kolhan and neighbouring states the Oriyas are a predominant factor. In fact the Kolhan was formed out of the territory of the Oriya Rajas. If Singhbhum be retained in Bihar the interests of the Oriyas will suffer. The non-aboriginal people of Porabhat and Dhalbhum do not desire to be placed under special protection as well as the Oriyas living in the hamlets in the interior. From the foregoing discussion and analysis the conclusion would suggest itself that the north Chota Nagpur consisting of Palamau, Hazaribagh and North Manbhum should be retained in Bihar, though not in a special position as regards treatment under the reforms as has been suggested by the Bihar Government.

For our discussion we classify the Chota Nagpur circle into two parts North and South on the basis of race and economic interest. The south Chota Nagpur consisting of Ranchi, Singhbhum, and South Manbhum has a preponderance of Munda, Oraon, Kharia and Ho and Bhumij people who are found in slight numbers in North Chota Nagpur. Though Hindi has been thrust on the people of these areas the aboriginal dialect still holds its position and Oriya is the business language in certain definite areas like Singhbhum. We further state that these specific aboriginal tribes are found in a decent number in the Orissa states contiguous to the South Chota Nagpur. The chief centre of industrial activity of these areas is Jamshedpur whereas the chief centre of activity of the North Chota Nagpur are Guridi and Jheria coalfields. There is no special reason why the Mundas, Oraons, and Hos and Kharias should remain attached to Bihar along with the Santal Pergunna group. We may most appropriately refer to the tendency of migration of the people of South Chota Nagpur. The people of Ranchi and South Manbhum find employment in the industrial area of the Singhbhum District and the people of Ranchi, South Manbhum and Singhbhum migrate in larger numbers from year to year to the Orissa states for the purpose of taking settlement of lands and cultivation and other occupations.

The District of Ranchi is detached from the Palamau and Hazaribagh by ranges of hills and hence it could not so long be linked with Bihar proper by direct railway route. Ranchi is connected by Railways with Singhbhum through South Manbhum.

In view of the foregoing discussion the partition of Chota Nagpur into two and taking the northern part with Bihar and southern part with Orissa will at once solve the problem of both the Oriyas and the backward tribes. In that case the Bihar Government will have to bring North Chota Nagpur under regular administration and provide for special protection of the Santals of Santal Pergunnahs and other parts, and the Orissa Government will be entrusted with the case of the Mundas, Oraons, Hos and Kharias and Bhumij and dispersed groups of Santals found in Dhalbhum, South Manbhum and in case West Midnapore and South-West Bankura be considered proper to be amalgamated with Orissa, then the Santals will be grouped together in a Santal Division. In this connection we refer to the History of the Jungle Mahals District (1805—1829) which actually comprises these southern Santals. In case the South Chota Nagpur problem be not tackled in a statesman-like way the fate of the Oriya of Singhbhum, South Manbhum and Ranchi will be for ever sealed.

Of course by the incorporation of South Chota Nagpur we will be faced with the problems of tenancy and civil administration and the language of these areas. Our suggestion is that the language position will not be disturbed except in schools and Courts of Singhbhum, where Oriya will be one of the languages.

Then we come to the aboriginal areas of Chhatisgarh in Central Provinces. These areas are comprised of Phuljhar, Khariar, Bindra, Noagarh zemindaries of Raipur. If the Central Provinces Government's opinion be considered proper, then the question of backwardness does not arise. But we assert that as the people of those areas are akin to the people of the Sambalpur District and contiguous States they should be amalgamated with Orissa. We do not like to discuss the other detached aboriginal areas of Central Provinces inasmuch as they are not in a contiguous geographical position and they can in normal course of development cohere with the Hinduised people with the help of the Oriya medium which is the prevailing language in the areas.

As regards the Madras Agency the Commission recommends their special treatment. At present they are included in the Provincial constituencies but "they form only insignificant portions of the constituencies in question and the influence which can be exercised by their inhabitants is negligible". The Commission suggests that they should be detached from the plain portions of the districts to which they are attached and "should be completely excluded and placed under a single administrative head". These areas are now placed under the three Districts of Ganjam, Vizag and Godavery. The Ganjam Agency is peopled by Oriyas, Kondhs, and Savars. The Vizag Agency practically the whole of which is the zemindari of the Oriya Raja of Jeypore is peopled by Kondhs, Savars, Godabas, Porojas and Oriyas and the Godavery tracts peopled by Rampas, Koyas and Telegus. The geographical contiguity of the Ganjam Agency demands that it should always move along with the Ganjam plains. All these areas comprise a huge number of Kondh popu-

lation who are not found anywhere else in the Madras Presidency, rather the Kondmahals and the contiguous Orissa states contain a large population. The Savars are a tribe peculiar to the Agency and this case is similar to that of Kondhs.

In the Vizag Agency except the Gudem all other Taluks have mixed population of Oriya and aborigines. The Telugu people are mainly found in Gunupur, Padua and Raigarda. In any case of redistribution the Jeypore zemindari should not be partitioned. The Government of India in 1903 described the state of the aboriginal language of Agency and were of opinion that the aboriginal language might be replaced by the Oriya as civilization spreads in those areas.

The Nugur, Bhachachal, Polabar, Rampachedhar and Klaboram Taluks of the Godavery Agency have a preponderating proportion of Telugu inhabitants and speakers and they are very close to Rajmahendra. These are separated from the Vizag Agency by high ranges of hills and the aboriginal people of this Agency differ in language and social traits from the people of Vizag and Ganjam Agency. It is proper that the people may not be required to be retained under special protection and non-aboriginal Telugu people could not suffer for the sake of the aboriginal element. Hence these areas along with Gudem Taluk should be placed under the regular administration of the plain portion of the Ganjam and Vizag Agencies.

The trend of our discussion will inevitably lead to the conclusion that the Ganjam and Vizag Agency should be incorporated in the proposed Orissa Province. Otherwise the Oriya problem specially of those of Coraput, Jeypore and Nawrangpur will never be solved.

Let us then discuss how will the aboriginals be circumstanced in the proposed Orissa Province. The proposed Orissa will then be divided into four administrative blocks.

(1) The coast Districts, Ganjam plain, south-west Midnapore and Angul Sadar Sub-division, part of Sambalpur District.

(2) The northern backward tracts consisting of Ranohi, Singhbhum, south Manbhum (possibly south-west Bankura and west Midnapore) wherein besides the Oriya people Mundas, Oraons, Khariar, Hos, Bhumija, and Santals will be found in distinct sub-groups.

(3) The southern backward tracts consisting of Kondmal Sub-division of Angul Districts, Ganjam Agency and Vizagapatam Agency wherein besides the Oriya people, Khonds, Savaras, Gadabas and Porojas are found in distinct sub-groups.

(4) The western backward tracts consisting of Chandrapur zemindari of Bilaspur, Phuljhar, Khariar and Bindra, Nuagarh zemindari of Raipur and south-west portion of the Sambalpur District where besides the Oriyas, the aboriginal Gonds, Binjhals will be found though in smaller numbers. The result will be that the aboriginal tribes in this proposed Province will be located in district and isolated zones. Nevertheless when they will be combined they form a substantial minority. All the existing degree of protection should be retained at the present juncture for safeguarding the interests of the backward tracts but the arrangements are to be made as not to close the avenues open to the Oriya non-aboriginal element under any scheme of political advancement. There should always remain a group of specially equipped officers for all these areas.

All these excluded tracts are deficit areas and central government is responsible to finance their administration and the India Government should as a matter of fact deal with one provincial Governor regarding the protection and advancement of the aborigines and the financial transaction on that account.

Lastly as in the case of N.-W. Frontier the Governor of Orissa will be in charge of these areas in his capacity as Agent and we also suggest that the Governor will be Agent to Governor-General with regard to Feudatory States and in that capacity he will control the destinies of the people who are aborigines found in the native states.

We should like to give the number of non-aboriginal tribes in an enlarged Orissa suggested by us.

Southern Block.	Kondhs	Agency	299,210	
		Ganjam	24,640	
		Orissa	71,056	
			394,906	
	Savars	States	216,199	
		Agency	149,490	
		Ganjam	60,235	
		Orissa	112,491	
			322,216	
	Godabas	States	90,144	
		Agency	34,347	
	Poraja	Agency	87,013	
Northern Block.	Mundas	(British area)	288,647	
		States	48,308	
	Oraons	(British area)	294,695	
		States	60,445	
	Kharia	(British area)	41,513	7,212
		States	33,046	
	Hos	(British area)	57,473	
		States	182,701	
	Bhumij	(British area)	75,000 (nearly)	
		States	96,700	

Western block—Figures are not available for all the areas. There are other non-aboriginal tribes, who are present in small numbers. They may number 2 lakhs at best in the whole of enlarged Orissa.

We don't like to discuss the historical aspect of the problem. In a word history points out to the affinity of these aborigines with the Oriyas we should like to point out that the Hindu population may be divided into High caste Aryans, Middle class Hindus and low caste Hindus. These low caste Hindus are found in plenty throughout the country in the aboriginal areas, as well as in coastal Districts. They are backward castes, not tribes though dispersed throughout.

The above argument points to justify the inclusion of all non-aboriginal population located in the hinterland surrounding the Oriya country on three sides and north-east, of Deccan Plateau and south of Chota Nagpore plateau in the proposed Orissa Province whose Governor will be responsible to the Governor-General for the administration of these areas. By this the legitimate aspiration of the Oriya people will be satisfied. Orissa will be a decent Province. There will be concentration of attention on the aboriginal problem. Bihar, Madras, Central Provinces cannot legitimately incorporate these areas. Orissa has a right to incorporate them and needs it at the present moment in its own interest and in the interest of the friendly and neighbourly aborigines.

We gave the figures in the Appendix to show the number of the aboriginal people in the Province.

Aboriginal Tribes of Madras—1921.

Khond				(Ganjam and Vizag Agency).	Ganjam.
	Caste	..	..	299,210	24,640
	Language	..	..	31,337	10,273
Savar	Caste	..	..	149,590	60,236
	Language	..	..	123,749	42,585
Gadaba	Caste	..	..	34,347	
Poraja	Caste	..	..	87,013	

MC1820C(WOP)

H

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

(Khond and Savar Tribe.)

Khond Tribe	..	287,255	(British Orissa 71,056, mostly in Kond Mahals).
			(States 216,199, States contiguous to Ganjam).
			Orissa 47,109.
Language	..	--	States 65,305.
Savar Tribe	..	--	(Orissa Districts 122,491).
			(Orissa States 90,144).

Godabas and Parojas are peculiar to Vizag Agency they are not found anywhere else.

Principal Aboriginal Tribes of Chota Nagpore—1921.

Munda	..	Ranchi	--	--	--	255,334
		Singhbhum	--	--	--	33,313
		Orissa States	--	--	--	48,308
		North Chota Nagpore	..	..	..	17,913 (2,239 speakers of the language).
Orsons	..	Ranchi	--	--	--	286,791
		Singhbhum	--	--	--	7,904
		Orissa States	--	..	..	60,445
		North Chota Nagpore	..	..	..	48,103
Kharis	..	Ranchi	..	..	..	38,864
		Singhbhum	..	..	..	5,649
		Orissa States	..	..	..	35,046
		Sambalpur	..	..	..	7,212
		North Chota Nagpore	..	..	..	NZ
Ho	..	Singhbhum	..	..	..	257,473
		Orissa States	..	..	..	182,701
		Other places	..	..	..	NZ
Bhumijis	..	Singhbhum	..	..	..	51,335 (29,187 speakers).
		Manbhum	..	..	..	92,194 (South Manbhum 3,886 speakers).
		Orissa States	..	..	..	96,700
		Other places	..	..	..	NZ
Chik Barik	..	Ranchi	..	..	..	27,153
		Other Districts	..	..	..	NZ
Ghasis	..	Ranchi	..	..	..	15,914
		Orissa States	..	..	..	32,000
		Other places	..	..	..	Small numbers.

SANTALS—1921.

Caste.			
Singbhum	94,374		
Manbhum	238,534		
Palaman	N/2		
Ranchi	779		
Hazaribagh	98,266		
Balasore	9,535		
		} Orissa.*	
Sambalpore	4,500		
Moungdur	22,000		(nearly).
Bhagalpore	35,000		
Purnia	35,000		"
Santal Pergunnahs	670,000		"
* Orissa States	261,680		"
Midnapore	152,751		(western portion).
Bankura	104,912		
Bengal total	712,000		(nearly).

MIGRATION—1921.

Birth-place.	Enumerated in Singbhum.	Enumerated in Orissa States.
Ranchi	10,479	23,981
Manbhum	5,836	2,326
Singbhum	..	93,782

ANIMISTS IN THE BACKWARD TRACTS.

Hazaribagh	65,869
Palaman	43,319
Manbhum	29,805
Ranchi	525,721
Singbhum	332,090
Orissa States	403,239
	53,695
	456,934

Ganjam and Vizag Agencies	447,395*
Godavery Agency	153

The attraction to Singbhum is due to industrial centre like Jamshedpur and attraction to Orissa States is due to the cheap rate at which the immigrants get lands to cultivate and settle there. We may note here that the migrations from Manbhum is mainly from the southern portion of the district (*vide* page 105 of the Bihar and Orissa Census Report, Part I). This migration is a test to prove the vital connection between the areas of South Chota Nagpore and Orissa.

LINGUISTIC FIGURES OF POPULATIONS—1921.

Madras Agency (including Godavery).	Language.	
	Oriya	602,434
	Telgu	297,326
	Khond	313,337
	Savar	133,079

(Telgus are confined to Godavery Agency.)

C. P. Oriya tracts ..	Khariar	73 P. C. Oriya speakers.
	Phuljhar	44 P. C. Oriya speakers.
	Padmapur	88 P. C. Oriya speakers.

ORIYA SPEAKING POPULATION IN CHOTA NAGPORE—1921.

Ranchi	8,747
Manbhum	1,619
Singbhum	146,821

APPENDIX C.

NOTES ON TENANCY LAW AND THE LAW OF PERSONS OF MIDNAPORE AND OTHER ORISSA TRACTS.

A study of the Bengal Regulations leads us to the conclusion that southern Midnapore was part of ancient Orissa. Regulation I of 1793, the permanent settlement Regulation, applied to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. By the permanent settlement the hereditary tax-collectors then found in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa or Midnapore were converted into proprietors giving them permanent rights. In the old Mughal times those tax-collectors had no permanent right though by tacit consent they were hereditary but they were converted by the Regulation to be hereditary proprietors or zemindars. But the Regulation took away the character of impartibility which from the nature of their service of holding office was the characteristic of their original position. In fact the original malguzardars or tax-collectors were converted into hereditary proprietors but they were deprived of the right of primogeniture. This principle was reaffirmed in Regulation XI of 1793, which declared that these estates would be partible according to the Hindu or Muhammedan laws. But it was found out that within a corner of Midnapore District and in other Districts (mostly in Bihar) there were certain tracts where the custom was otherwise where success to the landed estate devolved to a single heir and this custom existed from a very long time. So Regulation X of 1800 was enacted modifying Regulation XI of 1793 and declaring that—

“A custom, however, having been found to prevail in the jungle Mahals of Midnapore and other Districts, by which succession to the landed estates invariably devolves to a single heir without the division of property and this custom having been long established and being found in certain circumstances of local convenience still exist, the Governor-General-in-Council has enacted the following rule to be in force in the Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the date of its promulgation.”

Surely this ‘Orissa’ must refer to the southern part of the Midnapore District and the jungle Mahals of Midnapore have been particularly noticed therein.

It must be remembered that Orissa proper was conquered which was ceded by the Marhattas in the year 1803. So all these regulations cannot refer to the Orissa proper at present consisting of Puri, Cuttack, Balasore, Angul and Sambalpur besides the Feudatory States.

In 1803 Orissa was annexed. Even after that wherever the subsequent regulations refer to ‘Orissa’ it means the part of Midnapore and not the Orissa proper; for in regulations the present Orissa is described as the District of Cuttack. In the earliest Regulation XII of 1805, called the Cuttack Land Revenue Settlement Regulation—which was for the settlement and collection of the public revenue in the Zilla of Cuttack including the Pargana of Pataspur, Kamardachore and Bhograï at present included in the Zilla of Midnapore. Regulation VII of 1822 is the Bengal Land Revenue Settlement Regulation. It was a regulation declaring the principles according to which the settlement of land revenue in the ceded and conquered Provinces including Cuttack, Pataspur and its dependencies was to be hereafter made until 1829 the District Cuttack, then embracing Cuttack, Khurda (as Puri was then called) and Balasore was the name given to Orissa Division. It is significant that when the first Commissionerates were created, the District of Midnapore was incorporated with Orissa.

Regulation I of 1829 was enacted for constituting Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, as “the great extent of the country under each of the Boards of Revenue has operated to impede them in execution of the duties,” as they “were not given opportunity of acquiring sufficient local knowledge, etc.; to enable them to control the Police to protect the people.”

So, a Commissioner of Revenue and Circuit shall be appointed for each of the under-mentioned divisions. And the 19th division was to contain the Districts under the Magistrates, Collectors, Joint Magistrates and Sub-Collectors of Cuttack, Khurda (Puri), Balasore, Midnapore, Nagwan including Hijili. So even in the year 1829 the Governor General considered that Midnapore and Hijili be incorporated with the Orissa proper.

The earliest records in the record rooms of Midnapore are in the Oriya language and in the Oriya script. The earliest Sanads are in Oriya script; and these will be found in the record rooms of the Collector of Midnapore.

We find the 19th division of the Commissioner ruled the destinies of the District of Cuttack (which included Cuttack, Puri, Balasore and Midnapore, Hijili and in the year 1854 we find from the Bengal Government Notification dated 25th January 1854 which was done with the concurrence of the Government of India, that Midnapur is included in the Burdwan Division and the Cuttack Division only comprising Cuttack, Balasore and Puri. It was sometime between 1854-60 when the District of Cuttack was called the Orissa Division. It is a matter of history how the present Orissa proper was ceded to the Marhattas in lieu of the Chouth of Bengal by Nawab Alivardi Khan.

Apprehension is felt in certain quarters that the landlaws of the outlying Orissa tracts be affected by the amalgamation with Orissa proper and by the formation of a separate Oriya Province.

But the Central Provinces Tenancy Act is already administered under the Patna High Court as it was done under the Calcutta High Court and in our experience no injustice has been in any case. The tenancy law prevailing in the Ganjam District, Jeypore Agency in the C. P. outlying tracts will continue to be administered as before; as also the personal laws that are governing any of the people in those areas.

APPENDIX D.

BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN ORIYA-SPEAKING TRACTS.

I. Sambalpur Athargarh.

"Sir R. Temple's list of the Sambalpur *Athargarh*" is based upon excellent local authority. There is an interesting Report entitled "*Notes on the Gurjhat States of Patna*" by Major H. B. Impey, Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, dated 29th May, 1863, which gives an account of the rise of the Sambalpur and Patna confederacy, describes it as a cluster of "the 18 Garhs" and gives the following detailed enumeration of these states. [Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1919, page 219].

- | | |
|---------------|---------------------|
| 1. Patna. | 10. Bonai. |
| 2. Sambalpur. | 11. Raigarh. |
| 3. Sonpur. | 12. Bargarh. |
| 4. Bamra. | 13. Sakti. |
| 5. Rehrakhoh. | 14. Chandrapur. |
| 6. Gangpur. | 15. Sarangarh. |
| 7. Boad. | 16. Bindranawagarh. |
| 8. Athmallik. | 17. Khariar. |
| 9. Phuljhar. | 18. Borasambar. |

Cession to the British.

In 1803, Raghuji Bhonsla, Raja of Nagpur, ceded Sambalpur to the British by the treaty of Deogaon, together with the adjoining States and the sea-board Districts of Orissa. It did not long remain under the British suzerainty in 1805, it was restored with Patna and Sambalpur to the Raja of Nagpur. [Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol. I, 1909, pages 417-418].

nt of 1818 the above territories came under the suzerainty ded by the treaty of 1826. The Schedule contains a list l Patna. At that time there was no British District in the 33].

The British suzerainty.

Since the date of second session this area was under the Agent to the Governor-General until 1854 when by the Act XX of 1854 the S. W. Frontier Agency, which was created in 1833 by the Regulation XIII, was changed into the Commissionership of Chota Nagpur.

In 1833 the Zemindar of Bargarh was convicted of rebellion and his estate was conferred on the Raja of Raigarh. In 1837 Athmalik and Boad States were transferred to Orissa. Out of 18 Oriya States of the Sambalpur group, these two states were annexed to Orissa at that time. Of the remaining States of Sambalpur was excheated to Government in 1849 and it is not known when and how the management of Chandrapur came under the Government. [*Ibid*, page 390].

In 1860 (according to C. P. Gazetteer, 1861) Sambalpur was transferred to the Orissa Division of Bengal and by a notification of the 30th April, 1862 it was made over to the newly constituted Central Provinces (Sambalpur District Gazetteer, page 37). During these transfers only Bonai and Gangpur States of the Sambalpur group remained under Chota Nagpur until 1905 when they were transferred to Orissa.

Sir Richard Temple's Report on the *Zemindaries and other Petty Chieftaincies in the Central Provinces* in 1863, contains a full report of the Sambalpur area. "In December 1864, the Government of India issued instructions for the classification of the Chiefs and Zemindars of the Central Provinces, into two divisions, one comprising Chief of the rank of the Feudatories, the other those whose position was merely that of the British subjects. In April 1865 sanction was conveyed to the classification of the following Oriya State as Feudatories:—Baster, Kalahandi, Bamra, Patna, Raigarh, Bargarh, Sarangarh, Sakti, Rerhakhol was excluded from the first class on the grounds of the personal character of the Chief and his unsatisfactory administration (Aitchison's Treaties, etc., 1909, page 391). Phuljhar, Khariar and Chandrapur, however, was classed with the non-feudatory Zemindars of the British District.

In 1905, Sambalpur, with the States of Kalahandi, Patna, Sonpur, Bamra and Rerhakhol was transferred to Orissa. But the States of Baster, Raigarh, Sarangarh and Sakti and the Zemindaries of Chandrapur, Padampur, Phuljhar, Khariar, Bindranuagarh remained attached to the Central Provinces. Two States Bonai and Gangpur of Chota Nagpur were also transferred to Orissa in 1905.

Administrative evil.

Sambalpur Athargarh was placed under the S. W. Frontier Agency of Bengal where Hindi was mainly the language of Courts and offices. H. Ricketts, the member of the Board of Revenue, recognised first that the people of Sambalpur area were Oriyas and suggested the transfer of it to Orissa. Accordingly in 1860 this area was placed under the Commissioner of Orissa. But soon again was annexed to the Central Provinces. The following extract from the Sambalpur Gazetteer narrates the difficulty of the Central Provinces.

"For some years past the Central Provinces experienced such difficulties with the administration, owing to the *ethnic and linguistic* differences between it and other Districts, that the Chief Commissioner in 1901 had asked to be relieved of the District altogether, although the Government of India were then unable to comply with the request, they were obliged to rescind a previous decision of 1895, which had proved unworkable in practice, and to restore Oriya as the Court language of Sambalpur. The transfer of Sambalpur was again urged upon the Government of India in 1904 by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I. In the letter expressing his views it was stated—"The greatest administrative inconvenience has been experienced, in as much as there is no other part of the Central Provinces where Oriya is spoken. It is necessary therefore for the officers of Government who are sent to administer the Sambalpur District only. Native officers have to acquire the language as well as Europeans; they are very much averse to coming down to Sambalpur for a short term of service when that requires the acquisition of a new language, and Sambalpur has become mainly on that account what may be called a penal District in the Central Provinces. Again the subordinate staff has to be manned by persons talking Oriya that means that it is practically impossible to transfer officials with any freedom from Sambalpur to any other part of the Province, or from

any other District to Sambalpur. The natural result is that the administration of the Sambalpur District, in respect at least of its subordinate officers, is both more inefficient and more corrupt than that of any other District in the Province. It was the great administrative difficulty which led to the abolition of Oriya as the Court language in Sambalpur, and the substitution of Hindi, by one of the Chief Commissioners. Experience proved almost immediately that this was a measure that could not be supported. The people of the interior know Oriya, and do not know Hindi. They stand by their mother tongue ; and they felt the pressure which was brought to bear upon them to adopt Hindi as a great grievance and oppression. The Revenue, Criminal and even Civil administration suffered mainly from the fact that it was conducted in a language practically unknown to the people. Sir Andrew Fraser, therefore who was Chief Commissioner of C. P. obtained the sanction of the Government of India to restore the Oriya languages in Sambalpur, and proposed as the best means of meeting the administrative evil, of the gravity of which he was thoroughly sensible, to transfer to Sambalpur District to Orissa Division " (Sambalpur Gazetteer, pages 37-38).

APPENDIX 3.

A (9)

STATEMENT SUBMITTED BY THE MAHARAJA OF JEYPORE TO THE ORISSA COMMITTEE, DATED THE 24TH DECEMBER 1931.

As I have been asked by several friends about my views regarding the amalgamation of the Oriya speaking tracts, in the present situation, I express my views in the shape of this memorandum.

Whatever my own personal views as a citizen and public man were in the past, now that I have been called by destiny to fill a high place as the head of the Jeypore Samasthanam through the Grace of God and the kindness of the benign Government, I must now speak from the stand-point of the prosperity and progress of the people and the country under my care. The welfare of the people is ever dear to the Government and is the primary concern of the Government as well as Zamindars to whose care they are committed.

2. The desire for provincial redistribution on linguistic lines is a perfectly legitimate one and has been recognised by the Government on several occasions. In view of the coming constitutional developments based on federation, this desire has acquired a new impetus and emphasis. The existing provincial distribution is largely due to historical accidents and a rational redistribution on ethnological and linguistic basis, will largely foster a feeling of kinship in the units of forming federation, conducing to their solidarity and organic development and bringing about greater cohesion among the units and contributing to the firmness of the national Government as a whole.

3. The Oriya speaking peoples on account of their backward condition in their march towards progress, have been agitating for a good number of years for their union under one Government and it can be said without fear of contradiction that they were among the foremost if not the very first to give organised expression to such a desire. The problem of minorities in a large state is always of a troublesome nature and though the Government in their benevolence have been striving to their utmost, to allay the fears of the minorities and to remove the disabilities and inequalities suffered by them, the minorities problem continues to give considerable anxiety to the Government. In an ideal state governed by democratic principles such inequalities do not exist but in practical experience the difficulties are often met with and the best statesmanship is frequently taxed to tackle with such problems. The desire of the Oriya-speaking peoples to come under one Government has hitherto met with varying sympathy and encouragement at the hands of the Government officials high and low and the feeling has taken deep root among the Oriyas that in the race for progress they are considerably hampered on account of their existing condition scattered in different provinces.

4. In delimiting provincial boundaries, the bilingual districts always present a difficulty but where no serious racial economic or other antagonism exists, such difficulty can be easily solved and in practice it would seem almost impossible to eliminate the inclusion of some at least of the bilingual area in a major province with a predominant race and language unity.

5. I am not competent to pronounce a definite opinion in the controversy raging round the accuracy of the census figures tabulated during the last three census as the Government should be the best judges of the relative merits of

the respective contentions but this much I can permit myself to observe that the figures available for periods before the heat of controversy and agitation began to rise, would be safe guides.

6. Apart from the necessity and the desirability of immediately constituting an Oriya Province which the Government of India has been pleased to consider as important in appointing the Commission of Enquiry now holding its sessions in various parts of the country, the financial implications of the step proposed to be taken deserve careful consideration. The agency tracts in the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam are predominantly Oriya-speaking but the expenditure incurred by the Government in developing them in my opinion far outweighs the income derived therefrom and for a considerable time they should be a great burden to any Provincial Government ruling them.

7. As a solution of the financial problem, two alternatives suggest themselves to me which I place before the Government for their gracious consideration.

(a) In the first place, I would suggest that the administrative expenditure of the aforesaid area can be curtailed by slight alterations in the constitution of its Government. A Governor solely for this area need not be appointed: the Governor of a neighbouring province may be appointed as the administrative head of the said area. The High Court of any neighbouring province may administer law in the said area on such arrangement as may be made. Similarly, any University having jurisdiction over a neighbouring area may minister to the educational needs of the said area. So far as the Legislative Council is concerned, it should consist of the minimum number of members prescribed by Statute and a President. The appointment of a Deputy President is not absolutely necessary and should be dispensed with. The cabinet should consist of only two members. So long as the distinction between reserved and transferred subjects is maintained, one of the two members shall be a member of the Indian Civil Service and the other a minister to be appointed from among the elected members of the party in the Council which commands a larger number of votes; in case provincial autonomy is granted, both the members of the cabinet should be ministers to be elected as prescribed by statute.

(b) In the alternative, I would like to make a suggestion so far as the backward areas alone are concerned. The agencies of Orissa, Ganjam and Vizagapatam and such other backward areas, if any, as would form a homogeneous whole with the former, may be constituted into a separate area which should be directly in charge of the Government of India. I make this suggestion because, though I welcome the formation of an Oriya Province, I have my own misgivings as to whether the proposed province can find funds unaided by the Government of India for the development of backward areas. It is rather uncertain that the Government of India, in view of the impending changes

in its constitution, would give an absolute undertaking to provide adequate funds so as to enable the proposed Orissa Province to carry on the administration of backward areas efficiently. The principle of redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis, if given effect to, will result in the multiplication of provinces weak in finances. The diminished resources of such provinces and the composition of their legislatures, would discourage all hope of substantial funds being allotted for the development of backward areas by any autonomous province. The Simon Commission also recommended a similar arrangement for backward areas. The beneficial results of such an arrangement are apparent in Coorg and etc.

**EXPLANATORY LETTER FROM THE MAHARAJA OF JEYPORE REGARDING HIS
STATEMENT OF 24TH DECEMBER 1931.**

I am sorry to learn that some persons say that my Memorandum dated the 24th December 1931, which was sent to Orissa Commission, is not clear. My opinion is that it is as clear as day-light. From the beginning upto now, I have ever been favourable to the amalgamation of all the Oriya-speaking tracts including Jeypore and Ganjam agencies under one Government. If a New Province is formed, I doubt if it can find sufficient finances for the development of the backward and undeveloped areas like the above-said Agency tracts. I, therefore, suggested the two alternatives in my Memorandum only for the benefit of the Agency tracts.

APPENDIX 3.

B (i).

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE ORISSA BOUNDARY COMMITTEE BY ANTI-PARTITION COMMITTEE, MIDNAPORE.

First, we do not want to go to Orissa. By "we" we mean the Hindus of South Midnapore. We have ascertained the opinion of the inhabitants of the whole of Contai Subdivision of the Thanas of Mohanpore, Danton, Gopiballavpore, Nayagram, Keshiery and other places and they are practically unanimous that they do not want to leave Bengal.

There were about 60 or 70 public meetings in these places during the last two or three months, some of which were attended by 10 to 15 thousand people, to ascertain local opinion on the question and it was a sight to see that the whole audience everywhere raised their hands against the proposed amalgamation. At the Danton meeting, two Pleaders stated that, as Danton had a chance of being raised into a Subdivision in Orissa, they might try their luck there, although at the time of voting they were not there and no other person supported the proposal of separation. One of the said two speakers stated privately that some Oriya leaders had been promising them a Subdivision at Danton and a district town at Kharagpur and that is why he was supporting them. The people of Danton, he added, would be in great difficulty, if only the thanas of Danton, Mohanpur and Gopiballavpur were to go to Orissa. At the Gopiballavpur meeting, about 10 thousand people assembled, when some Oriya leaders explained their views, but the whole audience in the presence of the Oriya leaders unanimously refused to go to Orissa. This took place in spite of the fact that two local Zemindars were alleged to have been trying secretly to influence opinion by threats and inducements. Our Committee repeatedly invited Oriya leaders to go to all the disputed areas and see things for themselves, but except for one or two, who attended the Gopiballavpur meeting, no one of Orissa ever attended any other meeting in South Midnapore. Our President also consented publicly to attend any meeting they called in any disputed area, but they have neither called any such meeting nor have they ever invited him or his Committee there.

This is not the first time that we have expressed our unwillingness to go to Orissa. Once or twice before this, the Government ascertained our opinion and on every occasion we declined to go and the Government agreed with us and objected to the transfer. In 1922, the Government of Bengal reported that the tracts in question were very irregularly spread in which the language spoken was a mixture of Bengali and Oriya, which considerably differed from the language of Orissa. They also said that the inhabitants owing to long residence in Bengal differed in their manners and customs from the inhabitants of Orissa proper and had no desire to be separated from Bengal.

We take it that the policy of the Government is not to take us to Orissa against our wishes. This is what the Simon Commission has also stated in their report and this is what the Nehru Report and the Utkal All-Parties Conference agreed to in 1928. The Oriyas have been steadily losing sight of this principle and the consequence has been that their later literature is silent on the point. The Orissa Boundary Committee is to make up their mind on

this question first. It is unthinkable that in a matter like this, which affects the happiness and prosperity of several lakhs of people in South Midnapore, they will throw into the winds the principle of self-determination. The vital question before them, therefore, is to ascertain the opinion of the people concerned regarding the proposed amalgamation. We submit that we have ascertained the same almost village by village and our opinion should either be accepted or the Committee would be good enough to make a tour through the affected areas and themselves obtain first hand knowledge from the people concerned. If we are informed of the visits of the Committee sometime previously, we think we will be able to bring to their route a vast number of people to express their desire to them. As the other side is declaring that some are willing to go to Orissa, which we deny categorically, the best course for the Committee will be, we submit, to make a tour and see things for themselves and settle the all important question of self-determination finally, and once for all. We hope and trust, the Committee would find their way to accept our suggestion without hesitation in the interest of justice and fair play to South Midnapore.

We must point out here that the Committee would be good enough not to be misled by any memorials which might have been submitted to them by alleged supporters of the amalgamation. We are in possession of a printed copy of such a memorial. It is in the Bengali language. The name of the Press where it was printed is not to be found in it, against the law. There is internal evidence in it that it was printed at Cuttack. It is stated there that the memorialists want a separate district. This Committee has taken the trouble of ascertaining the fact that these forms have been secretly used by some officers of some Zamindars of Gopiballavpore thana, after the signatures were obtained from their tenants by threats and inducements. It is abundantly clear from the reports in the Oriya and other newspapers that large sums of money are pouring into Midnapore for propaganda works and we have seen with our own eyes that a number of Oriya volunteers are already moving about the disputed thanas. Besides, a leading Zemindar of Gopiballavpore thana is related to a leading Oriya propagandist and the Manager of the Mayurbhanja State at Gopiballavpore is an Oriya himself. Under the circumstances, we would submit respectfully that if there be any such memorial as described above or any other memorial of any other kind in support of the separation, the Committee would be good enough to scrutinise the same very carefully, before they are accepted by them.

We must also point out here that the Bengali pamphlet named "*Medinipore Bashir. Nikat Nebedan*" which must have been submitted to the Orissa Boundary Committee by now, is not a genuine document either. Its first signatory, S. J. Godabaris Misra, has written to our President that his signature thereon is unauthorised. S. J. Sailaja Charan Nanda, Rakhal Chandra Mahanti, Rabindra Nath Das Adhikary and one or two others have declared in the press and elsewhere that they never gave their signatures on the pamphlet. Sriyuts Radhanath Pati, Bhagabat Chandra Das and Priya Nath Das are related to one another and Bhagabat Babu is, according to the newspaper reports, getting money from Orissa for propaganda work in this district. We claim the privilege of pointing out the interestedness of all these signatories and others in full to the Orissa Boundary Committee, when they come to Midnapore and begin taking evidence. If opportunity is given to us to appear

before the Committee, we believe we shall be able to show demonstratively that South Midnapore is unanimous against going to Orissa, or if there be some willing to go there, their number cannot be more than 1 or 2 per cent. of the population affected or their desire is conditional upon something happening, which cannot be fulfilled at all. We feel sure that the Orissa Boundary Committee will go by the majority view everywhere.

Secondly, the Mahomedans of South Midnapore also do not want to go to Orissa. They are about 12% of the whole population in Midnapore District, but we believe they are a little more than that in the disputed area. That they are large in number in the Thanas of Contai, Patashpur and Danton must be apparent from the Census reports. They refuse to go to Orissa, for they will be in a minority in that province, while they are in a majority in Bengal. They point out that Mr. M. A. Jinnah's 14 points include one to the effect that the present Presidency of Bengal should not be distributed in any way and that this is still a subject matter of consideration before the Round Table Conference. Our Committee consulted them at various places and they are convinced that there is not a single Mahomedan in the disputed area who wants to go to Orissa. We submit that the Orissa Boundary Committee will be good enough to examine some Mohamedans of South Midnapore to ascertain their opinion on the subject, before they go away from Midnapore.

Thirdly, the Oriyas have been claiming South Midnapore for the purpose of raising Utkal into a Separate Province, although some of their propagandists declare publicly that it is not so. The Orissa Boundary Committee would be pleased to ascertain from the Oriya leaders, when they come to the witness box, as to whether there is any truth in the denial. If they stick to the denial, then there would be an end of the matter, for it is only for province-making that the Orissa Boundary Committee are to consider the case of South Midnapore. That is, I think, the first of the 3 terms mentioned in their letter of reference. But if it is true that they want South Midnapore to solve, at least partly, the question of finance of the proposed separate province for Utkal, then it is to be considered as to whether the several disputed thanas in South Midnapore are self-supporting or not. So far as we are aware, the thanas of Gopiballavpore and Nayagram are certainly deficit thanas and the thanas of Dantan and Mohanpur are barely self-supporting. We are sorry, however, that we have not been able to get at the figures of income and expenditure of the disputed area as a whole or thana by thana, excepting of the ones stated above, and we, therefore, leave it to the Orissa Boundary Committee to collect the figures from Government to decide the matter satisfactorily. If they find that the disputed area, as a whole, is not self-supporting, then it is needless to point out that it will be worse than useless financially to take it to Orissa. Even if the Committee find that the disputed area is only self-supporting even then the Committee would consider as to whether it would be of any benefit financially to the proposed separate Utkal Province. It is only when the Committee are convinced that the income from the disputed area substantially exceeds its expenditure, it is then, we submit, that the Committee can consider the question of its amalgamation with Orissa. But the Committee would still have to give its serious attention to two other very important questions, namely, as to how the local profit is to be spent, locally in the disputed

area wherefrom the profit is derived or all throughout the new Orissa Province, where the administrative efficiency is now and will in future be of an inferior character; and as to whether the remaining Midnapore District will be able to manage herself as efficiently as now with the income left to her. We cannot possibly consent to our local profits being taken away to Orissa for the purpose of raising it into a province, and we believe that, if the areas claimed by the Oriyas are taken away, then the remaining portion of Midnapore will be a deficit district and in course of time it is likely to be reduced to a third or fourth class Bengal Administrative unit. It is altogether unreasonable to suggest that Bengal proper should suffer permanently in this way, in order that the Oriyas may have a more efficient separate province for them. In this connection, we beg to inform the Committee that the Oriya canvassers in South Midnapore, such as Sjts. Godavaris Misra, Jadumani Mongraj and others, have been declaring at public meetings that the income from the district of Cuttack alone is sufficient to meet all the demands of a Governor's province in Utkal.

Fourthly, the Oriyas have been claiming South Midnapore on the ground that the people of South Midnapore were originally Oriyas. As a matter of fact, they say, that the races which now inhabit South Midnapore belong to the Oriya race. In pointing out the people who belong to the Oriya race, they mention of the Lodha, Bhumij and Bhuya castes, ignoring the fact that they are aboriginals, who speak the Bengali language, have no Brahmin of their own and who are neither Aryans nor Dravidians. They also claim as Oriyas the people of the Kastha caste, Dhobas, Telis, Rajus, Kadmas, Keoras and Kandra. They declare, without giving any reason, that some of the above are "essentially" Oriyas and some others "must" be Oriyas. This is no argument at all. Besides, the people of most of the above castes and of all other castes, such as the Mahisyas, Kayasthas, Sadgopes, Napits, Kamars, Kumars, Podes or Batra, Khatriyas, Rajputs, non-Oriya Brahmins, Telis, Tamils, Nabasaks, Baniks, Bagdis and others, who live in South Midnapore, have been governed by the Dayabhag School of Hindu Law since time immemorial. The peoples belonging to the Oriya race cannot possibly be governed by Dayabhag, which is peculiar to Bengal and Bengal alone. Out of a population of about 13½ or 14 lakhs now living in the disputed South Midnapore, they claim, it appears, about 3 or 3½ lakhs only as belonging to their race. Admitting for argument's sake that their figure is correct, they are only a minority and further they do not live in clusters in any compact area or areas adjacent to Orissa but they live distributed or diffused throughout South Midnapore in the midst of admitted Bengalees. But, of course, we dispute the figures above referred to, for we know that many of the people thus claimed by them do not belong to the Oriya race at all.

It is not known why the whole population of South Midnapore or a majority or a substantial portion of them, should belong to the Oriya race. It is not suggested, we hope, that at the time of God's creation, Midnapore and Hijli were in Orissa. It is also wrong to suppose that the district of Hijli existed on the face of the earth when the kingdom of Kalinga first came into being. That Midnapore and Hijli districts were at first in Bengal is undisputed and when they were in Bengal, the Bengalees must have lived there. Orissa's name

came to be connected with Midnapore and Hijli long after they had been in Bengal. When subsequently Midnapore and Hijli became temporarily parts of Orissa, what happened to those Bengalees, who had lived there from before? Certainly they could not have been pushed away into the Bay of Bengal or the Ganges, for the purpose of making room for the incoming Oriyas. It was impolitic and unnecessary. Therefore, even when Midnapore and Hijli went to Orissa temporarily, the old Bengalees remained in the two Districts and they are the vast majority of her present inhabitants, who are still governed by the Dayabhag School of Hindu Law.

Then, for how long did Midnapore and Hijli remain under Orissa? It could not have been more than 8 years. For it was Mukunda Deb who conquered them and his reign lasted from 1551 to 1559 A. D. He was a Telugu by race and he was the first as well as the last independent King of Orissa. With his death, Orissa's connection with and influence over Midnapore and Hijli ceased to exist. They have since passed through various vicissitudes of life during the days of the Moghuls and Marhattas, until the advent of the English in 1803. Mukunda Dev, during his 8 years rule, could not have depopulated Midnapore and Hijli and brought and forced Oriyas to settle there. The Moghuls and the Marhattas had no dislike of the Bengalees nor had they any particular love for the Oriyas. They must have allowed the old things to continue as before. Therefore, the old Bengalees are still in South Midnapore, they are still being governed by the Dayabhag School of Hindu Law and they even now constitute the vast majority of the population there. The very small minority, who are governed by the Mitakshara School of Hindu Law, must have come from Orissa, but they also did not come at a time. They came at different times, from different places and settled at different areas also. That is why they are found living at present by almost individual families in the various villages of South Midnapore in the midst of the Bengalees and they are only about 8 or 10 per cent. of the whole population of South Midnapore. Under such circumstances, it is apparent, the Oriyas cannot claim south Midnapore on the ground of racial unity.

Fifthly, the Oriyas are claiming South Midnapore on another ground, namely, that the people of South Midnapore speak the Oriya language. As to the proportion of these Oriya speakers, the census reports are conclusive. In 1921, out of a population of about 12½ lakhs, about 140 thousand only were recorded as Oriya speakers in the disputed area. This census report has been attacked on the ground that it is inaccurate. It is alleged that the people of South Midnapore combined to conceal their spoken language, as they apprehended that otherwise they would be taken to Orissa, and that was why the figure was lesser than the figure of 1911—of course, we do not agree with this contention and we beg to point out that, if it were true, then it proves conclusively that the inhabitants of South Midnapore do not want to go to Orissa at all and that they have been expressing this desire of theirs, since a long time past—at least from 1901.

Then, what about the census report of 1931? We have not yet been able to get at its figures but we believe that the number of the Oriya-speakers this time is still less. It cannot be argued that there was mistake on this occasion also, for there are two very important reasons against it. Firstly,

the Sub-Committee which was appointed by the Simon Commission and which was presided over by Major Attlee, recommended "that special precautions should be taken to ensure the reliability of returns at the next census" and therefore it is to be presumed that special precautions were taken by the Government at the next census, which is the census of 1931, to ensure its reliability. Secondly, we have positive evidence in our possession to show that the Oriya leaders adopted various means to ensure the correctness of the census return of 1931. They wrote letters individually to leading men of South Midnapore and they also distributed leaflets requesting Oriya speakers to enumerate them as such. If after all these precautions, the census report of 1931 is against them, the Oriyas ought to accept it as correct and reliable and then their argument based on linguistic unity becomes non-existent altogether.

Then, we submit that the spoken language ought not to be the criterion for the decision of a momentous question like the one we are discussing. If the northern boundary of Orissa is extended today to the North of Bankura and if the Oriya language is made the Court language of the area thus included in Orissa, then there is not the slightest doubt that ten years hence when a census is taken, the people living in Birbhum, Burdwan and Hooghly Districts, on the borders of Bankura, will be found speaking the Oriya language. Similarly, if the southern boundary of Bengal is extended today to the South of Cuttack and if the Bengali language is made the Court language there, then ten years hence the people living in Oriya district touching Cuttack area will be found speaking the Bengali language. It is therefore submitted that the written language of the people concerned ought to be the criterion—not the spoken language and, as it is universally admitted that the written language of a vast majority of the people of South Midnapore is at present Bengali, South Midnapore cannot go to Orissa. Again it is unreasonable, unjust and unfair that a vast majority should suffer for the sake of a very small minority. In this connection it must also be remembered that the spoken language of the admitted Oriya speakers of South Midnapore is not pure Oriya either. In fact, it is well known that even the Oriya language of Balasore is different from that of Puri and Ganjam. It follows, therefore, that there is no uniformity of the Oriya language in the different districts of the Orissa division itself and the claim of unity of language in South Midnapore, under such circumstances, is chimerical and absurd.

Lastly, what has been the attitude of the Oriyas in the past towards the language of South Midnapore? The Indian National Congress has divided its provinces on linguistic lines. They did this some years ago. That is why the districts of Sylhet and Cachar are now under the Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, although they are administratively under the Assam Government. If we remember aright, alleging linguistic unity with the district of Ganjam, the Oriyas claimed before the Congress not long ago that it should remain under the Utkal Provincial Congress Committee, but on enquiry the Congress gave it to Andhra, which is, again, a Congress province on linguistic basis, within the administrative Presidency of Madras. It cannot be said, therefore that the distribution of territories on linguistic lines by the Congress was not known to the Oriyas. Why is it, then, that the Oriyas have never up till now tried to take South Midnapore under the

Utkal Provincial Congress Committee? The answer is irresistible that they knew and know even now that the language of South Midnapore is not Oriya at all. Their present claim is only a fishing one and it has been put forward with the sole object of solving the financial difficulties of the proposed Utkal Province, on the pretext that they and we are linguistically the one and the same. We feel sure that the Committee will have no difficulty in finding out the truth.

Sixthly, the Oriyas claim South Midnapore also on the ground that they and we are culturally one, but this is the most extravagant of all their claims. It pre-supposes that the people of South Midnapore were originally Oriyas, and that, although they have lived for centuries together in Bengal in the midst of the Bengalees, they still remain wholly unassimilated by the Bengali culture. We have already shown, however, that the people of South Midnapore could not have been Oriyas originally, as a vast majority of them are still being governed by the Dayabhag School of Hindu Law, and it follows therefore that the Oriyas and we were never culturally one. If we were not culturally one originally, how are we at the present moment culturally one with them? Is it suggested that the culture of the Oriyas has succeeded in overthrowing the culture of the Bengalees in South Midnapore? The Bengali culture is superior to Oriya culture and the dignity of human nature and its natural and spiritual impulses seldom allow human beings to change their superior culture in favour of an inferior one. As a matter of fact, imitation is the habit of those who feel inferior in their heart of hearts. The people of South Midnapore have never felt inferior to the Oriya race and their present position there—socially, politically, educationally and otherwise—is incomparable today with the whole of the Orissa division. We are surprised that educated Orissa should seriously ask us to go away from Bengal, leaving behind us the lives, teachings and inspirations of men like Chaitanya, Jaideb, Chandidas, Ramkrishna Paramahansa, Bibekananda, Ram Mohan Roy, Rabindra Nath, Jagadish Chandra, Prafulla Chandra and our own great man late Pandit Iswar Chandra Bidyasagar. It ought to be apparent to the meanest intelligence that any attempt to disrupt the very fountain head of whole people's noble sentiments and divine senses is likely to produce disastrous results. Lives are not really worth living and easily sacrificed, if a lower standard of living and culture is forcibly imposed upon any set of educated and patriotic human beings.

Seventhly, we are not yet aware what would be our gain, if we went to Orissa. We have repeatedly invited the Oriya leaders to tell us the same but up till now they have not done so. We have also gone through some of the literature they have published on the subject but nowhere have we found anything on this point. At a meeting at Gopiballavpur, an Oriya leader, S. J. Godabaris Misra, admitted that excepting some gain in what he described as Oriya nationalism, there would be no gain to us, if we went to Orissa. We do not, of course, know what is meant by Oriya nationalism, nor are we aware what are its qualities or characteristics and what earthly benefits they would fetch us, if we left Bengal. We hope, therefore, that at the time when the Oriya leaders and their supporters will depose before the Committee, they will kindly enumerate the earthly gains, which would accrue to South Midnapore,

in case, she consented to go to Orissa. We are frankly of opinion that sentiments do not appeal to us at all and we want to know everything about our present worldly gains only. Of course, we claim the right to test their allegations on this score, when they are made before the Committee and we hope and trust the Committee would not deny us the same.

Eighthly, what about our losses and disadvantages? They have, on the one hand, refused to give us any idea as to our gains; on the other, have they consistently declined to consider our losses and disadvantages. But there cannot be the slightest doubt that they are likely to be varied and serious. After all, Orissa is still the stronghold of Brahminism and her own educated and England returned sons are still suffering from great social disabilities. Who would like to go to Orissa, under such circumstances, from the land of Ram Mohan Roy and Keshab Chandra Sen? A strict Oriya Brahmin must not grow a moustache and must have a tuft of hair at the top of his head, while the inhabitants of South Midnapore have no such prejudice at all and their children play with the "tikis" whenever they can reach them. In fact, the social differences of the two peoples are already formidable indeed and nothing should be done to accentuate the same in the interest of good government itself. The administrative disadvantages are also numerous, including the obvious difficulties of the language, the University and the High Court, as also the difficulties of the district Courts and their distances. There is further the question of race bias, which ought not to be overlooked in considering the question of amalgamation.

We, however, undertake to detail our losses and disadvantages when we adduce evidence on our behalf before the Committee and we beg of them to excuse us for our inability to do so *in extenso* in this memorandum of objection. We submit that the onus is upon the Oriyas to show first why our happiness and tranquillity should be disturbed and why should we change sides. They have not yet done so, so far as we are aware, and accordingly we do not feel called upon to give exhaustive lists of everything of importance. This Memorandum, therefore, deals more with the heads of our objections rather than with their details. If the Oriyas succeed in discharging their onus, we reserve the right to rebut the same by cross-examining their witnesses at Midnapore and elsewhere and also by adducing evidence on our behalf whenever and wherever necessary.

APPENDIX 3.

B (ii).

A. MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE ORISSA BOUNDARY COMMITTEE BY THE PROPRIETOR OF DHALBHUM ESTATE.

The Oriyas want that they should have a separate Province. Certainly nobody should object to it if it is possible to make a province out of the tracts of Oriya-speaking people. But the leaders of Orissa have been trying to include all tracts where there are even slight sprinkling of Oriya settlers within the proposed new Province and as a part of that move they have been insistently demanding amalgamation of Singhbhum with Orissa. I feel I am not competent to speak on the point whether financially it is a practical proposition to have a separate Province for Utkal even on a very modest scale, although I

have my grave doubts on the point. I should like to deal here on the claims of Orissa on Singhbhum, as a whole, or any portion of it, for its amalgamation with the proposed Utkal Province. The question can be approached from two standpoints—

- (1) the views of the people inhabiting the district, i.e., whether there is a real desire on the part of the people for such an amalgamation, and
- (2) whether it is at all desirable in the interest of the people that Singhbhum or any part of it should be included in the new Province and if there is a genuine opposition on the part of the people against such an inclusion.

Taking up the first point, it would be well to bear in mind the fact that Singhbhum is pre-eminently an aboriginal tract of country. I do not mean that at some distant past it was inhabited by aborigines. Even today it is so. The district of Singhbhum consists of 3 parganas—

- (1) the Kolhan,
- (2) Porahat, and
- (3) Dhalbhum.

Linguistically or otherwise none of these 3 parganas have any affinity with Orissa. Kolhan is predominantly inhabited by Hos and probably 90 p. c. of the population consists of Hos. The bulk of the population of Porahat also consists of aborigines consisting mainly of Mundas, Mundaries and also Hos. Coming to Dhalbhum also we find more than 52 p. c. of the population consists of aborigines who are mainly Santhals and Bhumijies. They speak Bengali language and use Bengali script.

The Aborigines will never like to be included in the proposed Orissa Province. Their feeling and sentiment in this matter are very keen. As by far the bulk of the people of Singhbhum share this view, it should not be ignored.

As against this, the claims of Orissa do not bear examination. Oriyas are by far a microscopic minority in this district. In the Kolhan there is only a sprinkling of Oriya population.

In Dhalbhum their number is even much smaller. As has been already stated more than 52 p. c. of the population of Dhalbhum are aborigines. The rest of the population is mainly Bengalees. In fact excepting a few Oriya Brahmins there are hardly any Oriya-speaking people in Dhalbhum. The aborigines of Dhalbhum particularly the Santhals and Bhumijies have adopted Bengalee and speak Bengalee while speaking with outsiders, though they use their own dialect when speaking amongst themselves. All the Oriya settlers of Dhalbhum use Bengalee language as freely as Bengalees themselves, and they have no marriage alliance with Oriya inhabitants of Orissa proper.

Taking the district as a whole, in 1911 it was found that out of every 100 persons in Singhbhum 38 speak Ho, 18 Bengali, and 16 Oriya, the remaining 28 persons speaking probably Santhalese and other aboriginal languages and Hindi. In course of the last 20 years the Bengali population has considerably

increased, particularly in Dhalbhum and perhaps the percentage of Bengali-speaking population is much higher today. Taking Dhalbhum separately the percentage of Bengali speaking people even excepting aborigines who have adopted Bengalee, would be very high. The recent census figures would probably support this view.

It is sometimes urged that Dhalbhum at any rate was originally an Oriya speaking tract and it was after the Bengali settlers came that they introduced Bengali in the Pargana. But a scrutiny of the dialect spoken by the most ancient inhabitants of Dhalbhum barring the aborigines will at once show that truth is otherwise. The most ancient documents in the Raj Kutchery are almost all in Bengali. The *Taslinama* settling the Pargana Dhalbhum with Raja Jagannath Dhawal Deb by the East India Company in 1783 was written in Bengali. The signatures of the witnesses to the said document is also in Bengali. Bengali has always been the medium of education in the Primary schools in Dhalbhum. It is sometimes urged that Bengali was forced on the boys but that is not a correct statement. On the contrary there has always been attempt particularly in the recent times to introduce Oriya as the medium of education but the people have always viewed this with disapproval and sometimes the district officers made sifting enquiries and found that there was no necessity of introduction of Oriya in the schools of Dhalbhum as it is a purely Bengali speaking tract. Bengalee has always been the court language for Dhalbhum since the establishment of British courts.

Further it is urged sometimes and from some quarters that zemindars family of Dhalbhum is of Oriya origin. It is an absolutely false and malicious statement. One who knows the real facts need not be told that the Dhalbhum family is one of the family whose ancestors originally came from the north-west and established themselves in the jungle mohals (originally in the Districts of Bankura and Midnapore in Bengal). Dhalbhum formed a part of the district of Midnapore until 1833. It was then constituted a part of Manbhum for administrative purposes and ultimately it was transferred to Singhbhum. Even up to the present day a portion of pargana Dhalbhum for which Government Revenue is paid in Singhbhum Collectorate remains a part of the district of Midnapore.

Further two of the most prominent Deputy Commissioners of Singhbhum, viz., Mr. J. E. Scott and Mr. J. R. Dain after sifting enquiries pronounced themselves most strongly against inclusion of Singhbhum and particularly of Dhalbhum in Orissa and refuted Orissa's claims on Singhbhum, and they declared that it is a purely Bengalee speaking tract and when some interested persons wanted to introduce Oriya in Primary schools Mr. J. E. Scott after a most careful enquiry disapproved of the proposal.

Then coming to the next point, viz., whether it will be to the interest of the people of Singhbhum to be amalgamated with Orissa, I would think quite the other way. The present division of Orissa is reputed to be a financially poor division and even if a separate Province be a financial possibility, at least for a long time to come it is likely to be a deficit province and necessarily Singhbhum will suffer much and its progress will be retarded.

Thus approaching and examining the question from all view points it seems that Singhbhum, particularly Dhalbhum, should never be amalgamated with Orissa Province.

In view of the fact that Dhalbhum is a Bengalee speaking tract, I am of the opinion that Dhalbhum should be re-united with Bengal with which it has a close affinity linguistically, socially and culturally.

APPENDIX 3.

B (iii).

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE ORISSA COMMITTEE, BY THE JAMSHEDPUR BENGALI ASSOCIATION.

Memorandum on behalf of the Jamshedpur Bengali Association, the Jamshedpur Association and the Ramkrishna Mission—Jamshedpur Branch (known as the Vivekanada Society).

The undersigned is desired by the aforesaid Associations to submit the following memorandum for the consideration of your Committee.

1. *Creation of a separate Province of Orissa.*—On the commonly accepted principle of self-determination the desire of the Oriya-speaking peoples to remain under a separate administration of their own has our sympathy, provided it is feasible to form a sufficiently homogeneous and financially self-supporting administrative unit. Unfortunately though Orissa linguistically covers a wide tract of country, the Feudatory States constitute the major portion of this tract leaving but a small block bordering on the Bay of Bengal and the outlying districts of Angul and Sambalpur to be formed into a British Indian province. This tract is not big enough for a Commissioner's Division. The Oriyas, therefore, are laying claim on neighbouring districts and parts of districts on the boundaries of Orissa as at present constituted. Even if it is assumed for the sake of argument that these parts form a part of Orissa, it is still doubtful if without increased taxation and support from the Central Government a new Orissa province with all the costly paraphernalia of a provincial administration would be able to support itself.

Orissa is admittedly a poor and backward province and it will be difficult if not impossible to increase the burden of provincial taxation which to a great extent will have to come from land.

2. This serious obstacle in their way has long been realised by Oriya publicists who demand the luxury of a separate province. It is with a view to augment the revenues from mines, forests, industries and other non-agricultural sources that they began claiming that Singhbhum with its rich minerals and the Steel and other Metallurgical industries as an Oriya District. A good deal of propaganda has been afoot for nearly a generation to convert Singhbhum into an Oriya-speaking District. This propaganda has been as unreal as it has been vocal. Successive District Officers have proved the hollowness of this claim which is untenable on the following among other grounds.

3. *Singhbhum.*—(a) Singhbhum broadly divided consists of Singhbhum proper (the Kolhan) and the Pargana of Dhalbhum. Singhbhum proper is part and parcel of Chota Nagpur which for centuries has been the home of

the aborigines. To dismember aboriginal Chhota Nagpur and annex the Hos to Orissa will be violating the very principle on the basis of which the Oriyas claim a separate province.

(b) The Hos do not desire union with Orissa. They have expressed through their accredited leaders the Mankis their strong unwillingness to join with Orissa.

(c) The attempt by Oriya Separatists to foist their language on the aborigines and the semi-aboriginals has met with utter failure.

(d) In order to raise the level of culture and civilisation of the aboriginal and semi-aboriginals it is always a sound policy to keep them in close touch with a more advanced than with a less advanced and backward race.

(e) The special interests of the aborigines are protected by the protective land laws of Chhota Nagpur which have nothing in common with the land laws of Orissa.

(f) The aborigines have no traditional or historical connection with Orissa.

(g) The script that they have adopted is either Hindi or Bengali and not Oriya and their language of communication with non-aboriginals is either Hindi or Bengali and not Oriya.

4. *Dhalbhum*.—Dhalbhum is beyond question, a Bengali pargana. The inhabitants of Dhalbhum never desired nor do they desire now, union with Orissa. They have been demanding their restoration to Bengal ever since the pargana was separated from Bengal in 1911.

The grounds on which they claim re-union with Bengal are equally strong against the claims of the Orissa Separatists to annex the pargana with Orissa. These grounds are so well known that it will be unnecessary repetition to recite them here. Broad facts, however, will be placed before the Committee in the course of oral evidence if called.

5. *Jamshedpur*.—The facts and arguments put forward above against the amalgamation of Dhalbhum and Singhbhum with Orissa apply with greater force to Jamshedpur which is now the headquarters station of the Dhalbhum Sub-division. The great Iron and Steel Works and its subsidiaries have attracted men and women from practically every province of India. In its nature it has grown to be a cosmopolitan town. The importance of the place as a big manufacturing town and the great possibilities of its future development have attracted the attention of the Orissa separatists. In fact it is more for Jamshedpur than for Dhalbhum and Singhbhum proper that Singhbhum is claimed for Orissa. But in respect of Jamshedpur too the claim is untenable for the following among other grounds :—

(a) On a population basis the Bengalis and not the Oriyas are the preponderating constituent.

(b) Of those who have built houses and settled down in the town permanently the non-Oriyas form the majority.

(c) The aboriginal element though numerically small still outnumber the Oriyas.

(d) Whatever may be the views of the Tata Iron and Steel Company, Ltd., and the Associated Companies on this question of amalgamation, it is a fact that their business relations are largely with Calcutta and up-country than with Cuttack or Orissa.

(e) If there is to be any change in administrative units, the interests of the industries already established in Jamshedpur will be best served by its being linked with Calcutta than with Cuttack.

(f) Except a few Oriyas who claim to represent the local Congress, the residents of Jamshedpur do not desire a change much less desire to join with Orissa.

(g) The non-Oriya section of the local Congress has been pressing for affiliation of Jamshedpur as an independent unit with the All-India Congress Committee.

(h) The lingua-franca of Jamshedpur is Hindi and not Oriya.

6. *A plea for federation of smaller Provinces.*—The Communiqué issued by your Committee has invited representations with the prefatory sentence "If a separate province is created for Orissa". It will therefore not be out of place to record here some observations on the general policy of the creation of small provincial units. It is expected that in the near future the provinces will complete autonomy. Though fiscal autonomy in the provinces is a complicated issue, it is eminently desirable for the efficient administration of the provinces themselves that the provincial units should be financially self-supporting. In the interests of the development of the smaller provinces, therefore, it will be advantageous to them to have federations of smaller provinces so that each can supplement the resources of the others forming the federated unit. This will be an economically sound policy from the point of view of nation-building.

7. In conclusion the Associations mentioned above, on grounds outlined in this memorandum desire to record their emphatic protest against the proposed amalgamation of Singhbhum with Orissa.

APPENDIX 3.

B (iv).

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE ORISSA BOUNDARY COMMITTEE, BY THE MANKIS OF KOLHAN.

1. That your humble memorialists and all other Mankis, Mundas and tenants of the Kolhan, especially the aborigines have been much agitated at the proposal of amalgamation of Singhbhum with the proposed Province of Orissa and beg most respectfully to approach you and the aforesaid Committee through you, with this humble memorial protesting, with the utmost humility and with all the earnestness and emphasis they are capable of against inclusion of Singhbhum or any portion of it in the proposed province of Orissa.

2. That the humble memorialists occupy the highest position in the Kolhan each of them being head of several villages. That they know the needs, demands, grievances and aspirations of the people of the Kolhan.

3. That it will not be out of place to give the boundary of the district before the grounds for protest are enumerated. The district is bounded on the east by Midnapur, on the south by the Mourbhanj, Keonjhar and Bonai States, on the west by the Gangpur State and the district of Ranchi and on the north by the Ranchi and Manbhum districts, by the Kharsawan and Saraikela States.

4. That of the reasons that urge your humble memorialists to protest against the proposal of amalgamation of Singhbhum or any portion of it, with the proposed Province of Orissa, the following are among the most important :—

- (i) That Singhbhum is not an Oriya speaking tract wherein the Oriyas are less than 20 per cent. and the aborigines forming the major population of the district are above 60 per cent.
- (ii) That in view of the fact that Oriyas form a very small minority in the district they have no claim whatsoever to include Singhbhum in the proposed Province of Orissa.
- (iii) That the number of Oriyas in the district is much more less than what it has been reported in the Census of 1911 and 1921, and that their number would be similarly less than what it might have been reported in the Census of 1931. That it is well-known to the authorities that the Oriyas made every endeavour to increase the number of the Oriyas in the last Census as well as in the previous Census with a view to attain their political purposes. That even those people who are not Oriyas have been recorded as Oriyas in the last Census.
- (iv) That the majority of the people of the district are non-Oriyas and have nothing in common with the Oriyas of Orissa. That even the so-called Oriyas of the district, namely, the Tantis and Goalas are against the proposal of inclusion of Singhbhum in Orissa, as they are quite different from the Oriyas of Orissa. That the Tantis and Goalas have been living with Hos, the major population of the district, from a long time and have adapted themselves to the customs and manners of the Hos and are culturally different from the Oriyas of Orissa.
- (v) That the Goalas, namely, the Mahadhas have been so merged with the Hos that it is very difficult to distinguish Magdha Goala from a Ho. That the Magdhas can and do speak Ho language. That in many cases in most of the Muzas of the Kolhan Magdhas have forgotten their own language and they speak Ho even in their family circle. That the Magdhas marry late as the Hos and now-a-days even marriage by capture is being in vogue as amongst the Hos. The Magdhas, the so-called Oriyas, have nothing in common with the Oriyas of Orissa, whether socially or culturally.
- (vi) That the Magdha Goalas earn their livelihood by tending the cattle of the aborigines. That they tend the cattle of the Hos, Mundas and others and are paid for their services. That they used to take handia, i.e., pachwai prepared by the Hos. That it is

curious to note that very recently some of these Magdha Goalas have been dissuaded from taking pachwai and other things prepared by the Hos, by some persons interested in Oriya question with the sole object to let it appear that the Magdha Goalas are real Oriyas and their customs and manners are not like those of the aborigines.

- (vii) That the Magdha Goalas who are found in every Ho village in the Kolhan take meat of hens and cocks like the Hos and thus are quite different from the Oriyas.
- (viii) That other non-aborigines, namely, the Mamars, Kumhars, who are residents in Kolhan and who form small minority in the said area also can and do speak Ho language and their economic interest depends upon that of the Hos and other aboriginal tenants of the area.
- (ix) That the so-called Oriyas of the Kolhan have more affinity towards the aborigines of the Singhbhum district than towards the Oriyas of Orissa and owing to this reason the Goalas and Tanti population of the area are strongly against the inclusion of Singhbhum in Orissa.
- (x) That throughout the Kolhan area several meetings attended by people of every community were held and resolutions were passed strongly protesting against the proposal of inclusion of Singhbhum in Orissa, where the Tantis and Goalas also were present and they also agreed to the resolutions being passed.
- (xi) That the tenants of the villages have been strongly protesting against the inclusion of Singhbhum in Orissa and they have been giving expression to their views by signing papers to the effect that they are strongly against the proposal of amalgamation of Singhbhum with proposed Province of Orissa, and that the Tantis, Goalas and other so-called Oriya residents of the said area also have been doing the same.
- (xii) That the aborigines form the major population in the district as well as in the Kolhan. That the Hos predominate in Kolhan and they occupy the highest position, they being Mankis and Mundas that is headmen of villages and village.
- (xiii) That the Hos and other aborigines talk amongst themselves in their own dialects, but in order to transact business in the Courts and also for trading and other purposes they learn Hindi in the Kolhan area.
- (xiv) That education has been imparted to them through the medium of Hindi for the last 90 years or so, and during such a period they have adapted themselves to reading and writing Hindi, their record of rights as well as other necessary documents have all been written in Hindi. That they have learnt Hindi which is other than their mother tongue and it would be great injustice

to them if they are compelled to unlearn that language and to learn Oriya in its place.

- (xv) That the aborigines of this district have no affinity whatsoever towards the Oriyas of Orissa. That the manner and customs of the aborigines being quite different from those of the Oriyas, they have nothing in common with each other.
- (xvi) That the aborigines are looked down upon by the Oriyas and thus there can never be any affinity between them. And such being the case the aborigines will be put to great disadvantages if they are forcibly tied to the Oriyas of Orissa. That the Oriyas even disdain to touch the aborigines and the Oriyas think that their houses are polluted if any aborigine happens to go to their house or even courtyards. So much so that even Oriya barbers, occupying the lowest position in the society, refuse to shave the Hos.
- (xvii) That the major population of this district is entirely different from the people of Orissa culturally and linguistically.
- (xviii) That for such a great length of time Hindi has been the written language in Kolhan and Porahat while Oriya character is very scarcely used only by Oriya immigrants.
- (xix) That the administrative divisions namely Porahat and Dhalbhum also have been inhabited by aborigines, that is Porahat by Mundas and Hos, Dhalbhum by Santhals and Bhumij. That the aborigines in Kolhan are socially and in various other ways connected with the aborigines of Dhalbhum and Porahat. That their customs and manners are similar and they have the same needs, grievances and aspirations. That the Kolhan can not be separated from other parts of the district without any detriment to the interest of the people of Kolhan as well as to the interest of the people of other parts of the district. That the three main administrative divisions should be kept in tact and no portion of it should be separated.
- (xx) That Singhbhum district is one of the districts of the Chota Nagpur and the culture of the aborigines of this district being the same as that of the aborigines of other districts of Chota Nagpur, the district can not be separated from the division without high detriment to the interests of the people of this district as well as to the interest of the people of the rest of the Division. That any attempt to separate Singhbhum from the rest of the Chota Nagpur Division is not only detrimental to the interest of the aborigines of the district but is detrimental to the interest of the aboriginals and the whole Division.
- (xxi) That needs and grievances and aspiration of the people of the Singhbhum district being the same with those of the people of other districts of the Chota Nagpur Division.

- (xxii) That Chota Nagpur Division has to deal with the schemes developing forest products and mineral resources, whereas Orissa has nothing to do with these things. That Orissa has to face the problems of flood and famine every year, whereas Singhbhum has nothing to do with these problems.
- (xxiii) That Orissa if formed into a separate province is bound to be a deficit province and cannot afford sufficient amount for development of backward area such as Singhbhum and thus the district will be much neglected.
- (xxiv) That in the Kolhan education is imparted through the medium of Hindi for the last 90 years. That Oriya was never taught in schools in this area as there was no demand at all for this language.
- (xxv) That Oriya is being taught partly in the Chaibassa Zilla School, situate at the headquarters of the district, where the number of Oriya reading students is not more than 40 every year whereas the total number of boys is above 500. This proves that there is no demand for Oriya language.
- (xxvi) As the census report of the last census has not yet been published it is difficult to give the exact number of each community. But still the memorialists understand that they form a population representing more than 60 per cent. of the total population. This being the case any attempt which may be disadvantageous to this major population of the district should be discouraged and dropped at once.
- (xxvii) That the Oriyas are scattered out throughout the district and in nowhere they predominate. That they formed a percentage of 23.15 in Kolhan, a percentage of 22.16 in Porahat and a percentage of 12.67 in Dhalbhum according to the census of 1921, though the percentage would have been still less if the figures had been ascertained correctly.
- (xxviii) That the Raja of Porahat and his subordinate and his subordinate Zamindar of Bandgaon, Anandapur, Kera, also are non-Oriyas. That the Raja of Porahat is strongly protesting against the inclusion of Singhbhum in Orissa.
- (xxix) That since Council has been created in the Bihar and Orissa Province, it is the aborigines who have been successfully returned as members for all the terms though contested by Oriyas. This fact also goes to show that the people have no confidence in Oriyas in reasonable apprehension that they would attempt to include Singhbhum in Orissa and would supplant Hindi and Bengali by Oriya language. There is one other point which will prove clearly how the Oriyas are suspected by the aborigines and other residents of the district. That for the Chakradharpur circle one Oriya gentleman used to be returned as member in the Singhbhum District Board for some years but finding that Oriyas are not reliable to return them as members the

constituents thought it proper to elect an aborigine from Kolhan living at a distance of 36 miles from Porahat in place of the same Oriya gentleman though he is a resident of Porahat and consequently the Oriya gentleman had to sustain a defeat in the last District Board election.

- (xxx) The Singhbhum district is not contiguous but native estates of Koonjhar and Moyurbhanj intervene on the East and South thus geographic condition also stands in the way of amalgamation of Singhbhum with proposed province of Orissa.
- (xxxi) That the Oriyas have no claim over Singhbhum district will best appear from the fact that question of Singhbhum was not raised at the time of enquiry by the Philip-Duff Committee.
- (xxxii) That the interest of aborigines are safeguarded by the Chota Nagpur Tenancy Act but any change in the said Tenancy will prove highly detrimental to the interest of the aborigines of the district.
- (xxxiii) That the aborigines forming a large percentage in the province receive some consideration in matters of administration and other thing due to their numerical strength but they will be deprived of this advantage if Singhbhum is unfortunately amalgamated with Orissa as aborigines will form negligible percentage in proposed province of Orissa and they will be neglected owing to their numerical weakness.
- (xxxiv) That Seraikela and Kharswan estates also contain very small minority of the Oriyas and these estates also are not Oriya-speaking tracts. That Hindi was the Court language for a long period.
- (xxxv) That the aborigines of this district who are literate in Hindi and engaged in several departments will lose their services if Singhbhum is amalgamated with Orissa.
- (xxxvi) That there being no Oriya literates in Singhbhum district outside Oriyas will be introduced in the district if Singhbhum is amalgamated with Orissa, which is highly unjustifiable.
- (xxxvii) That at the time of formation of Government Kolhan Khas Mahal the object was to keep the Hos together and for this purpose even some villages in the native estates containing Ho population were transferred to Kolhan to make the area homogeneous and now separation of any portion of it is not desirable.
- (xxxviii) That the aborigines being the original settlers of the district and they forming the major population deserve to have superior claim over the district.
- (xxxix) That the Mankis and Mundas who now perform their administrative duties in Hindi are almost all literate in Hindi and will not be able to carry on their administrative duties in Oriya if Singhbhum is included in Orissa.

That under the circumstances stated above the humble memorialists most respectfully pray that your honour would be graciously pleased to consider the matter most favourably and taking evidence from the memorialists and others will duly and justly recommend exclusion of Singhbhum from the proposed Province of Orissa.

And for this act of kindness and grace the humble memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.

APPENDIX 3.

B (v).

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF THE CENTRAL PROVINCES TOGETHER WITH A NOTE ON PADAMPUR TRACT.

The only tracts in the Central Provinces transfer of which to an Oriya province has been suggested from time to time are—

- (a) The Phuljhar zamindari.
- (b) The Khariar zamindari.
- (c) The Chandrapur-Padampur tract, including Malkharoda, in the Bilaspur district.

2. The views of the Central Provinces Government on the proposed transfer from time to time are contained in Central Provinces Government letters—

- No. 325-404-II, dated the 14th February 1922,
- No. 1087-1162-II, dated the 28th July 1922,
- No. C.-82-810-II, dated the 1st October 1926,
- No. 1664-1600-II, dated the 21st December 1926.

copies of which, it is believed, have already been furnished to the Committee.

3. The Central Provinces Government believes that there can be no case for any transfer of territory on the grounds of mere racial and linguistic statistics, unless it can be shown—

- (a) that considerably more than half the population of the area suggested for transfer speak the Oriya language as their mother tongue ;
- (b) that the administration of the tracts would be rendered more convenient and efficient by the transfer ; and
- (c) that there is an overwhelming opinion in favour of the transfer from the inhabitants of the area affected.

4. If the three areas mentioned in paragraph 2 are considered in the light of the criteria mentioned above, the Central Provinces Government believes that there can be no justification for the transfer of any of the tracts.

5. In the Phuljhar zamindari less than half the total population is shown as speaking Oriya as the mother-tongue. The population is, as in all border

tracts, a mixed one, the majority of the Oriya speaking being confined to a small area in the east of the zamindari. Lariya is freely understood by the whole of the population, and so far as racial and linguistic considerations are concerned, the issue of transfer is not a live one.

On administrative grounds there is no case for a transfer. The zamindari is governed by the Central Provinces Revenue Law, and its trade and communications look towards Raipur. The Zamindar is a Raj Gond, whose connections are with the neighbouring ruling chiefs attached to the Central Provinces and whose wishes are definitely hostile to transfer. It was decided as long ago as 1904 that the zamindari properly belonged to the Hindi-speaking tract of Chhattisgarh. Government adheres to the opinion, which has been expressed on every occasion when transfer has been suggested, that no case for transfer exists.

6. *Khariar*.—As regards this zamindari, Government adheres to the conclusions which are fully set out in its letter of 1st October 1926 that when all considerations are taken into account, it is in the best interests of the zamindari to leave present arrangements as they are. Government does not desire to add to the arguments adduced in that letter, save to emphasize again the mixed character of the population and to point out that the forecast that the more virile Hindi was slowly pushing out the Oriya tongue has been borne out by the statistics of the recent census. The administrative arguments against any change remain as strong as ever; indeed they have been enhanced by the opening of the Raipur-Vizianagram Railway, which has served to strengthen the trade connection of the zamindari with Raipur and can have little or no effect in connecting them either with the Sambalpur district, to which under an Oriya administration it would presumably be attached, or with the capital of an Oriya province in the neighbourhood of Cuttack. The Governor in Council strongly adheres to the policy of leaving well alone.

7. In the Chandrapur-Padampur tract as a whole Government believes that no case for any transfer can be made out. Only a small proportion of the total population is Oriya speaking or desires a change, and it is inconceivable that the wishes of a small minority should be allowed to coerce the transfer of a large and unwilling majority.

Government is, however, examining separately whether the small and compact Padampur area of this estate can, if the inhabitants so desire, be transferred with advantage. A further note of Government's conclusion on this point will be submitted at a very early date.

NOTE ON PADAMPUR TRACT.

The Padampur tract of the Janjgir tahsil of the Bilaspur District consists of 61 villages, as detailed below :—

54 villages—forming part of the Chandrapur-Padampur estate held in ordinary proprietary right, by a family of Chowhan Rajputs.
6-5/12 villages are held kham and 47-7/12 by gaontias under the proprietors.

7 villages—outside the above estate, of which 3 are held revenue free and 5 in gaontiahi right, directly under Government.

The total realizable revenue of the tract is Rs. 7,692, as revised.

2. The tract lies in the extreme east of the district between a range of hills of the Raigarh State and the Mahanadi and is isolated from the main block of the Janjgir tahsil by a stretch of about 10 miles of Raigarh State. It is bounded on the north and west by that State; on the south by the Mahanadi, which separates it from the Bargarh tahsil; and on the east by the Machida and Kodabaga zamindaris and the Gangpur State of the Sambalpur district. Before its transfer to the Bilaspur district, in 1905, it formed a part of the uttartir or the present Sambalpur tahsil of that district.

3. The total area of the tract is 50,988 acres, or 80 square miles, of which 34,499 acres or 54 square miles are occupied. The unoccupied area consists mostly of hills, river-beds and unculturable waste.

4. The tract is definitely outside the Chhattisgarh plain and the surface is far more broken than that of Chandrapur or other parts of the Janjgir tahsil. There is practically no black soil and the dominant soil of the tract is sandy, locally known as matasi, which is capable of growing nothing but rice. The rice area covers 85 per cent. of the net-cropped area. The tract is well within the sphere of influence of the Bay monsoon and as it gets normally good late rain, it grows excellent crops of rice.

5. Besides the Mahanadi, the other rivers of importance, which drain the tract, are the chhote and bade *kelo* rivers.

6. The Bengal-Nagpur Railway runs at a distance of 4 miles from the northernmost village of the tract and the railway stations at Janga and Raigarh are easy of access. The only road of importance is the old Bilaspur-Sambalpur road, running along the left bank of the Mahanadi. It is, however, within the tract, in a bad state of repairs. The distance between Padampur and Sambalpur by this road is about 36 miles. The trade is with Raigarh.

7. The population is about 85 per cent. Uria. It is only the Gonds, Kanwars and Malis, all told about 15 per cent., who speak Laria or Chhattisgarhi. The villages run small and are not so populous as the rest of the Janjgir tahsil. The population at the Census of 1921 was 22,364. The figures of the current year's census are not yet to hand, but I am doubtful if there has been a substantial increase, as the Uria is admittedly less virile than the Chhattisgarhi. The population is almost entirely agricultural.

8. As directed by the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division, opportunity was taken at the time of announcement on the 22nd and 23rd current, to ascertain the wishes of the Gaontias and Tenants, whether they preferred to remain in the Bilaspur district or to be added to the Sambalpur district. Of the 61 villages, 57 are inhabited and the remaining four are *viran*. Of the 57 villages, 39 are in favour of the tract being added to the Sambalpur district. The grounds they give are :—

- (a) it is expensive to go to Janjgir and Bilaspur by rail, whereas Sambalpur is only a day's march in the open season and can be reached on foot, with only about a couple of seers of rice carried beneath the arm;

(b) they do not understand the language of the country, court and pleaders in the Bilaspur district and cannot make themselves understandable to them. This is a great handicap; and

(c) they have no representatives in public services or the Local Legislative Council through whom to ventilate their grievances.

They do not anticipate any trouble in the application of the Tenancy and Land Revenue Laws, as are now in vogue in Sambalpur, to the Padampur tract. As regards going to Patna for High Court work, their argument is that in case the Uria-speaking country were to be made into a separate province, their High Court would be located somewhere within the Uria area and the trouble of going to Patna would cease.

9. The gaontias and the tenants under them, of 18 villages, who are against transfer, are in a minority. Their objections are—

(a) it is easier to approach Janjgir, Bilaspur, Raipur and Nagpur, by rail, which are all in one line;

(b) the administration, particularly police, is comparatively troublesome in Sambalpur, but not so in Central Provinces.

The majority party has selected Durjodhan gaontia of Kantapali as their spokesman and the minority party Khagesar gaontia of Murlipali as their spokesman, to give evidence before the Committee, either at Raipur or at Sambalpur. The majority party favour Sambalpur. Both are suitable persons. They speak Hindi and Uria, but not English.

10. The proprietors of the Chandrapur-Padampur estate, who are styled as taluqdars, own seven villages in gaontiahi right in the Bargarh tahsil. The Chandrapur-Padampur estate has recently been held, by the Court of the Judicial Commissioner, Central Provinces, to be partible and alienable. The vanquished party is, I understand, going up in appeal, to the Privy Council, but as both parties are heavily indebted, vigorous attempts are being made for a compromise, out of court. The taluqdars speak Uria. They have, however, no objection if Padampur tract alone were transferred to Sambalpur.

11. The tract is secluded and therefore supervision difficult. It will in my opinion, be an administrative convenience to transfer it to Sambalpur district. In all essentials the country is Uria, in language, manners, customs, soils, methods of agriculture, etc., and should be joined to the main Uria block.

It will also be necessary to transfer along with it the Jhargaon forest area of 970 acres, which has been placed under the revenue department for management, by letter No. 836-XVI, dated the 8th October 1931, from the Secretary to Government in the Survey and Settlement Department to the address of the Commissioner, Chhattisgarh Division.

12. The Chandrapur and Malkharoda tracts are purely Chhattisgarhi in every respect and should continue to be in the Bilaspur district. The gaontias and tenants of those tracts are also against their transfer to Sambalpur.

C. L. VERMA,

The 24th November 1931.

Settlement Officer, Bilaspur Khalsa.

APPENDIX 3.

B (vi).

MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE ORISSA COMMITTEE BY THE GANJAM DEFENCE LEAGUE.

1. Preliminary.

We beg to begin this memorandum with the quotation of the views of the highest authorities on the subject of the proposed re-distribution of provinces.

2. In paragraphs 245 and 246 of the Report of Mr. Montagu and Lord Chelmsford on the Indian Constitutional Reforms, the distinguished authors discussed the proposal that *existing* provinces should be sub-divided into a limited number of smaller areas on a linguistic or *racial* basis. Even with regard to this limited proposal, they stated as follows:—"In spite of the evidence which has reached us of the existence in parts of India of distinct areas or communities which are anxious to secede from the larger administrative units of which they now form part, we feel sure that any general scheme of geographical partition would evoke such strong opposition as would be fatal to the whole plan. Generally speaking, we may describe provincial patriotism as sensitively jealous of its territorial integrity. Divisions of territory which are not made in response to a popular demand are apt to provoke wide and deep seated dissatisfaction." Again, they state, "We believe emphatically that redistribution of provincial areas cannot be imposed upon the people by official action, and that such a process ought, in any case, to follow, and neither to precede nor accompany constitutional reform. But we are bound to indicate our own clear opinion that, wherever such redistributions are necessary and can be effected by process of consent, the attempt to do so should be made." It will be seen from this quotation that the necessity for a change in the provincial boundaries should be proved, that it can be effected only with the consent of the people affected, and that it cannot be imposed upon the people by official action.

3. The Indian Statutory Commission state as follows in volume II of their report, paragraph 38:—"There are, however, very great difficulties in the way of redistribution, and the history of the partition of Bengal stands as a warning of the caution needed before undertaking any operation so likely to run counter to old associations or to inflame suspicion and resentment. Moreover, the consequential administrative and financial adjustments are bound to be of an extremely complex character. The Nehru Report contains an interesting chapter on the redistribution of provinces and discusses the difficult subject of linguistic areas with a good deal of detail, though without coming to final conclusions. If those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province, there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. But it is not the only test—race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town and between coast line and interior—may all be relevant factors. Most important of all, perhaps, for practical purposes, is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed, both on the side of the area that is gaining, and on the side of the area that is losing

territory"..... "The shifting of land marks is proverbially an operation which may bring down anything but blessings on the head of the reformer; it can be prudently undertaken only after taking full account of the interests and even the prejudices concerned."

4. Again, in paragraph 19 of the memorandum presented to the Indian Statutory Commission by the Government of India on the subject of the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking peoples, it is stated :—"Speaking on behalf of the Government of India, the Home Member.....cited opinions expressed by Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis and Mr. Sastri on a resolution moved on the 6th February 1918 by Sir B. N. Sarma, that the linguistic test was not the sole consideration; political, historical and commercial connections had to be taken into account."

5. In chapter IV "On Re-distribution of Provinces" of the report of the committee appointed by the All Parties Conference, 1928, and presided over by the late Pandit Motilal Nehru, the following observations appear :—"What principles should govern this re-distribution? Partly geographical and partly economic and financial, but the main considerations must necessarily be the wishes of the people and the linguistic unity of the area concerned." They further state :—"We are of opinion that ordinarily a province should be self-sufficient in regard to finances and must not look to the Central Government for doles..... An area which desires separation must not live in the hopes of money flowing in from outside to enable it to run its administrative machine. It must feel and declare that it will shoulder its own burden." With regard to Utkal they state :—"We have also received a small book giving the case for Utkal, but we regret we have been unable to consider it in the absence of any special memorandum or representation. Our colleague, Mr. Subhas Chandra Bose, is however satisfied that the Oriya-speaking areas should be amalgamated and constituted into a separate province, *if this is financially possible.*"

6. In the memorandum submitted to the Indian Statutory Commission, the Government of Madras state :—

"At this point we may refer to the question of the rearrangement of the provinces of India on a linguistic basis. This idea has much theoretically to commend it. But the practical difficulties seem to be conclusively against any attempt now to redivide British India into linguistic units. For an efficient federation of the type contemplated an essential condition is the existence in the components of a marked state consciousness. This state consciousness does not exist in the language areas. These areas have never been distinct states within the history of India. Were new Tamil, Andhra, Kerala, Karnataka provinces to be carved out of this presidency in obedience to this theory, a complete reorganization of the administrative machinery would be necessary. Villages, towns and even districts would have to forget old associations and orient themselves afresh. Further, apart from such obvious defects as the multiplication of departments to serve functions now performed throughout the presidency by one it is likely that serious difficulties of personnel would have to

be met. If we turn to political considerations, the difficulties are even greater. It has already been pointed out that the separation between British Indian territory and that of the various Indian States follows neither nationality, language nor geography. If we admit the linguistic province theory, we raise inevitably the question of the separate existence of the Indian States as they are at present. For example, a Kanarese province that lacked Mysore would be a jest; but, if the theory were to be accepted, would not the tendency grow up in British Kanara to look on Mysore as Karnataka Irredenta? Such problems abound."

7. The Government of Madras have also expressed the opinion that it would be, in any case, inexpedient to discuss the question of the formation of an Oriya Province except as part of the general proposal to remodel the provinces of British India on a linguistic basis.

8. We beg to invite attention to the following points against the redistribution of provinces on linguistic basis referred to in volume IV of the Memorandum presented by the Government of India to the Indian Statutory Commission :—

- (1) The division on linguistic or racial basis weakens Indian unity.
- (2) Results in increased overhead charges and leaves inadequate funds for the development or healthy growth of provincial institutions.
- (3) Historical, political and commercial conditions are of equal, if not of greater, importance than sentimental considerations of race and language in determining the boundaries of administrative divisions, nor can questions of land and water communications be ignored.
- (4) Purely administrative difficulties existing under the present distribution may be found susceptible of mitigation, if not removal, in other ways than by territorial redistributions, which necessarily entail inconveniences and unsettlement in administrators, litigants.
- (5) Unwise redistribution of provincial boundaries undertaken to meet the sentiments of a particular people may in the event arouse more discontent than exists to be allayed.

The general conclusion towards which these discussions have tended to lead, is that in no case can linguistic or racial principle be accepted as the sole test as supplying in itself the ultimate and final basis for territorial redistribution. Each proposal requires consideration on its merits with strict relation to the conditions of each. Territorial changes should be confined to those from which it can be shown that substantial benefit will be derived.

9. In a meeting held on the 15th November 1931, the Council of the All-India Muslim League, passed the following resolution :—"The council is of the opinion that the question of the reorganisation of the provinces should be taken up as a whole and not piecemeal."

10. Finally, we beg to submit that the question of redistribution of provincial boundaries on a linguistic or racial basis cannot and should not be

considered with reference to a bi-lingual district like Ganjam. *Status quo* should be maintained so far as Ganjam is concerned.

SECTION II.—*Historical considerations.*

11. If the history of Orissa or of Ganjam be examined, it becomes apparent that the pathetic phrase of the Oriya leaders describing Ganjam as dissociated from Orissa, "as a limb separated from the body", or the use of such expressions as "dismemberment of Orissa", "re-union of Ganjam with Orissa", "her dismembered condition at present", "this unnatural bifurcation, vivisection, and fragmentation of the country" which are used in the memorandum presented by the Raja Sahib of Parlakimidi to the Round Table Conference and in the other memorials presented by Oriya leaders are mere rhetoric intended to mislead the authorities. There was never such organic and vital connection between Ganjam and Orissa as the phrases above quoted imply,

- (a) in pre-historic times, or
- (b) in the days of Hindu sovereignty, or
- (c) under the Muslim rule, or
- (d) during the short-lived French supremacy, or
- (e) since the district came under the British Government.

The authors of the phrases above quoted cannot certainly suggest when, how, and by whom this limb of Ganjam was truncated from the body of Orissa.

12. From the time of the Mahabharata it clearly appears that there were two Kalingas, one always appearing in connexion with Vanga and the other as a part of southern India. Arjuna in his Bhupradakshana first visited Anga, Vanga and Kalinga and performed all the religious ceremonies in that tract. thereafter left the Brahmans at Kalingadwara, entered Kalinga and visited Mahendragiri. The Kalingadwara referred to in this connection in the Mahabharata is the natural boundary described by Hunter in his history of Orissa. This boundary is to be found even to-day. Hunter says, in his Orissa, Volume 1, pages 170 and 171, that the mountain spurs which run down to the sea south of the Chilka lake form a well defined boundary between Orissa and Ganjam.

13. In the Sabhaparvam (Rajasuyam) of the Mahabharata, Arjuna went for the establishment of domination to the north, Bhima to the east, and Sahadeva to the south. Bhima established his sovereignty over the territories in the east up to the sea coast. He conquered the king of Tamralipta. Tamralipta was the capital of Orissa in old times. He also conquered the kings that lived on the sea coast. Sahadeva exacted tributes from the Pandyas, the Dravidians, Udrakeralas, Andhras, and Kalingas. From this it is clear that the northern Kalinga which was Utkal was treated as a part of the northern India, while the southern Kalinga of which the northern limit is the Chilka lake, was treated as a part of the southern India or Deccan. This distinction between the northern Kalinga and the southern Kalinga was also maintained during the rule of the Hindu Rajas by collecting pilgrim tax from the pilgrims who visited Puri coming from below the natural boundary above referred to. Hunter states on page 172 of his Orissa, Volume 1 :—"The native

Government of Orissa practically acknowledged the natural boundary as the political one, treating as foreigners all devotees who came from the southern side of the Ganjam river, levying a ten per cent. higher tax from them. This distinction found legislative recognition in our earliest pilgrim Law—three years after the country passed under the British rule.”

14. The erection by Asoka of two pillars, one at Dhoili in Utkal and the other at Jaugada in the Ganjam District, clearly indicate that Utkal was one province and Ganjam was a part of another province at the time of Asoka. The inscription at Dhoili was addressed to his son and his agent, while the inscription at Jaugada was addressed to the Mahamantra (administrator) at Sampana or Sompetta.

15. During the time of the Hindu Rajas, it is clear that Orissa was ruled by the so-called Kesari kings, that Kangoda or southern Kosala which is situated to the north of Ganjam was ruled by Sailobhdya kings, and that the southern Kalinga of which the Ganjam District formed the northern part was ruled by the Ganga kings, and it is the Ganga kings that extended their dominion in the north over Kangoda and Utkal.

16. It will be seen from page 316 of Hunter's Orissa, Volume 1, that Orissa under the Lion-line (474-1132 A. D.) formed a strip of about 185 miles long by 60 broad extending from Khansbans river a little to the south of Balasore city, to the Rushikulya river and inland from the sea to the Tributary of Dhenkanal. It will also be seen from pages 317-319 of Hunter's Orissa, Volume 1, that under the Gajapati Dynasty (1132 to 1532 A. D.) the country south of Chilka formed a separate Division distinct from Orissa and that this southern Division refused to pay tribute and that the administration of the Gangetic line continued to be merely nominal over it. The following reference also appears on page 997 of Maltby's District Manual of Ganjam :—
“The wild nature of the country in Ganjam rendered their administration however merely nominal, and they were probably induced by these considerations to establish their own servants as Rajas or Lords of the Marches to keep the wild aboriginal tribes of Khonds and Savaras in check.”

17. The Oriyas of Ganjam District left their natural home Orissa, came to the Ganjam District as cultivators, priests, advisers and courtiers of the Oriya chiefs that were established on account of the relationship with the kings of Orissa as fiefs of the several territories in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts. The assertion that Ganjam is the natural home of Oriyas and that Telugus are domiciled settlers, is opposed to historical facts.

18. The Musalmans of Bengal conquered the northern portion of Orissa proper including Midnapur and the southern portion of Orissa proper became subject to the sovereignty of the Maharattas, while the Muhammadan sovereigns of Golkonda conquered the southern India up to the northern limits of Ganjam.

19. About 1571 A. D. a Muhammadan king from the south invaded the country up to the Chilka lake and he and his successors held for 180 years the district of Ganjam, which including the Ichchapuram province then known by the name of Chicacole Circar was controlled by the Nizam of Hyderabad. The principal seat of Government for this tract of country was Chicacole,

while Ichchhapuram was the seat of a Sub-Government (Ganjam Manual, page 99). The Chicacole Circar extended from the Godavari to the Chilka lake (Orme's History of Hindustan, Volume 1, page 335) and Ganjam was the last town in the Chicacole Circar (*vide* volume 2, page 361).

20. The Northern Circars passed for a brief period in the eighteenth century into the hands of the French and then finally came under the British rule in 1766 and still maintains its position.

21. To sum up the last three paragraphs, the Northern Circars came under the British rule in 1766, while Orissa was under the Maharatta rule and did not come under the British sovereignty until 1803. The Ganjam District has been a part of the Northern Circars throughout the British rule; and, prior to 1766, under the short-lived French rule as well as under the Muhammadan rule. Ganjam was a part of the Chicacole Circar and was controlled by the Mussalman authority from Hyderabad for about 180 years from about 1571 to 1753 when the Chicacole Circar, with the other Districts of the Northern Circars, was granted to the French by Salabat Jung, the same Nizam who ceded this country to the English six years later, though they did not take actual possession of it for seven years longer. It will thus be seen that Ganjam has for nearly four centuries of Muhammadan and European rule been an organic or integral part of the Northern Circars, even if we take out of consideration a similar position held by it under the Hindu rule for several centuries. Any disturbance of the prescription of such a long period will be keenly felt by us and is bound to provoke considerable discontent.

22. In paragraph 9 of the Memorandum presented by the Government of India to the Indian Statutory Commission on the subject of the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking peoples, they state that Ganjam did not form part of Orissa in the last four centuries. With reference to the statement that "Ganjam is known to have formed part of Kalinga which included Orissa proper," it is submitted that there were two independent Kingdoms of the name of Kalinga in ancient times; and Orissa formed part of the northern Kalinga, while Ganjam formed part of the southern Kalinga. The term Utkal was used to designate what is called "Orissa", and when it became current, the term Kalinga was used to signify Ganjam and part of Vizagapatam. Similarly, the statement that "in the 15th century the Gajapatis of Orissa still ruled in Ganjam" requires also a qualification, as this rule was nominal and even then Ganjam was treated as a separate entity different from Orissa as will be seen from the preceding paragraphs.

23. In paragraph 2 of the memorandum already referred to, the Government of India say:—"The authentic home of the Oriya race may well be said to be within what are now the three sea-board districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balasore." Again, they say in paragraph 3 of the same memorandum:—"As their power grew, their natural line of extension was in the low country round the sea board to the south, but against the Telugus they made little real headway. The mountain spurs, which run down to the sea on the south of the Chilka lake, formed a well-defined natural boundary which early tended to be accepted as a political boundary." In paragraph 7 of the memorandum it is stated that "In the year 1592 Man Singh, Akbar's Hindu general, annexed

Orissa to the Mogul Empire (the sea board districts of the present Orissa division being included in that definition, but not the District of Ganjam).

24. It will thus be seen that Ganjam has for more than four centuries been an organic or integral part of the Northern Circars, and that its transfer from Madras, instead of restoring a long lost limb of Orissa, will have the effect of excising a portion of the Circars and seeking to graft it on to Orissa of which it had never formed a part. Though historical connections between one province and another may, generally speaking, have no independent value, yet this argument must be of use as supporting other considerations that point in the same direction.

SECTION III.—*History of Oriya Movement.*

25. It is not due to any instance of administrative ineptitude or inefficiency, any miscarriage of justice, any social or economic disaster or hardship, or any kind of failure under the Madras Government that the Oriya leaders of Ganjam are agitating for its excision from the Madras Presidency. The idea is foreign in its inception. In the old days the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal governed not only the whole of Bengal but also Assam, Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa. Owing to its enormous charge, the Bengal Government could not cope efficiently with the great famine in Orissa in 1866 when half a million people perished. Then the Secretary of State suggested the advisability of relieving the Bengal Government by separating Assam and possibly Orissa. Ten years later, the idea of uniting all the Oriya tracts under one administration struck the leaders of Orissa. It took 25 years longer before this idea penetrated into Ganjam. It was there engineered by persons who came from Cuttack. One Mr. Nilamoni Vidya Ratno of Cuttack started an Oriya Weekly at Rambha and propagated the idea. The incorrect language census Statistics of 1901 which will be discussed presently, gave impetus to the movement and a petition was presented to the Government of India in 1903. It was on the strength of the incorrect statistics of 1901 that the Government of India made a reference to the Government of Madras in December 1903. In 1904 the Government of Madras strongly protested against the proposal on some specific grounds and also on the general ground that "it is useless to strive after administration on linguistic uniformity which both geographical and ethnological conditions combined with the ordinary course of trade and commerce and consequent commingling of races render absolutely incapable of satisfactory fulfilment." While the reference of the Government of India, No. 3678, dated the 3rd December 1903, was printed as Appendix III to the Memorandum of the Government of India, the reply dated the 20th June 1904 of the Government of Madras has not been published. So this reply is submitted as Appendix I to this Memorandum.

26. The National Congress passed the following Resolution in December 1903 :—

"That this Congress views with deep concern the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long-standing and are closely united by ethnological, legislative, social and administrative relations and the Congress deprecates the separation from Bengal of Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong divisions and portions of Chota Nagpur

divisions, and also the separation of the Districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam." Sir Andrew Fraser, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in his letter No. 2719-J. D., dated the 12th September 1904 opposed the transfer of the Madras Oriya peopled tracts on the ground that the Telugus in the District of Ganjam formed 28 per cent. of the population and the necessity of administering to the interests of this large population would give rise to immense difficulties even under Bengal. The Government of India dropped the proposal to transfer Ganjam from the Madras Presidency with the following observations :—" It is shown there that the transfer would give rise to serious difficulties in connection with the linguistic and racial conditions and the geographical conformation of the tract in question, that it would greatly complicate and confuse its judicial arrangements, and that it would place the administration of peculiar land revenue system in the hands of officers who would have no acquaintance with the principles on which it is based or with the language in which the bulk of its records are and must continue to be maintained."

27. In reply to a memorial presented by the Oriya leaders of Ganjam after the formation of Bihar and Orissa to add the Oriya-speaking tracts of Madras to that province, the Government of India stated in 1912 that the proposed union was "unnecessary and undesirable." The Oriya leaders approached Sir Arther Lawley and Lords Carmichael and Pentland and were informed that the question would not be reopened. In 1920 a resolution was moved in the Legislative Assembly by Mr. Sachchidananda Sinha in favour of the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts. The Government of India promised an enquiry and the resolution was not pressed.

28. On the 8th February 1927 Pandit Nilakantha Das moved a resolution in the Legislative Assembly for the amalgamation of all Oriya tracts under one local administration. The Home Member informed the house that the Governments, both of the Central Provinces and of the Madras Presidency, objected to any transfer of territories under their jurisdiction, while the Government of Bihar and Orissa wished to be assured that any territories which might be transferred to them should be financially solvent. He stated that, as a matter of practical politics, he thought that they must reject for the moment any idea of a separate administration for Orissa, and the question really to be decided was what could be done in the way of smaller modifications. He commented on the differences of opinion disclosed in the debate, and stated that, when Government had to choose between the numerous conflicting views on the fate of Orissa, it would be after the consideration of discussions in the local Legislative Councils. The Legislative Council at Madras has never passed any resolution regarding the transfer of any portion of the Ganjam District from the Madras Presidency.

SECTION IV.—*Report of the Philip and Duff Committee.*

29. In the resolution of the Government of India, Home Department, dated Simla, the 1st October 1924, a committee consisting of Mr. C. L. Philip, I.C.S., and A. C. Duff, I.C.S., was appointed to make a detailed enquiry on the spot regarding the attitude of Oriya inhabitants of the Madras Presidency towards the question of amalgamation of the tracts inhabited by them in Orissa. It will be seen from the terms of the reference that the enquiry was limited and one-sided in its scope.

30. The one-sided enquiry made by them does not justify the adverse inferences and conclusions they drew and expressed against the Telugus. While the authors of the report divide the preponderantly Oriya-speaking areas into two areas where the Oriya-speaking population is 50 to 75 per cent. and 75 and more per cent., they did not deal similarly with regard to the preponderantly Telugu areas and separately discuss the question of the three Taluks of Parlakimedi, Tekkali and Sompeta which contain less than 25 per cent. Oriya-speaking people. The expression that a majority of the inhabitants of Parlakimedi Estate are Telugus, may mean even 51 per cent. The authors of the report used the expression, 'predominantly Oriya Taluks' but nowhere 'predominantly Telugu Taluks'.

31. It is stated as follows in paragraph 6 of the report :—"Parlakimedi town itself is divided between Oriyas and Telugus. Among the Oriyas of the town, where there are important educational institutions and where the majority of educated people of the Estate is congregated, the desire for amalgamation is certainly unanimous. This desire was manifested at an enthusiastic meeting which we attended in the Raja's College. There was no counter demonstration in the town itself, though that does not mean that there is no opposition. There has been little or no counter-propaganda anywhere, whereas the numerous amalgamation societies have been most active throughout the district in securing support to their cry for union with Orissa." These remarks are most uncharitable when, from the communiqués issued by them on the subject, we were given to understand that the Telugus and other communities had no part or lot in the enquiry. Consequently, the Andhras avoided any counter deputations and demonstrations which might embarrass the committee and might strain the cordial relations existing between the communities. The Telugu people of Parlakimedi held a meeting at Parlakimedi on the 5th June 1926 when a branch of the Ganjam Defence League was formally started against the amalgamation of any part of the Ganjam District with Orissa, and passed resolutions. They not only protested against the views expressed with regard to Parlakimedi Estate in the report, but also passed the following significant resolution :—"That it respectfully requests the Raja Sahib of Parlakimedi, whose raiyats are largely Telugus, to patronise this branch of the Ganjam Defence League and join in their representations to Government." They held another meeting again at Parlakimedi on the 3rd October 1931 and passed a number of resolutions, but did not repeat their appeal to the Raja of Parlakimedi apparently on account of his present attitude in the matter, although it will be seen from paragraph 5 of the report of the Philip-Duff Committee that the Raja thought that he might have some trouble with his Telugu raiyats.

32. The remarks made in the report in dealing with the tracts where the Telugus preponderate will strike every impartial reader as extraordinary. While the authors of the report admit the artificial nature of the Oriya movement so far as the masses are concerned, they apply different principles to the tracts where the Oriyas and Telugus are respectively in majority. While stating in paragraph 11 of their report that they have "consistently avoided the expression of any opinion regarding the feasibility or desirability of amalgamation", we are pained and surprised to observe that they go beyond the terms of the reference and state as follows :—"Our conclusion as far as

Parlakimedi is concerned is that the educated Oriyas desire amalgamation and that, though the majority of the inhabitants of the Estate are Telugus, they really do not care much what government they are under provided they keep their lands. Comparatively few Oriyas know Telugu, the language difficulty for them is, therefore, real. But very many of the Telugus know Oriya. They are by common consent more intelligent, more pushing and better cultivators, more capable of adopting themselves to possible changes, and therefore less likely to suffer from the comparatively small inconveniences which form the burden of the Oriya complaint. In fine, if the major portion of Ganjam including most of Zamindari areas is taken from Madras, it is only natural that the Parlakimedi Estate should go with the majority, and we cannot find that the Telugu inhabitants anticipate much inconvenience from the possible change." Their statements that "comparatively few Oriyas (in the Parlakimedi Taluk) know Telugu, the language difficulty for them is, therefore, real. But very many of the Telugus know Oriya" are quite incorrect. In fact, they are the reverse of the truth. In the southern part of the District including the Parlakimedi Taluk, the Oriyas, as a rule, know Telugu well, while the Telugus, as a rule, do not know Oriya. The Collector of Ganjam reported to Government in his letter R. Dis. No. 9112/21, dated the 15th November 1921: "The Oriyas in these Estates (Parlakimedi, Tarla, Mandasa, Jalandra and Budarasingi) practically all know Telugu well." The observation that "the Telugus do not care much what Government they are under provided they keep lands" is based on the isolated statements of two ignorant Telugu men probably under the influence of Parlakimedi Samsthanam authorities, while a similar inference is not drawn in the case of Oriyas when, as stated in paragraph 11 of the report, "a few educated Oriyas opposed the movement." The ryots of Parlakimedi protested against the above view expressed by the Committee in the public meeting held in June 1926. So far as the masses are concerned, the Telugus of Ganjam are not "more intelligent, more pushing and better cultivators, more capable of adapting themselves to possible changes" than Oriyas.

33. In paragraph 7 of the report they state :—"In reality the inhabitants along the coast even further north-east than Berhampur are largely Telugus, and in Berhampur town itself there are more Telugus than Oriyas, but in land the percentage is much more in favour of Oriyas and it is obvious that no line of demarcation within this area is feasible." If a line of demarcation is not feasible, the *status quo* must be maintained.

34. There are many incorrect statements in paragraph 10 of the report dealing with "Reasons given for the desire for amalgamation with Orissa". A criticism of this paragraph is annexed to this memorandum as Appendix II.

SECTION V.—*Views of the Government of Madras.*

35. The views expressed by the Government of Madras in 1904 are found in Appendix I already referred to.

36. The attention of the Government of Madras was drawn to the debate in the Legislative Assembly on Mr. Sinha's resolution above referred to. In 1922 the Government of Madras referred to certain administrative objections—for instance, the distribution of other languages within the Oriya-speaking tracts of the Madras Presidency; the intimate relations between forest areas

and the plains ; and the absence of communications to the east and the north. Lastly, there appeared to the Government of Madras to be strong financial objections to forming a Province consisting only of Oriya-speaking tracts ; they stated that the cost of administration of the agency tracts amounted annually to a sum of about Rs. 30,00,000-0-0, of which only a small part was met by the revenue from that area. The Government of Madras then expressed the opinion that they did not consider that it would be to the advantage of the country as a whole to transfer the Oriya-speaking tracts of Madras Presidency either to an Oriya province or sub-province or to the Province of Bihar and Orissa. They did not consider that a commission of enquiry to go into the whole question would justify the expenditure which would be involved.

37. In 1925, on the publication of the Philip-Duff Committee enquiry report, the Government of Madras were again asked for an expression of their views. After some preliminary comment on the difficulties inherent in any linguistic redistribution of Provinces, the Government of Madras stated that the report prepared by Mr. Philip and Mr. Duff gave the Governor in Council no reason to change the views expressed in 1922. The Government of Madras considered that the value of enquiry made by Messrs. Philip and Duff was much discounted by a defect in the terms of the reference given to them in that they were required to ascertain the views only of the Oriyas, and not of the other elements in the local population whose views they were unable to take into account. The Government of Madras stated that the area in which the Oriyas largely predominated was small, and with the possible exception of the part lying between the left bank of the Rushikulya river and the Orissa border, was inextricably intermingled with the areas predominantly Telugu. The Government of Madras then recounted the following obstacles which in their opinion made the transfer of any portion of Ganjam District undesirable :—

- (a) there is no intimate relationship between the Oriyas of Ganjam and the Oriyas of Orissa. In manners and customs and even in language, both spoken and written, there are considerable differences ;
- (b) there is no separate or distinct portion of the district which is peopled entirely by Oriyas. Even in parts of the District where as many as 75 per cent. of the population speak Oriya, Oriya-speaking villages are intermingled with others in which only Telugu is spoken ;
- (c) The statistics of language are misleading. Telugu people living in villages more largely populated by Oriyas may be obliged to speak Oriya, but they are not Oriyas and should not be so classified ;
- (d) the aboriginal tribes in the agency tracts of the District have no linguistic or ethnic affinities with the Oriya population ;
- (e) the mass of the Oriya population of Ganjam is not sufficiently advanced to be competent to judge where its interests lay.

In paragraph 10 of the report Messrs. Philip and Duff have enumerated certain grievances represented by the Oriyas in the Madras Presidency. The Government of Madras stated that they were taking steps to palliate their

disabilities as far as practicable, notably with reference to the use of the Oriya language in public offices and the employment of Oriya officials in the public service. They considered that the practical solution of the problem lay in further improving existing conditions, and not in creating fresh difficulties by amalgamation with a population and with an administration with which the Oriyas of the Madras Presidency are unfamiliar. The Governor in Council considered therefore that the balance of advantage was wholly on the side of leaving things as they are, and added that the Madras Ministers fully concurred in that view.

38. In 1926 the Government of Madras adhered very strongly to the objections which it had maintained in 1904, in 1922, and in 1925 to the transfer of any portion of the Madras Presidency. The Government of Madras also stated that the views of the Governor in Council were shared by the Honourable Ministers, one of whom being a native of the Ganjam District and one of its representatives in the Legislative Council, was in a position to speak with special authority.

39. The Government of Madras have also stated that the Taluks proposed for transfer were determined by the language test alone. But this test is not conclusive. The real test is that of caste, sect and religious associations ; and, if it be applied, it is likely that a much smaller area can alone claim to be Oriya. Again, the Ganjam agency tract is not an Oriya. The chief tribes are Khonds who are Dravidian and Savaras who are Kolarian.

The Oriya inhabitants of the Agency are mere birds of passage. If only the southern part of Ramagiri is left to Ganjam, the Savaras will be "dis-membered" in the attempt to amalgamate the Oriya area. For these reasons, the Government of Madras are definitely opposed to the proposal for the transfer of taluks from the Ganjam to the Orissa division of Bihar and Orissa.

SECTION VI.—*Census Statistics.*

40. Whenever the Oriya leaders speak or write about this subject, they ignore the available Census statistics of population by race and caste ; and, even with regard to language, they quote the Census statistics of 1901 ignoring those of the later Censuses of 1911 and 1921 ; and, by their speeches and writings, they try to mislead the authorities and the general public who have no time to study the Census reports with the belief that Ganjam, with the exception of the southernmost taluk of Chicacole, is Oriya country. In the memorandum circulated last year by the Raja of Parlakimidi to the members of the Round Table Conference, the Raja states that the number of Oriyas "shows a reduction from 1,274,975 in 1901 to 958,661 in 1911 and that there is no explanation available for such glaring diminution." He then quotes the remarks of the Superintendent of the Census Operations, Madras, in 1911, omitting a material portion of the report in which Mr. Molony draws the inference that the figure of the earlier Census, 1901, is wrong. In the first place, the figures quoted by the Raja are those of *Oriya-speaking* people, but not of Oriyas. Even in 1901 the number of Oriyas according to race and caste was only 766,712 and not 1,274,975 as stated by the Raja. I shall quote the Superintendent's remarks on the subject in full :—"The proportional variation in the case of Ganjam is so remarkable as to suggest either careless enumeration at one census or the other ; or else a possibility of deliberate misrepresentation by Telugu or

Oriya enumerators not uninfluenced by the contentions, which prevailed some five or six years back between the Telugus and the Oriyas of the district. The probability that the error lies in the earlier enumeration is strengthened by an examination as to the proportion of the District's Hindu population contributed by Telugu and Oriya castes respectively of which examination the result may be seen below. It is impossible that in 1901, when the Telugu castes were well nigh as strongly represented in Ganjam as the Oriya, the disparity as to language in use should be so great."

" Number per 1,000 of population who speak

Language.	1901.	1911.
Oriya	755	512
Telugu	203	449

Proportion per 1,000 of Ganjam population who are of

	1901.	1911.
Telugu castes	466	453
Oriya castes	473	262."

In the above extract Mr. Molony gives reasons for holding that the language statistics of the 1901 Census are incorrect. The Census figures of 1901 showed that 75 per cent. of the total population of the Ganjam District (plains) were Oriya-speaking people, while the previous two Censuses and the later two Censuses showed that they were only about 50 per cent. Seven years before the 1911 Census was taken the Government of Madras had reported in 1904 that the language statistics of 1901 were incorrect, giving reasons for arriving at this decision.

41. The Census figures of 1931 are not available. The following statement shows the total population and the number of Oriya-speaking people of the Ganjam District (plains) according to the previous five Censuses :—

Year.	Total population.	No. of Oriya-speaking people.	Percentage of Oriyas to the total population.
1881	1,503,301	748,964	50
1891	1,589,477	797,132	52
1901	1,689,142	1,274,975	75
1911	1,870,823	958,661	51
1921	1,835,562	931,790	51

42. A glance at the above figures will at once show that the number of Oriya-speaking people returned in 1901 is extraordinary as compared with the figures returned at the two earlier and at the two later Censuses ; and it was on the strength of this extraordinary figure that the Government of India started their enquiry in 1903. Commenting on the incorrectness of the " language " figures of 1901 Census, the Government of Madras reported in 1904 as follows :— " The first cause of the inaccuracy of the Census Statistics is the desire of the Telugus to share in the special advantages accorded by Government to Oriyas. The School fees charged for the education of the children of the Oriyas are half of those paid by Telugus and others. As the Government desire to employ Oriyas in the public offices to a greater extent than at present, it is thus believed to be easier for an Oriya than for a Telugu to enter the service of the

Government. The second cause is that, as most of the enumerators in 1901 were Oriyas, it is probable that they entered as 'Oriya-speaking' all persons who answered their questions in Oriya. This error would have a great effect as, in tracts where there are both Oriyas and Telugus, a large proportion of the population can speak both languages. Thirdly, several Telugu castes, such as Kapus, Komatis, Kalingis, Reddikis, etc., who live in tracts where Oriya is the prevailing language, and speak Oriya as well as their mother tongue Telugu, were probably entered as speaking the Oriya language, the enumerators making no enquiries as to the language spoken by them at home. An example of this was noticed before the Census report was published. The Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations, Berhampur, states that at the time of tabulation he found that a large number of Reddikas (a Telugu caste which finds no place in Table XIII Castes) had been returned by the enumerators as speaking Oriya. As, to his own knowledge, this was contrary to the facts, he made a reference to the Provincial Census Superintendent, who issued orders for the tabulation to proceed in accordance with the Schedules. The Collector of Ganjam reports that there is reason to believe that the movement in favour of the proposed transfer was on foot in a quiet way before the last Census, and thus may have influenced some of the Oriya enumerators in entering in the returns particulars of the parent tongue. In a tract where Oriya and Telugu are widely spoken, it is natural to expect that the mother tongue of the Oriya castes will be Oriya, and that of Telugu castes will be Telugu. The statistics showing the distribution of the population by castes should therefore furnish some indication of the prevalence of the two languages. On examining those statistics, it is found that 63,034 Pallis, who speak Telugu and reside on the coast, have been treated as Tamils by caste. Adding these to be recorded population of Telugu castes, we find that the number of Telugus by race in 1901 including the Telugu-speaking Pallis was 818,417, and the number of Oriyas was 766,712. The inference from these figures is that Telugu should be more prevailing in the Ganjam District as a parent tongue than Oriya." The Census reports of 1881 and 1891 do not show the population of the District according to race and caste. They were shown for the first time in the Census report of 1901. According to this report, the actual figures are noted below :—

Number of persons according to race and caste.

Year.	Telugus.	Oriyas.
1901	765,383	766,712

43. The Census figures of 1911 and 1921 do not include castes which contribute less than one per cent. of the population. They are, however, approximate enough for purposes of comparison. These figures are quoted below :—

Number of persons according to race and caste.

Year.	Telugus.	Oriyas.
1911	842,415	475,729
1921	844,620	405,998

From the above figures it is clear that the Telugus in the District number about double the Oriyas. It is further believed that, in the northern parts of the District, Kalinga, Komatis, Velamas, Kapus, Kalingis, Reddikis, etc., who are really Telugus have been returned as Oriyas. In his report on the

Census of 1901 Mr. Stuart states as follows :—" In the matter of affording information as to the nationality of the people the language returns are as a rule inferior to the caste and birthplace statistics, for a man drops the language of his mother country more easily than he loses his nationality." We beg to submit that in deciding the proper *locale* of a people the race they belong to is more important than the language they talk. The latter is an accident : it may change under changed circumstances. The former is a vital and essential matter of blood, tradition and custom, and cannot be adopted or discarded at will. One may repudiate his language but not his birth. Hence the argument in favour of race should prevail over that of language.

44. The following figures of the population according to race and caste of the Ganjam District plains as per the Census of 1921 are taken from pages 28 and 29 of the Gazetteer of Ganjam, Volume II :—

Oriyas	..	..	..	..	..	643,460
Telugus	..	..	..	..	..	836,383
Other Madras languages—						
Khonds, etc	..	..	..	..	..	88,419
Musalmans	..	..	..	..	..	3,838
Indian Christians	..	..	..	..	..	1,794
Others	..	..	..	..	..	263,741
Total						1,837,635

In this table errors were committed

- (1) in omitting Kshatriyas under Telugu castes and showing them along with Khonds and Savaras under other Madras languages ;
- (2) in showing Reddi and Pondara Telugu castes under Oriyas ; and
- (3) in omitting no less than nineteen castes under Telugus.

45. We requested the Government to have maps prepared for all the ten taluks in dispute of the Ganjam District plains, showing Telugu and Oriya villages in separate colours both according to the mother tongue and according to race and caste, and that copies of these maps and the village Census statistics showing Oriyas and Telugus separately, according to the mother tongue and according to race and caste, may be supplied to us before the Orissa Boundary Committee commences its enquiry with regard to Ganjam District ; but this request has not been complied with.

SECTION VII.—Administrative and Legal Difficulties.

46. If the suggested change be carried out, the law of personal rights, the common law of land tenures, the enactments relating to the rights of Zamindars, Jagirdars, Shrotriendars, Proprietors, Raiyatwari Pattadars, Inamdars and Tenants, the laws relating to the recovery of rent and revenue, all other special and local laws enacted by the Madras Government with special reference to local conditions and habits of the people living in the Madras Presidency including Ganjam, the methods of administration to some extent,

and many other matters specially suited to the localities, will have to be dislocated. Again the common and customary law of land tenures obtaining in Orissa differs from that obtaining in Ganjam. The raiyatwari system of Ganjam requires a special knowledge of the regulations relating to remission, irrigation, the village system and other matters closely touching the daily life of the raiyat. If the system is to be administered to the contentment of the people, it must be by officers imbued with its principles and trained throughout their services in its methods. The raiyats in Ganjam pay the revenue due to the Government in four kists, while it is collected in two kists in Orissa. The village offices are hereditary in Ganjam, while the hereditary system is not observed in Orissa. The system of temporary settlements prevailing in Orissa is unknown in Madras. The Revenue and Rent Recovery Acts of Orissa and Madras vary. Acts relating to the administration of Municipalities and Local Boards are different, as also those relating to hereditary village servants, the land cess and water cess, etc. What is more, Ganjam with its peculiar laws and customs would form but a small proportion of the proposed province of Orissa; and for the administration of this small area, the officers of that province would have to acquire a special knowledge of the laws and customs and would in any case lack that practical experience which is required for their proper administration. Further, there is the danger of the laws, etc., becoming stereotyped unless the modifications introduced from time to time by the Madras Legislature as also the bye-laws, circular orders, etc., be also extended to Ganjam as they are made. This would in effect mean administration of Ganjam by Orissa second-hand through Madras. If, again, such new measures or modifications do not commend themselves to the Government of Orissa, they will have to enact such modifications as in their opinion are necessary in the interests of Ganjam for the efficient administration of which they will be responsible; and this would again add to the labours of the Government of Orissa. The large number of Telugus throughout the tract and the fact that the bulk of the Government records have been kept in Telugu will render it essential for the officers employed to acquire a knowledge of Telugu, which is far more *difficult to learn than Oriya*.

47. If various laws, regulations, and Acts which are now in force in Ganjam, notifications and rules having the force of law and standing orders of the Board of Revenue, be not adopted after the transfer, and if the Orissa laws be introduced into the District, Ganjam will suffer seriously, and many valuable rights which have sprung up under the existing enactments will be imperilled and the uncertainty liable to be introduced by the change will be out of all proportion to the supposed benefits of the contemplated linguistic union, and would create a good deal of unnecessary confusion where peace and order prevail. Again, as Ganjam with its peculiar laws and customs would form a small portion of Orissa, its needs are most likely to be neglected, as it cannot hope to have an adequate representation. If sufficient knowledge of the complicated revenue system of Madras including Ganjam be wanting in the gazetted officers employed in Ganjam or in their superiors, the interests of the raiyats cannot fail to be prejudiced. Imperfect control of the subordinates, delay, intrigue, and consequent hardship to the landholding class will follow. No system of land revenue, least of all the Madras system, will stand the strain of being carried on by officers who have but an imperfect knowledge of its principles.

SECTION VIII.—*Impracticability of Amalgamation.*

48. Assuming, for the sake of argument, that a redistribution of provinces on a racial or linguistic basis will bring about the prosperity, contentment and happiness of the people, no case can be made out for the proposed transfer of the Ganjam district to an Oriya Province. So far as Ganjam district is concerned, the Telugus are in a majority. With regard to the occupation of territory, all the area along the whole length of the 100 miles of the sea-coast to a depth of 15 miles is inhabited by the Telugus, and the hills and slopes are occupied by Khonds, who in common with Telugus are of the Dravidian (Turanian) stock and by Savaras who are of the Kolarian stock. The tract of the country between is Oriya to the extreme north, mixed at the middle, and Telugu to the south. As for the language, the Oriyas residing in parts of the district like Parlakimidi, Tekkali and Sompeta Taluks speak both Oriya and Telugu, while the Telugus that live in parts of the district like Goomsur, Purushottapur Aska and Surada speak both the languages. In fact, the intermingling of the races has advanced so far that one not only has been speaking the language of the other but has also adopted the habits, customs and manners of the other. Thus the division of Ganjam on the basis of race or language presents insurmountable difficulties. Again, if Taluks are taken into consideration, the Telugus are in a great majority in the Taluks of Parlakimidi, Tekkali and Sompeta, while it is understood that many Zamindars and other Oriyas have consented to the proposed transfer under the influence of the Raja of Kanika and other leaders of Orissa on the assumption that the whole of the district, with the single exception of Chicacole Taluk, will be transferred to Orissa. Again, between the Rushikulya and Bahuda rivers, Telugus, are in a majority in the towns of Berhampur, Ichchhapuram, Chatrapur and Gopalapur. The Telugus have developed these four towns to their present importance, have sunk much capital and have the largest stake in them. If a referendum be made to the residents of these four towns to ascertain their wishes, it is certain that the residents will, by an overwhelming majority, vote against amalgamation with Orissa. Again, more than half the Estates owned by the Oriya Zamindars and Proprietors are mostly peopled by the Telugus. The Rajas of Vizianagaram and Bobbili and the Rani of Wadhwan of the Vizagapatam district possess large landed estates in this district. Besides, there are other Telugu landed proprietors even in the northern part of the district. In this part of the district which lies to the north of the Rushikulya, Telugu community like the Military class of Telagas, the mercantile class of Kalinga Komaties, etc., have large vested interests. In these parts there are a large number of villages containing a fairly good proportion of Telugus, both in the Government Taluks of Goomsur and in the several Zamindari and Proprietary Estates. In the Khallikota and Atagada Estates there are about fifty Telugu villages. In the Zamindaries of Bodogada, Chinnakimidi and Serugada there are a good number of Telugu villages. Even in the small Estate of Biridi, there are as many as twenty-three Telugu villages. There are Telugu villages also in the small Estates of Humma and Palur. The two communities are so intermingled that it is difficult to say that a particular portion is Oriya or Telugu.

49. A glance at the map will show the impossibility of easy communication between Ganjam and Orissa. Ganjam is flanked on the north and west

by high ranges of hills. It has every facility for easy intercourse with districts south of it and that is why it has always been a part of southern India from time immemorial.

50. In the Agency tracts, the Oriyas form only 36, 31, and 22 per cent. respectively in the Taluks of Ramagiri, Balliguda and Udayagiri. There is no cultural, racial or linguistic affinity between the aboriginal inhabitants of these areas and the Oriyas. The former form a distinct factor and should continue under the administration of Madras which by long experience is well equipped by tradition and otherwise to provide for personal rule in those areas through their agents. Fitures and rebellions which are not uncommon in those tracts can be better dealt with by a resourceful and powerful administration like that of Madras than by the new economically poor administration of Orissa. In this connexion, we beg to invite the attention of the Committee to the following remarks of the Government of Madras in Appendix 1 :—

“ As a precautionary measure, it is necessary to have Reserve Police forces on the plains ready to proceed to the Agency tracts, if necessary, in addition to the reserves maintained in the hill stations. The most suitable places for the location of these reserves are in the Vizagapatam district and in Godavari whence they can proceed quickly to the hill tracts. In the event of disturbances in the latter, the Government of Bengal would be compelled to call on the Government of Madras to assist with its Police as in former times it has been found necessary to apply to this Government for help in connection with disturbances in Bastar, Kalahandi and Nayagarh ”.

51. There are cogent reasons why the hill tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam should not be transferred. Several Zamindars in Vizagapatam have large tracts in the Agency attached to their estates in the plains. If the proposed separation be effected, it will entail great hardship on those Zamindars, as they will be subjected to two different administrations. If, for this and other weighty considerations which it is unnecessary to dwell upon at length, the Vizagapatam Agency be excluded, the argument in favour of the transfer on linguistic considerations will lose much of its weight, as it will practically shut out from the linguistic union about four lakhs of the Oriya speaking people.

52. The contention about the so-called cultural affinity between the Oriyas of Ganjam and of Orissa is untenable in view of the absence of any social intercourse or relationship between the two peoples, and it is notorious that even the language spoken and written and the linguistic peculiarities in Orissa are different from the language spoken and written in Ganjam.

53. If the proposed change be carried into effect, Ganjam will have to be split up into two portions, one under the Madras Government and the other under the Government of the proposed Orissa province ; and the effect of this will be to efface altogether memories and even the name of a district which was lovingly cherished by the people for a long time. Such a transfer will entail a change in the *locales* of official and business centres of the district causing immense loss in a variety of ways.

54. All the Telugus of the Ganjam District are opposed to the proposed amalgamation. There are as many as 573,417 Telugu speaking people according to the Census of 1921 in the ten Taluks proposed to be transferred from the Ganjam District plains, while the real number of Telugus according to race and caste is about 50 per cent. higher. The other communities including Muhammadans numbering 67,563 besides Oriyas do not favour the proposed transfer. Undoubtedly there is united opposition among the Telugus, while there is no unanimity amongst the Oriyas regarding the proposed amalgamation. The Oriyas who are opposed to the transfer do not come forward, because those that dare to think, write or speak against the proposed transfer are cried down to shame in the eyes of their community, and the religious instincts and superstitions of the masses are worked upon in the name of the sacred Jagannath to create a liking for union with Orissa.

SECTION IX.—*Proposed Amalgamation not beneficial to Oriyas.*

55. Orissa is admittedly a very poor country. It is subject to frequent visitations of famines and floods. Union of Ganjam with such a poor country is not likely to prove beneficial to the Oriyas or other communities inhabiting the district. The Government of Madras is prosperous and is spending Rs. 4-3-1 yearly for each of us for our education, sanitation, medicine and general administration. The Bihar and Orissa Government spends Rs. 1-12-9 per head. Please see page 233 of Volume II of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission. Orissa alone cannot perhaps spend even half of it. If Ganjam be transferred to Orissa, the Government may not be able to maintain the present facilities for education, medicine, etc., and, in any case, no improvements can be effected by them with the result that all the inhabitants of the transferred area including Oriyas will suffer. The starving millions of Orissa have been inducing the Oriyas of Ganjam to join them only to alleviate their sufferings at their cost. The talk of all round racial progress and resuscitation of ancient culture is a delusion. The contemplated improvements to the Rushikulya Project and other irrigation works may not be executed for a long time. The Government of Madras have always evinced special interest in the solution of the Oriya problem by the adoption of liberal measures; such as, charging only half fees in schools and colleges, instituting scholarships for the special benefit of the Oriyas and preferring the Oriyas in the distribution of official patronage. In the last generation they have made rapid strides in their education in English and Vernacular and in their representation in public services and Local Boards and Councils. The fact that Oriya language was recognised by the University of Madras as long ago as 1873, while the University of Calcutta ignored it until 1903, shows the interest taken by the Madras authorities in the progress of Oriyas. The number of pupils reading Oriya in schools in the Madras Presidency rose from 32,715 in 1906-07 to 77,617 in 1929-1930. In 1890 there were only two Oriya officials, the Oriya Translator and the Khond Interpreter, now, nearly half of the office staff is manned by Oriyas. Within the last decade they have risen to the posts of District Collector, Deputy Collector, District Munsif, District Educational Officer, District Health Officer and to other positions of trust and responsibility. Three of the four elected members from the district in the Provincial Legislative Council are Oriyas. If the district be transferred to Orissa, the Oriyas of the District

will lose the special concessions they now enjoy under the Madras Government, as their distinction would be lost among the rest of the Oriya population and they would not have that incentive and facilities for availing themselves of the higher education which they now have. The raiyats of all communities are likely to lose in course of time the occupancy rights which have been secured to them by the Madras Estates Land Act I of 1908.

SECTION X.—*Proposed Amalgamation highly injurious to other Communities.*

56. For the proper administration of a country, the Government should possess a special knowledge of its people, their language, customs and manners. Whereas the Madras Government has grown used to the administration of the Oriyas, the Government of the proposed province of Orissa will possess no knowledge of the Telugus who will be completely out of their element in the new province, and it is not likely that their language will be recognised by that Government. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal opposed the transfer of Ganjam in 1904 on the ground that the necessity of administering to the interests of the large population of Telugus in the district would give rise to immense difficulties under a new Government. The Oriyas number 15,73,942 in the Madras Presidency. Their language is recognised in Courts and other Public offices and in the daily traffic of social and commercial life. They, their rulers and their neighbours have known one another for centuries. If in these circumstances the Oriyas consider themselves to be a foreign unit and a neglected body, it is not difficult to forecast the fate of the Telugus of Ganjam if they be transferred to Orissa where they will, in point of numbers, be scarcely appreciable amongst the millions of the Orissa population. We beg to submit that it could never be the wish or intention of the Government of India to inflict such a serious injury on their Telugu subjects who have as Counsellors, as Civil servants, and as soldiers rendered loyal and conspicuous service to Government in this very district, and have helped not a little in the arduous labours by which the Madras Government have evolved order and law out of the state of lawless disorder in which Ganjam was handed to the British power. Telugu is universally spoken along the littoral and the chief trade and commerce of the district is carried on by Telugu speaking people. The traders and merchants who visit the hill tracts are mostly Telugus by caste. Most of the trade from Aska and Goomsur side is to Vizianagaram, Vizagapatam and other places in the Northern Circars; and in view of the opening of the Vizagapatam harbour, the transfer of any portion of the district will seriously jeopardise the commercial and industrial interests of the district as a whole. The important silk cloth industry of the district is in the hands of Telugu weavers. A Medical college and an Engineering college have been established at Vizagapatam. An Andhra University has also been established. The Telugus of the District cannot take advantage of these institutions if the district be transferred. If the district be tacked on to a poor province, it will suffer much by way of paucity of funds for the improvement of the communications in the district, for the spread of education amongst the masses, for improving the sanitation in rural areas and for providing more irrigational facilities.

57. The tendency of the Oriya community to combine whether for good or bad is well known and we therefore apprehend that the existing animosity

sities between the Oriya and Telugu races will be intensified by the transfer of a section of the Telugus to Orissa.

58. It is a well-recognised fact that, in the case of a minority like the Telugus in the future Oriya province, education has to be imparted in their vernacular. There is no guarantee that such facilities will be afforded to the Telugus that may be transferred to Orissa. In the last month or two a few Oriya leaders have been openly stating that, in the proposed province of Orissa, they will not tolerate a Telugu problem similar to the Oriya problem which, for several decades, the Government of Madras have tackled and successfully solved by granting liberal concessions to the Oriyas who form a minority in this Presidency. The Oriyas have openly said that they will not provide even for the elementary education of the Telugus in their mother tongue, that they will not permit the use of Telugu in offices and Courts in the Ganjam district, and that they will concentrate their efforts on absorbing the Telugus which means the extinction of the Telugu race as such. We thought that all this was the irresponsible talk of a few extremists; but we are pained and surprised to see the following in a statement published at page 12 of the "Hindu" of the 19th November 1931 by the Raja of Chikati, President of the Ganjam Oriya Separate Province Committee:—"We are anxious to develop the culture of our race in the proposed Oriya Province; and creating problems of minority, particularly in our border lands, will be *prima facie* unhealthy and undesirable."

59. Repeated attempts made by the Government of Bihar and Orissa to improve the lot of raiyats proved infructuous, as the landlords declined to recognise the right of transfer in raiyats, holdings and the rights of the raiyats to trees grown by them on their holdings. The raiyats in the Ganjam district enjoy these rights and are likely to lose them in course of time if they are transferred to Orissa.

60. The Government of Madras on account of long association and administrative experience are able to make necessary arrangements for the satisfactory governance of the Oriya minority in this district; but it is extremely doubtful whether the new Oriya Province with its slender financial resources which have been found inadequate for the needs of its administration as it stands, will make necessary provision for the Telugu speaking people when the limits are so fixed as to include them in it. It is not desirable that any portion of Ganjam district should be included in the new Oriya province where the administrative standard is the lowest in the whole of India. The constitutional advance mostly depends upon sound finances and it is undesirable that Ganjam which is now enjoying a high standard of administration under the Government of Madras should be transferred to Orissa.

61. Having regard to the slender resources of this Orissa province it can never have a High Court and a University established in the near future and to deprive the Ganjam district of the advantages of the High Court at Madras and the Andhra University at Vizagapatam will work a great hardship. It is not desirable that a permanent High Court should be replaced by a Circuit Court which sits at Cuttack. Nor is it desirable that the various portions of the Oriya province should get affiliated to the surrounding Universities for its

cultural development. There is no system of the trial of criminal cases by jury in Orissa division, whereas the people of Ganjam now enjoy the benefit of such trials. The people of Ganjam would not like to exchange their present position under a Governor from England to an infant minor Province under a Civilian Governor.

62. The Taluks of Berhampur and Chatrapur are the most important Taluks in the district. In these Taluks the Telugus take a predominant part in educational and cultural progress and in commercial and industrial occupations. In this area there is one Municipality (Berhampur) and three Union Boards (Ichchhapuram, Gopalapur and Chatrapur). In these towns the Telugus predominate and it is they that pay about 75 per cent. of the taxes including income-tax and local taxes. These will really be so many Ulsters in the administration of Local Self-Government in the contemplated province if these should be added. Any change in respect of Berhampur and Chatrapur Taluks would be unjust to the Telugus.

63. It would be highly injurious to the hill tribes to place them under an Oriya administration. As the Oriyas were exploiting the hill tribes living in the Agency tracts, the Agency tracts interest and land transfer Act No. 1 of 1917 was passed in order to regulate the rate of interest and the transfer of land in the Agency tracts. While the legislation was under consideration, Messrs. L. H. Arndt, G. F. Paddison and A. G. Leach sent reports on the subject. From their reports it will be seen that, wherever the Oriyas have settled, they have exploited the resources of the country to the prejudice of the natives, that they did not strive in the least to work for the uplift of the natives, but on the other hand did all that was in their power to rob the natives of the fruits of their labour, that nothing has been done by them to ameliorate the condition of the Savaras and Kois among whom they went to live, and that, as most of the Oriya settlers live in the hilly tracts without their families for good many months in the year, they in no small degree contribute to the low morality of the hill women. We request that the original records may be called for and perused.

SECTION XI.—*Financial Considerations.*

64. We are not directly concerned with the question as to whether the proposed Province of Orissa is or is not financially possible except in so far as to show that we should not, against our will, be forcibly transferred from a prosperous to a poor Province. In the memorandum submitted by the Government of Bihar and Orissa to the Indian Statutory Commission, there are two chapters, one on "the financial position of Bihar Orissa", and the other on "the financial aspects of Orissa Province". From the former chapter it will be seen that Bihar and Orissa is the poorest Province in India and that its incidence of revenue per mille of population is Rs. 1,169, which is much less than half of the average (Rs. 4,084) of the other eight major Provinces in British India. Four-fifths of the provincial revenue are derived from land revenue, stamps and excise revenue, and they have reached their maximum limits. The excise revenue has already shown a tendency to decrease and is likely to fall in future as the result of the prohibition movement. We understand that the recently published report of the excise revenue actually shows a fall of 25

per cent. The registration fees already stand at a very high level and cannot be further raised.

65. Orissa is the poorest part of the poorest Province in British India. It will be seen from the chapter on "the financial prospects of an Orissa Province" that the expenditure exceeded the revenue in Orissa proper by 13·53 lakhs in 1922 and 17·75 lakhs in 1926. In respect of Orissa canals, which are worked at a dead loss, the Provincial Government has to pay 8½ lakhs a year to the Central Government by way of interest. The main prop of excise revenue in Orissa is opium; and, if the campaign to reduce consumption of this drug is successful, the income from this source will diminish. There is no great mineral wealth in Orissa. There is no prospect of increase of revenue in the near future. Orissa suffers from an exceedingly inelastic revenue.

66. We learn that, subsequent to the submission of the memorandum above referred to, the Government sanctioned a flood relief establishment costing about 1½ lakhs a year and sustained a loss of about 2 lakhs a year by the refusal of the people to pay water tax.

67. With regard to the Taluks of Ganjam district proposed to be amalgamated with Orissa, the enquiry of Rai Sahib U. C. Sen, an experienced officer of the Finance Department, shows that the expenditure exceeds the revenue by about 11½ lakhs. The following remarks of the Government of Bihar and Orissa deserve repetition:—"Ganjam would add outstanding loans of 50 lakhs or more to the debt of the Province; no revenue settlements are due till 1939 and at best these will not yield more than 2 lakhs and a half additional land revenue; the excise revenue shows a tendency to fall rather than to rise; like Orissa the district is liable both to drought, famines and to floods; heavy expenditure is required for developing education, medical relief and public works. Thus the addition of a part of Ganjam, while it would no doubt spread the overhead charges to some material degree, would at the same time add some 11 lakhs to the gap between revenue and expenditure and greatly increase future liabilities for the proposed Province."

68. From the memorandum to the Government of India already referred to, it will be seen that the Government of Madras put forward certain financial claims which they would press in the event of the ten Taluks of Ganjam being transferred:—

- (a) They stated that they had at stake a sum of approximately Rs. 47½ lakhs of capital expenditure on the Rushikulya irrigation system on which they paid Rs. 157,134 annually to the Government of India on advances included in that outlay;
- (b) They valued their Public Works Department buildings in the ten Taluks at approximately ten lakhs and claimed reimbursement;
- (c) More than Rs. 4 lakhs had been spent on the Russelkonda Saw Mill, the greater part of which had been met from loan funds on which interest had to be paid. The reimbursement of this capital expenditure was also claimed.

The Government of India have admitted the justice of these claims except in regard to the cost of public buildings.

69. The increase of revenue in the areas to be transferred expected by the Oriya leaders, is based on wrong calculations. As far as the district of Ganjam is concerned, the expected return by the exploitation of Goomsur forest areas has proved a complete failure. There are no waste lands belonging to Government wherefrom any revenue can be expected.

70. We submit that the amalgamation of any portion of the Ganjam district which is itself occasionally subject to famines and cyclones to Orissa which is frequently subject to serious floods, will handicap the maintenance of its present standard of efficiency seriously. We believe that there would be a corresponding fall in the Orissa division also. Thus, we see that the financial prospects of Orissa Province are very gloomy.

71. It was suggested by the Raja of Parlakimidi in his memorandum circulated to the members of the Round Table Conference that the finances of the future Utkal Province can be balanced by the following methods :—

1. Cutting the coat according to the cloth.

A retrenchment was effected by the Bihar and Orissa Government and nothing could further be done by it, as the scale of salaries is low when compared with that of the other Provinces.

2. Aid by the Central Government.

The Government of India have already stated that they are not prepared to grant any contribution from the Central revenues.

3. The revenues of the district to be added to Orissa.

This clearly explains the motive of the unionists for grasping at the territory of the bi-lingual areas ; and the results, even if the objectional motives be approved, are very meagre.

4. Willingness on the part of the Oriyas to tax themselves.

The Peshkash of the Zamindars having been permanently settled cannot be enhanced under the sanads. There is no expression of willingness on the part of the Zamindars to shoulder any such increase. In the case of the temporarily settled areas, the resettlement was introduced two years ago and there is no chance of enhancement for three decades to come. The excise revenue is showing a tendency to fall in all provinces. With regard to forest revenue, the increase that may be expected is not more than a lakh.

72. The ambition of the unionists to include even the backward Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts within the proposed Oriya province, is a clear indication that they want to extend their territorial limits without realising the responsibilities that would devolve on the future Orissa Government in the governance and development of these areas upon which the Government of Madras is spending annually not less than 30 lakhs of rupees, while the revenues from these areas are negligible.

SECTION XII.—Conclusion.

73. The wishes of a bare majority are not of much consequence in deciding such a momentous change as that asked for by the politically minded Oriyas. Where a strong minority objects to the change asked for, the *onus* of proof

lies heavily on the advocates of change who must prove distinctly how economically, administratively and otherwise the area affected stands to gain by the change. Otherwise, the *status quo* must be preserved. It may be desirable to create a linguistic province on the main principle of unity of race, culture and language. This will be achieved by confining the limits of the proposed Oriya Province to the Orissa division as it stands. The addition of any portion of the Ganjam district will destroy such homogeneity. There is no portion in Ganjam district where the Oriya language and culture prevails exclusively. The Telugu culture and language is found mixed even in areas which are predominantly Oriya. The administrative and other difficulties which are now urged by the Oriyas of Ganjam, will be intensified in the new Province of Orissa if any portion of Ganjam is included within its limits.

74. We venture to submit that the Oriya leaders demand the addition of a portion of Ganjam district with the sole object of finding additional revenue out of the surplus, if any, of this district for its utilisation in the nucleus area of Orissa. We enter our emphatic protest against this method of solving the financial difficulties of the Oriya Province. We apprehend that the standard of expenditure on the various services will be lowered and brought to the level of Orissa expenditure and moneys saved thereby will be utilised for the benefit of Orissa.

75. It is hardly necessary for us to submit in this democratic age that the view of a single zamindar, however influential he may be, should not prevail when it is opposed to that of thousands of his raiyats. After all the Zamindar is only a collector of revenue. He is one of those peculiarly placed men in society who are neither here nor there. He is not like the princes and the sovereign chiefs of India burdened with any responsibility legal, constitutional, or perhaps even moral to look after the welfare of his tenants. He has no powers, civil or criminal, over them. He does not minister to their needs in life. Nor does he invest his surplus money in co-operative societies and banks which have been carved out by Government to minister to their needs. This does not mean that occasionally there have not been generous Zamindars who have endowed or built hospitals and educational institutions and patronised culture and learning, but more often than not they have helped to bring them into existence outside their estates, places where they catch the eye of the public and Government better. Unostentatious service of a social and philanthropic character is not a field of their interest or activities. They are not answerable to their tenants below or Government above or to the wider public around for the manner in which they spend their surplus revenues. In fact, they are relics of an ancient feudal system suffered to exist in the earlier years of a changed Government and are not better than men with large incomes made from business or other sources. They should, therefore, be treated whatever may be their wealth or influence in society, as no more than individuals endowed by Dame Fortune, with exceptional opportunities of money making and money spending. None would argue that because a wholesale merchant or a manufacturer of patent medicines or of a talisman makes large moneys over a wide constituency; therefore his wishes and his inclinations, his prejudices, and predilections should dictate or decide to which province his constituents should be consigned. Likewise a Zamindar who is an Oriya, dealing with tenants who

are more than 80 per cent. Telugus, has no right to decide, and is not the factor concerned in deciding, in which of the two adjoining provinces his Zamindary should be placed. Not seldom do we come across cases in which a Zamindar possesses estates located in two adjoining districts or even in a district and a State. There are numerous instances in this behalf. Rights of inheritance and reversion oftentimes bring estates distantly located to a Zamindar as to any individual. Such estates may not even be located in adjoining districts or even in two adjoining provinces, but may be situated in two widely distant areas, such as Central India and South India. No one would argue that such areas should be territorially linked together nor does the language spoken by a Zamindar really concern the tenants. Thousands of Telugu tenants cannot be persuaded or prevailed upon to learn Oriya for the sake of an Oriya Zamindar or *vice versa*. Of course, it is recognised that lately certain Zamindars are preparing their muchilikas, receipts and accounts in diglott or in Oriya exclusively. But this is merely a process of creating evidence for a future demand. The interests of tenants who labour in the field, who spin and toil all day long, must constitute the supreme consideration in the redistribution of areas between two adjoining provinces. Their interests and their wishes must be the sole criterion for judging whether they shall go to the Andhra or Oriya Province. A Zamindar who speaks Oriya and has tenantry, 80 per cent. of whom are Telugus, cannot for the sake of his own convenience and his own wishes drag with him thousands of helpless raiyats into a strange province with a strange language as the Court language. The position would be as bad as it would be if to-day the Court language of all the judicial Courts in India should be declared English. Fortunately it is not so. Even so, should the thousands of tenants be not forced to adopt as their Court language—a language other than their mother tongue. It is for this reason that we urge that the self interest of the Zamindar should not outweigh the justice and fair play that his tenants must get as their elementary right.

76. Oriyas and Telugus have been living together amicably for centuries maintaining most cordial relations, and bifurcation of the district will intensify the dissensions, disputes, and bickerings which the present agitation has introduced. We humbly submit that no disturbance of the *status quo* is warranted by historical, administrative and other considerations and that any change in the existing order of things is fraught with serious difficulties for the administrators and is disadvantageous to the people, and that it will provoke wide and deep-seated dissatisfaction and discontent leading to prolonged, continuous and much stronger agitation from the other communities who are considerable in numbers, who have large and varied vested interests and who have greatly helped in the all-sided development of the district.

77. Before we conclude we feel it our duty to bring to the notice of the Committee our deep regret that we had no adequate notice of its programme. It was incidentally that we learnt on the 11th of November that the people concerned should present their memoranda before the 30th of this month. The fact was not advertised in the local press; and organizations of established position and standing which have been interesting themselves in this question, have not been apprised of the matter. A news item in the English press can not be expected to penetrate to the remotest corners of the firkas and the villages. It may not therefore be made a point that no memorials or representations

are forthcoming from such quarters, nor can we help feeling regret over the circumscribed nature of the terms of reference of the Committee or the absence of adequate representation thereon of the Andhras. A Committee to be able to arrive at correct results in respect of the boundary between the proposed Oriya Province and the proposed Andhra Province, must be really a boundaries Commission such as was contemplated by the Round Table Conference last year and the Nehru Report, charged with the duty of demarcating the Oriya Province from the Andhra Province, both having to be newly carved out. We may be permitted to refer to an incident in relation to the Philip-Duff Committee which was appointed to ascertain the wishes of the Oriyas of Ganjam as to whether they were willing to be amalgamated with Orissa. The Committee then declared that they would not hear any representations of the Andhras, but ended by making a point in their report of the absence of counter demonstration by the Andhras. We cannot help feeling therefore that the circumscription of the terms of reference of this Committee which excludes the question of the boundaries of Andhra Province as such, has likewise placed the Andhras in a somewhat dubious position. We claim that either there should have been a boundaries Commission charged with the wider duty, or there should have been a parallel Commission charged with terms of reference in relation to the Andhra Province like those that this Committee is charged with in relation to the Oriya Province. Then it would have been possible for each Commission to examine the matter of boundaries from the standpoint of the community concerned, and then by co-ordinating the information so gathered to come to a decision on the question of the boundaries at a joint sitting of the two Commissions. It was in this view that the Ganjam District Andhra Sabha held at Ichchhapuram passed its resolutions, Nos. III, IV and V. Please see Appendix III. In the alternative, it should have been the duty of the Government to appoint a Telugu representative from the disputed area even as an Oriya representative has been appointed from the area under dispute. While we have no reason to question the capacity or judgment of the Telugu associated member, we cannot help pointing out that the procedure adopted by Government in the two cases is based on different standards.

78. We feel it also our duty to bring another complaint to your notice. We have not been able to get all the information that we required. The dispute here is not as if it were a dispute between two parties in litigation where each party must produce his own documents and evidence. Most of the data required for a correct decision can only be obtained from documents in the possession of Government. When we addressed the Madras Government for permission to obtain certain statistics and maps from the Superintendent of Census, we received a reply after a month's waiting that the Superintendent is not under their direct control. We have since applied to the Government of India and have not heard from them yet.

79. Under the circumstances, we can only deplore the want of time, opportunities, and information, by which we have been handicapped and claim the right for a further examination of our case in the light of the additional materials which we have been trying to secure.

1. Rao Sahib N. Ramamurti, Retired Deputy Collector and President of the Ganjam Defence League.

2. Rao Sahib W. V. B. Ramalingam, President, Ganjam District Co-operative Banking Union and President, Berhampore Co-operative Land Mortgage Bank.
3. M. Sitaramaswamy, Pleader and Municipal Chairman.
4. Rai Bahadur P. Srikrishnulu, Retired Deputy Collector and Retired Diwan of the Maharaja of Bobbili.
5. Rai Bahadur T. Venkatakrishnaiah, Landholder and Ex-President, District Board of Ganjam.
6. Rao Sahib M. V. Apparao, Retired Assistant Registrar of Co-operative Societies, Interim Trustee Haradakhandi Math and Landholder.
7. Koka Apparao, Advocate and Landholder, Ex-Chairman of the Ganjam District Temple Committee and Ganjam Temperance Propaganda Committee.
8. J. Venkataswami Nayudu, Retired D. M. O., Ganjam.
9. Rao Bahadur G. Rajagopal Rao, Retired Acting Superintendent of Police.
10. G. Sitaramayya, Advocate.
11. M. V. Brahmanand Rao, Proprietor, Marella Printing Works, and Landholder.
12. M. A. Rauf, Merchant.
13. S. A. Huq, Merchant.
14. Sujauddin Khan, Merchant and Director of Co-operative Urban Bank.
15. W. A. Rowe, Public Accountant, Partner of Rowe & Pal, Public Accountants and Auditors, Berhampore.
16. G. V. Krishnamurti, B.A., Superintendent, Hindu Religious Endowments (Ganjam District), Berhampore.
17. T. Pattabhiramayya, Advocate, Berhampore.
18. P. Subbarao, B.A., B.L., District Court Pleader, Berhampore.
19. M. Apparao, Agent, Oriental Life Office and Honorary 1st class Bench Magistrate.
20. A. Simhachalam, B.A., B.L., Vakil.
21. S. V. Gopalakrishnamma, B.A., Advocate.
22. S. Brahmiah B.A., B.L., Pleader.
23. P. Narayanarao, B.A., B.L., Pleader.
24. P. Vakulabharanam, Merchant and Landlord.
25. M. A. Fizulla, Member, District Board, Ganjam and Medical Practitioner.
26. K. Janakirao, Retired Tahsildar.

27. L. Lakshminarayana, Landholder.
28. R. Venkata Ramanamurti, M.A. (Hon.), B. L., Vakil, Berhampore, and Malukdar, Gopalpur hunda.
29. Vysyaraju Venkataratnam raju, Merchant, paying income-tax of about Rs. 8,000.
30. U. V. S. Prakasarao, B.A., L. T., History Assistant, Kallikota College, Berhampore.
31. U. V. Gopalarao, B.A.
32. Y. Sriramamurti, B.A., Advocate.
33. Y. Krishnamurti, Cash keeper, Imperial Bank of India.
34. Y. Venkatarao, Licensed Medical Practitioner.
35. M. Machiraju, Landholder.
36. U. V. Gopalarao, Retired Tahsildar.
37. D. Srinivasarao, Pleader, Berhampore.
38. G. Jagannadham, B.A., B.L., Advocate, Berhampore.
39. G. Ramamurthy B.A., Proprietor of Kannivalasa. Vakil, District Court.
40. B. Gopalaswami, B.A., B.L., Vakil.
41. B. Jagannadharo, District Court Pleader.

APPENDIX 1.

LETTER FROM THE HONOURABLE MR. M. HAMMOCK, C.I.E., I.C.S., ACTING CHIEF SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF MADRAS, PUBLIC DEPARTMENT, TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, HOME DEPARTMENT, DATED THE 20TH JUNE 1904.

I am directed to reply to Mr. Risley's letter, No. 3679, Home Department (Public), dated 3rd December 1903, inviting the views of the Government of Madras on a proposal to transfer to the Province of Bengal the district of Ganjam and the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam which are now included in this Presidency. The area affected by the proposal is 20,994 square miles with a registered population in 1901 of 2,861,244. The Government understand from the Honourable Sir Denzil Ibbetson's reply to a question put by the Honourable Mr. Cable at the meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council held on 5th February that it is not proposed to alter the limits of the jurisdiction of the High Court of Calcutta. It is presumed therefore that the proposal now under consideration does not involve the curtailment of the jurisdiction of the High Court of Madras. Although the proposal forms part of a scheme for the reduction of the territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Government of India, in advocating this addition to the province, have been actuated by a desire to unite under one administration the whole of the Uriya-speaking peoples, both hill and plain, so that the Uriya-speaking group may emerge as a distinct and unmistakable factor with an identity and interest of its own. His Excellency in Council understands that the Government of India are not led to make the proposal on account of dissatisfaction with the administration of the area affected by the Madras Government or on account of any reasonable grounds for complaint with that administration on the part of the Uryias in this Presidency. The Government of Madras do not propose therefore to enter upon any defence of their administration, as none is called for. In framing his views on the proposal made by the Government of India, His Excellency in Council has carefully examined the premises on which the arguments in Mr. Risley's letter are based and has endeavoured to ascertain whether the proposed change would benefit the people as a whole who inhabit the tract to be transferred. From paragraph 12 of Mr. Risley's letter to the Government of Bengal it appears that the linguistic argument of the Government of India is based on the statistics of languages given in the report on the census taken in 1901. A table comparing the statistics in the census reports for 1881, 1891, 1901 of the languages spoken in the Ganjam district and in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agencies is appended to this letter. From this table it appears that so far as the Agencies are concerned, into which the full schedule was introduced for the first time in 1901, the figures for 1901 are fairly accurate, allowing for the inclusion under appropriate heads of languages which were returned in previous enumerations as unrecognizable. On turning to the census statistics relating to the Ganjam District proper (that is exclusive of the Agency) it would appear that while the number of persons who speak Telugu has fallen from 692,344 in 1881 and 722,287 in 1891 to 342,910 in 1901, the Uriya-speaking population has risen from 748,904 in 1881 and 797,132 in 1891 to 1,274,975 in 1901. These abnormal variations cannot be accounted for by such causes as deaths and emigration or births and immigration. It is clear that either the statistics for both 1881 and 1891 or those for 1901 are inaccurate, and that careful local enquiry is necessary to ascertain the true causes of the variation and a correct estimate of the distribution of the population according to language in the Ganjam district at present. Soon after the publication of the Census report, and long before the Madras Government were aware that the Government of India proposed to transfer the district to Bengal, the Collector of Ganjam wrote to the Superintendent of Census operations pointing out the inaccuracy of the statement in paragraph 24 of Chapter VI of Volume XV, Part I, of the Census report that "in Ganjam Telugu is the prevailing language in Goomsur taluk and Oriya in all the others" and suggesting the substitution for it of the following sentence:—"In Ganjam Telugu is the prevailing language in Chicacole taluk and Oriya in the Goomsur taluk and Berhampur taluk, excepting the Ichohhapuram Khandam." As the talukwar Census tables have unfortunately been destroyed, no detailed information can be obtained now in respect of the language principally given as the parent-tongue in each taluk; the difficulty of criticizing the statistics in the Census tables is thereby increased. The Collector of Ganjam has, however, instituted careful enquiries in order to form a correct estimate of the Telugu-speaking population and to ascertain the causes of the inaccuracy of the Census statistics. He estimates the Telugu-

speaking population in the district at 855,000, i.e., at about half a million more than the figure (342,910) given in the Census tables. The first cause of the inaccuracy of the Census statistics is the desire of Telugus to share in the special advantages accorded by Government to Uriyas. The school fees charged for the education of the children of Uriyas are half those paid by Telugus and others. As the Government desire to employ Uriyas in the public offices to a greater extent than at present, it is thus believed to be easier for an Uriya than for a Telugu to enter the service of the Government. The second cause is that as most of the enumerators in 1901 were Uriyas, it is probable that they entered as "Uriya-speaking" all persons who answered their questions in Uriya. This error would have a great effect, as, in tracts where there are both Uriyas and Telugus, a large proportion of the population can speak both languages. Thirdly, several Telugu castes, such as Kapus, Komatis, Kaliyas, Reddikas, &c., who live in tracts where Uriya is the prevailing language and speak Uriya as well as their mother-tongue, Telugu, were probably entered as speaking the Uriya language, the enumerators making no enquiries as to the language spoken by them at home. An example of the last cause was noticed before the Census report was published. The Deputy Superintendent of Census operations, Berhampur, states that at the time of tabulation he found that a large number of Reddikas—a Telugu caste which finds no place in Table XIII. Castes—had been returned by the enumerators as speaking Uriya. As, to his own knowledge, this was contrary to the facts, he made a reference to the Provincial Census Superintendent, who issued orders for the tabulation to proceed in accordance with the schedules. The Collector of Ganjam reports that there is reason to believe that the movement in favour of the proposed transfer was on foot in a quiet way before the last Census, and this may have influenced some of the Uriya enumerators in entering in the returns particulars of the parent-tongues. In a tract where Uriya and Telugu are widely spoken it is natural to expect that the mother-tongue of the Uriya castes will be Uriya, and that of the Telugu castes will be Telugu. The statistics showing the distribution of the population by castes should, therefore, furnish some indication of the prevalence of the two languages. On examining these statistics it is found that 63,034 Pallis, who speak Telugu and reside on the coast, have been treated as Tamils by caste. Adding these to the recorded population of Telugu castes, we find that the number of Telugus by race in 1901, including the Telugu-speaking Pallis, was 818,417, and the number of Uriyas was 766,712. The inference from these figures is that Telugu should be more prevalent in the Ganjam District as a parent-tongue than Uriya. As it has been shown that the statistics of languages given in the Census report for 1901 are untrustworthy, it is desirable to form an estimate of the number of persons speaking Telugu and Uriya respectively as their mother-tongue. The Collector estimates the Telugu-speaking population in the Ganjam District at 855,000; he has framed no estimate of the number of persons speaking Uriya in the district. As shown above an estimate based on the statistics of races is that the Telugu-speaking population and Uriya-speaking population are respectively 818,417 and 766,712. It may, perhaps, be considered that a fairer way of framing an estimate is to derive it from the Census statistics for 1891 by assuming that the rate of increase of both the Telugu and Uriya-speaking population has been the same during the decade 1891 to 1901 as that of the whole population of the district. Estimated in this manner, 767,577 persons should have Telugu and 847,115 persons should have Uriya as their mother-tongue. One fact in this connection which it may be well to mention is that throughout the whole length of the 100 miles of Ganjam coast the great majority of the people are Telugus and Telugu is universally spoken along the littoral. This means that the chief trade and commerce of the district is carried on by Telugu-speaking people. Turning now to the Agency tracts of Ganjam, it will be seen from appended statement No. 1, already cited, that by the Census of 1901, only one quarter of the population in those tracts claim the Uriya language as their mother-tongue; and that the other languages spoken are Dravidian or allied to Dravidian. The principal of these is Khond. But the Government of India argue that Khond is certain to give place to Uriya as education spreads. The Government of Madras are not aware of the grounds on which this statement is based, and they venture to traverse it. A certain number of Khonds in the Agency tracts may have a colloquial knowledge of Uriya, but they do not speak it among themselves. Khond or Kandh belongs to the very same sub-family as Telugu [Census of India, 1901, Volume I, paragraph 461]. Uriya, on the other hand, is an Aryan language which is handicapped by possessing [*ibid.*, paragraph 532] an excessively awkward and cumbrous written character. Nor can any argument in support

of the statement be found in the Madras Census reports, for the number of persons returned in 1901 as speaking Telugu in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agencies is 74 per cent. and 35 per cent. respectively, more than the number returned in 1881, while the corresponding percentage for the Uriya language is eight in each case, practically the normal increase of the Uriya population. There is no bond of race or sympathy between the Uriya and the Hillman. The former regards himself as a paik, or conqueror, and looks down upon and despises the Khond, who is a simple child of nature. The traders and merchants who visit the hill tracts are almost all Telugus by caste, and it is to be expected that if the Khonds acquire any foreign language in supercession of their own, it will be that of those with whom they have business transactions, and with those whose language their own tongue has the most intimate linguistic affinities. The progress of education among such hill-tribes as the Khonds is moreover necessarily slow, in spite of the offer of special inducements such as scholarships and other advantages. In 1901, out of 167,783 Khonds, only 297 were literate, and from the report on the Administration of Education for 1902-1903 it appears that there were only 2,617 aboriginal pupils under instruction in the Agencies, including Godavari. His Excellency in Council considers, therefore, that the supercession of the Khond language, through the spread of education, even admitting the validity of this speculation, is so remote a contingency that it can be left out of account in considering the proposals of the Government of India. But His Excellency in Council is convinced that, if any language ultimately displaces Khond, it will be Telugu and not Uriya.

In the Vizagapatam Agency tracts the case is somewhat different. Out of a total population of 850,000, about 409,000 are returned as Uriya-speaking, while only 153,000 are Telugus. But these are not the only languages spoken; and while 441,000 are shown as having an Aryan mother-tongue, no less than 408,000 or not far from one-half of the population of the Agency speak a Dravidian language. In paragraph 13 of Mr. Risley's letter to the Government of Bengal, it is stated that the "Government of Madras have repeatedly complained of the anxieties imposed upon the Administration by the great diversity of languages with which the Madras civilians are called upon to cope". His Excellency the Governor in Council is not aware that relief in this direction has ever been sought by the Madras Government, while the proposed change will merely transfer to Bengal any difficulties which may arise out of the multiplicity of languages spoken throughout one province or presidency. It is clear from the estimate of the distribution of the population according to the parent-tongue that the officers employed in the administration of the districts which it is proposed to transfer to Bengal should possess a knowledge of Telugu as well as of Uriya, and, in the Agencies, of Khond. So far as the acquisition of the languages is concerned experience proves that, for an Englishman, it is far more difficult to learn the Dravidian language Telugu than the Aryan language Uriya; while an officer acquainted with Telugu has gone a considerable way towards the acquisition of Khond. It is also essential that the officers so employed should be able to read the language in which the records are maintained. In the Ganjam District both Telugu and Uriya have been long recognised as the languages of the criminal and civil courts. The bulk of the records in the Government offices, other than village accounts, throughout the tract proposed to be transferred has been kept in Telugu. The accounts of 453 villages in Ghoomsur taluk and of 234 villages in Berhampur taluk are kept in Uriya, the accounts in the remaining 30 and 148 villages, respectively, being in Telugu. The Chicacole taluk of the same district is inhabited mainly by Telugus. As regards the Police, the records in all the 49 stations in Ganjam district outside the Agency are maintained in Telugu, and the records in 13 out of 14 stations in the agency are in Uriya; on the other hand while the records in 8 out of 29 stations in the Jeypore division of the Vizagapatam Agency are in Uriya, the records at other stations in the Agency are kept in Telugu even by Uriya head-constables. The indexes in only two registration offices in the Ganjam District proper have been kept hitherto in Uriya. The accounts of all the hill-zemindars in Vizagapatam and of some of the zemindars in Ganjam appear to be kept in Telugu, and the Uriya zamindars almost without exception employ Telugu diwans or managers for the management of their estates. It is clear, therefore, that officers employed in Ganjam and Vizagapatam should be able to read Telugu. To consider the effect of the proposed transfer it is necessary to refer to the land revenue system and the laws and regulations in the tract affected. It is understood that the revenue system of Orissa follows the Bengal model in its essence, excepting that the Government demand is fixed generally for a term of years; that there are a few estates in which the demand is

fixed in perpetuity; that omitting the Government estates which are not numerous, the rest of Orissa under direct British occupation is parcelled out into zemindaris, the incidents of which are analogous to those of similar tenures in Bengal, except that Government can periodically revise the revenue demand; that the more important portions of the Bengal Tenancy Act have been extended to Orissa; and that except in Government estates there are no village officers dealing directly with the Collector. The Ganjam District proper includes three taluks settled on the Madras ryotwari system and administered precisely on the same plan as other ryotwari areas throughout the Presidency. The Madras ryotwari system differs in very many important respects from the system in force in Khonda and other portions of Orissa. Under the former the settlement is strictly individual, the regulations under which remissions of the assessment are allowable and under which the system is administered generally are embodied in the Standing Orders of the Board of Revenue, which form an elaborate code of practice. The ryotwari system of this Presidency has very special features of its own; and its administration in all its manifold details would present great difficulty and perplexity to officers who had not been trained throughout their career in its principles and working. As a notable example of this may be instanced the conduct of the annual settlement or "jamabandi", which plays so important part in the relations between the ryot and the Government. There are also in the Ganjam District sixteen permanently-settled zamindaris and numerous proprietary estates. The Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1881) has no counterpart in the Presidency; and the law which it is under contemplation to enact on this subject is on different lines from the Bengal enactment, and purposes to confirm to zamindari ryots their occupancy rights in a more secure manner than, for historical reasons, it has been found possible in Bengal. To all the zemindars, except one, the Madras Impartible Estates Act II of 1902 applies. Throughout the taluks and zamindaris there are innumerable inams either enfranchised under the Madras inam settlement or held on service tenure. The reorganization of the village service in zamindari estates has been recently undertaken under Madras Act II of 1894. In the Agency tracts land is held on various tenures. Portions are held by zamindars, having estates in the plains, on service tenure under special sanads; the fees which the zamindars may collect from each village and the "nazars" they pay to Government are fixed. Other villages are held by Bissoyis or petty chieftains, formerly holding under zamindars but now direct under Government, though the fees payable by the Bissoyis are still collected by the zamindars for Government. In other portions of the Agency tracts there is a direct settlement with Government according to actual cultivation. There are no Tributary States as in Orissa. It may be admitted that the system of administration in these tracts is of a special character and regulated by special laws, and that experience of it can be gained only locally. But if the Government of India have correctly described the aptitude of officers trained in the Bengal form of Government, there would seem some occasion for pause before making over these primitive people to other hands. The Government of India have remarked with reference to the proposal to transfer Chuta-Nagpur to the Central Provinces [paragraph 7 (ii) of Mr. Risley's letter, No. 3678, dated 3rd December 1903, to the Government of Bengal]. "The Bengal form of administration is too highly developed, too legalised and too impersonal for backward tracts and primitive hill tribes. This view is borne out by the experience of a series of outbreaks in recent years and by difficulties met with in dealing effectually with the land-tenures of this part of the province"; and again [paragraph 25 (iv) *idem*] "there remains an argument to which no small weight attaches and which cannot be left out of consideration. The Government of India have reason to believe—and their impressions were strongly confirmed by the enquiries of the Police Commission that there is no portion of Bengal where the drawbacks of an imperfectly supervised administration are more evident than in those outlying districts on its eastern border, and that nowhere is the absence of close and intimate touch between the officers of Government and the people more apparent or more regrettable. The Government of India believe that it would be an undoubted advantage to Bengal to lose these elements of weakness; and that the population and interests of the districts in question would be materially the gainers if they were brought into closer contact with the officers and head of the local administration". In contrast with this it may be confidently affirmed that nowhere in the Presidency and perhaps in India is the Civilian Divisional Officer in so close touch and sympathy with the people or so accessible to their complaints as in these hill tracts of the Madras Presidency. The hill people have come to regard him not merely

MC1620C(WOP)

as their ruler but as their personal friend and adviser ever ready to listen to and redress their reasonable complaints. The Government believe that in so far as this contrast is real and due to the influence of the "form of administration", it may be attributed to the different attitude towards the people which the ryotwari system, prevailing in the Presidency at large, tends to foster in their officers, since it brings them in discharge of their revenue duties into close contact with the individual landholder or villager in concerns in which both he and the Government have common interests. The methods of assessing and collecting water-rate appear also to be totally different in Madras from those in vogue in Orissa. In the Ganjam District the chief system of irrigation is the Rushikulya project, and the Chicacole minor river system. Other portions of the district are irrigated under tanks. The outlay on the Rushikulya project at the end of 1902-03 amounted to Rs. 48,97,366. It is estimated that about 120,000 acres will be irrigable under the project when completed by the provision of a third reservoir. The charges for water vary according to the nature and class of the sources, the description of the land and the crop irrigated. Although the distribution of the water to the individual villages themselves is controlled in the case of the more important systems of irrigation by the officers of the Public Works Department, the distribution of the water to the several fields in each village, and the decision as to the amount to be levied for irrigation in each case, and the collection of the rate are duties undertaken by the officers of the Revenue Department. This is the practice throughout the Presidency, and consequently the Revenue Officers generally have acquired special skill in discharging these important duties, and in dealing with the questions which constantly arise between the Government and the ryot in connection therewith. The ryots in this Presidency consider it as of the highest moment that the minor distribution should be regulated by the Revenue Officials and not by the officers of the Public Works Department. It is understood that in Orissa, on the other hand, a fixed charge per acre is made in a long lease irrespective of the soil or of the crop, and the collection of the revenue as well as the distribution of the water is controlled by the Superintending Engineer. One important consequence of a transfer would be the creation of an *anneze* to Bengal possessing a special code of law, with the administration of which only those few officers would have any experience who had happened to serve in the new districts. In virtue of 24 and 25 Vic., Cap. 67, section 47, all the laws and regulations of the Madras Code would remain in operation in the transferred area. There is no need here to detail the many material differences between the laws and regulations in force in the lower Provinces and in this Presidency in respect of the powers of the Collector, the organization of the police, the whole village system with its village courts and panchayats and hereditary village servants, the administration and collection of the land revenue, the irrigation law, the inam settlement, the Court of Wards, Local and Municipal Government, and numerous other matters; nor is it necessary to dwell upon the enormous advantage which the people derive from having the law applied, as it has been for more than a century, by officers to whom it is familiar. His Excellency in Council deems it sufficient merely to draw attention to the matter as one requiring very serious consideration. In this connection it seems desirable to refer to the position in which the Madras High Court would be placed should the suggested transfer be carried out. As mentioned at the beginning of this letter it is understood from Sir Denzil Ibbetson's statement in the Imperial Legislative Council that it is no part of the scheme to alter the local limits of the High Court at Calcutta: in other words the local jurisdiction of the Madras High Court would remain as it is. If this is so, this Government would invite the Governor-General in Council to take into consideration the embarrassments and difficulties which would be likely to arise from the High Court's having administrative relations with two local governments. The population of the Vizagapatam District in 1901 was 2,082,662, of whom no less than two million speak Telugu as their mother-tongue, while only 31,000 are returned as speaking Uriya. The transfer of the Vizagapatam District to Bengal on linguistic grounds is, therefore, out of the question, and has not been suggested. The separation of the Vizagapatam Agency from the district, and the transfer of the former to another province, seem to this Government to be equally inexpedient and uncalled for. In a preceding paragraph of this letter it has been shown that even in the Agency the proportion of persons speaking Uriya or an Aryan language is very little in excess of the numbers speaking Telugu or a Dravidian language. On linguistic grounds, therefore, there would be little reason to urge a transfer. But there are administrative and geographical difficulties of more weighty import. The main arterial roads which connect the Agency tracts

with the coast run through the Vizagapatam District. The configuration of the country and its geographical features necessitate the developments of the interior by means of such roads connected with the ports and the East Coast Railway. The projected Vizianagram-Raipur Railway will pass through the Parvatipuram portion of the Agency, and will form a further link between the Agency and the district. The trade of the Agency is carried on chiefly by Telugus residing in the Vizagapatam District. The most convenient means of access to the Vizagapatam Agency from Ganjam and Bengal is through the Vizagapatam District. Moreover, the proposed transfer would divide the estates of many of the great landed properties into portions under separate administrations. The zamindars of Vizagapatam are unanimous in opposing the proposed transfer. As a precautionary measure it is necessary to have reserve police forces on the plains ready to proceed to the Agency tracts, if necessary, in addition to the reserves maintained in the hill stations. The most suitable places for the location of these reserves are in the Vizagapatam District and in Godavari, whence they can proceed quickly to the hill tracts. In the event of disturbances in the latter, the Government of Bengal would be compelled to call on the Government of Madras to assist with its police as in former times it has been found necessary to apply to this Government for help in connection with disturbances in Bastar, Kalahandi and Nayagarh. In paragraph 14 of Mr. Risley's letter to the Government of Bengal, it is stated that, so far as any expression of views had yet reached the Government of India, they were favourable to the proposed transfer. It will be seen from the memorials and resolutions of public bodies and meetings enclosed with this letter that the petition to which the Government of India referred did not express the unanimous opinion of the inhabitants of the districts in question. The special attention of the Governor-General in Council is invited to the memorial (Annexure No. 9, page 157) "from the Uriyas and Telugus of the Ganjam District". It may not be out of place to refer here to the history of the movement in favour of transfer. It did not originate in Ganjam nor amongst the Uriyas of Ganjam. The real originator of the movement was, it is understood, Madhu Sothan Das, C.I.E., a pleader of Cuttack, and a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. He appears to have no interest in Ganjam except in so far as being a native Christian his sympathies are with the Baptist Mission in Ganjam to which the transfer would be convenient as its headquarters are at Cuttack. The most active propagator of the agitation in this Presidency is the Raja of Kallikote and Atagada, who is related by marriage to the Raja of Maharbanj in Orissa. He has recently established a press (the Prajabandhu Press), with the sole object of furthering the movement. Hari Hara Tirupati Sarma the schoolmaster, who appears as the first signatory in the original petition, is a person who failed to obtain employment in the service of Government on medical grounds, and has been trained at the Prajabandhu Press, and is to be employed in a new press started by the zamindar of Peddakimedi, the only other zamindar in the Ganjam District who is definitely in favour of the movement. Hari Hara Tirupati Sarma appears to be a mere puppet, and is reported to be incapable of drafting his memorial. Some of the allegations in this memorial may be noticed briefly. It is asserted that Uriyas are ousted from appointments in the service of Government by Telugus and Tamils, that Uriya is not understood in the courts, and that Uriya is not spoken or understood by officials. The majority of officials of all grades in the Revenue Department know, however, both Uriya and Telugu. Uriya petitions are received and acted on in all revenue offices, although the bulk of the records is kept in Telugu. Notices in the "District Gazette" are published in Uriya and in Telugu. Endorsements to Uriya ryots, circular orders to Uriya village officers and revenue processes are generally issued in Uriya in all taluks where Uriya is spoken. Enoumbrance certificates are granted in sub-registry offices in the language in which the applications for such certificates are made. In the Ganjam District out of 297 Revenue Officers in superior service, 47 are Uriyas, 126 others can read and write Uriya and 82 possess a colloquial knowledge of Uriya. In the Ganjam District 86 per cent. and in the Ganjam Agency tracts the whole of the revenue officials are acquainted with Uriya. In the Vizagapatam Agency Uriya is generally known by all the members of the various revenue establishments. Of eleven sub-registry offices in Ganjam, four are located in Uriya tracts and two in tracts where both Uriya and Telegu are spoken, all these six offices are presided over by officers who know both Uriya and Telegu; of the nine clerks employed in them, five are Uriyas by birth and all are acquainted with both vernaculars. Of the eleven Sub-Registrars in Ganjam, one is an Uriya by birth and eight know both Uriya and Telugu; and of 21 clerks, 18 are natives of Ganjam, 10 being

Uriyas by birth. Of four Sub-Assistant Inspectors of Schools in Ganjam district, one is an Uriya and two are Bengalis who know Uriya; of twelve inspecting schoolmasters six are Uriyas, while all three Superintendents of hill schools are Uriyas. In lower paid posts such as constables and head constables the Uriyas have a large share of the appointments in the hill tracts. Every encouragement and inducement is given to Uriyas to join the public service and no qualified Uriya has ever been refused employment in the Ganjam Collectorate. The Government are anxious to procure the services of Uriyas and experience shows that their advancement, when once admitted to Government service, is more rapid than that of Telugus having similar qualifications. So far as the plea that Uriyas are intentionally kept in the background by official influence is concerned, it is remarkable that there are at the Ganjam bar only two Uriya pleaders, one of whom is a retired Sarishtadar of the District Court. The employment of Uriyas in Government service would no doubt be greater than it is now but for the opposition of past generations to education and employment under Government. Sir W. W. Hunter writing on this subject says [Orissa, (1872), Volume II, pages 145-147]: "In 1838 the Government entered the field and opened an English and Sanskrit school at Puri. But these institutions proved altogether unable to make head against the tide of ignorance and bigotry and presently sunk beneath the flood. In 1841 we opened a higher class English school at Cuttack which after a long series of conflicts and discouragements still survives as the principal seat of education in the Province In three great Government estates we managed between 1855 and 1859 to set on foot nineteen elementary schools; but in the latter year the total number for all Orissa with close on three millions of people amounted to only twenty-nine. The truth is the whole population was against us. Such little success as our schools obtained they owed not to the Uriyas themselves but to the Bengali families whom our courts and public offices brought into the Province The genuine Uriya has not yet (1872) quite lost his abhorrence of the infidel Government school. Many of the most orthodox elders still regard all that pertains to our system as hateful to the gods The present Inspector of Schools writes to me as strong proof of progress in Orissa that a good many Uriya Brahmans have now accepted Government employ. As late as 1860, a learned Uriya, on being appointed even to the orthodox post of Sanskrit teacher in our Puri school, was excluded for a year or two from the Brahmanical orders and stormy discussions took place as to whether he should not be formally expelled from his caste." Though these prejudices no longer exist as a powerful influence against the progress of the Uriya, there can be no doubt that the present generation of Uriyas is reaping the fruit and is consequently suffering in the competition with the Telugu for employment in Government service. The failure of Uriyas to obtain a greater proportion of the more highly-paid posts in Government service is also largely due to their want of perseverance and ambition. The majority of those who obtain a certain amount of education is still content to become mere "bhololoko", hangers-on or courtiers of Uriya zamindars in return possibly for grants of land and with little or no regular service except to flatter their master and obtain his favour. Although the present agitation had its origin outside the Presidency and has been propagated largely to promote the interests of persons who have little or no connection with it, His Excellency in Council is disposed to welcome it, if and in so far as it may be taken as a sign that the Uriya is casting off that priest-ridden conservatism which has been his characteristic in the past and proved a serious obstacle to his progress; but he cannot but regret the form which it has taken and the deplorable results to which it is leading by rousing ill-feeling and social antagonism between the Uriyas and the Telugus who have heretofore lived side by side in mutual respect and sympathy. Enclosed with the memorial referred to is an extract from the Commissioner's annual administration report of the Orissa Division for 1894-95, in which the extension of the division so as to include a portion of this Presidency is advocated, His Excellency in Council cannot but express his astonishment that the Commissioner—if he is correctly quoted—should have displayed such ignorance of the tract which he proposed should be transferred as to describe Goomsur and Kimeri as "States", the former being an ordinary taluk in which the Madras ryotwari system prevails and the latter consisting of three zamindaries and three hill agencies. The Commissioner urged further: "It does not seem probable that in educational matters the Uriya population is likely to get fair play either in the Central Provinces or in Madras, where they form a minority of the provincial population in each case, though mustering strong in certain districts. The disposition to insist on uniformity throughout a province and to

ignore minorities involves a risk of the Uriya language being starved educationally". The Governor in Council would not deem it necessary to notice these statements were it not that the memorialists who quote them have evidently been influenced by assertions of so positive and dogmatic a character proceeding from an official in the high and responsible position of the Commissioner. It is perhaps needless to say that the statements in question are entirely unfounded. As a matter of fact very special concessions are granted to Uriyas in this Presidency in regard to education. Uriyas are admitted to all Government, Local and Municipal schools and colleges at half the usual rates charged to Telugus and others, and in calculating for purposes of grants-in-aid the fee-income of aided private schools, it is assumed that the Uriya pupils pay only half the standard rates; practically, therefore, Uriyas pay half rates in all schools whether under public or private management. Eleven Government scholarships are reserved for Uriyas and they have a share in eight scholarships in the B. A. classes reserved for backward races. Special hostels for Uriya students are attached to the Kallikota College at Berhampur and to the Raja's College at Parlakimedi in Ganjam. It remains to consider the wishes of the people affected by the proposed transfer. Of the sixteen Zamindars in Ganjam District only two are distinctly in favour of the transfer, namely, the Raja of Kallikota and Atagada and the Zamindar of Pedda Kimedi. The former is hopelessly involved in debt, and the hill mitta of the latter was till recently under attachment for reasons of State. The Zamindar of Mandasa who signed the further memorandum in favour of the transfer has since informed the Collector of Ganjam that he has repudiated his adherence to the terms of the memorial and that he is now opposed to the transfer. The Zamindar of Dharakota, after considerable wavering, has expressed himself in favour of the transfer on the ground of language only. All the other Zamindars of Ganjam, including the Raja of Parlakimedi, whose opinion is entitled to considerable weight, are opposed to the scheme or are indifferent. The Zamindars in Vizagapatam, whose estates are situated partly in the plains and partly in the Agency, are naturally averse from a division of their estates between two separate administrations. It will be seen from the resolutions passed by the District Board, Taluk Boards and Municipalities in Ganjam that local opinion, so far as thus expressed, is strongly opposed to the transfer. In the three Municipal Councils only three members have voted in favour of it. The general consensus of opinion expressed at public meetings appears to regard it with disfavour. In the Vizagapatam District the people of the plains whose commercial interests are bound up with those of the hills are strongly opposed to any change. It is to be observed that while all the Telugus are averse from any change the Uriyas are by no means unanimous, and a strong and influential section of the Uriya community is opposed to it. His Excellency in Council feels assured that in view of the facts set forth in the foregoing paragraphs, the Government of India will agree that the transfer of any portion of the Madras Presidency to the Province of Bengal is inexpedient and uncalled for. The arguments in favour of the maintenance of the *status quo* may be briefly summarized—

- (i) The linguistic argument is insufficient to justify the transfer; the statistics upon which it is founded are inaccurate, nor has account been taken of races other than Telugus and Uriyas, the dividing line is between Aryan and Dravidian languages; those who now speak a Dravidian language other than Telugu, if they abandon their own speech, of which there is no evidence will adopt the kindred Telugu rather than the alien Uriya; in the Ganjam Collectorate the population is divided about equally between Telugus and Uriyas; in the Ganjam Agency only about one-fourth is Uriya speaking; while in the Vizagapatam Agency, though only about one-fifth of the people are Telugus, the number of those speaking a Dravidian language is nearly one-half of the total population.
- (ii) The large number of Telugus throughout the tract and the fact that the bulk of the Government records have been kept in Telugu will render it essential for the officers employed in the tract transferred to acquire Telugu, and experience has shown that it is far more difficult for an Englishman to learn the Dravidian language Telugu than the Aryan language Uriya.
- (iii) The scheme would leave the transferred area as an *anneze* to Bengal, possessing a special code of laws and regulations, the knowledge of which the officers of another province would have to acquire specially for the service in the limited

area of the new districts while as regards the application of this code they would lack that practical experience of its operation which is of so much consequence to those affected by it.

- (iv) The Madras High Court, if its jurisdiction is to remain undisturbed, would have administrative relations with two local Governments, a situation which would prove highly inconvenient and embarrassing.
- (v) In regard to the land-revenue administration there would arise special difficulties. As to the ryotwari system with all its subordinate and associated regulations regarding remission, irrigation, the village system, and other matters closely touching the daily life of the ryot, if this system is to be administered to the contentment of the people it must be by officers imbued with its principles and trained throughout their service in its methods. The zamindari administration is also on entirely different lines from those prevailing in Bengal.
- (vi) The transfer of the Ganjam District to another Government would in many cases be a serious inconvenience to merchants and traders, who frequently restrict their operations to one province owing to the unity of administration in view of the occasions when they may need the intervention or protection of Government. It is probable that some of those who carry on business on the Ganjam coast will find it necessary to establish an additional agency at Calcutta if the scheme were given effect to.
- (vii) Public opinion too is generally opposed to the change. The memorial to which the Government of India refer represents the views of a small minority of the population of the tract to be transferred; and most of the allegations in it are misleading or unfounded.
- (viii) The population of the proposed new Bengal is 67½ millions; but the population of the Madras Presidency, if the proposed transfer is carried out, will be reduced to under 35 millions, including the Feudatory States of Pudukkottai, Banganapalle and Sandur. The Government of India do not propose the change on account of any alleged unwieldiness of the Madras Presidency; their main object is the lightening of the excessive burden now imposed upon the Government of Bengal. The proposal to transfer a population of about three millions and an area of 21,000 square miles from Madras to Bengal would seem to militate directly against this object.

In conclusion I am to point out that if the tract affected were administered under the system now in force therein by Bengal officers under the Bengal Government, the arguments which have been adduced in favour of the transfer to Bengal would apply with equal if not more force in favour of the transfer of the tract in question from Bengal to Madras. The tract has been administered by the Madras Government since 1766 and, apart from any consideration of administrative difficulties, His Excellency in Council cannot too strongly condemn, in the interests of its inhabitants, any proposal to transfer it to Bengal. It is doubtful whether the change would confer any material benefits on the Uriyas, while it would certainly be antagonistic to the interests of the Telugus who equal the Uriyas in number and form the more important part of the population, commercially and otherwise. It is useless to strive after an administration based upon linguistic uniformity which both geographical and ethnological conditions combined with the ordinary course of trade and commerce and consequent commingling of races, render absolutely incapable of satisfactory fulfilment. His Excellency in Council feels confident that when the true facts are set before the Government of India, they will abandon the proposal to transfer the Ganjam District and the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agencies to Bengal. I am to request that, if the Government of India agree that the change should not be carried out, their orders to that effect may be conveyed to this Government at an early date without reference to their decision on the other proposals for the relief of the Government of Bengal. The agitation has led to racial antipathy between Telugus and Uriyas, and it is high time that all cause for its continuance should be removed without delay.

APPENDIX II.

CRITICISM OF PARAGRAPH 10 OF THE REPORT OF THE PHILIP-DUFF COMMITTEE.

(1) *Administrative Difficulties.*—(a) At present one District Collector, four Deputy Collectors, two District Munsiffs, the District Educational Officer, two Tahsildars and one District Health Officer are Oriyas. The Telugu officers posted as Magistrates, Tahsildars, etc., do know Oriya.

(b) The number of Oriya ministerial officers has increased year after year so that at present there are a fair number of Oriyas in all grades of service. Whenever there is a vacancy, District officers give preference to Oriyas, whenever qualified candidates are available.

(c) As a rule, notices and summonses printed in Oriya are filled up in Oriya. Occasionally a new Telugu clerk may fill them up in Telugu. Similarly, a new Oriya clerk may fill up in Oriya notices and summonses printed in Telugu. Such cases occur in other bi-lingual districts in the Presidency where (1) Tamil and Telugu, (2) Telugu and Canarese, and (3) Tamil and Malayalam are spoken.

(d) This is an exaggeration intended to mislead the authorities. Almost all postal peons in the predominantly Oriya areas are conversant with Oriya. Enquiry will elicit the truth.

(e) This is also an exaggeration. In all predominantly Oriya Taluks canal officials can speak Oriya, whether they are Telugus or Oriyas.

(f) Madras is far away not only to the Oriyas but also to the Telugus of the Ganjam District. It is similarly far away to the inhabitants of Tinnevely, Malabar and South Canara. In every province there is only one High Court and it cannot but be distant to the border districts of the province. The Ganjam Telugu Vakils and Barristers practising in the City of Madras know Oriya. The Oriya compositors in the Government Press, Madras, are Oriyas. There are several Oriya students reading in Madras.

(2) *Difficulties of Local Bodies.*—(a) The President and the Vice-President of the District Board, and two Presidents and two Vice-Presidents of the four Taluk Boards in the district, are Oriyas. The President of the District Temple Committee is an Oriya. Three out of the four members of the Legislative Council elected from the Ganjam district are Oriyas. In the Goomsur and Chattrapur Taluk Boards a majority of members are Oriyas. In the Berhampur Taluk Board the representation of the Oriyas is more than the representation of the Telugus. The Chicacole Taluk Board area and the Parlakimedi Municipality are practically purely Telugu areas. Even there the Oriyas are more than adequately represented.

It is not possible to divide a bi-lingual area where Telugus and Oriyas live side by side into firkas or wards consisting of purely Oriya houses and those of purely Telugu houses. The allegation that in the Berhampur Municipality and the Ichchhapuram Union Board the wards were so jerrymandered that the Oriyas could not exercise their full voting power, is false. The fact that four Councillors have been returned unopposed in the recent Municipal elections held at Berhampur, disproves this allegation. Three more Oriyas were successful in contested elections.

The allegation that 4,000 out of the total population of 10,000 in the Ichchhapuram Union Board area are Oriyas, is incorrect. It is a very exaggerated figure. Most of the Oriyas in this Union are poor and illiterate fishermen. So it is no wonder that only two of the Union Members are Oriyas.

(b) The allegation that Local Boards which are predominantly or entirely Oriya do not get sympathetic consideration from Telugu Ministers, is entirely false. The Raja of Khallikota has been the President of the District Board of Ganjam for the last nine years. The amounts of grants that are secured for the District for bridges and roads, for repairs to flood damages, and for other purposes excluding grants-in-aid of general

resources in unprecedented in the annals of Ganjam. The total amounts granted by the Telugu Ministers to the Oriya President in the last seven years are noted below :—

							Ra.
1925-26	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,26,230
1926-27	..	..	..	..	..	..	2,90,360
1927-28	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,27,950
1928-29	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,33,242
1929-30	..	..	..	..	..	..	3,79,031
1930-31	..	..	..	..	..	..	5,88,602
1931-32	..	..	..	..	..	..	4,76,534

The above grants are exclusive of grants made for village roads and for Education. The total expenditure from Provincial funds in all classes of schools in the plains of Ganjam is Ra. 5,02,233 and in the Agency of Ganjam district, Ra. 1,11,677, in 1925-26.

(c) Notices, etc., issued by the Local Bodies presided over by the Telugus are printed in both the languages, Telugu and Oriya.

(d) The debates in Municipal Councils and Taluk Boards are generally conducted in the Vernacular. In the District Board they are conducted in English. Whenever a debate is conducted in English, it is explained in both Oriya and Telugu to members who do not know English. This cannot be helped in bi-lingual areas and cannot be a grievance or complaint.

(e) The allegations that there is generally racial jealousy between Telugu and Oriya members and that much time is spent in useless arguments are entirely devoid of foundation. Racial jealousy has been introduced only by the protagonists of the present Oriya movement.

(3) *Co-operative Credit Societies.*—There are two Co-operative Central Banks, one at Aska and another at Berhampur. There are eight Unions with 339 societies under the jurisdiction of the Bank at Aska and they are purely Oriya. All the non-officials that supervise the Bank at Aska and 339 societies under it are Oriyas. The bye-laws, registers, and forms that are in use in this Bank and the societies are in Oriya. The accounts are written in Oriya. Even the Audit reports issued by the Auditors are in Oriya.

There is another Bank at Berhampur which contains 10 unions and has 336 societies under its jurisdiction. Three out of the ten unions containing 114 societies are purely Oriya and are supervised by Oriya non-officials. The bye-laws, registers, and forms in these three unions and 114 societies are in Oriya. Out of the remaining seven unions, three unions with 75 societies are in Chicacole Taluk and they are purely Telugu. The remaining four unions, namely, Parlakimedi, Tekkali, Ichchhapuram, and Gopalapur with 147 societies are also purely Telugu. The bye-laws, registers, and forms in the Telugu societies are maintained in Telugu.

The bye-laws, registers and forms in the Bank at Berhampur are kept both in Telugu and Oriya.

The head of the Co-operative Department (Deputy Registrar) in the Ganjam District is an Oriya gentleman. Out of the sixteen Co-operative Inspectors in the district, nine Inspectors are Oriyas, six Inspectors are Telugus and one is a Muhammadan. In the office staff, nine are Telugus, four are Oriyas and one is a Muhammadan.

From the above particulars it will be seen that the allegation that "the Central Banks are entirely Telugu and the superior control of the societies is also Telugu" is false. Co-operative Credit Societies have not at all been "handicapped in Oriya areas." On the other hand, the Co-operative movement has developed rapidly year after year in Oriya areas. Some years ago the societies used to get their forms and account books from Madras where they were printed in English and Tamil. This disadvantage from which the societies in both Telugu and Oriya areas suffered, was rectified long ago.

(4) *Oriya Christian Community of Berhampur.*—The Oriya Christians state that their leaders are residents of Orissa and that the Mission High school is located in Cuttack. The disadvantages and the difficulties they are labouring under have not been specified.

So no reply is called for. There are also Telugu Christians scattered throughout the district.

(5) *Difficulties in Respect of Education.*—(a) The allegations made in this paragraph do not hold good. The members of the Managing Committee of the Khallikota College are almost entirely Oriyas. The Principal of the College is an Oriya. The teachers of the lower forms do know Oriya, while in the case of the teachers of the higher forms where the teaching is in English except in the case of Oriya, a knowledge of Oriya is not essential. Oriya graduates get employment so easily in other more lucrative services that they do not care to take up the educational service.

The District Educational Officer and the President of the District Board and the Presidents of two Taluk Boards are Oriyas. The control of nearly all the educational institutions in the district is in the hands of Oriyas.

(b) Text books published in Cuttack are being approved both by the Madras and Andhra Universities. Recently text books are being published in this district.

(c) Now that the Andhra University has been located at Vizagapatam, the complaint as to distance has disappeared. Oriya has been recognised as the second language both by the Madras and the Andhra Universities.

(d) We are not aware of any difficulties as regards admission into the Ravenshaw College at Cuttack. As a matter of fact, even Telugus are freely admitted into the College.

(6) *Medical difficulties.*—(a) The impression that is intended to be created is that all the Sub-Assistant Surgeons are appointed by the Provincial Government. There are altogether 38 Medical institutions (including ten rural dispensaries) in the plains of Ganjam District. Out of them, only fifteen institutions are in charge of Government Medical Officers. For the remaining 23 institutions Presidents of Local Boards select and appoint their own hands. They know Oriya.

The Government have sanctioned a reward of Rs. 250 for every Sub-Assistant Surgeon serving in the Agency who has passed a test in colloquial knowledge of Oriya provided he is not bred up and educated in the District. Many Sub-Assistant Surgeons have passed this test. Some of them are still serving in the Ganjam District. It is compulsory for every Sub-Assistant Surgeon to serve two years in the Agency and five years in addition in the plains of the district.

The Telugu Sub-Assistant Surgeons working in the district have never experienced any difficulty in understanding the complaints of Oriya patients.

(7) *Deterioration of language, customs and Manners.*—One of the grounds which the Ganjam Oriyas urge for amalgamation is that the Oriya language and pronunciation have deteriorated owing to the separation of Ganjam from Orissa.

This contention is unfounded. Any man who has any knowledge of Oriya literature and language, must say that the literary and the spoken language of Oriya in Ganjam has not only not deteriorated but is even better than that in Orissa.

The authors of some of the best literary works in Oriya were Ganjamites. The present Oriya writings have much deteriorated in quality both in Orissa and Ganjam. Even now the writings in Ganjam are decidedly of better quality than those of Orissa.

With regard to pronunciation, the Oriya pronunciation in Ganjam is the correct pronunciation, whereas the pronunciation as also the language in Cuttack has very much taken the characteristics of Hindustani, Bengali and Bihari.

Oriya words have all vowel endings. It is how Oriya ought to be pronounced and how it is pronounced in Ganjam. But in Orissa words are pronounced with consonantal endings which is the characteristic of Hindustani and other languages.

With regard to religion and customs, it is well known that the religion and customs of all Hindus are fundamentally the same, though there may be slight differences in the details of rites and ceremonies which are found everywhere, even in the same village and in the families of the same sect.

In their anxiety to show that they have disadvantages in all matters the Oriyas go to the length of putting forward imaginary grounds.

APPENDIX III.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED IN THE GANJAM DISTRICT ANDHRA SABHA CONFERENCE HELD AT IOCHCHAPURAM ON THE 1ST NOVEMBER 1931.

Extract.

RESOLUTION III.

1. This Conference is of opinion that the Orissa Boundary Committee is premature, unjust and illogical.

2. This Conference emphatically protests against the Government of India constituting a Boundary Committee for creating a separate Orissa Province and fixing the boundaries thereof, while they are silent about the constitution of a Boundary Committee for the creation of an Andhra Province which has been demanded for the last twenty years.

3. This Conference is also of opinion that the delimitation of the boundary between the Oriyas and the Andhras can be made properly and effectively, if both the Committees for the creation of Andhra Province and Oriya Province are constituted simultaneously, as the whole body of the Andhras of the thirteen districts of Madras Presidency are interested in the boundary question.

4. This Conference of the Andhras of Ganjam District views with grave concern and consternation the appointment of the Orissa Boundary Committee with undue haste and without any discussion either by the Round Table Conference or any of its sub-committees, long before the Round Table Conference evolved any scheme of constitutional Reforms.

5. This Conference is emphatically of opinion that the sittings of the Committee should at least be postponed till the village war census figures of 1931 according to race and language are given due and wide publication.

RESOLUTION IV.

This Conference submits that no part of the Ganjam District should be amalgamated with Orissa for the following reasons :—

1. In the overwhelmingly Telugu populated Taluks of Parlakimedi, Tekkali, and Sompeta, Oriyas form 10 to 25 per cent. of the population, that in these taluks Oriyas know Telugu well and Telugus do not know Oriya, and that the following statements made in the report of the Philip-Duff Committee as regards Parlakimedi taluk are quite incorrect: "Telugus really do not care much what Government they are under provided they keep their lands. Comparatively few Oriyas know Telugu, the language difficulty for them is, therefore, real. But very many of the Telugus know Oriya; they are by common consent more intelligent, more pushing and better cultivators, more capable of adapting themselves to possible changes, and therefore less likely to suffer from the comparatively small inconveniences which form the burden of the Oriya complaint. In fine, if the major portion of Ganjam including most of the Zamindari areas is taken from Madras, it is natural that the Parlakimedi Estate should go with the majority, and we cannot find the Telugu inhabitants anticipate much inconvenience from the possible change."

2. In Ichchhapuram, Berhampur, and Chatrapur taluks, as stated in the report of the Philip-Duff Committee, "In reality the inhabitants along the coast even further north-east than Berhampur are largely Telugus, and in Berhampur town itself there are more Telugus than Oriyas, but inland the percentage is much more in favour of Oriyas, and it is obvious that no line of demarcation within this area is feasible". So the *status quo* should be maintained in these Taluks. Further, in the Berhampur and Chatrapur Taluks, the Telugus take predominant part in educational and cultural progress and in commercial and industrial occupations. So it would be unjust to the Telugus to amalgamate these taluks with Orissa.

3. In the taluks of Purushottapur, Aska, Surada and Goomsur, Oriya-speaking villages are so intermingled with others in which only Telugu is spoken that no line of demarcation is practicable. So the *status quo* should be maintained.

4. The lines of communications from the Taluks of Aska, Surada, and Goomsur and the Agency tracts run south-east and it is necessary that they should continue to be linked

with the coastal area of which they form the hinterland. There are natural barriers in the way of communications from the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Orissa.

5. In the Agency Taluks of Udayagiri, Balliguda, and Ramagiri the Oriyas form 22, 31 and 36 per cent, respectively of the population. The other languages spoken are Dravidian or allied to Dravidian. The aboriginal tribes in the Agency of this District have no linguistic or ethnic affinities with the Oriya population. The traders and merchants who visit the hill tracts are almost all Telugus by caste.

6. The following observations of the Government of India made in their despatch dated the 2nd February 1905 to His Majesty's Secretary of State hold good to this day :—
“The transfer would give rise to serious difficulties in connection with the linguistic and racial conditions and the geographical conformation of the tract in question, that it would greatly complicate and confuse its judicial arrangements, and it would place the administration of peculiar land revenue system in the hands of officers who would have no acquaintance with the principles on which it is based or with the language on which the bulk of its records are and must continue to be maintained.”

RESOLUTION V.

As the Government decided to associate “persons drawn from the areas most interested” with the Orissa Boundary Committee and as the thirteen taluks of the Ganjam District suggested by the Oriya leaders to be amalgamated with Orissa form the most important area of all the areas in Madras and Bengal Presidencies and the Central Provinces proposed to be amalgamated with Orissa, it is just and necessary to appoint an Andhra from the disputed area in Ganjam as an associate member. This Conference suggests that M. R. Ry. Rao Sahib Nettimi Ramamurti Nayudu Garu, Retired Deputy Collector, be added as an associate member.

MEMORANDUM BY MR. C. A. HENDERSON, I.C.S., MADRAS.

1. The question of the formation of an Oriya Province is not a new one. It was first considered in 1904 and was then abandoned. The matter was reopened in the Montford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms and by the Joint Parliamentary Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919. The view of the Joint Committee was that no change in the boundaries of a province should be made without due consideration of the views of the Legislative Council of the province. They held that any clear request made by a majority of a Legislative Council representing a distinctive racial or linguistic unit for its constitution as a sub-province or separate province would afford *prima facie* a case for enquiry by a Commission appointed by the Secretary of State and that the opposition of a majority of the Provincial Legislative Council to the request of the minority representing such a distinctive territorial unit should not be a bar to the appointment of such a Commission of Enquiry. Again in the Central legislature a resolution was moved in 1920 by Mr. Sachidananda Sinha of Bihar and Orissa in favour of the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts at present administered or controlled by the Governments of Madras, Bengal and Central Provinces with the existing Oriss division of Bihar and Orissa. The Government of India promised an enquiry and the resolution was not pressed. In November 1921 a resolution favouring amalgamation was moved and carried without a division in the Bihar and Orissa Council, the spirit of the resolution being accepted by the Local Government. In December 1921 Mr. Sashibushan Rath brought forward a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council proposing that a mixed official and non-official committee be appointed to advise Government to formulate a reply to the reference of the Government of India on the subject of amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts under one administration. The form of the resolution was not such as to lead directly to a discussion of the main issue and the debate was chiefly directed to the question whether at that particular juncture it would be appropriate to appoint a mixed committee to enable the Government to make up its own mind on the subject. It is, however, worth noting that speakers on both sides in the debate contemplated expressly that, before any decision was taken, an opportunity would be given to the local legislature to express its views directly on the issues involved. The mover moreover definitely assumed that the proposals of the Government of India would eventually be laid before the local legislature whose views *inter alia* would be weighed by a Royal Commission of Enquiry appointed to investigate the whole subject. The debate, however, was wholly infructuous as a means of eliciting the council's views on the main issue and the resolution was withdrawn by the mover. In 1924 the Government of India appointed the Phillips-Duff Committee to ascertain by local enquiry the attitude of the Oriya-speaking population of the Madras Presidency towards the question of amalgamating their area with Orissa. So far as legislative discussions are concerned, the subject was next broached only in 1926, when, the Government understand, a motion was tabled in the Legislative Assembly on the subject of the amalgamation of the Oriya tracts under a Deputy Governor and although this motion obtained a place in the ballot for the meeting of the 26th January 1926 it was not actually discussed.

2. The difficulties, administrative and otherwise, of the separation of any part of this province are set out in paragraphs 9—14 of Letter No. 531,

Public, dated the 20th June 1904. Most of the objections then raised still hold good. Briefly summarised they fall under the following heads :—

(a) *Historical*.—Ganjām and Vizagapatam districts, which are the only two for consideration, have been attached to the Madras Presidency for a century and a half. *Primâ facie*, any proposal for dismemberment requires the most convincing arguments to justify it. 'Dismemberment will be bitterly resented by any part of the Telugu population resident in the transferred areas. Their sentimental attachment to the 'Andhra Desa' is strong; and granting that the 'spiritual home' of the Oriyas of Ganjām and Vizagapatam is in Orissa, the fact remains that the feelings of the Telugus will be more seriously outraged by transfer to unfamiliar surroundings and a new form of administration, than the feelings on the Oriyas by remaining in a province in which they have been so long resident and with the administration of which they are thoroughly familiar.

(b) *Linguistic*.—If dismemberment is made on the linguistic basis, a suitable boundary will be difficult to lay down, which will not transfer a considerable number of Telugus to the new province and leave a certain number of Oriyas in Madras. This is obvious and inevitable. The transfer of Telugus to the new province will put them at a great disadvantage, since it can hardly be expected that Telugu will be recognized as an official language for court and other purposes for the benefit of a comparatively small part of the population; whereas the Oriyas in the Madras Presidency have the advantage of recognition of their own language and are at no disadvantage in competition with the Telugus. In fact, particular care has been taken to see that Oriyas have a fair share of appointments.

(c) *Land Revenue system*.—A considerable part of the Oriya-speaking area is under the ryotwari system which, it is understood, differs in many important particulars from the system obtaining in Orissa.

(d) *Laws*.—One result of the transfer would be the creation of an *annexe* to the new province possessing a special Code of laws affecting not only the ryotwari areas, but also the zamindari since the principles of the Madras Estates Land Act are, it is understood, in many respects different from the Act or Acts in force in Orissa.

(e) *High Court*.—The jurisdiction of the Madras High Court will also be affected by the transfer. Whatever High Court the transferred areas come under will experience great difficulty in interpreting Madras Acts.

(f) *Absence of lateral communications*.—All the main roads in the area lead from the hinterland towards the sea and the lateral communications in the Agency can hardly be said to exist and are certainly not continuous. Nor is there any direct road whatever connecting Vizagapatam Agency with Ganjām Agency. To reach the agencies, it is necessary to pass through the plains, and if the Vizagapatam Agency were transferred to the proposed province, the only approach would be through the Madras Presidency. Parts of the Vizagapatam Agency have been subject to periodical outbreaks by the Hill tribes, which have involved military or semi-military operations extending over considerable periods. The latest of these was as recently as 1921. The

difficulty of dealing with such outbreaks from a base in the new province are obvious. It may be added that it was mainly owing to the absence of lateral communications that a scheme for the amalgamation of the Agency tracts under one jurisdiction in 1920 broke down in actual working and had to be given up. In fact the difficulties of separating the plains from the hinterland are almost insuperable.

(g) *Irrigation*.—Both Vizagapatam and Ganjám are irrigated by rivers taking their rise in the Agency, most of them having a short course. The separation of the upper reaches from the lower in different provinces has obvious disadvantages from the point of view of irrigation control. Nor must it be forgotten that the greater part of the drainage of the Vizagapatam Agency flows into tributaries of the Gōdávāri river, the protection of the headquarters of which is most important for this Presidency.

(h) *Trade*.—The trade routes are from the hinterland in the agencies to the markets in the plains. With the development of the Vizagapatam harbour and the recent opening of the Parvatipur-Raipur railway it may be expected that the general trend of trade in the direction of Vizagapatam is likely to be extended. It may be added that almost all the trade even in the north of Ganjám is in the hands of Telugus with head offices in the Telugu country.

3. If, however, in spite of these difficulties, it is proposed to separate these areas in which the Oriya language predominates, the following points are deserving of consideration.

4. Vizagapatam and Ganjám are for certain administrative purposes split up into two—the plains and the agency.

(a) *Vizagapatam Plains*.—It is presumed that there can be no question of transferring any part of the Vizagapatam plains to the new province, since the plains area is purely Telugu.

(b) *Vizagapatam Agency*.—The Gudem taluk which is Government, and the zamindari areas known as the Viravilli agency, the Salur agency and the Srungavarapukota agencies are Telugu and should in any case remain attached to Madras.

Practically the whole of the rest of the Agency belongs to Jeypore estate or its adjunct Pachipenta, with the exception of the south-western part of Gunupur taluk which belongs to other estates. Part of Padwa taluk (adjoining Gudem) and part of Malkanagiri (adjoining East Godavari) are pure Telugu and there is a considerable admixture of Telugus in Pottangi taluk. In the remaining taluks the predominating language is Oriya, in so much as many of the aboriginal tribes speak a kind of Oriya, but the Khonds and Savaras have a language of their own and many of them know no Oriya. Aboriginal tribes, as a whole, have no affinity with Orissa and the bastard Oriya they talk is barely intelligible in Orissa and differs even from the Oriya of Ganjám. The number of persons who can be described as pure Oriyas is small, mostly Oriya Brahmans, immigrants from the plains who have from time to time obtained grants of land. They alone can have any real wish to be united with an Oriya province and their number is insignificant. The aboriginal tribes can have no predilection for an Oriya province merely because they speak a kind of Oriya,

though it may be agreed that they may raise no strong objection to transfer to a new province, since the majority would be totally incapable of understanding what was intended or appreciating the results.

The Raja of Jeypore has, it is understood, no wish for transfer to an Oriya province; and the difficulty of dividing the Jeypore estate between two provinces are obvious, if it were thought that the taluks adjoining Gānjam, i.e., Bissemcuttack and Gunupur were suitable otherwise for transfer.

(c) *Ganjām Plains*.—The coastal strip of country comprising Chicacole, Tekkali and Sompeta is predominantly Telugu. Even in Parlakimedi the majority are Telugus. In the remainder of Ganjām Oriya is the predominating language, though the admixture of Telugus in part of Berhampur taluk, especially Berhampur town, is considerable. Zamindars are generally Oriyas and it is they and their dependants who are the main supporters of the Oriya ideal.

(d) *Ganjām Agency*.—In the south including 'Parlakimedi Maliahs' Savaras form the bulk of the population with an admixture of Khonds and a small number of persons who can perhaps be classed as Oriyas. In the north, Khonds predominate with an admixture of other aboriginal tribes and Oriyas. The great majority have no affinity with Orissa, though Orissa is perhaps the 'spiritual home' of the minority.

In Ganjām the connexion between the plains and the agency is in some respects even closer than in Vizagapatam, since the zamindari part of the agency is definitely attached to estates in the plains, e.g., the Pedakimedi Maliahs to the Pedakimedi estate. The trade routes are also from the hinterland to the markets in the coast, Chicacole in the south and Berhampur via Russellkonda in the north. The difficulties of separating the agency hinterland from the coastal area with which it is connected are very great. So also in the matter of irrigation, the administrative difficulties of dividing for example the area irrigated by the Rushikulya project between two provinces are obvious.

5. The general conclusion is therefore that a boundary must be devised which will so far as possible maintain the natural connection between the hinterland and coastal areas.

On this principle the separation of any part of the Vizagapatam Agency from the Vizagapatam Plains presents almost insuperable difficulties, and since Vizagapatam Plains is pure Telugu and only a very small minority of the inhabitants of the agency have any real connexion with Orissa it follows that no part of the Vizagapatam Agency is suitable for transfer to the proposed Oriya province.

6. In Ganjām the case is different since part at least of the plains is predominantly Oriya.

In the south Chicacole is almost pure Telugu while in Parlakimedi, Tekkali and Sompeta Telugus largely predominate. The hinterland consisting mainly of the Parlakimedi Maliahs (which is Government, not zamindari) is inhabited mainly by Savaras, most of whom speak a language of their own and are closely connected with the Savaras of Vizagapatam Agency. This area naturally goes with the Telugu area adjoining it and the number of Oriyas affected is too small

to deserve serious consideration. Geographically the southern part of Ramagiri taluk, which is also inhabited mainly by Savaras, should follow the Parlakimedi Maliahs since the natural outlet of this area is towards the Telugu country, but the difficulty arises that this part of Ramagiri belongs to the Pedakimedi estate which is predominantly Oriya. On the whole it would seem best that in this case the decision governing the plains portion of the estate should govern also the agency portion.

7. Returning to a consideration of the plains, north of Sompeta the taluks are predominantly Oriya in character, though in the coastal strip of Berhampur taluk running as far as Berhampur town Telugus are actually in a majority. No boundary can be devised which will not allot a proportion of Telugus to the new province and retain a proportion of Oriyas in Madras, but probably the most convenient boundary which will cause the least amount of dissatisfaction from the linguistic aspect is a boundary drawn from a point in the sea slightly north-east of Ichapur in a west-south-westerly direction, leaving the south corner of Berhampur taluk of Madras but excluding all land irrigated by the Rushikulya project. This boundary will probably transfer the Chikali and Jarada estates to the Oriya province and then run along the southern boundary of the Ramagiri taluk, leaving the Jalandra Maliahs with the Jalandra estate in Madras. But the details of this boundary can only be worked out on the ground by a special officer or officers appointed for the purpose.

8. It is understood that a separate reference is being made to the Government of Madras on the financial aspects of the question. No more need, therefore, be said than that the Government of Madras will in due course put forward their claim to be reimbursed the capital cost of irrigation projects such as the Rushikulya project and of buildings such as the Government buildings at Chatrapur and Berhampur. It may also be pointed out that since the Rushikulya project is not a paying project, the transfer of the plains portions of Ganjam north of the suggested boundary is not likely to assist the finances of the new province to any considerable extent, if at all. As for the agency, it is not a financial asset, but a liability, since the outlay for general administrative purposes far exceeds the small revenue. The transfer of the Ganjam Agency cannot but increase the financial embarrassment which will be materially increased by the transfer of the Vizagapatam Agency, should this be seriously contemplated. However glad the Madras Government might be to be rid of this liability on purely financial grounds, the fact remains that from every point of view the transfer of the Vizagapatam Agency or of the southern half of Ganjam district to the proposed province is beset with so many difficulties as scarcely to come within the region of 'practical politics', while the transfer of the northern part of Ganjam, though less open to serious objection, will probably result in more dissatisfaction to the Telugus than the maintenance of the *status quo* to Oriyas.

APPENDIX 4.

CENSUS STATISTICS.

	PAGES.
1. Census statistics furnished by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Bengal	190—236
2. Census statistics furnished by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Bihar and Orissa	237—248
3. Census statistics furnished by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Central Provinces	249—250
4. Census statistics furnished by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Madras	251—290

APPENDIX 4 (1).

CENSUS STATISTICS FURNISHED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, BENGAL

List of Tables for the population of Midnapur District.

No.	Description.
1.	By subdivision, police station and census town according to religion ; both sexes.
2.	By subdivision, police station and census town : all religions, Hindus and Muslims by sexes.
3.	By subdivision, police station and census town : Tribal religions, Christians and others by sexes.
4.	Christians by race.
5.	By subdivision, police station and census town according to mother-tongue ; both sexes.
6.	By subdivision, police station and census town according to mother-tongue : Any language, Bengali and Oriya ; by sexes.
7.	By subdivision, police station and census town according to mother-tongue : Hind and Urdu, Kherwari and all other languages but these, Bengali and Oriya ; by sexes.
8.	By subdivision, police station and census town according to subsidiary language both sexes.
9.	By subdivision, police station and census town according to subsidiary language Any language, Bengali and Oriya ; by sexes.
10.	By subdivision, police station and census town according to subsidiary language : Hindi and Urdu, Kherwari and all other languages but these, Bengali and Oriya ; by sexes.
11.	By subdivision, police station and census town, aged 5 years and over according to literacy : Any language, Bengali and Oriya ; both sexes.
12.	By subdivision, police station and census town, aged 5 years and over according to literacy in Bengali and Oriya ; by sexes.
13.	By subdivision, police station and census town, aged 5 years and over according to literacy in Bengali and Oriya at age-groups ; both sexes.
14.	By subdivision, police station and census town, aged 5 years and over according to literacy in Bengali and Oriya at age-groups ; by sexes.

Supplementary Table I : Population of Midnapur District by subdivisions and police stations according to race ; both sexes.

Supplementary Table II : Racial classification of groups in Midnapore adopted for Supplementary Table I.

TABLE 1.—Population of Midnapur District by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to religion : all religions ; both sexes.

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	All religions.		Hindu.		Muslim.		Tribal.		Christian.		Others.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS	2,799,093	100	2,492,989	89·06	212,473	7·59	86,245	3·08	6,089	0·22	1,297	0·05
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION	860,622	100	751,220	87·29	74,345	8·64	28,582	3·32	5,237	0·61	1,238	0·14
1	Midnapur	75,078	100	60,438	80·49	12,510	16·67	1,468	1·96	655	0·87	7	0·01
a	Midnapur Municipality	32,021	100	25,248	78·85	6,253	19·53	8	0·02	512	1·60	..	..
2	Kharagpur	137,644	100	115,485	83·91	16,133	11·72	819	0·59	3,991	2·90	1,216	0·88
b	Kharagpur Town	20,263	100	15,645	77·21	4,139	20·43	100	0·49	329	1·62	50	0·25
c	Kharagpur Ry. Settlement	37,871	100	27,773	73·33	5,419	14·31	10	0·03	3,521	9·30	1,148	3·03
3	Salbani	56,795	100	50,291	88·55	1,180	2·08	4,937	8·69	375	0·66	12	0·02
4	Keshpur	73,853	100	58,085	78·64	14,116	19·12	1,652	2·24	..	..	..	..
5	Debra	57,492	100	49,399	85·93	4,016	6·99	4,022	6·99	54	0·09	1	..
6	Sabang	71,286	100	69,276	97·18	1,847	2·59	163	0·23	..	..	..	..
7	Pingla	46,944	100	42,142	89·76	4,111	8·76	690	1·48	1	..	..	..
8	Narayangarh	65,927	100	62,812	95·29	2,271	3·44	836	1·27	6	..	2	..
9	Keshiari	37,865	100	35,163	92·86	357	0·94	2,255	5·96	90	0·24	..	..

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	All religions.		Hindu.		Muslim.		Tribal.		Christian.		Others.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
10	Garbeta	122,079	100	102,098	83·63	11,264	9·23	8,713	7·14	6	..	..	..
11	Dantan	87,557	100	79,546	90·85	5,098	5·82	2,854	3·26	59	0·07	..	..
12	Mohanpur	28,102	100	26,487	94·26	1,442	5·13	173	0·61	..	..	..	..
	JHARGHAM SUB-DIVISION	389,130	100	328,743	84·48	5,175	1·33	54,572	14·03	628	0·16	12	..
13	Gopiballavpur	121,339	100	115,007	94·79	796	0·65	5,382	4·43	154	0·13	..	..
14	Nayagram	50,533	100	34,117	67·52	257	0·51	16,019	31·69	140	0·28	..	..
15	Jhargram	60,438	100	58,241	96·37	1,317	2·18	681	1·12	199	0·33	..	..
16	Jamboni	41,870	100	31,167	74·44	1,417	3·38	9,244	22·08	30	0·07	12	0·03
17	Binpur	114,950	100	90,211	78·48	1,368	1·21	23,246	20·22	105	0·09	..	..
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION	273,308	100	256,549	93·87	15,097	5·52	1,655	0·61	7	..	..	..
	Ghatal	75,799	100	71,547	94·39	3,687	4·87	560	0·74	5	..	..	..
d	Ghatal Municipality	12,400	100	12,054	97·20	341	2·76	..	..	5	0·04	..	..
e	Kharar Municipality	5,736	100	5,539	96·56	90	1·57	107	1·87	..	..	..	..
19	Daspur	118,379	100	113,452	95·85	4,714	3·98	211	0·17	2	..	..	..
20	Chandrakona	79,130	100	71,550	90·41	6,696	8·47	884	1·12	..	..	..	..
f	Chandrakona Municipality	6,016	100	5,707	94·86	235	3·91	74	1·23	..	..	..	..

g	Ramjibanpur Municipality	6,230	100	5,911	94-88	319	5-12	..	..	..	..	..	..
h	Khirpai Municipality ..	3,693	100	3,526	95-47	167	4-53	..	..	..	..	..	..
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION ..	643,157	100	558,448	86-83	83,079	12-92	1,404	0-22	205	0-03	21	..
21	Tamluk	108,209	100	95,124	87-92	12,990	12-00	74	0-06	21	0-02	..	..
i	Tamluk Municipality ..	9,095	100	7,642	84-03	1,431	15-73	1	0-01	21	0-23	..	..
22	Moyna	54,072	100	50,560	93-51	3,512	6-49	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	Sutabata	82,858	100	70,455	85-04	12,398	14-96	..	..	..	..	5	..
24	Panskura	144,467	100	119,787	82-91	23,332	16-15	1,330	0-92	2	..	16	0-02
25	Nandigram	140,394	100	121,876	86-81	18,518	13-19	..	..	..	..	..	..
26	Mahisadal	113,157	100	100,646	88-95	12,329	10-89	..	..	182	0-16	..	..
	CONTAI SUB-DIVISION ..	632,876	100	598,029	94-51	34,777	5-49	32	..	12	..	26	..
27	Khijri	77,204	100	73,518	95-24	3,675	4-76	..	..	6	..	5	..
28	Contai	166,851	100	155,450	93-16	11,380	6-83	17	0-01	4	..	..	..
j	Contai Municipality ..	5,259	100	4,757	90-45	498	9-47	..	..	4	0-08	..	..
29	Ramnagar	84,818	100	79,476	93-70	5,321	6-28	..	..	..	..	21	0-02
30	Bhagwanpur	114,791	100	109,927	95-76	4,864	4-24	..	..	..	..	..	..
31	Egra	94,069	100	89,183	94-81	4,871	5-18	13	0-01	2	..	..	..
32	Patashpur	95,143	100	94,475	95-09	4,666	4-91	2	..	..	..	..	..

NOTE.—The population of census towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

TABLE 2.—*Population of Midnapur District by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to religion; all religions, Hindus and Muslims; by sexes.*

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	All religions.		Hindus.		Muslims.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS ..	1,417,025	1,382,068	1,262,749	1,230,240	107,890	104,583
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION ..	443,329	417,293	386,592	364,628	39,308	35,037
1	Midnapur	39,521	35,557	31,740	28,698	6,741	5,769
a	Midnapur Municipality ..	17,807	14,214	14,003	11,245	3,544	2,709
2	Kharagpur	74,022	63,622	61,456	54,029	9,200	6,933
b	Kharagpur Town ..	10,949	9,314	8,404	7,241	2,282	1,857
c	Kharagpur Ry. Settlement	22,494	15,377	16,369	11,384	3,432	1,967
3	Salbani	28,349	28,446	25,171	25,120	589	591
4	Keshpur	37,648	36,204	29,764	28,331	7,123	6,993
5	Debra	29,480	28,012	25,455	23,944	2,046	1,970
6	Sahang	35,905	35,381	34,865	34,411	949	898
7	Pingla	23,480	23,464	21,137	21,005	1,968	2,123
8	Narayangarkh	34,369	31,558	32,724	30,088	1,234	1,037
9	Keshiari	19,259	18,606	17,839	17,324	223	134
10	Garbeta	61,575	60,504	61,584	50,512	5,856	5,408
11	Dantan	45,150	42,407	41,121	38,425	2,624	2,474
12	Mohanpur	14,570	13,532	13,746	12,741	735	707
	JHARGRAM SUB-DIVISION ..	1,93,795	195,335	163,666	165,077	2,838	2,337
13	Gopiballepur	60,422	60,917	57,198	57,809	463	333
14	Nayagram	25,207	25,326	16,992	17,125	153	104
15	Jhargram	30,249	30,189	29,050	29,191	768	549
16	Jamboni	20,686	21,184	15,404	15,763	704	713
17	Bimpur	57,231	57,719	45,022	45,189	750	638
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION ..	137,126	136,182	128,798	127,751	7,509	7,588
18	Ghatal	38,456	37,343	36,336	35,211	1,830	1,857
a	Ghatal Municipality ..	6,422	5,978	6,216	5,838	203	138
c	Kharai Municipality ..	2,963	2,773	2,860	2,679	46	44
19	Daspur	58,558	59,821	56,202	57,250	2,255	2,459
20	Chandrakona	40,112	39,018	36,260	35,290	3,424	3,272
f	Chandrakona Municipality	2,127	2,889	2,957	2,760	131	104
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality	2,216	2,014	2,060	2,851	156	163

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	All religions.		Hindus.		Muslims.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
A	Khirpai Municipality ..	1,851	1,842	1,755	1,771	96	71
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION ..	321,339	321,818	279,798	278,650	40,727	42,352
21	Tamluk	53,686	54,523	47,305	47,819	6,337	6,653
	Tamluk Municipality ..	4,998	4,097	4,189	3,453	797	634
22	Mayna	26,688	27,384	25,061	25,499	1,627	1,885
23	Satahata	41,656	41,202	35,466	34,989	6,185	6,213
24	Panskura	71,264	73,203	59,456	60,331	11,118	12,214
25	Nandigram	71,345	69,049	62,050	59,826	9,295	9,223
26	Mahisdal	56,700	56,457	50,460	50,186	6,165	6,164
	CONTAI SUB-DIVISION ..	321,436	311,440	303,895	294,134	17,508	17,269
27	Khijri	38,977	38,227	37,090	36,428	1,882	1,793
28	Contai	85,705	81,146	79,751	75,699	5,944	5,436
	Contai Municipality ..	3,021	2,238	2,717	2,040	302	196
29	Ramnagar	41,521	43,297	38,801	40,675	2,714	2,607
30	Bhagwanpur	57,911	56,890	55,690	54,237	2,221	2,643
31	Egra	48,288	45,781	45,835	43,348	2,443	2,428
32	Patashpur	49,034	48,109	46,728	43,747	2,304	2,362

NOTE.—The population of census towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

TABLE 3.—Population of Midnapur District by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to religion: Tribal, Christian and other religions; by sexes.

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Tribal.		Christian.		Others.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS ..	42,369	43,876	3,232	2,867	795	512
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION ..	13,849	14,733	2,322	2,415	758	490
1	Midnapur	707	761	329	326	4	3
a	Midnapur Municipality ..	3	5	257	255	..	..
2	Kharagpur	402	417	2,219	1,772	745	471
b	Kharagpur Town	49	51	185	144	29	21
c	Kharagpur Ry. Settlement	10	..	1,962	1,559	101	447
3	Salbani	2,412	2,525	171	204	6	6
4	Keshpur	772	880	..	..	..	..

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Tribal.		Christian.		Others.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
5	Debra	1,951	2,071	27	27	1	..
6	Sabang	91	72	..	..	..	..
7	Pingla	354	336	1	..	..	..
8	Narayangarh	405	431	4	2	2	..
9	Koshiari	1,159	1,096	38	52	..	..
10	Garbeta	4,132	4,581	3	3	..	..
11	Dantan	1,375	1,479	30	29	..	..
12	Mohanpur	89	84	..	..	..	..
	JHAJGRAM SUB-DIVISION ..	26,975	27,597	311	317	5	7
13	Gopiballarpur	2,686	2,696	75	79	..	..
14	Nayagram	7,987	8,032	75	65	..	..
15	Jhargram	337	344	94	105	..	..
16	Jamboni	4,556	4,688	17	13	5	7
17	Binpur	11,409	11,837	50	55	..	..
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION ..	814	841	5	2	..	..
18	Ghatal	230	223	3	2	..	..
d	Ghatal Municipality ..	..	..	3	2	..	..
e	Kharar Municipality ..	57	50	..	..	..	..
19	Daspur	99	112	2	..	..	..
20	Chandrakona	485	506	..	..	..	..
f	Chandrakona Municipality	39	35	..	..	..	..
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality	..	..	..	..	..	..
h	Khirpai Municipality ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION ..	713	691	88	117	13	8
21	Tamluk	33	41	11	10	..	..
i	Tamluk Municipality ..	1	..	11	10	..	..
22	Mayna	..	..	..	..	..	..
23	Sutahata	..	..	..	..	5	..
24	Panskura	680	650	2	..	8	8
25	Nandigram	..	..	..	..	..	..
26	Mahisadal	..	..	75	107	..	..
	CONTAI SUB-DIVISION ..	18	14	6	6	9	17
27	Khijri	..	..	2	4	3	3
28	Contai	8	9	2	2	..	..

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Tribal.		Christian.		Others.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
29	Contai Municipality ..	..	..	2	2	..	..
30	Ramnagar ..	..	..	..	..	6	15
31	Bhagwanpur ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
32	Egra ..	8	5	2	..	..	..
33	Pataahpur ..	2	..	..	..	..	..

NOTE.—The population of Census Towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

TABLE 4.—Population of Midnapur District: Christians by race and sex.

Race.						Total.	Male.	Female.
1						2	3	4
ALL RACES	..	..	..	..	..	6,089	3,232	2,857
EUROPEANS	..	..	..	..	..	182	124	58
ANGLO-INDIANS	..	..	..	..	..	1,810	1,001	809
INDIANS	..	..	..	..	..	4,097	2,107	1,990
Bengali	..	..	..	..	..	1,642	818	824
Bhumij	..	..	..	..	..	24	12	12
Goanese	..	..	..	..	..	45	28	17
Gujarati	..	..	..	..	..	3	2	1
Hindustani	..	..	..	..	..	144	83	61
Khasi	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..
Konkani	..	..	..	..	..	41	32	9
Mahratti	..	..	..	..	..	2	2	..
Malayalam	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..
Oriya	..	..	..	..	..	498	279	219
Punjabi	..	..	..	..	..	3	1	2
Santali	..	..	..	..	..	672	322	350
Tamil	..	..	..	..	..	774	394	380
Telugu	..	..	..	..	..	246	131	115

TABLE 5.—Population of Midnapur District by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to mother tongue; both sexes.

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Numbers of both sexes speaking as mother tongue.											
		Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.		Hindi and Urdu.		Kherwari.		Other languages.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS ..	2,799,093	100	2,463,810	88.0	45,101	1.6	91,618	3.3	177,932	6.4	20,632	0.7
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION ..	855,385	100	683,056	79.9	31,973	3.7	52,020	6.1	71,673	8.4	16,663	1.9
1	Midnapur ..	74,423	100	58,672	78.9	966	1.3	8,332	11.2	5,929	8.0	524	0.7
a	Midnapur Municipality ..	31,509	100	24,149	76.6	903	2.9	5,502	17.5	760	2.4	195	0.6
2	Kharagpur ..	133,653	100	73,163	54.7	4,527	3.4	28,897	21.6	11,275	8.4	15,791	11.8
b	Kharagpur Town ..	19,934	100	4,778	24.0	1,120	5.6	11,900	59.7	888	4.5	1,248	6.3
c	Kharagpur Ry. Settlement	34,350	100	3,385	9.9	3,126	9.1	13,465	39.2	69	0.2	14,305	4.6
3	Salbeni ..	56,420	100	48,925	86.7	8	..	549	1.0	6,918	12.3	20	..
4	Keshpur ..	73,853	100	71,070	96.2	26	..	87	0.1	2,669	3.6	1	..
5	Debra ..	57,438	100	46,108	80.3	458	0.8	3,361	5.9	7,474	13.0	37	0.1
6	Sabang ..	71,286	100	69,586	97.6	16	..	1,402	2.0	279	0.4	3	..
7	Pingla ..	46,943	100	44,386	94.6	42	..	1,528	3.3	988	2.1	1	..
8	Narayangarh ..	65,921	100	58,052	88.1	1,035	1.6	1,599	2.4	5,161	7.8	74	0.1
9	Koshiari ..	37,775	100	30,094	79.7	393	1.0	196	0.5	7,057	18.7	35	0.1

10	Garbeta	122,073	100	102,707	84.1	32	..	278	0.2	19,040	15.6	16	..
11	Dantan	87,498	100	54,858	62.7	23,590	27.0	4,462	5.1	4,454	5.1	134	0.2
12	Mohanpur	28,102	100	25,435	90.5	880	3.1	1,331	4.7	429	1.5	27	0.1
	JHARGRAM SUB-DIVISION	388,502	100	279,741	72.0	7,051	1.8	2,180	0.6	99,208	25.5	322	0.1
13	Gopiballavpur	121,185	100	93,230	76.9	1,552	1.3	403	0.3	25,976	21.4	24	..
14	Nayagram	50,393	100	28,509	56.6	4,676	9.3	277	0.5	16,811	33.4	120	0.2
15	Jhargram	60,239	100	49,059	81.4	621	1.0	605	1.0	9,866	16.4	88	0.1
16	Jamboni	41,840	100	29,721	71.0	188	0.4	601	1.4	11,303	27.0	27	0.1
17	Binpur	114,845	100	79,222	69.0	14	..	294	0.3	35,252	30.7	63	0.1
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION	273,301	100	268,208	98.1	134	..	837	0.3	4,001	1.5	121	0.044
18	Ghatal	75,794	100	73,757	97.3	41	0.1	352	0.5	1,557	2.1	87	..
d	Ghatal Municipality	12,395	100	11,952	96.4	22	0.2	78	0.6	256	2.1	87	..
e	Kharar Municipality	5,736	100	5,635	98.2	..	..	4	..	97	1.7	..	..
19	Daspur	118,377	100	117,091	98.9	68	..	259	0.2	954	0.8	5	..
20	Chandrakona	79,130	100	77,360	97.8	25	..	226	0.3	1,490	1.9	29	..
f	Chandrakona Municipality	6,016	100	5,881	97.8	1	..	29	0.5	105	1.7	..	..
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality	6,230	100	6,122	98.2	5	..	42	0.7	50	0.8	11	0.2
h	Khirpai Municipality	3,693	100	3,472	94.0	6	..	9	0.3	199	5.4	7	0.2
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION	642,952	100	624,623	97.1	1,019	0.2	14,875	2.3	2,170	0.3	265	..
21	Tamluk	108,188	100	106,181	98.1	114	0.1	1,728	1.6	115	0.1	50	..
i	Tamluk Municipality	9,074	100	8,686	95.7	78	0.9	285	3.1	22	0.2	3	..

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Numbers of both sexes speaking as mother tongue.											
		Any language.		Bangali.		Oriya.		Hindi and Urdu.		Kherwari.		Other languages.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
22	Mayna	54,072	100	52,853	97.7	9	..	1,210	2.2	..	..	..	..
23	Sutahata	82,858	100	82,611	99.7	124	0.1	72	0.1	..	..	51	0.1
24	Panakura	144,465	100	133,271	92.3	288	0.2	8,768	6.1	2,055	1.4	83	0.1
25	Nandigram	140,394	100	137,112	97.7	392	0.3	2,850	2.0	..	..	40	..
26	Mahisadal	112,975	100	112,695	99.7	92	..	247	0.2	..	..	41	..
	CONTAL SUB-DIVISION	632,864	100	606,540	95.9	4,426	0.7	21,562	3.4	184	0.2	152	0.1
27	Khijri	77,198	100	76,485	99.1	64	0.1	637	0.8	..	..	12	..
28	Contal	166,847	100	158,275	94.9	1,024	0.6	7,419	4.4	22	..	107	0.1
f	Contal Municipality	5,255	100	4,669	88.8	94	1.8	467	8.9	5	..	20	0.4
29	Ramnagar	84,818	100	77,989	91.9	1,601	1.9	5,245	6.2	..	..	3	..
30	Bhagwanpur	114,791	100	110,195	96.0	696	0.6	3,894	3.4	..	..	6	..
31	Egra	94,067	100	92,263	98.1	320	0.3	1,372	1.5	93	..	19	..
32	Pataashpur	95,143	100	91,353	96.0	721	0.8	2,995	3.1	69	..	5	..

NOTE 1.—The population of Census Towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding Police Station distinguished by figures.

NOTE 2.—The first line includes and all other lines exclude figures for Christians.

NOTE 3.—No percentage is shown for less than 5 per 10,000. The percentages 0.1 and 0.2 indicate respectively from 5 to 14 and from 15 to 24 per 10,000, etc.

TABLE 6.—Population of Midnapur District by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to mother tongue: Any language, Bengali and Oriya; by sexes.

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Numbers by sexes speaking as mother tongue.					
		Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS ..	1,417,025	1,382,068	1,245,542	1,218,268	23,684	21,417
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION ..	440,507	414,878	349,655	333,401	17,593	14,380
1.	Midnapur ..	39,192	35,231	30,789	27,883	657	309
a	Midnapur Municipality ..	17,550	13,959	13,395	10,754	607	296
2	Kharagpur ..	71,803	61,850	37,886	35,277	3,118	1,409
b	Kharagpur Town ..	10,764	9,170	2,709	2,069	656	464
c	Kharagpur Railway Settlement ..	20,532	13,818	2,205	1,180	2,249	877
3	Salbani ..	28,178	28,242	24,369	24,556	7	1
4	Keshpur ..	37,649	36,204	36,272	34,798	15	11
5	Dobra ..	29,453	27,985	23,620	22,488	298	160
6	Sabang ..	35,905	35,381	35,010	34,576	15	1
7	Pingle ..	23,479	23,464	22,258	22,128	38	4
8	Narayangarh ..	34,365	31,556	30,237	27,815	556	479
9	Keshiari ..	19,221	18,554	15,418	14,676	203	190
10	Garbeta ..	61,572	60,501	52,247	50,460	25	7
11	Dantan ..	45,120	42,378	28,417	26,441	12,125	11,465
12	Mohanpur ..	14,570	13,532	13,132	12,303	636	344
	JHARGRAM SUB-DIVISION ..	193,484	195,018	140,454	139,287	2,304	2,747
13	Gopiballavpur ..	60,347	60,838	47,159	46,071	588	904
14	Nayagram ..	25,132	25,261	14,198	14,311	2,284	2,392
15	Jhargram ..	30,155	30,084	24,490	24,569	334	287
16	Jamboni ..	20,669	21,171	14,681	15,040	86	102
17	Binpur ..	57,181	57,664	39,926	39,296	12	2
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION ..	137,121	136,180	134,375	133,833	128	6
18	Ghatal ..	38,453	37,341	27,369	26,388	40	1
d	Ghatal Municipality ..	6,419	5,976	6,149	5,803	21	1
e	Kharar Municipality ..	2,963	2,773	2,903	2,732	..	..
19	Daspur ..	58,556	59,821	57,859	59,232	64	4
20	Chandrakona ..	40,112	39,018	39,147	38,213	24	1
f	Chandrakona Municipality ..	3,127	2,889	3,044	2,837	1	-

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Numbers by sexes speaking as mother tongue.					
		Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION— <i>contd.</i>						
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality	3,216	3,014	3,141	2,981	4	..
h	Khirpai Municipality ..	1,851	1,842	1,743	1,729	6	..
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION ..	321,251	321,701	311,843	312,780	703	316
21	Tamluk	53,675	54,513	52,646	53,535	102	12
i	Tamluk Municipality ..	4,087	4,087	4,694	3,992	66	12
22	Mayna	26,688	27,384	26,148	26,705	8	1
23	Sutahata	41,656	41,202	41,454	41,157	98	28
24	Panskura	71,262	73,203	65,499	67,772	190	98
25	Nandigram	71,345	69,049	69,749	67,363	231	161
26	Mahisadal	56,625	56,350	56,347	56,248	76	16
	CONTAI SUB-DIVISION ..	321,430	311,434	308,397	298,143	1,677	2,749
27	Khijri	38,975	38,223	38,576	37,909	50	14
28	Contai	85,705	81,144	81,139	77,136	523	501
j	Contai Municipality ..	3,019	2,236	2,643	2,026	55	39
29	Ramnagar	41,521	43,297	38,446	39,523	381	1,220
30	Bhagwanpur	57,911	56,880	55,669	54,526	347	349
31	Egra	48,286	45,781	47,426	44,837	85	235
32	Pataashpur	49,034	46,109	47,141	44,212	281	430

Note 1.—The population of census towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

Note 2.—The first line includes and all other lines exclude figures for Christians.

TABLE 7.—Population of Midnapur District by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to mother tongue: Hindi and Urdu, Kherwari and all other languages but these, and Bengali and Oriya; by sexes.

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Numbers by sexes speaking as mother tongue.					
		Hindi and Urdu.		Kherwari.		Other languages.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS ..	49,724	41,894	86,680	81,252	11,395	9,237
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION ..	29,106	22,914	35,963	36,620	9,100	7,563
1	Midnapur	4,587	3,745	2,837	3,092	322	102

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Numbers by sexes speaking as mother tongue.					
		Hindi and Urdu.		Kherwari.		Other languages.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
a	Midnapur Municipality ..	3,023	2,479	373	387	152	43
2	Kharagpur	16,681	12,216	5,565	5,710	8,553	7,238
b	Kharagpur Town ..	6,350	5,550	409	479	640	608
c	Kharagpur Railway Set- tlement.	8,294	5,171	27	42	7,757	6,548
3	Salbani	356	193	3,432	3,486	14	6
4	Keshpur	82	5	1,279	1,390	1	..
5	Debra	1,801	1,560	3,704	3,770	30	7
6	Sabang	730	672	147	132	3	..
7	Pingla	688	838	494	494	1	..
8	Narayangarh	881	718	2,645	2,516	46	28
9	Keshiari	104	92	3,479	3,578	17	18
10	Garbeta	198	80	9,090	9,950	12	4
11	Dantan	2,318	2,144	2,177	2,277	83	51
12	Mohanpur	680	651	204	225	18	9
	JHABERAM SUB-DIVISION ..	1,369	811	48,163	51,055	204	118
13	Gopiballavpur	233	170	12,349	13,627	18	6
14	Nayagram	192	85	8,375	8,436	83	37
15	Jhargram	398	207	4,881	4,985	52	36
16	Jamboni	333	268	5,554	5,749	15	12
17	Binpur	213	81	16,994	18,258	36	27
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION ..	596	241	1,938	2,063	84	37
18	Ghatal	218	134	776	781	50	37
d	Ghatal Municipality ..	78	..	121	135	50	37
e	Kharar Municipality ..	3	1	57	40	..	..
19	Daspur	199	60	429	525	5	..
20	Chandrakona	179	47	733	757	29	..
f	Chandrakona Municipality	26	3	56	49	..	..
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality	42	..	18	32	11	..
h	Khirpai Municipality ..	7	2	88	111	7	..
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION ..	7,384	7,491	1,118	1,052	203	62
21	Tamluk	849	879	42	73	36	14
i	Tamluk Municipality ..	214	71	10	12	3	..

No.	Sub-division, Police Station, or Census Town.	Numbers by sexes speaking as mother tongue.					
		Hindi and Urdu.		Kherwari.		Other languages.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
22	Mayna	532	678	..	..	..	..
23	Sutahata	58	14	..	..	48	3
24	Panskura	4,424	4,344	1,076	979	73	10
25	Nandigram	1,345	1,505	..	..	20	20
26	Mahisdal	176	71	..	..	26	15
	CONTAL SUB-DIVISION ..	11,186	10,376	84	100	86	66
27	Khijri	340	297	..	..	9	3
28	Contal	3,974	3,445	11	11	56	51
f	Contal Municipality ..	305	162	3	2	13	7
29	Ramnagar	2,691	2,554	..	..	3	..
30	Bhagwanpur	1,822	2,002	..	..	3	3
31	Egra	714	658	47	46	14	5
32	Pataahpur	1,575	1,420	26	43	1	4

Note 1.—The population of census towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

Note 2.—The first line includes and all other lines exclude figures for Christians.

TABLE 8.—Population of Midnapur District by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to subsidiary language spoken : both sexes.

No.	Sub-division, police station or census town.	Total population.	Number of both sexes speaking as subsidiary language.											
			Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.		Hindi and Urdu.		Kherwari.		Others.	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS	2,799,093	120,864	4.3	60,648	2.2	31,815	1.1	26,530	0.9	1,206	..	1,865	0.1
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION	855,385	72,246	8.4	33,560	3.9	23,100	2.7	14,257	1.7	785	0.1	1,611	0.2
1	Midnapur	74,423	2,568	3.5	2,190	2.9	11	..	402	0.5	1	..	7	..
a	Midnapur Municipality ..	31,509	1,821	5.8	1,443	4.6	11	..	402	1.3	1	..	7	..
2	Kharagpur	133,653	19,018	14.2	6,640	5.0	353	0.3	11,295	8.4	154	0.1	1,591	1.2
b	Kharagpur Town	19,934	2,011	10.1	817	4.1	26	0.1	1,127	5.7	..	..	104	0.5
c	Kharagpur Railway Settlement.	34,350	10,191	29.7	248	0.7	327	1.0	9,045	26.3	..	..	1,487	4.3
3	Salbani	56,420	1,974	3.5	1,951	3.5	..	..	22	..	1	..	4	..
4	Keshpur	73,853	730	1.0	233	0.3	..	..	497	0.7	..	..	..	..
5	Debra	57,438	5,809	10.1	5,709	9.9	3	..	31	0.1	63	0.1	3	..
6	Sabang	71,286	681	1.0	428	0.6	..	..	253	0.4	..	..	..	..
7	Pingla	46,943	1,356	2.9	1,094	2.3	3	..	259	0.6	..	..	..	..
8	Narayangarh	65,921	2,033	3.1	1,684	2.6	..	..	349	0.5	..	..	1	..
9	Keshiari	37,775	5,918	15.7	4,418	11.7	1,109	2.9	22	0.1	369	1.0	..	..

No.	Sub-division, police station or census town.	Total population.	Number of both sexes speaking as subsidiary language.											
			Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.		Hindi and Urdu.		Kherwari.		Others.	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION—contd.													
10	Garbeta	122,073	7,875	6·5	7,728	6·3	..	..	147	0·1	..	..	..	..
11	Dantan	87,498	2,769	3·2	1,320	1·5	313	0·4	938	1·1	197	0·2	5	..
12	Mohanpur	28,102	21,515	76·5	165	0·6	21,308	75·8	42	0·1	..	..	..	..
	JHARGRAM SUB-DIVISION		21,537	5·5	20,170	5·2	651	0·2	393	0·1	421	0·1	9	..
13	Gopiballavpur	121,185	13,903	11·5	13,197	10·9	496	0·4	155	0·1	47	..	8	..
14	Nayagram	50,393	981	1·9	894	1·8	126	0·3	32	0·1	..	..	..	..
15	Jhargram	60,239	3,344	5·6	2,895	4·8	2	..	89	0·1	371	0·6	..	..
16	Jamboni	41,840	1,780	4·3	1,712	4·1	9	..	61	0·1	..	..	1	..
17	Binpur	114,845	1,549	1·3	1,472	1·3	18	..	56	..	3	..	..	..
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION		928	0·3	482	0·2	..	..	399	0·1	..	..	47	..
18	Ghatal	75,794	199	0·3	134	0·2	..	..	65	0·1	..	..	..	..
d	Ghatal Municipality	12,395	32	0·3	32	0·3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
e	Kharar Municipality	5,736	39	0·7	39	0·7	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	Daspur	118,377	372	0·3	115	0·1	..	..	216	0·2	..	..	41	..
20	Chandrakona	79,130	357	0·5	233	0·3	..	..	118	0·1	..	..	6	..

f	Chandrakona Municipality	6,016	9	0.1	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	..	6	0.1
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality	6,230	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
h	Khirpai Municipality	3,693	2	0.1	2	0.1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION	642,952	5,710	0.9	2,319	0.4	51	..	3,293	0.5	..	..	54	..
21	Tamluk	108,188	635	0.6	164	0.2	..	..	471	0.4	..	..	2	..
i	Tamluk Municipality	9,074	44	0.5	17	0.2	..	..	27	0.3	..	..	2	..
22	Mayna	54,072	649	1.2	95	0.2	..	..	524	1.0	..	..	30	0.1
23	Sutahata	82,858	154	0.2	1	..	..	..	150	0.2	..	..	3	..
24	Panskura	144,465	2,546	1.8	1,123	0.8	..	..	1,419	1.0	..	..	9	..
25	Nandigram	140,394	1,613	1.1	928	0.7	51	..	626	0.4	..	..	8	..
26	Mahisadal	112,975	113	0.1	8	..	..	..	103	0.1	..	..	2	..
	CONTAI SUB-DIVISION	632,864	16,668	2.6	3,555	0.6	7,524	1.2	5,525	0.9	..	..	83	..
27	Khijri	77,198	816	1.1	468	0.6	48	0.1	226	0.3	..	..	74	0.1
28	Contai	166,847	6,899	4.1	1,036	0.6	4,285	2.6	1,588	1.0	..	..	8	..
j	Contai Municipality	5,255	176	3.3	56	1.1	93	1.8	23	0.4	..	..	8	0.2
29	Ramnagar	84,818	1,235	1.5	740	0.9	487	0.6	8	..	..	..	1	..
30	Bhagwanpur	114,791	268	0.2	164	0.1	..	..	104	0.1	..	..	..	..
31	Egra	94,067	5,870	6.2	614	0.7	2,524	2.7	2,732	2.9	..	..	..	..
32	Patashpur	95,143	1,580	1.7	533	0.6	180	0.2	867	0.9	..	..	..	..

Note 1.—The figures for census towns distinguished by letters are included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

Note 2.—The first line includes and all other lines exclude figures for Christians.

Note 3.—Where the figures in column 4 do not exactly correspond with the totals of columns 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14 the reason is the inclusion under each language spoken of persons speaking more than one subsidiary language.

Note 4.—No percentage is shown for less than 5 per 10,000. The percentages 0.1 and 0.2 represent respectively from 5 to 14 and from 15 to 20 per 10,000.

TABLE 9.—Population of Midnapur District by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to subsidiary language spoken.
All languages, Bengali and Oriya: By sexes.

No.	Sub-division, police station or census town.	Number by sexes speaking as subsidiary language.							
		Total population.		Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS	1,417,025	1,382,068	67,784	53,080	33,378	27,270	16,775	15,040
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION	440,507	414,878	41,048	31,198	18,624	14,936	12,140	10,960
1	Midnapur	39,192	35,231	1,526	1,042	1,280	910	10	1
a	Midnapur Municipality	17,550	13,959	1,104	717	858	585	10	1
2	Kharagpur	71,803	61,850	11,938	7,080	3,512	3,128	218	135
b	Kharagpur Town	10,764	9,170	1,355	856	459	358	16	10
c	Kharagpur Railway Settlement	20,532	13,818	7,125	3,066	226	58	202	125
3	Salbani	28,178	28,242	1,039	935	1,029	922	..	..
4	Keshpur	37,649	36,204	336	394	119	114	..	..
5	Debra	29,453	27,985	3,131	2,878	3,065	2,644	3	..
6	Sabang	35,905	35,381	406	275	277	151	..	..

7	Pingla	23,479	23,464	787	569	525	569	3	1
8	Narayangarh	34,365	31,556	1,507	526	1,320	364	..	1
9	Keshiari	19,221	18,554	2,908	3,010	2,143	2,275	562	547
10	Garbeta	61,572	60,501	4,077	3,798	3,997	3,731	..	..
11	Dantan	45,120	42,378	2,132	637	1,212	108	252	61
12	Mohanpur	14,570	13,532	11,261	10,254	145	20	11,092	10,216
	JHARGRAM SUB-DIVISION	193,484	195,018	11,407	10,130	10,517	9,653	494	157
13	Gopiballavpur	60,347	60,838	7,208	6,695	6,707	6,490	376	120
14	Nayagram	25,132	25,261	618	343	604	290	91	35
15	Jhargram	30,155	30,084	1,764	1,580	1,488	1,407	1	1
16	Jamboni	20,669	21,171	933	847	895	817	8	1
17	Binpur	57,181	56,664	884	665	823	649	18	..
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION	137,121	136,180	595	333	327	155	..	..
18	Ghatal	38,453	37,341	118	81	87	47	..	..
d	Ghatal Municipality	6,419	5,976	25	7	25	7	..	..
e	Kharar Municipality	2,963	2,773	23	16	23	16	..	..
19	Daspur	58,556	59,821	271	101	110	5	..	..
20	Chandrakona	40,112	39,018	206	151	130	103	..	..

No.	Sub-division, police station or census town.	Number by sexes speaking as subsidiary language.							
		Total population.		Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
f	Chandrakona Municipality ..	3,127	2,889	9	..	2	..	..	..
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality ..	3,216	3,014	..	..	..	..	..	..
h	Khirpai Municipality	1,851	1,842	2	..	..	..	..	..
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION	321,251	321,701	3,962	1,748	1,685	634	27	24
21	Tamluk	53,675	54,513	249	386	66	98	..	..
i	Tamluk Municipality	4,987	4,087	18	26	14	3	..	..
22	Mayna	26,688	27,384	281	368	75	20	..	..
23	Sutahata	41,656	41,202	153	1	1	..	..	..
24	Panskura	71,262	73,203	2,310	236	1,051	72	..	..
25	Nandigram	71,345	69,049	905	708	489	439	27	24
26	Mahisadal	56,625	56,350	64	49	3	5	..	..
	CORTAI SUB-DIVISION	321,430	311,434	8,726	7,942	1,935	1,620	3,880	3,644

27	Khijri	38,975	38,223	432	384	253	215	10	38
28	Contai	85,703	81,144	3,690	3,209	546	490	2,232	2,053
j	Contai Municipality	3,019	2,236	91	85	39	17	26	67
29	Ramnagar	41,521	43,297	713	522	406	334	300	187
30	Bhagwanpur	57,911	56,880	176	92	126	38	..	-
31	Egra	48,286	45,781	2,883	2,987	255	359	1,267	1,257
32	Patashpur	49,034	46,109	832	748	349	184	71	109

NOTE 1.—The figures for census towns distinguished by letters are included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

NOTE 2.—The first line includes and all other lines exclude figures for Christians.

NOTE 3.—The figures in columns 5 and 6 do not exactly correspond with the totals of the columns for the respective sex under Bengali and Oriya in this table and under Hindi and Urdu, Kherwari and Other Languages in table 10 owing to the inclusion under each language spoken of persons speaking more than one subsidiary language.

TABLE 10.—Population of Midnapur District by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to subsidiary language spoken: Hindi and Urdu, Kherwari and others than these and Bengali and Oriya by sexes.

No.	Subdivision, police station or census town.	Nos. by sexes speaking as subsidiary language.					
		Hindi and Urdu.		Kherwari.		Others.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS	16,480	10,070	744	482	1,419	446
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION	9,453	4,804	511	274	1,188	423
1	Midnapur	254	148	1	..	7	..
a	Midnapur Municipality ..	254	148	1	..	7	..
2	Kharagpur	7,771	3,524	102	52	1,168	23
b	Kharagpur Town	835	292	..	..	100	4
c	Kharagpur Railway Settlement.	6,407	2,638	..	..	1,068	419
3	Salbani	10	12	..	1	4	..
4	Keshpur	217	280	..	..	..	..
5	Debra	30	1	30	33	3	..
6	Sabang	129	124	..	..	..	..
7	Pingla	259	..	..	..	..	..
8	Narayangarh	187	162	..	..	1	..
9	Keshiari	22	..	181	188	..	..
10	Garbeta	80	67	..	..	..	..
11	Dantan	470	468	197	..	5	..
12	Mohanpur	24	18	..	..	..	..
	JHARGHAM SUB-DIVISION ..	255	138	233	188	8	1
13	Gopiballavpur	89	66	31	16	8	..
14	Nayagram	14	18	..	..	..	..
15	Jhargram	77	12	201	170	..	..
16	Jamboni	33	28	..	..	..	1
17	Binpur	42	14	1	2	..	..
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION ..	232	167	..	..	36	11
18	Ghatal	31	34	..	..	..	..
d	Ghatal Municipality ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
e	Kharar Municipality ..	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	Daspur	181	85	..	..	30	11
20	Chandrakona	70	48	..	..	6	..

No.	Sub-division, police station or census town.	Nos. by sexes speaking as subsidiary language.					
		Hindi and Urdu.		Kherwari.		Others.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
f	Chandrakona Municipality	1	..	..	..	6	..
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality	..	..	..	..	..	..
h	Khirpai Municipality	..	..	..	..	..	..
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION	2,212	1,081	..	..	43	11
21	Tamluk ..	183	288	..	..	..	2
	Tamluk Municipality	4	23	..	..	..	2
22	Mayna ..	177	347	..	..	29	1
23	Sutahata ..	150	..	..	..	2	1
24	Panskura ..	1,265	164	..	..	9	..
25	Nandigram ..	387	230	..	..	2	6
26	Mahisadal ..	60	43	..	..	1	1
	CONTAI SUB-DIVISION	2,847	2,678	..	..	83	..
27	Khijri ..	95	131	..	..	74	..
28	Contai ..	922	666	..	..	8	..
	Contai Municipality	22	1	..	..	8	..
29	Ramnagar ..	7	1	..	..	1	..
30	Bhagwanpur ..	50	54	..	..	..	..
31	Egra ..	1,361	1,371	..	..	..	..
32	Patashpur ..	412	455	..	..	..	..

NOTE 1.—The figures for census towns distinguished by letters are included in those for the next preceding police station distinguished by a number.

NOTE 2.—The first line includes but all other lines exclude figures for Christians.

TABLE 11.—Population of Midnapur District (aged 15 years and over) by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns according to literacy and vernacular of literacy: both sexes.

No.	Sub-division, Police station or Census Town.	Total population.	Numbers of both sexes literate in					
			Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS	2,423,637	424,636	17.5	404,294	16.7	6,225	0.3
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION	753,352	101,009	13.4	85,675	11.4	3,021	0.4
1	Midnapur	65,636	12,549	20.6	12,876	19.3	112	0.2
e	Midnapur Municipality	28,492	10,550	37.0	9,684	34.0	99	0.3
2	Kharagpur	120,176	20,291	16.9	8,232	6.9	1,044	0.9
6	Kharagpur Town	17,694	2,814	15.9	969	5.5	188	0.8
e	Kharagpur Railway Settlement	32,764	11,766	35.9	1,985	6.1	838	2.6
3	Salbani	49,176	3,248	6.6	3,268	6.6	4	..
4	Keshpur	64,537	6,239	9.7	6,210	9.5	..	..
5	Debra	50,738	7,793	15.4	7,673	15.1	29	0.1
6	Sabang	62,939	11,546	18.3	11,504	18.3	12	..
7	Pingla	40,995	8,552	20.9	8,537	20.8	14	..
8	Narayanganrh	58,413	5,664	9.7	5,388	9.2	115	0.2
9	Keshiari	32,861	2,338	7.1	2,338	6.8	78	0.2
10	Garbeta	105,401	10,607	10.1	10,470	9.9	13	..
11	Dantan	76,832	7,912	10.3	6,951	9.0	776	1.0
12	Mohanpur	24,627	3,170	12.9	2,628	10.7	324	3.4
	JHARGRAM SUB-DIVISION	330,491	22,662	6.8	21,062	6.4	1,406	0.4
13	Gopiballavpur	103,198	8,150	7.9	7,312	7.1	1,060	1.0
14	Nayagram	42,128	2,190	5.2	1,933	4.6	174	0.4
15	Jhargram	51,629	2,547	6.7	2,194	6.2	78	0.2
16	Jamboni	35,607	2,113	5.9	2,994	8.4	95	0.3
17	Binpur	97,921	5,742	5.9	5,649	5.8	9	..
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION	238,394	43,018	18.0	42,566	17.8	32	..
18	Ghatal	65,798	10,742	16.3	10,618	16.1	11	..
d	Ghatal Municipality	10,499	2,217	26.8	2,772	26.4	5	..
e	Kharak Municipality	6,154	1,123	21.8	1,112	21.6	..	..
19	Daspur	102,541	22,709	22.2	22,618	22.1	10	..
20	Chandrakona	70,060	9,562	13.7	9,330	13.3	11	..

No.	Sub-division, Police station or Census Town.	Total population.	Numbers of both sexes literate in					
			Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
f	Chandrekona Municipality ..	5,409	973	18.0	957	17.7	1	..
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality ..	5,531	1,175	21.2	1,066	19.3	..	..
h	Khirpai Municipality ..	3,306	285	8.6	283	8.6	..	..
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION ..	553,400	145,575	26.3	144,204	26.1	325	0.1
21	Tamluk ..	93,163	22,615	24.3	22,247	23.9	41	..
	Tamluk Municipality ..	7,961	2,982	37.5	2,709	34.0	23	0.3
22	Moyna ..	46,576	12,259	26.3	12,203	26.2	13	..
23	Sutahata ..	70,610	19,230	27.2	18,965	26.9	72	0.1
24	Panskura ..	124,906	27,798	22.2	27,427	22.0	47	..
25	Nandigram ..	121,005	38,669	32.0	38,497	31.8	125	0.1
26	Mahisadal ..	97,140	25,014	25.7	24,865	25.6	27	..
	CONTAI SUB-DIVISION ..	549,000	112,387	20.5	110,767	20.2	1,441	0.3
27	Khijri ..	66,019	19,655	29.8	19,571	29.7	194	0.3
28	Contai ..	145,698	36,777	25.3	35,925	24.7	423	0.3
j	Contai Municipality ..	4,698	2,269	48.3	1,664	35.4	28	0.6
29	Ramnagar ..	73,011	9,369	12.8	9,323	12.8	39	0.1
30	Bhagwanpur ..	98,498	22,587	22.9	22,469	22.8	46	..
31	Egra ..	82,160	12,180	14.8	11,806	14.4	529	0.6
32	Patashpur ..	83,614	11,819	14.1	11,673	14.0	210	0.3

NOTE 1.—The population of census towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

NOTE 2.—No percentage is shown for less than 5 per 10,000. The percentages 0.1 and 0.2 include respectively from 5 to 14 and from 15 to 24 per 10,000, etc.

TABLE 12.—Population of Midnapur District (aged 5 years and over) by sub-divisions, police stations, and census towns, according to literacy and vernacular of literacy: by sexes.

No.	Sub-division, Police station, or Census Town.	Total population.		Numbers by sexes literate in					
				Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS	1,232,323	1,191,314	383,966	40,670	366,514	37,780	5,768	457
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION	389,701	362,631	91,075	9,934	78,261	7,414	2,701	320
1	Midnapur	34,872	30,764	10,999	2,550	10,146	2,430	108	4
a	Midnapur Municipality	16,066	12,436	8,176	2,374	7,433	2,251	95	4
2	Kharagpur	65,214	54,962	17,147	3,144	7,365	867	846	198
b	Kharagpur Town	9,685	8,009	2,442	372	815	154	123	15
c	Kharagpur Railway Settlement	19,760	13,004	9,186	2,570	1,455	530	656	182
3	Salbani	24,624	24,552	2,928	420	2,863	405	2	2
4	Keshpur	33,104	31,433	5,730	509	5,706	504	..	..
5	Debra	26,096	24,642	7,352	441	7,238	435	29	..
6	Sabang	31,832	31,107	10,705	841	10,670	834	12	..

7	Pingla	20,362	20,633	8,312	240	8,297	240	14	..
8	Narayangarh	30,560	27,853	5,285	379	5,029	359	85	30
9	Keshiari	16,786	16,075	2,241	97	2,141	97	78	..
10	Garbeta	53,574	51,827	10,066	541	9,929	541	13	..
11	Dantan	39,910	36,943	7,349	563	6,435	516	731	45
12	Mohanpur	12,767	11,860	2,961	209	2,442	186	783	41
	JHARGRAM SUB-DIVISION	165,213	165,278	21,154	1,498	19,640	1,442	1,344	62
13	Gopiballavpur	51,580	51,618	7,593	557	6,778	534	1,016	34
14	Nayagram	21,085	21,051	2,084	106	1,837	96	161	13
15	Jhargram	26,007	25,622	3,125	332	2,869	325	76	2
16	Jamboni	17,666	17,941	2,875	238	2,765	229	82	13
17	Binpur	48,875	49,046	5,477	265	5,391	258	9	..
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION	119,837	118,557	39,589	3,424	39,176	3,390	31	1
18	Ghatal	33,493	32,300	9,954	788	9,839	779	10	1
d	Ghatal Municipality	5,515	4,978	2,575	242	2,531	241	4	1
e	Kharar Municipality	2,673	2,481	1,023	100	1,020	92	..	..
19	Daspur	50,767	51,774	20,786	1,923	20,699	1,919	10	..
20	Chandrakona	35,577	34,493	8,849	713	8,638	692	11	..

No.	Sub-division, Police station, or Census Town.	Total population.		Numbers by sexes literate in					
				Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.	
		Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
f	Chandrakona Municipality	2,810	2,599	899	74	885	72	1	..
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality	2,835	2,696	1,020	155	911	155	..	..
h	Khirpai Municipality	1,668	1,638	269	16	267	16	..	..
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION	277,258	276,142	131,570	14,005	130,365	13,839	318	7
21	Tamluk	46,291	46,872	20,686	1,929	20,404	1,843	41	..
i	Tamluk Municipality	4,401	3,560	2,442	540	2,229	480	23	..
22	Mayna	23,049	23,527	11,514	745	11,460	743	12	1
23	Sutabata	35,519	35,091	17,317	1,913	17,058	1,907	68	4
24	Panskura	61,754	63,152	25,509	2,279	25,195	2,232	47	..
25	Nandigram	61,840	59,165	33,509	5,160	33,344	5,153	123	2
26	Mahisadal	48,805	48,335	23,035	1,979	22,904	1,961	27	..
	CORTAI SUB-DIVISION	280,314	268,686	100,578	11,809	99,072	11,695	1,374	67

27	Khijri	33,543	32,476	17,671	1,984	17,587	1,984	185	9
28	Contal	75,403	70,205	31,809	4,968	30,980	4,936	399	24
f	Contal Municipality	2,759	1,939	1,749	520	1,151	513	25	3
29	Ramnagar	35,685	37,326	8,431	938	8,403	920	24	15
30	Bhagwanpur	50,025	48,473	20,519	2,068	20,451	2,018	40	6
31	Egra	42,249	39,911	11,152	1,028	10,783	1,023	518	11
32	Pataashpur	43,400	40,205	10,996	823	10,859	814	208	2

NOTE.—The population of census towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

TABLE 13.—Population of Midnapur District (aged 5 years and over) literate in Bengali and Oriya by sub-divisions, police stations and census towns, according to age-groups: both sexes.

No.	Sub-division, Police Station or Census Town.	Numbers of both sexes literate in					
		Bengali.			Oriya.		
		5—15.	15—20.	20 & over.	5—15.	15—20.	20 & over.
	ALL SUB-DIVISIONS ..	77,846	48,458	277,998	216	381	5,628
	SADAR SUB-DIVISION ..	13,044	9,872	62,769	131	243	2,647
1	Midnapur ..	2,325	1,541	8,710	1	14	97
a	Midnapur Municipality ..	1,874	1,207	6,803	1	13	85
2	Kharagpur ..	1,018	832	6,382	51	119	874
b	Kharagpur Town ..	129	120	720	7	12	119
c	Kharagpur Railway Settlement ..	374	225	1,386	43	103	692
3	Salbani ..	650	396	2,222	..	..	4
4	Keshpur ..	903	718	4,589	..	..	..
5	Debra ..	1,026	893	5,754	..	2	27
6	Sabang ..	1,783	1,149	8,572	1	2	9
7	Pingla ..	1,424	961	6,162	2	7	5
8	Narayangarh ..	684	621	4,103	14	13	88
9	Keshiari ..	279	256	1,703	..	1	77
10	Garbeta ..	1,640	1,194	7,636	3	1	9
11	Dantan ..	922	970	6,059	13	26	727
12	Mohanpur ..	410	341	1,877	48	48	730
	JHARGRAM SUB-DIVISION ..	3,953	2,613	14,517	24	56	1,326
13	Gopiballavpur ..	1,645	942	4,725	14	35	1,001
14	Nayagram ..	382	246	1,305	6	13	155
15	Jhargram ..	573	395	2,226	1	3	75
16	Jamboni ..	587	302	2,105	3	6	86
17	Binpur ..	765	728	4,156	..	..	9
	GHATAL SUB-DIVISION ..	7,688	4,955	29,923	..	2	30
18	Ghatal ..	1,732	1,232	7,654	..	2	9
d	Ghatal Municipality ..	517	326	1,929	..	1	4
e	Kharar Municipality ..	176	147	787	..	..	..
19	Daspur ..	4,503	2,682	15,433	..	..	10
20	Chandrakona ..	1,453	1,041	6,836	..	..	11
f	Chandrakona Municipality ..	123	109	726	..	..	1
g	Ramjibanpur Municipality ..	206	116	744	..	..	..
h	Khirpai Municipality ..	39	30	214	..	..	1
	TAMLUK SUB-DIVISION ..	30,016	17,387	96,821	18	18	289
21	Tamluk ..	4,462	2,605	15,180	5	2	34
i	Tamluk Municipality ..	599	329	1,781	3	1	19
22	Mayna ..	2,503	1,458	8,242	..	1	12
23	Sutahata ..	4,011	2,329	12,625	7	4	61
24	Panskura ..	5,197	3,328	18,902	2	6	30
25	Nandigram ..	9,101	4,783	24,613	4	2	119
26	Mahisadal ..	4,742	2,864	17,259	..	3	24
	CONTAI SUB-DIVISION ..	23,146	13,651	73,970	43	62	1,336
27	Khijri ..	5,029	2,316	12,226	2	5	187
28	Contai ..	7,116	4,551	24,258	17	26	380
j	Contai Municipality ..	310	235	1,119	2	6	21
29	Ramnagar ..	1,891	1,269	6,173	4	7	28
30	Bhagwanpur ..	4,884	2,643	14,942	5	2	39
31	Egra ..	2,328	1,489	7,969	14	15	600
32	Pataashpur ..	1,698	1,393	6,382	1	7	202

NOTE.—The population of census towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding Police station distinguished by figures.

TABLE 14.—Population of Midnapur District (aged 5 years and over) literate in Bengali and Oriya by subdivisions, police stations and census towns, according to age-groups : by sexes.

No.	Subdivision, police station or census town.	Numbers literate in Bengali.						Numbers literate in Oriya.					
		Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.		
		5-15.	15-20.	20 & over.	5-15.	15-20.	20 & over.	5-15.	15-20.	20 & over.	5-15.	15-20.	20 & over.
		3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
	ALL SUBDIVISIONS ..	68,107	42,809	255,798	9,739	5,849	22,192	176	323	5,269	40	58	359
	SADAR SUBDIVISION ..	11,432	8,779	58,050	1,612	1,093	4,709	103	201	2,397	28	42	250
1	Midnapur ..	1,718	1,194	7,239	612	347	1,471	1	13	94	..	1	3
a	Midnapur Municipality ..	1,307	888	5,238	567	319	1,365	1	12	82	..	1	3
2	Kharagpur ..	822	683	5,880	196	149	522	42	95	709	9	24	165
b	Kharagpur Town ..	96	90	629	33	30	91	6	8	109	1	4	10
c	Kharagpur Railway Settlement.	233	133	1,089	141	92	1,297	35	83	538	8	20	154
3	Salbani ..	527	341	1,995	123	55	227	..	..	2	..	..	2
4	Keshpur ..	789	638	4,279	114	80	310	..	..	..	..	..	..
5	Debra ..	971	844	5,423	55	49	331	..	2	27	..	..	..
6	Sabang ..	1,613	1,035	8,022	170	114	550	1	2	9	..	..	..
7	Pingla ..	1,382	920	5,995	42	41	157	2	7	5	..	..	..
8	Narayanganh ..	606	559	3,864	58	62	239	9	11	65	5	2	23

No.	Subdivision, police-station or census town.	Numbers literate in Bengali.						Numbers literate in Oriya.					
		Males.			Females.			Males.			Females.		
		5-15.	15-20.	20 & over.	5-15.	15-20.	20 & over.	5-15.	15-20.	20 & over.	5-15.	15-20.	20 & over.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
9	Keshiari	270	246	1,625	9	10	78	..	1	77	..	..	..
10	Garbeta.. ..	1,532	1,131	7,266	108	63	370	3	1	9	..	..	..
11	Dantan	832	879	4,724	90	91	335	8	30	693	5	6	34
12	Mohanpur	375	309	1,758	35	32	119	37	39	707	9	9	23
	JHARGRAM SUBDIVISION ..	2,578	2,424	13,638	372	189	879	22	49	1,273	2	7	53
13	Gopiballavpur	1,492	879	4,417	163	63	303	13	33	970	1	2	31
14	Nayagram	347	235	1,255	35	11	50	6	10	145	..	3	10
15	Jhargram	493	344	2,032	80	51	194	1	2	73	..	..	2
16	Jamboni	529	269	1,967	58	33	138	2	4	76	1	2	10
17	Bimpur	727	697	3,967	38	31	189	..	..	9	..	..	..
	GHATAL SUBDIVISION ..	6,983	4,402	27,791	705	553	2,132	..	1	30	..	1	..
18	Ghatal	1,546	1,061	7,212	186	151	442	..	1	9	..	1	..
d	Ghatal Municipality ..	461	283	1,787	56	43	142	..	..	4	..	1	..
e	Kharar Municipality ..	144	112	764	34	25	23	..	..	..	..	..	..
19	Daspur	4,123	2,288	14,183	375	294	1,250	..	..	10	..	..	..

20	Chandrakona	1,309	933	6,386	144	108	440	..	..	11	..	..	..
f	Chandrakona Municipality	113	99	673	10	10	52	..	..	1	..	..	..
9	Ramjibanpur Municipality	159	93	659	47	23	85	..	..	..	..	..	..
h	Khirpai Municipality ..	34	28	205	5	2	9	..	..	1	..	..	..
	TAMLUK SUBDIVISION ..	26,137	16,288	88,940	3,879	2,079	7,881	15	17	286	3	1	3
21	Tamluk	3,963	2,339	14,102	499	286	1,078	5	2	34	..	..	..
i	Tamluk Municipality ..	467	262	1,500	132	67	281	3	1	19	..	..	..
22	Mayna	2,337	1,344	7,779	166	114	463	..	..	12	..	1	..
23	Satabata	3,484	2,044	11,530	527	285	1,095	6	4	58	1	..	3
24	Panskura	4,619	2,992	17,584	578	336	1,318	2	6	39	..	..	..
25	Nandigram	7,533	3,982	21,829	1,568	801	2,784	2	2	119	2	..	..
26	Mahisadal	4,201	2,587	16,116	541	277	1,143	..	3	24	..	..	..
	CONTAI SUBDIVISION ..	19,977	11,716	67,379	3,169	1,935	6,591	36	55	1,283	7	7	53
27	Khijri	4,341	2,013	11,233	688	303	993	2	4	179	..	1	8
28	Contai	5,832	3,757	21,400	1,284	794	2,858	14	25	860	3	1	20
j	Contai Municipality ..	160	170	812	141	65	307	1	4	20	1	1	1
29	Ramnagar	1,649	1,083	5,671	242	176	502	2	3	19	2	4	9
30	Bhagwanpur	4,348	2,297	13,806	536	346	1,136	4	2	34	1	..	5
31	Egra	2,111	1,291	7,881	217	198	608	14	14	490	..	1	10
32	Patashpur	1,696	1,275	7,888	202	118	494	..	7	201	1	..	1

NOTE.—The population of census towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE I.—Population of Midnapur District by Subdivisions and police stations according to race ; both sexes.

No.	Subdivision, police station.	RACES.										Remarks.
		All races.		Bengali-Hindu-stani.		Oriya.		Aboriginal.		Others.		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
	ALL SUBDIVISIONS..	2,799,093	100	2,330,577	83·3	199,518	7·1	257,090	9·2	11,908	0·4	
	SADAR SUBDIVISION..	855,385	100	677,710	79·2	61,975	7·2	108,095	12·6	7,605	0·9	
1	Midnapur ..	74,423	100	60,826	81·7	2,987	4·0	10,297	13·8	313	0·4	
2	Kharagpur ..	133,653	100	100,886	75·5	6,356	4·8	19,663	14·7	6,948	5·2	
3	Salbani ..	56,420	100	44,695	79·2	299	0·5	11,412	20·2	14	..	
4	Keshpur ..	73,853	100	70,275	95·1	105	0·1	3,470	4·7	3	..	
5	Debra ..	57,438	100	45,736	79·6	1,165	2·0	10,507	18·3	30	0·1	
6	Sabang ..	71,286	100	69,582	97·6	732	1·0	965	1·4	7	..	
7	Pingla ..	44,943	100	44,576	95·0	784	1·7	1,574	3·4	9	..	
8	Narayanganh ..	65,921	100	49,258	74·7	7,239	11·0	9,371	14·2	53	0·1	
9	Keshiari ..	37,775	100	22,150	58·7	4,745	12·6	10,830	28·7	50	0·1	
10	Garbeta ...	122,073	100	100,491	82·3	514	0·4	21,041	17·2	27	...	

11	Dantan	37,498	100	54,673	62.5	24,656	28.2	8,031	9.2	138	0.2
12	Mohanpur ..	28,102	100	14,762	52.5	12,393	44.1	934	3.3	13	..
	JHARGHAM SUBDIVISION.	388,502	100	235,891	60.7	22,408	5.8	130,086	33.5	117	..
13	Gopiballavpur ..	121,185	100	70,371	58.1	15,079	12.5	35,672	29.4	63	0.1
14	Nayagram ..	50,393	100	25,751	51.1	4,797	9.5	19,827	39.3	18	..
15	Jhargram ..	60,239	100	43,713	72.6	946	1.6	15,572	25.8	8	..
16	Jamboni ..	41,840	100	26,700	63.8	854	2.0	14,261	34.1	25	0.1
17	Binpur	114,845	100	69,356	60.4	732	0.6	44,754	39.0	3	..
	GHATAL SUBDIVISION.	273,301	100	266,433	97.5	455	0.2	6,410	2.3	3	..
18	Ghatal	75,794	100	73,905	97.5	54	0.1	1,835	2.4	..	..
19	Daspur	118,377	100	115,977	97.9	351	0.3	2,048	1.7	1	..
20	Chandrakona ..	79,130	100	76,551	96.7	50	0.1	2,527	3.2	2	..
	TAMLUK SUBDIVISION.	642,952	100	624,468	97.1	11,054	1.7	7,248	1.1	182	..
21	Tamluk	108,188	100	106,694	98.7	853	0.8	640	0.6	1	..
22	Mayna	54,072	100	53,522	99.0	385	0.7	158	0.3	7	..
23	Sutahata ..	82,858	100	80,216	96.8	2,070	2.5	564	0.7	8	..
24	Panskura ..	144,465	100	140,015	96.9	783	0.5	3,611	2.5	56	..

No.	Subdivision, police station.	RACES.										Remarks.
		All races.		Bengali-Hindu-stani.		Oriya.		Aboriginal.		Others.		
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
25	Nandigram ..	140,394	100	134,350	95.7	5,457	3.9	553	0.4	34	..	
26	Mahisadal ..	112,975	100	109,671	97.1	1,506	1.3	1,722	1.5	76	0.1	
	CONTAI SUBDIVISION	632,864	100	524,289	82.9	103,128	16.3	4,555	0.7	892	0.1	
27	Khijri ..	77,198	100	71,151	92.2	5,549	7.2	477	0.7	21	..	
28	Contai ..	166,847	100	137,286	82.3	29,105	17.5	229	0.1	227	0.1	
29	Ramnagar ..	84,818	100	54,461	64.2	29,725	35.0	461	0.5	171	0.2	
30	Bhagwanpur ..	114,791	100	107,296	93.5	6,853	6.0	476	0.4	166	0.1	
31	Egra ..	94,067	100	70,870	75.3	21,045	22.4	2,068	2.2	84	0.1	
32	Patashpur ..	95,143	100	83,225	87.5	10,851	11.4	844	0.9	223	0.2	

NOTE 1.—The first line includes and all other lines exclude figures for Christians.

NOTE 2.—No percentage is shown for less than 5 per 10,000. The percentages 0.1, 0.2, etc., represent respectively 5 to 14, 15 to 24, etc., per 10,000.

SUPPLEMENTARY TABLE II.—Racial classification of groups in Midnapur adopted for supplementary table I.

NOTE.—Muslims and all groups not specified in this list have been treated as Bengali-Hindustani.)

A : Oriya.

* Barik : * Bhandari : * Brahman (Utkal) : * Dhopa : *** Goala : * Kandh (Bagar) : * Kandra : * Karan : * Kastha : * Khandait : * Kodma : ** Kumhar : * Mahalai : ** Mahato : * Oriya : * Patnaik : * Siyal : * Thuria : * Utkal Kaibartta : * Raju.

* Wherever returned.

** Only in police stations Midnapur, Kharagpur, Narayangarh, Keshiari, Dantan, Mohanpur, Gopiballavpur, Nayagram, Ramnagar and Patashpur. In Contai half the returns have been counted as Oriya and half as Bengali.

*** As for Dhopa, etc., but also classified as Oriya in police station Debra.

B : Aboriginal.

Bhumij : * Bhuiya : Dharua : Dura : Garo : Gond, 'Gond Rajput' : Gonrh : Guria : Ho : Jangla, Jungli : Kaora : Kharia : Kol : Kora : Lodha : Mahli : Malpaharia : Munda : Oraon : Santal : Savar, Sayar, etc.

* Only the Bhuiyas not professing Hinduism have been thus classified.

C : Others.

Adi : Adi Dravidian : Adirelema : Agaria : Agarmal : Agarwala : Akula : Alwari : Antoyal : Arava : Arkola : Asrarai : Ayar : Badabu : Baduhi : Badya : Balgi : Balgo : Balipha : Banday : Barayat : Batul : Baulia : Belgi : Bethik : Bhamiun : Bhanat : Bhanjapuran : Bhera : Bhorin : Bhottari : Bhotia : Biyas : Brayen : Britthar : Buddhist (non-Bengali) : Byasati : Chabraru : Chalu garlu : Chatti : Dakhin Samaj : Debbhang : Dhirar : Dola : Dolar : Domor : Dravidian : Dusal : Ganapati : Garbia : Garim : Gavarhi : Ghagar : Gir : Goda : Godabhan : Gogari : Golla : Gonola : Gontia : Gontokora : Govora : Gujrati : Gurkha : Gurung : Haddi : Haiohi : Halok : Jain : Jariva : Jath : Jew : Kabirpanthi : Kachari : Kagwari : Kailan : Kalar : Kaladdhi : Kalibhar : Kalvor : Kamahar : Kami : Kamkachal : Kanari : Kanore : Kapu : Karko : Kashmiri : Kasmali : Kathatone : Kathu : Kaudal : Kauha : Kavti : Kawal : Kemati : Keshiat : Khalari : Khatra : Khoral : Khupi : Kishan : Kod : Konojid : Korat : Kovoti : Kunkori : Labu : Lakshit : Lalian : Lama : Legu : Limbu : Lohana : Lovian : Madiga : Madrassi : Magraj : Mahesri : Mahista : Mairao : Maitak : Mania : Mangar : Manree : Marhatta : Marwar : Masuri : Maul : Medini : Mirna : Moghiar : Mouli : Mudlior : Murai : Nagpasia : Nanakpandi : Naola : Nekor : Nepali : Newar : Nor : Nu : Ojura : Olali : Oswal : Othari : Padi : Padmasali : Pahani : Palil : Paliva : Panchua : Pangl : Panjabi : Parsi : Pasias : Pillay : Pokraj : Pondri : Puno : Puriya : Raddi : Ramgari : Rangini : Rasa : Rayala : Rayla : Relli : Rentwalla : Sabi : Sabria : Sadgothi : Sagidi : Sahir : Sali : Saloon : Saltpeter : Salu : Samsi : Sandi : Sani : Sania : Sathuri : Satoni : Sewtha : Shalkuti : Shyaman : Siant : Sidir : Sikh : Slak : Sunkhay : Tabari : Tailu : Talama : Talar : Tatiya : Thahi : Thapa : Tharia goda : Thinkura : Toroyar : Tudu : Tujur : Vayalik : Vellalen : Vellama : Velana : Vesa : Vogiri : Valmake.

List of tables showing the population of Bankura District.

No.	Description.	PAGE.
1.	By subdivisions, police stations and census towns according to mother tongue : both sexes	229—230
2.	By subdivisions, police stations and census towns according to mother tongue : by sexes	231—232
3.	By subdivisions, police stations and census towns : numbers of selected castes and tribes shown in table 15 for Midnapur district : both sexes	233—234
4.	By subdivisions, police stations and census towns : numbers of selected castes and tribes shown in table 15 for Midnapur district : by sexes	235—236

NOTE 1.—The population of census towns distinguished by letters is included in the next preceding police station distinguished by figures.

NOTE 2.—The first line of each table includes and all other lines exclude figures for Christians.

NOTE 3.—Where percentage figures are given to one place of decimals only, no details are shown for less than 5 persons per 10,000 and the percentages 0·1 and 0·2 represent respectively 5 to 14 and 15 to 24 per 10,000, etc. Similarly where percentage figures are given to two places of decimals no details are shown for less than 5 persons per 100,000 and the percentages 0·01 and 0·02 represent respectively 5 to 14 and 15 to 24 per 100,000, etc.

TABLE 1.—Population of Bankura District by subdivisions, police stations and census towns according to mother-tongue : both sexes.

No.	Subdivision, police station or census town.	Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.		Hindi and Urdu.		Others.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	BOTH SUBDIVISIONS ..	1,111,721	100	994,953	89.49	170	0.02	4,071	0.37	112,527	10.12
	SADAR SUBDIVISION ..	787,023	100	678,654	86.2	103	..	2,944	0.3	105,322	13.5
1	Bankura	109,062	100	104,834	96.1	42	..	1,432	1.3	2,754	2.5
a	Bankura Municipality ..	31,259	100	29,600	94.7	38	0.1	1,346	4.3	275	0.9
2	Chatna	67,258	100	51,212	76.1	8	..	73	0.1	15,965	23.7
3	Onda	75,377	100	72,256	95.9	4	..	46	0.1	3,071	4.1
4	Taldangra	41,756	100	34,008	81.4	1	..	36	0.1	7,711	18.5
5	Gangajalghati	56,229	100	54,802	97.5	2	..	35	0.1	1,390	2.5
6	Barjora	62,942	100	62,629	99.5	2	..	51	0.1	260	0.4
7	Saltora	48,121	100	38,598	80.2	..	..	561	1.2	8,962	18.6
8	Mijhia	29,682	100	28,699	96.7	1	..	466	1.6	516	1.7
9	Khatra	68,145	100	54,870	80.6	6	..	39	0.1	13,230	19.4
10	Indpur	49,217	100	46,543	94.6	1	..	13	..	2,660	5.4

No.	Subdivision, police station or census town.	Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.		Hindi and Urdu.		Others.	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11	Ranibandh	47,605	100	29,126	61.2	34	0.1	80	0.2	18,865	39.6
12	Raipur	91,524	100	68,163	74.5	2	..	82	0.1	23,277	25.4
13	Simlapal	40,105	100	32,914	82.1	..	..	30	0.1	7,161	17.9
	Bishnupur Subdivision ..	323,053	100	315,201	97.6	57	..	1,115	0.3	6,680	2.1
14	Bishnupur	64,172	100	60,369	94.1	17	..	240	0.4	3,546	5.5
	Bishnupur Municipality ..	19,671	100	19,438	98.8	9	0.1	171	0.9	53	0.3
15	Joypur	50,437	100	49,840	98.8	19	..	193	0.4	385	0.8
16	Sonamukhi	53,481	100	51,518	96.3	12	..	199	0.4	1,752	3.3
	Sonamukhi Municipality ..	10,989	100	10,948	99.6	2	..	38	0.3	1	..
17	Patrasair	57,118	100	56,430	98.8	1	..	46	0.1	641	1.1
	Patrasair town	4,854	100	4,838	99.7	1	..	14	0.3	1	..
18	Kotalpur	49,713	100	49,009	98.6	..	..	363	0.7	341	0.7
19	Indas	48,132	100	48,035	99.8	8	..	74	0.2	15	..

TABLE 2.—Population of Bankura District by subdivisions, police stations and census towns according to mother-tongue : by sexes.

No.	Subdivision, police station or census town.	Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.		Hindi and Urdu.		Others.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	BOTH SUBDIVISIONS ..	557,074	554,647	498,117	496,836	131	39	2,538	1,533	56,288	56,239
	SADAR SUBDIVISION ..	393,946	393,077	339,333	339,321	76	27	1,796	1,148	52,741	52,581
	Bankura	55,436	53,626	53,071	51,763	37	5	785	647	1,543	1,211
a	Bankura Municipality ..	17,048	14,211	16,068	13,532	33	5	729	617	218	57
2	Chatna	33,514	33,744	25,638	25,574	4	4	38	35	7,834	8,131
3	Onda	37,457	37,920	35,943	36,313	4	..	39	7	1,471	1,600
4	Taldangra	21,061	20,695	17,254	16,754	1	..	27	9	3,779	3,932
5	Gangajalghati	28,037	28,192	27,229	27,573	2	..	34	1	772	618
6	Barjora	31,069	31,873	30,879	31,750	2	..	50	1	139	122
7	Saltora	23,862	24,259	18,650	19,948	..	..	320	241	4,892	4,070
8	Mijhia	14,627	15,055	14,103	14,596	..	1	281	185	243	273
9	Khatra	34,520	33,625	27,804	27,066	6	..	33	6	6,677	6,553
10	Indpur	24,768	24,449	23,414	23,129	1	..	11	2	1,342	1,318

No.	Subdivision, police station or census town.	Any language.		Bengali.		Oriya.		Hindi and Urdu.		Others.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11	Ranibandh	23,984	23,621	14,798	14,328	18	16	71	9	9,097	9,268
12	Raipur	45,533	45,991	34,029	34,134	1	1	77	5	11,426	11,851
13	Simlapal	20,078	20,027	16,521	16,393	..	..	30	..	3,527	3,634
	BISHNUPUR SUBDIVISION ..	162,280	160,773	158,210	156,991	49	8	735	380	3,286	3,394
14	Bishnupur	31,875	32,297	30,027	30,342	15	2	140	100	1,693	1,853
b	Bishnupur Municipality	9,751	9,920	9,631	9,807	8	1	92	79	20	33
15	Joypur	25,421	25,016	25,106	24,734	14	5	115	78	186	199
16	Sonamukhi	26,545	26,936	25,502	26,016	12	..	143	56	888	864
c	Sonamukhi Municipality	5,337	5,652	5,304	5,644	2	..	30	8	1	..
17	Patrasair	28,939	28,179	28,561	27,869	1	..	43	3	334	307
d	Patrasair town	2,512	2,342	2,496	2,342	1	..	14	..	1	..
18	Kotalpur	25,197	24,516	24,802	24,207	..	..	225	138	170	171
19	Indas	24,303	23,829	24,212	23,823	7	1	69	5	15	..

TABLE 3.—Population of Bankura district, selected castes by subdivisions, police stations and census towns : both sexes.

No.	Subdivision, police station or census town.	All castes.	Brahman, Otkal.		Khandait.		Sabar, Savar, Sayar.		Oriya caste not given.		Total columns 4, 6, 8, 10.	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
	BOTH SUBDIVISIONS ..	1,111,721	9,049	0.81	3	..	454	..	60	..	9,566	0.86
	SADAR SUBDIVISION ..	787,023	8,981	1.14	1	..	451	0.06	33	..	9,466	1.20
1	Bankura	109,062	82	0.08	..	..	..	..	5	..	87	0.08
a	Bankura Municipality	31,259	69	0.22	..	..	..	..	5	..	74	0.23
2	Chatna	67,258	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	11	..
3	Onda	75,377	318	0.42	..	..	..	..	..	..	318	0.42
4	Taldangra	41,756	1,000	2.39	..	..	32	0.08	..	..	1,032	2.47
5	Gangajalghati ..	56,229	15	..	..	..	59	0.10	..	..	74	0.13
6	Barjora	62,942	25	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	28	0.05
7	Saltora	48,121	3	..	..	..	149	0.30	..	..	152	0.31
8	Mijhia	29,682	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	Khatra	68,145	1,421	2.08	..	..	96	0.14	..	..	1,517	2.22
10	Indpur	49,217	1,805	3.06	..	..	..	..	..	..	1,605	3.06

No.	Subdivision, police station or census town.	All castes.	Brahman, Otkal.		Khandait.		Sabar, Savar, Seyar.		Oriya caste not given.		Total columns 4, 6, 8, 10.	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
11	Ranibandh	47,605	170	0.36	..	..	18	..	..	..	188	0.39
12	Raipur	91,524	3,246	3.54	..	..	94	0.10	28	..	3,368	3.68
13	Simlapal	40,105	1,085	2.70	1	..	..	..	..	..	1,086	2.70
	BISHNUPUR SUBDIVISION ..	323,053	68	..	2	..	3	..	27	..	100	..
14	Bishnupur	64,172	3	..	2	..	..	..	..	..	5	..
b	Bishnupur Municipality	19,671	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	..
15	Joypur	50,437	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..
16	Sonamukhi	53,481	60	0.11	..	..	3	..	..	..	63	0.12
c	Sonamukhi Municipality	10,989	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3	..
17	Patrasair	57,118	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	0.05	26	0.05
d	Patrasair town ..	4,854	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	0.05	26	0.05
18	Kotalpur	49,713	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
19	Indas	48,132	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

TABLE 4.—Population of Bankura district : Selected castes by subdivisions, police stations and census towns : by sexes.

No.	Subdivision, police station or census towns.	Brahman, Otkal.		Khandait.		Sabar, Savar, Sayar.		Oriya caste not given.		Total.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
	BOTH SUBDIVISIONS	4,895	4,154	3	..	307	147	29	31	5,234	4,332
	SADAR SUBDIVISION	4,856	4,125	1	..	307	144	13	20	5,177	4,289
1	Bankura	74	8	..	..	..	..	4	1	78	9
4	Bankura Municipality	61	8	..	..	..	..	4	1	65	9
2	Chatna	7	4	..	..	..	..	..	..	7	4
3	Onda	152	166	..	..	..	..	..	..	152	166
4	Taldangra	577	423	..	..	24	8	..	..	601	431
5	Gangajalghati	9	6	..	..	27	32	..	..	36	38
6	Barjora	9	16	..	..	3	..	..	..	12	16
7	Saltora	3	..	..	..	72	77	..	..	75	77
8	Mijhia	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
9	Khetra	823	598	..	..	96	..	..	..	919	598
10	Indpur	893	712	..	..	..	..	..	..	893	712

No.	Subdivision, police station or census towns.	Brahman, Otkal.		Khandait.		Sabar, Sayar, Sayar.		Oriya caste not given.		Total.	
		Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11	Ranibandh	96	74	..	..	18	..	..	..	114	74
12	Raipur	1,663	1,583	..	..	67	27	9	19	1,739	1,629
13	Simlapal	550	535	1	..	..	..	..	..	551	535
	Bishnupur SUBDIVISION	39	29	2	..	..	3	16	11	57	43
14	Bishnupur	2	1	2	..	..	..	..	..	4	1
b	Bishnupur Municipality	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
15	Joypur	2	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	3	..
16	Sonamukhi	32	28	..	..	..	3	..	..	32	31
c	Sonamukhi Municipality	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	3
17	Patrasair	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	11	15	11
d	Patrasair town	..	..	..	..	..	..	15	11	15	11
18	Kotalpur	3	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..
19	Indas	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX 4 (2).

CENSUS STATISTICS FURNISHED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, BIHAR AND ORISSA.

List of Primitive Tribes and Castes.

Asur.	Kharia.
Banjara.	Khond (Kandh).
Bethudi.	Kisan.
Bentkar.	Koli.
Bhogta.	Kora.
Bhuiya.	Korwa.
Bhumij.	Mahli.
Binjhia.	Malpaharia.
Birhor.	Munda.
Birgia.	Oraon.
Chik Baraik.	Pahira.
Gadaba.	Parhaiya.
Ghatwar.	Rajwar.
Gond.	Santal.
Gorait.	Sauria Pahariya.
Ho.	Savar.
Juang.	Tharu.
Kermali.	Turi.

List of Castes treated as Oriyas in Singhbhum district.

Name of Caste.	Locality.	Name of Caste.	Locality.
Aguri	Whole district.	Kalar	Whole district.
Bagti	Do.	Kalita	Do.
Bairagi	Do.	Kandra	Do.
Barai	Do.	Karan	Do.
Beldar	Do.	Karanga	Do.
Bhandari	Do.	Khaira	Do.
Birwad	Do.	Khandait	Do.
Chasa	Do.	Oriya	Do.
Gaur	Do.	Patra	Do.
Magadha Gour (including "Magadha" only).	Do.	Raju	Do.
Oriya Gaur	Do.	Raut	Do.
Nand Gaur	Do.	Sarak	Do.
Mathurabasi Gaur	Do.	Saunti	Do.
Gura	Do.	Sudha	Do.
MC1620C(WOP)		Thatari	Do.

Name of Caste.	Locality.	Name of Caste.	Locality.
Baisnab ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J.	Kewat ..	B, C, D, E, F, G.
Barhi ..	B.	Kumhar ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J.
Dom ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J.	Tanti ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, O, R, U.
Ghatra ..	M.	Oriya speaking "Other" Christians.	T.
Goala ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, U.		
Hari ..	U.		

NOTE.—For the units indicated by letters, see Key below.

List of Castes treated as of doubtful race in Singhbhum district.

Name of Caste.	Locality.	Name of Caste.	Locality.
Bahera ..	Whole district.	Baisnab ..	N, O, P, Q, U.
Barik ..	Do.	Baniya ..	B, G, Q, U.
Bauri ..	Do.	Barhi ..	Q, T.
Brahman ..	Do.	Chamar ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, P, Q, U.
Chatti ..	Do.	Dom ..	M, O, Q.
Dar ..	Do.	Gareri ..	B, F.
Dhobi ..	Do.	Goala ..	A, K, N, O, P, Q, T.
Ghasi ..	Do.	Hajjam ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, Q.
Gola ..	Do.	Hari ..	N, O, Q.
Jhora ..	Do.	Kamar ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, N, O, P, Q, U.
Kalindi ..	Do.	Kayastha ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, N, P, R, T, U.
Kamila ..	Do.	Kewat ..	N, O, P, Q, U.
Kasab ..	Do.	Kumhar ..	M, N, O, P, Q.
Khandwal ..	Do.	Kurmi ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, N, O, P, Q, U.
Lachminarain Gola.	Do.	Rajput ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, N, Q, R, U.
Mal ..	Do.	Rautia ..	C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J.
Murai ..	Do.	Sonar ..	B, E, I, Q, U.
Pan ..	Do.	Tanti ..	A, K, L, M, N, P, Q, S, T.
Patwa ..	Do.	Teli ..	B, C, D, E, F, G, H, I, J, N.
Tamaria ..	Do.		
Thathera ..	Do.		
Castes not returned.	Do.		
Castes not sorted for.	Do.		

NOTE.—For the units indicated by letters, see Key below.

- A—Porahat Kolhan Pirs including Bandgaon estate.
 B—Sadant Pirs.
 C—Kuldiha, Kainua and Goikera Pirs.
 D—Manoharpur proper.
 E—Rela and Saranda Pirs.
 F—Bantaria, Kotgarh, Latna and Jamda Pirs.
 G—Aola and Bar Pirs.
 H—Thai, Bharrbharia, Lagra and Lota Pirs.
 I—Gumra, Barkela and Rengra Pirs.
 J—Chainpur, Ayodhya, Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabassa, Chiru and Charai Pirs.
 K—Jugsalai p. s. and Golmuri p. s.
 L—Swaspur.
 M—Kalikapur.
 N—Ghatsila North.
 O—Ghatsila South.
 P—Kokpara.
 Q—Baharagora.
 R—Chakradharpur Municipality and Chakradharpur Railway Colony.
 S—Chaibasa Municipality.
 T—Jugsalai Notified Area, Jamshedpur Notified Area and Tatanagar Railway Settlement.
 U—Gua Ore Mine and Noamundi Iron Mine.

STATISTICAL KEY I.—*Mother tongue.*

Locality.	Total population.	Number of persons speaking		
		Oriya.	Hindustani and Bengali.	Other languages.
<i>Cuttack District</i>	2,176,707	2,086,269	81,002	9,436
Sadr. Subdivision	1,087,991	1,030,542	52,235	5,214
Kendrapara Subdivision	496,498	486,135	10,138	225
Jajpur Subdivision	592,218	569,592	18,629	3,997
<i>Balasore District</i>	990,600	920,962	49,859	19,779
Sadr. Subdivision	543,829	497,214	28,237	18,378
Bhadrak Subdivision	446,771	423,748	21,622	1,401

Locality.	Total population.	Number of persons speaking		
		Oriya.	Hindustani and Bengali.	Other languages.
<i>Angul and Khondmals District</i>	222,736	170,469	668	51,599
Sadr. Subdivision	140,458	137,508	619	2,331
Khondmals Subdivision	82,278	32,961	49	49,268
<i>Puri District</i>	1,035,154	997,807	28,727	8,620
Sadr. Subdivision	657,625	637,134	16,794	3,897
Khurda Subdivision	377,529	360,673	11,933	4,923
<i>Sambalpur District</i>	880,945	778,086	39,966	62,893
Sadr. Subdivision	343,539	272,517	16,318	54,704
Bargarh Subdivision	537,406	505,569	23,648	8,189
<i>Chota Nagpur States</i>	186,622	51,206	56,237	79,179
Saraikela	143,525	36,368	48,307	58,850
Kharsawan	43,097	14,838	7,930	20,329
<i>Orissa States</i>	4,465,385	3,348,404	220,054	896,927
Athgarh	50,148	49,472	280	396
Talcher	69,702	67,746	1,178	778
Mayurbhanj	889,603	377,706	72,645	439,252
Nilgiri	68,594	53,997	101	14,496
Keonjhar	460,609	326,592	43,833	90,184
Pal Lahara	27,974	25,358	109	2,507
Dhenkanal	284,326	274,275	1,316	8,735
Athmalik	64,272	60,078	464	3,730
Hindol	48,896	47,615	131	1,150
Narsinghpur	40,878	40,613	177	88
Baramba	46,688	46,266	203	219
Tigiria	24,822	24,273	543	6

Locality.	Total population.	Number of persons speaking		
		Oriya.	Hindustani and Bengali.	Other languages.
Khandpara	77,929	77,050	296	583
Nayagarh	142,406	133,548	721	6,137
Ranpur	47,711	47,022	433	256
Daspalla	43,402	36,124	282	6,996
Baud	135,248	133,012	546	1,690
Bamra	151,047	113,397	7,153	30,497
Rairakhol	35,710	32,801	103	2,806
Sonpur	237,920	230,004	2,146	5,770
Patna	566,924	540,003	22,347	4,574
Kalahandi	513,716	427,701	7,578	78,437
Gangpur	356,674	138,990	53,304	164,380
Bonsai	80,186	42,761	4,165	33,260
<i>Hazaribagh District</i>	1,517,357	317	1,383,909	133,131
<i>Palamau District</i>	818,736	33	747,828	70,875
<i>Manbhum District</i>	1,810,890	1,563	1,544,379	264,948
<i>Singhbhum District</i>	929,802	171,887	228,564	529,351
<i>Unit A.—Porahat Kolhan Pirs including Bandagaon Estate</i>	35,125	447	2,500	32,176
<i>Unit B.—Sadant Pirs</i>	68,772	21,772	7,169	39,831
<i>Unit C.—Kuldiha, Kainua and Gailkera Pirs</i>	18,249	2,299	604	15,346
<i>Unit D.—Manoharpur proper</i>	43,998	10,004	5,246	28,748
<i>Unit E.—Rela and Saranda Pirs</i>	22,230	9,330	1,342	11,558
<i>Unit F.—Bantaria, Kotgarh, Latna, and Jamda Pirs</i>	31,346	8,294	609	22,445
<i>Unit G.—Aola and Bar Pirs</i>	92,781	27,751	1,941	63,089

Locality.	Total population.	Number of persons speaking		
		Oriya.	Hindustani and Bengali.	Other languages.
<i>Unit H.</i> —Thai, Bharbharis, Lagra, and Lota Pirs	81,027	20,549	1,245	59,233
<i>Unit I.</i> —Gumra, Barkela and Bangra Pirs	68,435	14,203	1,273	53,009
<i>Unit J.</i> —Chainpur, Ayodhya, Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabassa, Chiru and Charai Pirs	43,859	7,436	850	35,573
<i>Unit K.</i> —Jugsalai p. s. and Goltmuri p. s.	17,647	631	8,492	8,524
<i>Unit L.</i> —Swaspur	30,089	433	19,696	9,960
<i>Unit M.</i> —Kalikapur	64,687	5,666	25,185	33,836
<i>Unit N.</i> —Ghatsila North	60,633	4,774	26,999	28,860
<i>Unit O.</i> —Ghatsila South	32,673	7,799	5,468	19,406
<i>Unit P.</i> —Kokpara	23,776	5,241	6,708	11,827
<i>Unit Q.</i> —Baharagora	72,631	10,744	36,677	25,210
<i>Unit R.</i> —Chakradharpur Municipality and Chakradharpur Railway Colony	11,191	2,095	6,617	2,479
<i>Unit S.</i> —Chaibassa Municipality ..	10,785	408	7,270	3,107
<i>Unit T.</i> —Jugsalai Notified Area, Jamshedpur Notified Area and Tata-nagar Railway Settlement ..	92,459	9,352	61,504	21,603
<i>Unit U.</i> —Gua Ore Mine and Noamundi Iron Mine	7,359	2,659	1,169	3,531
<i>Ranchi District</i>	1,567,149	7,891	703,682	855,576
Sadr and Gumla Subdivisions ..	957,115	1,548	494,953	461,614
Khunti Subdivision	373,800	2,803	113,429	257,568
Simdega Subdivision	236,234	3,540	95,300	137,394

STATISTICAL KEY II.—*Subsidiary languages.*

Locality.	Total population.	Number of persons speaking			
		Oriya.	Hindus- tani and Bengali.	Other langu- ages.	No sub- sidiary languages.
<i>Cuttack District</i>	2,176,707	87,842	1,973	595	2,106,297
Sadr Subdivision ..	1,087,991	42,446	1,633	496	1,043,416
Kendrapara Subdivision	496,498	9,468	68	53	486,909
Jajpur Subdivision ..	592,218	15,928	272	46	575,972
<i>Balasore District</i>	990,600	40,773	1,356	283	948,188
Sadr Subdivision ..	543,829	28,006	1,223	231	514,389
Bhadrak Subdivision ..	446,771	12,767	133	52	433,819
<i>Angul and Khondmals District</i>	222,736	14,458	415	4,336	203,527
Sadr Subdivision ..	140,458	2,704	402	140	137,212
Khondmals .. .	82,278	11,754	13	4,196	66,315
<i>Puri District</i>	1,035,154	17,181	1,459	578	1,015,936
Sadr Subdivision ..	657,625	9,710	151	141	647,623
Khurda Subdivision ..	377,529	7,471	1,308	437	368,313
<i>Sambalpur District</i> ..	880,945	59,936	2,769	444	817,796
Sadr Subdivision ..	343,539	48,752	2,181	331	292,276
Bargarh Subdivision ..	537,406	11,184	588	113	525,521
<i>Chota Nagpur States</i> ..	186,622	17,351	5,930	296	163,045
Saraikela	143,525	9,717	4,817	214	128,777
Kharsawan	43,097	9,004	1,113	82	32,898
<i>Orissa States</i>	4,465,385	702,451	33,423	2,942	3,726,569
Athgarh	50,148	626	22	22	49,478
Talcher	69,702	611	115	8	68,968
Mayurbhunj	889,603	333,908	1,375	650	553,670
Nilgiri	68,594	10,868	1	0	57,725

Locality.	Total population.	Number of persons speaking			
		Oriya.	Hindustani and Bengali.	Other languages.	No subsidiary languages.
Keonjhar	460,609	68,972	539	360	390,738
Pal Lahara	27,974	1,882	50	0	26,042
Dhenkanal	284,326	9,047	51	4	275,224
Athmalik	64,272	3,355	4	0	60,913
Hindol	48,896	1,071	0	1	47,824
Narsinghpur	40,878	154	2	0	40,722
Baramba	46,688	303	3	0	46,382
Tigria	24,822	525	2	0	24,295
Khandpara	77,929	634	5	0	77,290
Nayagarh	142,406	6,135	6	11	136,254
Ranpur	47,711	594	0	6	47,111
Daspalla	43,402	6,959	9	14	36,420
Baud	135,248	1,723	3	97	133,425
Bamra	151,047	35,006	310	4	115,727
Rairakhol	35,710	2,690	3	1	33,016
Sonpur	237,920	5,852	39	0	232,029
Patna	566,924	22,721	974	7	543,223
Kalahandi	513,716	46,029	117	1,250	466,320
Gangpur	356,674	118,584	29,504	130	208,456
Bonai	80,186	24,202	289	377	55,318
<i>Palamau District</i>	818,736	..	68,311	9	750,416
<i>Hazaribagh District</i>	1,517,357	13	52,465	1,046	1,463,833
<i>Manbhum District</i>	1,810,890	102	101,184	6,573	1,703,031
<i>Sinabhum District</i>	929,802	22,117	130,587	62,423	714,676
<i>Unit A.—Porahat, Kolhan</i> <i>Pirsa including Bandgaon</i> <i>Estate</i>	35,123	149	1,020	1,690	32,264

Locality.	Total population.	Number of persons speaking			
		Oriya.	Hindustani and Bengali.	Other languages.	No subsidiary languages.
<i>Unit B.</i> —Sadant Pirs ..	68,772	2,150	2,141	1,157	63,324
<i>Unit C.</i> —Kuldiha, Kainua and Goilkera Pirs ..	18,249	67	285	1,181	16,716
<i>Unit D.</i> —Manoharpur proper ..	43,998	3,336	4,830	869	34,963
<i>Unit E.</i> —Rela and Saranda Pirs ..	22,230	1,544	2,328	606	17,752
<i>Unit F.</i> —Bantaria, Kotgarh, Latna and Jamda Pirs ..	31,348	248	566	7,725	22,809
<i>Unit G.</i> —Aola and Bar Pirs ..	92,781	1,531	1,350	24,673	65,227
<i>Unit H.</i> —Thai, Bharbharia, Lagra and Lota Pirs ..	81,027	145	919	10,646	69,317
<i>Unit I.</i> —Gumra, Barkela and Bangra Pirs ..	68,485	949	3,996	6,367	57,173
<i>Unit J.</i> —Chainpur, Ayodhya Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabassa, Chiru and Charai Pirs ..	43,859	409	1,947	5,854	35,649
<i>Unit K.</i> —Jugsalai p. s. and Golmuri p. s. ..	17,647	66	869	6	16,706
<i>Unit L.</i> —Swaspur ..	30,089	92	5,546	33	24,418
<i>Unit M.</i> —Kalikapur ..	64,687	700	28,944	28	35,015
<i>Unit N.</i> —Ghatsila North ..	60,633	2,138	13,712	219	44,584
<i>Unit O.</i> —Ghatsila South ..	32,673	1,736	7,277	744	22,896
<i>Unit P.</i> —Kokpara ..	23,776	2,092	7,002	124	14,558
<i>Unit Q.</i> —Baharagora ..	72,631	3,180	22,053	1	47,397
<i>Unit R.</i> —Chakradharpur Municipality and Chakradharpur Railway Colony ..	11,191	457	2,696	36	8,002
<i>Unit S.</i> —Chaibasa Municipality ..	10,785	4	128	5	10,648
<i>Unit T.</i> —Jugsalai Notified Area, Jamshedpur Notified Area and Tatanagar Railway Settlement ..	92,459	665	22,036	302	69,456
<i>Unit U.</i> —Gua Ore Mine and Noamundi Iron Mine ..	7,359	439	942	157	5,821
<i>Ranchi District</i> ..	1,567,149	468	530,640	22,442	1,013,599
Sadr and Gumla Subdivisions ..	957,115	38	327,635	10,612	618,830
Khunti Subdivision ..	373,800	13	70,793	10,080	292,904
Simdega Subdivision ..	236,234	417	132,212	1,740	101,653

STATISTICAL KEY III—Races.

Locality.	Total population.	Oriya.	Behari and Bengali.	Primitive tribes, and all others.	Doubtful races.
<i>Cuttack District</i>	2,176,707	1,713,616	..	46,455	416,636
Sadr Subdivision ..	1,087,991	856,946	..	19,233	211,812
Kendrapara Subdivision ..	496,498	441,816	..	646	54,036
Jajpur Subdivision ..	592,218	414,854	..	26,576	150,788
<i>Balasore District</i>	990,600	712,776	..	25,446	252,378
Sadr Subdivision ..	543,829	351,033	..	22,873	169,923
Bhadrak Subdivision ..	446,771	361,743	..	2,573	82,455
<i>Angul and Khandmal District</i>	222,736	107,313	..	60,927	54,496
Sadr Subdivision ..	140,458	98,148	..	9,069	33,241
Khandmals	82,278	9,165	..	51,858	21,255
<i>Puri District</i>	1,035,154	773,044	..	34,560	227,550
Sadr Subdivision ..	657,625	487,345	..	4,571	165,709
Khurda Subdivision ..	377,529	285,699	..	29,989	61,841
<i>Sambalpur District</i>	880,945	489,309	..	272,834	118,802
Sadr Subdivision ..	343,539	169,572	..	129,085	44,882
Bargarh Subdivision ..	537,406	319,737	..	143,749	73,920
<i>Chota Nagpur States</i>	186,622	69,884	..	99,463	17,275
Seraikela	143,525	53,918	..	75,089	13,918
Kharsawan	43,097	15,966	..	23,774	3,357
<i>Orissa States</i>	4,465,385	2,125,208	..	1,591,789	748,388
Athgarh	50,148	35,043	..	6,704	8,401
Talcher	69,702	51,756	..	4,807	13,139
Mayurbhunj	889,603	241,441	..	547,861	100,301
Nilgiri	68,594	36,959	..	22,059	9,576
Keonjhar	460,609	202,779	..	175,916	81,914
Pal Lahara	27,974	14,731	..	8,265	4,978

Locality.	Total popula- tion.	Oriya.	Behari and Bengali.	Primitive tribes and all others.	Doubtful races.
Dhenkanal	284,326	186,187	..	37,413	60,726
Athmalik	64,272	31,709	..	13,327	19,236
Hindol	48,896	33,076	..	3,091	12,729
Narsinghpur .. .	40,878	26,987	..	1,962	11,940
Baramba	46,688	35,053	..	3,692	7,943
Tigiria	24,822	18,968	..	1,472	4,382
Khandpara	77,929	64,268	..	3,258	10,403
Nayagarh	142,406	110,682	..	8,752	22,972
Ranpur	47,711	34,472	..	3,478	9,761
Daspalla	43,402	22,918	..	8,959	11,525
Baud	135,248	58,028	..	30,265	46,955
Bamra	151,047	56,062	..	62,792	32,193
Rairakhol	35,710	17,950	..	9,494	8,266
Sonepur	237,920	142,577	..	25,560	69,783
Patna	566,924	323,155	..	169,154	74,615
Kalahandi	513,716	275,000	..	175,700	63,016
Gangpur	356,674	86,113	..	217,000	53,561
Bonai	30,186	19,314	..	50,808	10,064
<i>Hazaribagh District</i> ..	1,517,357	..	904,750	384,545	228,062
<i>Palamau District</i> ..	818,736	..	433,808	289,137	95,791
<i>Manbhum District</i> ..	1,810,890	..	878,599	526,147	406,144
<i>Singbhum District</i> ..	929,802	102,854	106,038	587,930	132,980
<i>Unit A.—Porahat, Kolhan Pirs including Bandgaon Estate.</i>	35,123	23	1,765	31,205	2,130
<i>Unit B.—Sadant Pirs</i> ..	68,772	11,723	2,177	42,456	12,416
<i>Unit C.—Kuldiha, Kainua and Goilkera Pirs.</i>	18,249	499	174	15,427	2,149
<i>Unit D.—Manoharpur proper</i>	43,998	4,539	304	30,077	9,078

Locality.	Total population.	Oriya.	Behari and Bengali.	Primitive tribes and all others.	Doubtful races.
<i>Unit E.</i> —Rela and Saranda Pirs.	22,230	3,148	284	13,803	4,995
<i>Unit F.</i> —Bantaria, Kotgarh Latna and Janda Pirs.	31,348	6,766	230	23,614	738
<i>Unit G.</i> —Aola and Bar Pirs	92,781	22,380	859	65,223	4,319
<i>Unit H.</i> —Thai, Bharbharia, Lagra and Lota Pirs.	81,027	18,690	229	59,962	2,146
<i>Unit I.</i> —Gumra, Barkela and Bangra Pirs.	68,485	11,687	123	53,210	3,465
<i>Unit J.</i> —Chainpur, Ayodhya, Asantalia, Sidni, Lota, Rajabassa, Chiru and Charai Pirs.	43,859	6,726	247	35,586	1,300
<i>Unit K.</i> —Jugnlai p. s. and Golmuri p. s.	17,647	326	2,880	12,543	1,898
<i>Unit L.</i> —Swaspur ..	30,089	157	11,467	16,415	2,050
<i>Unit M.</i> —Kalikapur ..	64,687	1,165	11,715	42,867	8,940
<i>Unit N.</i> —Ghatsila North ..	60,633	496	7,557	34,243	18,337
<i>Unit O.</i> —Ghatsila South ..	32,673	2,812	2,197	24,760	2,904
<i>Unit P.</i> —Kokpara ..	23,776	635	3,530	13,343	6,268
<i>Unit Q.</i> —Baharagora ..	72,631	3,038	6,501	36,315	26,777
<i>Unit R.</i> —Chakradharpur Municipality and Chakradharpur Railway Colony.	11,191	1,486	3,544	2,780	3,381
<i>Unit S.</i> —Chaibasa Municipality.	10,785	505	6,104	3,562	614
<i>Unit T.</i> —Jugslai Notified Area, Jamshedpur Notified Area and Tatanagar Railway Settlement.	92,459	4,594	43,194	26,315	18,356
<i>Unit U.</i> —Gua Ore Mine and Naomundi Iron Mine.	7,359	1,459	957	4,224	719
<i>Ranchi District</i>	1,567,149	..	307,020	1,043,682	216,447
Sadr and Gumla Sub-division.	957,115	..	229,524	592,240	135,351
Khunti Subdivision ..	373,800	..	51,570	271,312	50,918
Simdega Subdivision ..	236,234	..	25,926	180,130	30,178

APPENDIX 4 (3).

Census statistics furnished by the Superintendent of Census Operations, Central Provinces.

STATEMENT No. I.

Statistics of Mother Tongues of Tracts bordering Orissa.

Tracts.	Popula- tion.	Persons who returned mother tongue as Oriya.	P. C. of Oriya- speaking persons over total popula- tion.	Persons who returned mother tongue as Hindi.	P. C. of Hindi- speaking persons over total popula- tion.	Persons who returned other languages as mother tongue.	P. C. of persons speaking other languages over total population.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Khariar Zamindari ..	160,892	117,568	73%	38,232	24%	4,862	3%
Phuljhar Zamindari ..	165,353	72,692	44%	88,030	53%	3,026	2%
Bindranawagarh Zamin- dari.	89,283	37,613	42%	44,891	50%	6,762	8%
Koudia Zamindari ..	36,419	3,804	10%	30,013	82%	2,533	7%
Deeri Zamindari ..	10,305	938	9%	9,003	87%	364	4%
Chandrapur-Padampur Estate.	88,141	21,846	24%	64,283	73%	2,012	2%
Padampur Tract (only)	23,773	20,962	88%	2,623	11%	188	7%
Raigarh State ..	277,569	33,367	12%	231,314	83%	12,888	5%
Sarangarh State ..	128,967	25,065	20%	101,097	78%	2,806	2%
Jashpur State ..	193,698	9,835	5%	102,781	53%	81,082	42%
Udaipur State ..	97,738	4,204	4%	78,180	78%	17,364	18%
Bastar State ..	524,721	Oriya— 2,299 Bhatrī— 45,830 48,128	9.1%	22,806	4.4%	453,786	86.5%

STATEMENT No. II.

Statistics of subsidiary Languages of Tracts bordering Orissa.

Tracts.	Popula- tion.	Persons speaking Oriya as subsidi- ary language.	P. C. of Oriya subsidiary language over total popula- tion.	Persons speaking Hindi as a subsi- diary language.	P. C. of Hindi subsidiary language over total popula- tion.	Persons speaking other languages as subsi- diary language.	P. C. of other subsidiary language over total popula- tion.
Khariar Zamindari ..	160,892	4,072	3%	5,954	4%	28	..
Phuljhar Zamindari ..	165,353	4,606	3%	9,469	6%	..	..
Bindranawagarh Zamin- dari.	89,283	671	6%	9,200	10%	3	..
Koudia Zamindari ..	36,419	258	7%	4,950	13%	..	..
Deeri Zamindari ..	10,305	95	9%	999	10%	1	..
Chandrapur-Padampur Estate.	88,141	692	8%	1,687	2%	..	..
Padampur Tract (only)	23,773	2,147	9%	227	1%	..	..
Raigarh State ..	277,569	262	..	24,706	9%	2	..
Sarangarh State ..	128,967	356	..	7,915	6%	1	..
Jashpur State ..	193,698	946	5%	53,972	28%	5,211	2.6%
Udaipur State ..	97,738	13	..	15,210	16%	8	..
Bastar State ..	324,721	Oriya— 219 Bhatrī— 9,340 9,559	1.8%	12,763	2%	114,768	21.8%

STATEMENT No. III.
Statistics of Races in Tracts bordering Orissa.

Tracts.	Popu- lation.	Oriyas by race (All of List I and Oriya speakers of List II).	Blue—Division I. P. C. of Oriya by race over total popula- tion.	Popula- tion of Hindi speakers by race.	Red—Divi- sion II. P. C. of Hindi speakers by race over total population.	Doubtful castes with Oriya mother- tongue of List III.	White—Divi- sion III. P. C. of doubt- ful castes with Oriya mother- tongue over total popu- lation.	Population of tribesmen and others who are not Oriya by race nor Hindi speakers (i.e., figures of Table XXIV) and other non- Hindi speakers.	Green—Divi- sion IV. P. C. of tribes- men and others who are not Oriya by race nor Hindi speakers over total popula- tion.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Khariar Zamindari ..	160,892	71,857	45%	21,497	13%	50,080	31%	17,478	11%
Phuljhar Zamindari ..	165,353	45,878	28%	45,107	27%	36,427	22%	37,941	23%
Bindranawagarh Zamin- dari.	89,283	23,011	26%	19,768	22%	17,210	19%	29,296	33%
Koudia Zamindari ..	36,419	3,805	10%	17,270	47%	1,489	4%	13,875	38%
Deeri Zamindari ..	10,305	1,071	10%	5,216	51%	192	2%	3,826	37%
Chandrapur-Padampur Estate.	88,141	18,144	21%	44,277	50%	6,056	8%	19,064	22%
Padampur Tract ..	23,773	15,086	63%	1,707	7%	5,876	25%	1,104	5%
Raigarh State ..	277,569	46,698	17%	108,235	39%	10,325	4%	112,273	40%
Sarangarh State ..	128,967	24,093	18%	64,374	50%	10,985	9%	29,515	23%
Jashpur State ..	193,698	17,668	9%	53,248	27%	2,613	1%	120,169	62%
Udaipur State ..	97,738	4,495	5%	21,534	22%	456	..	71,253	73%
Bastar State ..	524,721	7,018	1%	21,360	4%	46,236	9%	450,107	86%

APPENDIX 4 (4).

CENSUS STATISTICS FURNISHED BY THE SUPERINTENDENT OF CENSUS OPERATIONS, MADRAS.

Particulars for the Special Map.

MOTHER-TONGUE.

Serial No.	Taluk or section.	Popula- tion.	No. returning as their mother-tongue		
			Oriya.	Telugu.	Other languages.
	<i>Ganjam Agency.</i>				
1	G. Udayagiri	85,188	22,607	89	62,492
2	Ponda' hol (Surada I) ..	2,837	1,726	9	1,102
	Balliguda	108,955	32,496	55	76,404
	Total	111,792	34,222	64	77,506
3	Ramagiri A	35,698	23,532	57	12,109
	Ramagiri B	55,879	17,385	107	38,387
	Total	91,577	40,917	164	50,496
4	Parlakimedi Maliahs ..	69,681	17,254	2,589	49,838
	<i>Ganjam Plains.</i>				
5	Ghumsur	180,615	165,058	5,156	10,401
6	Bodogodo (Surada II) ..	23,877	22,037	244	1,596
7	Kodala	207,228	194,047	11,031	2,150
8	Aska (less Sanokimedi) ..	151,501	139,782	8,560	3,159
	Sanokimedi	58,769	51,110	6,059	1,600
	Total	210,270	190,892	14,619	4,759
9	Chatrapur A	159,024	138,784	20,010	230
	Chatrapur B	28,141	11,463	16,573	105
	Total	187,165	150,247	36,583	335

MOTHER-TONGUE—*contd.*

Serial No.	Taluk or section.	Popu- lation.	No. returning as their mother-tongue		
			Oriya.	Telugu.	Other languages.
10	Bodokimedi	64,220	50,425	12,248	1,547
11	Berhampur (less Bodokimedi) A	146,124	103,386	36,008	6,730
	Berhampur (less Bodokimedi) B	95,565	25,924	69,545	96
	Total ..	241,889	129,310	105,553	6,326
12	Iohapur	80,300	52,385	26,881	1,034
13	Sompeta A	20,707	15,176	3,131	2,400
	Sompeta B	99,928	18,654	78,642	2,632
	Total ..	120,635	33,830	81,773	5,032
14	Tekkali	152,236	18,711	128,398	5,127
15	Parlakimedi	293,319	60,320	193,475	39,524
16	Chicacole	291,827	12,087	278,505	1,255
	<i>Vizagapatam Agency.</i>				
17	Naurangpur	198,911	172,828	1,008	25,075
18	Jeypore	201,060	172,039	4,714	24,307
19	Koraput	74,898	52,082	1,082	21,734
20	Pottangi	97,427	47,088	8,486	41,843
	Salur Agency	6,253	63	697	5,493
	Total ..	103,680	47,161	9,183	47,336
21	Padwa A	88,812	49,621	18,267	20,924
	Srungavarapukota Agency ..	5,362	1,586	2,728	1,048
	Total ..	94,174	51,207	20,995	21,972

MOTHER-TONGUE—*concl'd.*

Serial No.	Taluk or section.	Popu- lation.	No. returning as their mother-tongue.		
			Oriya.	Telugu.	Other languages.
22	Padwa B	40,768	3,247	32,121	5,400
	Viravilli Agency	5,293	46	4,426	821
	• Total	46,061	3,293	36,547	6,221
23	Malkanagiri A	30,155	23,247	1,361	5,547
	Malkanagiri B	46,091	6,742	4,343	35,006
	Total	76,246	29,989	5,704	40,553
24	Gudem	23,547	12	23,100	435
25	Golgonda Agency	20,831	107	20,681	43
26	Parvatipur Agency	42,651	5,943	4,468	32,240
27	Rayagada	83,412	15,181	9,772	58,459
28	Bissamkatak	64,755	23,274	6,895	34,586
29	Gunupur	120,854	22,041	29,280	69,533
30	Palkonda Agency	13,918	208	1,393	12,317

Particulars for the Special Map.

SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGE.

Serial No.	Taluk or Section.	Popu- lation.	No. returning as their subsidiary language.			
			Oriya.	Telugu.	Hill and other languages.	No Languages.
	<i>Ganjam Agency.</i>					
1	G. Udayagiri	85,188	6,38	73	7,563	71,172
2	Pondakholi (Surada I)	2,837	19	3	58	2,584
	Balliguda	108,955	3,718	30	6,145	99,026
	Total	111,792	3,910	33	6,203	101,646

SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGE.—*contd.*

Serial No.	Taluk or Section.	Popu- lation.	No. returning as their subsidiary language.			
			Oriya.	Telugu.	Hill and other languages.	No Languages.
3	Ramagiri	91,577	22,698	491	4,503	63,885
4	Parlakimedi Maliahs ..	69,681	19,256	1,852	511	48,062
	<i>Ganjam Plains.</i>					
5	Ghumsur	180,615	10,580	609	252	169,174
6	Bodogodo (Surada II) ..	23,877	1,646	14	60	22,157
7	Kodala	207,228	7,807	998	54	198,369
8	Aska	210,270	14,103	1,387	116	194,664
9	Chatrapur	187,165	16,725	2,641	226	167,573
10	Bodokimedi	64,220	11,267	1,268	11	51,674
11	Berhampur (excluding Bodokimedi)	241,689	18,417	11,389	220	211,663
12	Ichapur	80,300	7,975	2,500	30	69,795
13	Sompot	120,635	6,406	9,246	16	104,967
14	Tekkali	152,236	2,872	14,414	24	134,926
15	Parlakimedi	293,319	7,520	45,343	140	240,316
16	Chicacole	291,827	984	14,653	184	276,006
	<i>Vizagapatam Agency.</i>					
17	Naurangpur	198,911	14,540	366	1,221	182,784
18	Jeypore	201,060	20,823	1,499	355	178,383
19	Koraput	74,898	13,158	315	423	61,002
20	Pottangi	97,427	26,147	5,574	457	65,249
	Salur Agency	6,253	12	4,900	3	1,338
	Total	103,680	26,159	10,474	480	66,587
21	Padwa	129,580	13,963	7,766	2,014	105,837
22	Srungavarapukota Agency	5,362	76	1,617	16	3,653
23	Viravilli Agency	5,293	..	600	67	4,626
24	Malkanagiri	76,246	6,384	5,646	1,006	63,210

SUBSIDIARY LANGUAGE—*concl'd.*

Serial No.	Taluk or Section.	Popu- lation.	No. returning as their subsidiary language.			
			Oriya.	Telugu.	Hill and other languages.	No Languages.
25	Gudem	23,547	2	381	5	23,159
26	Golgonda Agency ..	20,831	21	105	206	20,499
27	Parvatipur Agency ..	42,651	934	12,153	425	29,139
28	Rayagada	83,412	10,314	13,069	1,855	58,174
29	Bissamkatak	64,755	725	75	12	63,943
30	Gunupur	120,854	21,022	20,062	1,162	78,608
31	Palkonda	13,918	1	11,883	274	1,760

Naurangpur.—In the extreme north-west of the tip the Oriya percentage east of the road is 76, west of it a bare 51. This reflects the presence of strong non-Oriya mother-tongue elements, chiefly Gondi and Loria. It is these which produce the green enclave in which the Oriya percentage sinks to 28 and 21. The Telugu is negligible here as elsewhere in the taluk. Apart from the two circles which make up this green enclave the percentage of Oriya mother-tongue in the 35 circles is only twice below 70 and only 5 times below 80. The cases below 70% are both in the Bihar and Orissa border and have a strong Poroja element. The others between 70 and 80 are also towards the Bihar and Orissa border on the east, near Dabugam, and Naurangpur town itself. In the last named place Telugu reaches 16%, the usual aggregation of officials and traders to a taluk headquarters accounting for the lower percentage of Oriya.

The figures require no comment. The run of 90 per cent. and over tells but one tale.

Jeypore.—The taluk is predominantly Oriya. Out of 52 circles, 30 are over 90% and 5 reach 100. Of these last three one is near Jeypore and two near Kotpad, the two chief towns of the taluk. Jeypore town itself has the lowest Oriya mother-tongue percentage. A fair number of Telugus are found in this town; they reach nearly 30% and are in a majority in two wards of it. They are accounted for by the presence of estate and Government officials, traders and so on. The headmaster of the Jeypore school, *e.g.*, is a Telugu.

2. Everywhere else Telugus are poorly represented and the non-Oriya residue is mostly aboriginal languages, chiefly Gadaba, Poroja and Kond, etc. The lowest percentages occur towards the north-east corner, *i.e.*, Naurangpur—Bihar and Orissa tri-junction.

Koraput.—This taluk could be divided into three zones from the point of view of Oriya mother-tongue element. The first of these is the south and south-west, particularly the latter, where it runs with Jeypore. Here the percentages

run all over 90, and no further comment is required. The second zone is the tongue of land running upwards from Parvatipur. Here the Oriya percentage sinks to 14 in one circle, to 12 in another, rising to 33 and then 53 in a peculiar enclave on the Rayagada border. This last corresponds to Lakshmipuram, where the ghat from Narayanapatnam, enters the taluk. In this second zone the predominant Mother-tongue is definitely neither Oriya nor Telugu, but Kond or Konda. The Telugu element is in fact completely insignificant. The third zone might be taken as the extreme north end of the taluk towards Bihar and Orissa. Here the percentages are above 60 and below 70. It will be observed that immediately across the Jeypore border the same degree of percentages is found. Here again, the balance is not Telugu, but aboriginal tongues, mainly Kond.

Pottangi.—This taluk presents a peculiar appearance on the map but can roughly be divided into two zones, (i) the eastern, which is predominantly aboriginal (Kond, Gadaba, Poroja), and (ii) the western, which is predominantly Oriya. This last may again be sub-divided into (a) a central portion which is strongly Oriya, and (b) the extreme western portion which just gets above 50% in two circles, is exactly 50 in another and drops to 48 and 42 in the remaining two. There is a strong Gadaba element here. The central portion corresponds to the area round Nandapur, the old home town of the Jeypore zamindars and an Oriya centre of longstanding. The eastern portion shows diminishing Oriya percentages as we go eastward. Immediately adjoining the central part the lowest percentage is 22 and all the others are well over 30, one of them approaching 40. In the next layer eastward, the percentages drop below 20, three of them below 10.

2. In Pottangi taluk the Telugu element has become stronger although in no circle is it predominant. In the easterly part where Oriya is lowest, Telugu is highest, and in one case the percentage reaches 37. In the more interior charges, however, the Telugu element practically vanishes and throughout the taluk the bulk of the non-Oriya mother-tongues is aboriginal.

Salur Agency.—This is the eastern continuation over the edge of the Ghats of Pottangi and carries on the tendencies we saw there, viz., the Oriya element has vanished entirely in one circle and only attains one per cent. in the other two. Telugu reaches 34 in the southern parts of this Agency, but is, although definitely in excess of the Oriya, not of great importance. The Agency as a whole is definitely aboriginal, mostly Kond and Konda.

Padwa.—In this taluk, a definite area of Telugu mother-tongue preponderance appears. A rough division might be made from north to south, the northern being declared Oriya, the southern Telugu with aboriginal enclaves (Kond, Konda and Poroja) on the Viravilli and Malkanagiri borders. In the north-west, near the Pottangi border, the Oriya percentages are over 85. In the aboriginal enclave along the Malkanagiri border the Oriya percentages attain 45 and 49 in the north and sink to 19 in the south. In the most northerly part of this enclave the Telugu percentage is only 10 but in the next part it reaches 47 and in the third 38, i.e., Telugu is on a level with Oriya in the central part and definitely well ahead of it in the southern one. In the eastern side of the area of Oriya predominance the percentages hover round the fifties except for one circle which touches 80. In this region the Telugu element is

not very strong, attaining 20 per cent. only in one circle. The bulk of the non-Oriya mother-tongues is aboriginal.

The southern part of the Telugu region shows a great fall in the Oriya percentages, one circle only (36 per cent.) getting above 15 and only two of the others reaching double figures at all. In the extreme south the Oriya percentages dwindle to 5 and 4. Adjoining this Telugu region on the east is the small green enclave. In this the Oriya percentages are 21, 33 and 9, respectively, the last named being in the south. In all these, however, the Telugu element is strong and in excess of the Oriya, considerably so in the southernmost circle where the Telugu figure is 42 against the Oriya 9.

Srungavarapukota.—Jutting out from the south-east of Padwa is the small Srungavarapukota Agency. It is through this that one of the means of access to the hill country runs, viz., the Anantagiri Ghat. In two circles here, which adjoin the area of Oriya predominance in Padwa already mentioned, the Oriya mother-tongue reaches 97 and 74. In a third which is a continuation of the preceding two, Oriya reaches 49; in all the remainder it is zero while Telugu maintains a definite majority.

Viravilli, Gudem and Golgonda.—This calls for little comment. The tendencies observed in the south of Padwa taluk receive their conclusion in this taluk (Viravilli), where with the exception of one small circle the Oriya percentage does not even reach unity and in the exception is merely 3 per cent. This is a region adjoining Madgole, the headquarters of an old zamindari. The tendency is emphasized in the adjoining taluk of Gudem where not a single circle produces an Oriya percentage above zero. In Golgonda Agency and immediately south of Gudem one circle produces 2 per cent. of Oriya and the remainder nil.

In these three cases, Viravilli, Gudem and Golgonda, the Telugu percentages are overwhelming. Over most of Gudem, they touch 100 and only two fall below 80. In Viravilli, the lowest is 81 and in Golgonda 98.

Malkanagiri.—This taluk could be divided into 2 broad regions, (i) the northern part, a continuation of Jeypur, and (ii) the southern and larger part. The first shows Oriya mother-tongue predominance, stronger in the north and weaker in the south. The second shows practically no Oriya mother-tongue element at all except in the circles adjoining the first area. Even there the highest percentage is 24. Of the remaining 10 circles, Oriya is zero in 4, in 2 more it is no more than 1, and in yet another 2.

In the extreme north-east of the taluk is a green enclave which is a continuation of a similar one in the west of Padwa. Here the Oriya percentage is between 30 and 31 and all the remainder is neither Oriya nor Telugu and mostly Kond and Poroja. Immediately to the south of this is the single region of Telugu predominance in the taluk. Here Telugu reaches 73%. This is the Jantri region in the valley of the Machkand. Immediately to the south-west of this area is another circle (Balimela) in which Telugu reaches 49, while continuing to the south-west Telugu scores 45 per cent. (Bejjanivala). In the extreme south-west circle of all (Motu) that lies between the Sabari and Silert, Telugu reaches 32. Elsewhere, however, it is not an important element and the mass of the mother-tongues returned is neither Oriya nor Telugu, but mostly aboriginal, predominantly Koya.

Rayagada.—Out of eighty percentages, Oriya mother-tongue exceeds 50 once (in the blue enclave where it equals 100), is in the forties twice, the thirties ten times. Sixty-five cases are below 25% and 26 are below 10.

In the north-west tip which projects into Bihar and Orissa occur one of the 40 and five of the 30 per cents. In the southern part of this projection Oriya mother-tongue is almost one-third of the total and over the whole projection it is one-fourth. This is the Kalyanasingapur region and is definitely the most Oriya part of the taluk, apart from the actual blue enclave. Across on the north-eastern border against Bissamkatak occur three more of the 30 per cents., so it may be declared that on the whole Oriya favours the north of the taluk. It is weakest on the western border and on the east against Gunupur, and in general, where communications are weakest.

The Telugu figures illustrate with more force a tendency apparent in the Oriya ones, *viz.*, to follow communications. By following the Nagavalli valley north and then north-west up the taluk one traverses the regions where Telugu scores appreciably. In this well defined area it exceeds 50% once and is thrice in the forties with two other scores above 35 and eight more above 20. Outside this area it falls away to practically nothing and its degree of representation is indicated by fifty-one failures to reach 5% and 28 zeros.

Only in six circles out of the 80 do the Oriya and Telugu mother-tongue percentages added together exceed 50. The two enclaves are included in this figure. The taluk is essentially aboriginal in composition, the chief tongue in question being Kond. The process of plains penetration is well illustrated. Of the two invaders, Oriya is more widely distributed than Telugu.

Bissamkatak.—Bissamkatak may be divided into two main parts from the point of view of Oriya mother-tongue frequency, (i) the narrow tongue which extends northwards from approximately the Bihar and Orissa-Rayagada tri-junction, and (ii) the remainder. Of the first part, the western face is predominantly Oriya and Ambodala circle reaches 75 per cent. the circles to the north and south of it reaching 51, 67 and 64. In these circles the Telugu element is very small, being 3 per cent. over most and reaching only 12 as a maximum in the south. The other face of this tongue of land, though it does not present an Oriya mother-tongue predominance has a strong Oriya element, the percentages ranging from 32 to 40. Here, the Telugu element ranges from 15 to 18 per cent. Between these two, towards the base, is a small enclave of Telugu predominance. This corresponds to a group of small villages where settlers of Telugu mother-tongue have long been established. In it the Telugu mother-tongue reaches 69 per cent., Oriya being 15.

2. In the remaining parts of the taluk the Oriya representation varies from 48 per cent. to 7 per cent., but in no case does the percentage fall to one figure, while in 15 it is over 20 per cent., and in 9 it is 25 per cent. or over. Only in one circle (apart from the area of Telugu predominance mentioned above), does the Telugu percentage exceed 20. This is in the region of Bujagoda, Bodolimma, Goridi, etc., towards the Rayagada frontier. Here Telugu exceeds Oriya by 30 to 25 per cent. Elsewhere the Telugu percentage rarely gets into the teens and several times fails to reach 5. It is difficult to detect any definite gradation, apart from that already indicated, by the division of

the taluk into north and south. It might be said generally that the Oriya element decreases in importance as one goes from north-west to south-east. Apart from the areas of actual Oriya or Telugu predominance mentioned, the sum of Oriya and Telugu percentages in three cases exceeds 50. All three adjoin these areas, *i.e.*, in the north of the taluk. In the remainder (*c.* $\frac{2}{3}$ of the taluk) the aboriginal mother-tongues (chiefly Kond with some Savara in the south) have an absolute majority in every circle. This is greatest in the west on the Rayagada border.

Gunupur.—There is one circle of Oriya predominance in this taluk. It is towards the north centre of the taluk and comprises the villages of Humma, Chintalaguda and Ambadaga and one or two others. In a population of 1,200, the Oriya percentage is 64 and Telugu 22.

As compared with Bissamkatak taluk, its northern neighbour, we notice at once a considerable fall in the Oriya mother-tongue element. Once only does the percentage exceed 40 (apart from the circle already mentioned) and this is Gunupur town itself. Thrice is 30 reached or exceeded, and once 27. All these cases, it may be mentioned, surround the area of Oriya predominance already mentioned and are mostly to the north of it. In the rest of the taluk 20% is reached only thrice and one-figure percentages number no fewer than 15. The low percentages are commonest and continuous on the southern border where the taluk runs with Parlakimedi and Palkonda, and on the west where it runs with Rayagada and corresponds to a sequence of very low percentages there also.

2. There is in Gunupur an area of Telugu predominance. This is on the western border, south of the Bissamkatak-Rayagada tri-junction. In 10 cases out of 31 the sum of the Oriya and Telugu percentages exceeds 50. All these cases are in the north-west, or in and around Gunupur town. Elsewhere the aboriginal core (mostly Savara with some Kond), has an absolute majority which in the extreme south is very pronounced, being 90% or over in six out of 8 circles on the south border. The Telugu percentages here are 57 in the north, and 70 in the south, Oriya being 5 and 9, respectively.

Telugu percentages in this taluk as compared with Bissamkatak run much more on a level with Oriya and out of 31 circles the Telugu element exceeds the Oriya in 14 and is nearly equal to it in 3 others.

Parvatipur Agency.—Only in one small area, *viz.*, Narayanapatnam village, is there Oriya mother-tongue preponderance. Here its percentage is 60 as against Telugu 29 and aboriginal 11. Narayanapatnam commands an old access to the plateau and such centres always attract the plains trader. Narayanapatnam is one of the higher points of Telugu representation also. The general rule is for an Oriya element to be present in some degree. This out of 44 circles on two occasions reaches 34, on nine is between 20 and 30, on nine between 10 and 20, and on twenty-three falls below 10. Six of these are zero and six are 1 or 2.

The Telugu element in this Agency is rather capricious in appearance, but occasionally well marked. Thus it reaches on one occasion almost 50% and on another 46. Other figures reached are 37, 34, 33, 28 and 29. It is 28 times under 5%. In only six cases does it exceed the Oriya figure. Telugu is strong

in the narrow belt immediately below eastern Rayagada but otherwise is largely a matter of concentration round particular villages. Its stronger manifestations follow the Rayagada Road and also the track which goes from Parvatipur to Narayanapatnam and Lakshmipur *via* Bandugam. The Oriya representation over 25% is also mostly found on these roads.

Only in five cases out of 44 do the Oriya and Telugu percentages when added exceed 50. One of these is Narayanapatnam, already mentioned. All lie near one of the two chief roads mentioned above. In 13 cases the united percentages do not reach 5 and in eight more fail to get above 10. These occur nearly all away from the roads ; so here to plains vernaculars are still essentially attached to main routes of trade and penetration.

Thus the taluk is predominantly aboriginal by mother-tongue, the chief element being Kond.

Palkonda Agency.—This is a small band of Agency territory between the plains taluk of Palkonda and Parlakimedi and adjoins Parvatipur agency on the north. The Oriya percentage has practically vanished altogether. In the 3 circles, the Oriya percentages are 1, 2 and nil. In the central circle, Telugu reaches 22% ; elsewhere it is of the same dimensions as Oriya. This is essentially an aboriginal area, in which neither of the great plains vernaculars has yet made any effective impression, by way at least of displacement, on the original mother-tongues, Savara and Kond.

Ghumsur.—Little need be said on this head. In the extreme north and north-west, the taluk marches with the Kond country and Konds are present in considerable numbers there. Their presence is reflected by the failure of Oriya in this region to reach 50%. On the northern tip where it joins Bihar and Orissa, Oriya exceeds 40%, but in the north-west, against G. Udayagiri, it is 35, 14 and finally sinks to 8. These are areas of small population and the villages are forest clearings.

2. Over the rest of the taluk the tale is one of percentages only 5 times (out of 61) below 60, with 12 scores of 100, nine of 99, and 34 besides these over 90. The only areas in which percentages run to any extent below 90 are precisely in the areas adjoining the two extremities already referred to and the lowering of the mother-tongue percentage there is due to the presence of Konds. The Telugu element is slight throughout and only in Russellkonda town does it reach an appreciable figure. This is the headquarters of the taluk and a prominent trading centre which accounts for the aggregation of non-Oriya elements. The Telugu percentage in Russellkonda town is 24.

Surada.—This taluk is rather an artificial composition of two detached parts. In the maps I have taken the southern part under its more revealing name of Bodogodo estate. The other part consists of one piece of foothill Agency, Pondakhol, inhabited mainly by Konds, and two small forest areas. The first is a truly Agency area ; the Oriya mother-tongue has not exceeded 4%. The second is predominantly Oriya, the percentages being 88 and 73 and is in fact indistinguishable from the Korada and Ronaba zemindaries which practically enclose it.

Nowhere is Telugu represented appreciably ; what is not Oriya is Kond.

Bodogodo Estate.—This continues the Gumsur tale. Out of 8 circles six are above 90 and all above 80 by Oriya mother-tongue while Telugu only once reaches 5.

Kodala.—Kodala practically repeats the Gumsur story. Out of 77 circles, 26 returned Oriya mother-tongue at 100%, while 40 are over 90. There is little to add to the story told by these figures. Telugu reaches double figures 14 times. Six of them are above 20 and all but one of these cases are towards the Chatrapur border, *i.e.*, on the side of the taluk whence a Telugu element might be expected to arrive.

Aska.—Here again, the story is one of almost uniform high Oriya percentages. Out of 75 circles, 54 returned Oriya mother-tongue over 90%, three of them being 100. Only twice does the Oriya score go below 60. These cases are both in Sanokimedi estate, *i.e.*, the extreme south of the taluk nearest to Telugu areas.

2. Telugu is definitely more noticeable here than in Gumsur or Kodala and in Sanokimedi it three times exceeds 40. Nevertheless the general position is plain.

3. There is no appreciable intrusion of any other mother-tongue.

Chatrapur.—The north-western part abutting on Sanokimedi, Aska and Kodala taluks partakes of the nature of these, *i.e.*, it shows a well-marked predominance of Oriya mother-tongue. Out of 30 circles, Oriya exceeds 90% in 19. In Aska and Kodala taluks, the Telugu element was stronger in the south. The same tendency is observable in Chatrapur taluk and in this north-western corner. Here, as distinct from Aska and Kodala taluks, emerges a small enclave of Telugu mother-tongue predominance (slight: Oriya is 48%) which corresponds to a few villages of long-established Telugu peasants. In the adjoining circle Telugu reaches 44%. All these villages are south of the Rushikulya river.

The next section of the taluk could be taken as the central portion running south from the Rushikulya river to the blue line. Here Telugu percentages run frequently into the thirties and forties and its lowest returns (zero and one-figure percentages) and Oriya's highest are nearly all in the north of this region and near the river. On the coast, however, and at the mouth of the river, the Telugu figure swells again to 36% and the circle which constitutes the south corner of the actual river mouth reaches 50. The circle immediately opposite on the north bank of the river mouth has Telugu 32%, but after this, Telugu falls away rapidly. Even on the coast it runs to nine and zero, which last is its figure at the Bihar and Orissa border by the banks of Chilka. Inland the same tale is told and the position is that of Kodala, though in the river valley Telugu keeps its end up well on the north bank, scoring 48% in the region from the railway up to the bend by Ravulibondho.

2. In the area outside the blue line the Telugu superiority is never very pronounced. It reaches 76 as against 24, and 66 to 34 on and near the coast, but is a matter of fifties against forties elsewhere.

3. No other language intervenes to any extent in this taluk.

Berhampur.—The larger green area represents the Mohiri Kond hills, so notable a feature of the landscape looking west from Berhampur, particularly at sunset during the rains. In the extreme east of this green part, Oriya as mother-tongue reaches 14% and Telugu 1½: elsewhere both are *nil* throughout.

In the rest of the taluk no other mother-tongue enters but Oriya and Telugu. The general run of the blue/red line shows that Telugu as a predominant mother-tongue clings to the coast. It diminishes rapidly inland. On the north edge of the blue area, against the Chatrapur border, the Oriya mother-tongue percentages average 60. This represents the presence of a few villages with a strong element of Telugu, one of them Kukkadakhandi, the first place of size up the Russellkonda road from Berhampur. These correspond to a region of stronger Telugu representation just over the taluk border and together represent an area where Telugu peasants have long been established.

Elsewhere within the blue area the Oriya mother-tongue percentages only twice fall below 75. One of these is near Gopalpur, the other two are in the extreme south, by Surla. Only nine percentages are below 80 out of thirty-nine

Within the red area, reading up the coast, the Oriya mother-tongue percentages are 4, 44, 13, 28, 21, 49, 0, 0, 4, 0, 36, 17, 46, 47, 17, 15, 12, 14, the rest of course being Telugu. In the south the red goes further inland. Away from the coast Oriya nowhere sinks to one figure but in the 16 inland red circles up to Surla reaches or exceeds 40% thrice, is 30—40% twice, and 20—30% five times, leaving six between 10 and 20. No particular trend can be observed in their distribution, however; some of the lowest Oriya figures come from the extreme interior.

North of Surla the Telugu predominance is restricted to the coastal belt. This is a region of 'tamparas' (lagoons) and difficult communications, possessing a distinct individual character. Where the blue line reaches the sea does not really break the coastline sequence, for this thrust represents a large swamp, the Gaunzu Tampara, which is of course uninhabited though the circles to which it is attached inland are predominantly Oriya.

The Surla thrust to the sea represents mainly the Government salt factory.

The small blue coast enclave on the extreme south is the village of Manikypur (Oriya mother-tongue 81%).

There remains Berhampur town. This is coloured green because neither Oriya nor Telugu as mother-tongue reaches 50%, the respective figures being 47 and 48%.

Bodokimedi.—The western strip of the Mohiri Kond hills lies within the zamindari. Its mother-tongue characteristics are the same as for the rest of the hills, neither Oriya nor Telugu being represented at all.

On the north-western flank of the hills is the red area. Within this the Telugu preponderance is nowhere very marked, Oriya as mother-tongue remaining at 40% or above. On the western fringe of this area Telugu remains well represented at 45—49% but elsewhere in the zamindari, out of 21 circles, Oriya is above 90% in 14, and above 70 in 5 more. The remaining two are one on the extreme north-eastern border of Chatrapur taluk (64%), the other a small circle embedded among nineties in the south-west.

Over the whole estate the mother-tongue percentages are 74% Oriya and 23% Telugu.

Ichapur.—This is a purely zamindari taluk, consisting of Chikati, Surangi and Jarada estates. Jarada is much smaller than the other two which are

approximately equal in area and occupy the east and west, respectively, Jarada being sandwiched between them in the south.

Chikati.—This estate might be divided roughly into regions north and south of Patrapur. The north part (c. $\frac{2}{3}$ of the whole estate) is predominantly Oriya by mother-tongue, the south predominantly Telugu. The Oriya percentages are highest along the north and west borders of the estate. The northern area out of 14 circles has only 3 below 50, the lowest being 34. Two of the three are on the eastern edge. Eight are 75% or over and the remaining three are 71, 69 and 50. Except in the north-west near the Bodokimedi-Berhampur tri-junction, where a Kond element from the adjoining Mohiri Hills enters, what is not Oriya is Telugu. In the excepted area, Telugu falls to 10 and 5% as against the Kond 15 and 13.

In the southern fraction, Oriya mother-tongue is once over 40, twice 30—40, once 20—30 and twice 10 or below. The diminution goes with motion southwards and the extreme south tip jutting into Jalandra has Oriya 9% and Telugu 91. Over the whole estate Oriya mother-tongue is 59% and Telugu 39%.

Surangi.—Of the eight circles which make up this estate only one return an Oriya mother-tongue percentage below 80 and that one is 66. Five are above 90. The residue is Telugu, no other mother-tongue entering to any appreciable degree. No further comment is required. Over the whole estate Oriya as mother-tongue is 85%.

Jarada.—This small estate falls into two parts, (i) the larger runs along the Surangi border and has Oriya mother-tongue percentages 82, 86 and 96, (ii) is on the east and returns 45 and 47. The other element in both cases is Telugu. Over the whole estate the mother-tongue proportions are 71% Oriya and 29% Telugu.

Sompeta.—This is a purely zamindari taluk. Mandasa Estate is the southern half. Baruva and a piece of Chikati (the bulk of which lies in Ichapur taluk) lie on the coast. Budarasingi forms the north-west tip and Jalandra the remainder and c. $\frac{1}{3}$ of the whole taluk. It will be convenient to discuss the position by estates.

Budarasingi gives a heavy Oriya mother-tongue predominance, the percentages in its two circles being 88 and 86. The Telugu percentages are but 6 and 4, the balance being made up of aboriginals, mostly Konds.

Jalandra might be divided into halves by a line roughly parallel to the railway and a mile to two miles west of it. Of the halves so formed, the western would approximate to the area of Oriya mother-tongue predominance. The eastern would show Telugu predominance. The western is very much less populous and the minority of c. 30% contains an aboriginal element of about 3%, similar to that in Budarasingi. The remainder of the minority is Telugu.

In the eastern half of the estate the Oriya percentages reach 32, 33 in the north and weaken as we go east from the dividing line. On the eastern border of the estate they run 16, 14, 14, 24, 24, 18, 12, 40, 15. The 40% represents a one-village circle, Besi-Ramachandrapur. The balance is everywhere Telugu: there is no other appreciable element present.

For the whole estate, figures are 33% Oriya and 65% Telugu.

Chikati.—The small piece in this taluk consists of a strongly Oriya (89%) in land part and an even stronger (93, 99%) Telugu coastal part.

Baruva is 20% Oriya and 80% Telugu.

Mandasa.—The extreme western part (A) approximately $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total area (but much less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total population) shows an Oriya mother-tongue predominance, the percentages in the two circles concerned being 63 and 71, the Telugu figures being 16 and 1. The minority in both is mostly aboriginal. In the extreme south-west is an area where Oriya mother-tongue is 19 and Telugu 9, the aboriginals largely predominating. This area is a southern continuation of the region of Oriya predominance just mentioned.

The remaining part of the estate, say $\frac{2}{3}$, has Oriya mother-tongue percentages of 32, 37, 44 (west of Mandasa town), and 25 in the north-west along the frontier of region A. Eastwards and southwards the percentages drop. 25 occurs twice, once on the Baruva border in the north, once in the south centre. Coast figures from north to south are 25, 3, 3, 2, 11, 4, 2, 0. Inland they run 16, 13, 11, 12, 9, 6. Everywhere the rest of the percentage is Telugu.

Over the whole estate, mother-tongue percentages are 20% Oriya and 74% Telugu.

Tekkali.—Twice only at Lakshmidvipeta (73% : 27%) on the coast and in the extreme small north-west tip does Oriya mother-tongue exceed Telugu. The figures in the latter region are 49/29, the balance being aboriginal. In the circle to the east of this Oriya is 40 but here Telugu exceeds it with 42, the balance as before being aboriginal. In one other circle, west of Tekkali town, the colouring is green but here Oriya scores only 15 to Telugu's 49.

Along the western border an aboriginal element is present. In no circle does it form an actual majority over both Oriya and Telugu as mother-tongue but it determines the green hue thrice with percentages of 18, 22 and 36. Elsewhere its contribution varies from 5 to 27%, the strongest being from the middle western border of the taluk.

In one other circle there is a distinct gap between the total of Oriya and Telugu mother-tongue percentages and 100. This however is the artificial area of Palasa Railway station in which train passengers appear to make up the odd 17%.

Elsewhere, that is over the vastly greater part of the taluk, the issue is Oriya-Telugu.

Out of 58 percentages taken Oriya gets above 20 only 7 times and falls below 10 thirty times and below 5 twenty times, with five zeros, nine returns of 1% and seven of 2%. The cases of over 40% have already been mentioned and are both in the extreme north-west. Of the four in the 30's, three correspond to the urban aggregations of Kasibugga/Palasa in the north and of Tekkali-Rahgunadhapur in the south.

The coastline shows out of 15 cases, eleven where Oriya mother-tongue is 2% or less. It might be said that Oriya is rather stronger in the interior than on the coast but on the whole the Telugu predominance is as uniform as it is pronounced.

Tekkali is also a taluk of proprietary estates but boundaries are not so clear cut as with other estates. The estates from north to south, composing the taluk are Tarla, Nandigam and Tekkali and their respective percentages are 78, 81 and 83% Telugu.

Parlakimedi.—Parlakimedi is one of the most intricate of the Ganjam plains taluks as regards mother-tongue. It might be divided into 4 parts: (i) is the valley of the Vamsadhara river, (ii) is the belt of forest clad hills lying on the centre of the south-eastern edge of the taluk and familiar to all who have gone to Parlakimedi from the main trunk road, (iii) is the roughly rectangular southern projection of the taluk running from the western side of (ii) across to the Vamsadhara river, (iv) is the region between (ii) and the Maliahs on the north and stretching eastwards to meet Tekkali.

2. At the extreme northern tip of the first area Oriya mother-tongue reaches 66%. In a one village enclave, Sengidi, lower down the river, it attains the same figure. Apart from these two it is never above 50, reaches once the 40's and six times the 30's, while on fourteen occasions it is down to one figure. Out of a total of fifty percentages, Telugu on the other hand reaches a 90% tally seven times, is in the 80's nine times and in the 70's eight times.

Here and there, on the fringes of this area, Savara acquires predominance in some circles and holds the balance in others. These places fall of course within the green lines. The Telugu in them is except in two cases much stronger than the Oriya. For example, along the Palkonda Agency border, the Oriya percentages are 9, 2, 4, 4, 3 and the corresponding Telugu figures 35, 32, 62, 34, 87; similarly on the Parlakimedi Maliahs border.

The area as a whole is strongly Telugu. This tendency is more marked south of the river than north. Seven of the Telugu 9% cases and all the 80% cases are south of the river.

3. Area (ii) shows the Savara mother-tongue predominance as absolute; that is to say, this enclave is not coloured green merely because neither Telugu nor Oriya in it reaches 50%. The Savara percentages are 55, 59 and 24: Corresponding Oriya figures are 14, 12 and 6 and Telugu 31, 29 and 0. The actual numbers corresponding to the Oriya and Telugu percentages are respectively 700 and 1,400 out of 7,000.

4. Oriya is weaker in area (iii) than in the other parts of the estate. In one circle in the south Oriya mother-tongue percentage reaches 0. 1 occurs five times and 2 twice. In this as in the first area, reckoning by villages, the colouring is almost invariably red or green. The Telugu percentages in this region run high. Out of 18 circles it exceeds 90% in 8, and is above 75 in 7 more. Its lowest score is in circles adjoining area (ii) where a definite Savara element is present which varies from 5 to 30%. Nowhere in the whole area does the Oriya percentage get beyond the teens.

5. The fourth area contains a small block of Oriya predominance centring on the headquarters town, in which last Oriya reaches 50% and Telugu 47. In this blue tongue the Oriya percentages are 69, 59 and 58. Immediately to the south of it Oriya reaches 40 and 32. In two other small areas Oriya reaches a predominance of 61 round Gurandi and 51 round Balajipuram. Elsewhere here is a steady Telugu majority, though the percentages run smaller than in

areas (i) or (iii). This majority tends to be greater in the centre than on the flanks for it has been diminished on the south border by the presence of a strong Savara element while on the north Oriya tends to be stronger along the foot-hills of the Maliahs. Running along the northern border of this tongue from the Tekkali border, Oriya percentages are 21, 30, 31, 36, 24, 34 and 46, while along the south border they are 21, 19, 7, 13, 14 and 8. The corresponding Telugu percentages are 70, 52, 42, 62, 67, 59 and 46 and 70, 74, 58, 73, 31 and 87. It will be observed that the two never total 100 and are generally well short. The gap represents the Savara element present along the margins.

6. The mother-tongue percentages over the whole estate are Oriya 21 and Telugu 65.

Chicacole.—Chicacole might be said to be the Gumsur story with the colours interchanged. The whole taluk gives a steady sequence of high Telugu mother-tongue percentages. Out of 118 circles, Telugu as a mother-tongue exceeds 90% in 105, and touches 100 eighteen times. There are only 3 cases of below 80% and 2 of these are above 65. It is noteworthy that the lowest percentage 58 comes from a very small circle of total population 560 in the extreme north tip of the taluk. Moreover Oriya reaches here only 21, an element of 20% being due to the presence of aboriginal mother-tongue. The others are Kotabommali, a railway station and centre of some importance, and one ward in Chicacole town. In the last case although the Telugu mother-tongue is 68, Oriya is only 17, the balance being made up by the usual foreigners to be found in a municipality of some importance.

Balliguda.—Throughout this taluk an appreciable Oriya element is present Oriya mother-tongue exceeds 50% only in one circle which is on the north-west Bihar and Orissa border and consists of the muttas of Lunkaghar and Mundi-gar. The sister circles in this western charge returned Oriya mother-tongue percentages of over 40. This area borders on the northern tongue of Bis-samkatak, which, as was shown, has a strong Oriya element.

Along the Bihar and Orissa border, Oriya percentages run to 45, 33 and 37. Again, in the south on the Ramagiri border, we have 38 and 41. In the remainder, the percentages are much lower and the lowest of all is 8, which comes from the Simonbadi-Sikoketta area in the extreme east of the taluk. It is notable that the Oriya element is stronger in the north and the west than in the east. Telugu is infinitesimal throughout the taluk and the bulk of the mother-tongue is Kond which is in an absolute majority in every circle save the one mentioned above.

G. Udayagiri.—Here again, the Oriya mother-tongue representation is found throughout, though with considerable variations in degree. Of the areas of Oriya predominance, one is on the eastern border of the Chokkapad Khandam, which is below the Ghats and in fact merely a continuation of the Ghumsur taluk. In the rest of the Chokkapad Khandam, Oriya mother-tongue is invariably over 25%. Of the other such areas, one abuts on Bihar and Orissa in the west, while the third covers the famous sandy town of Tikkaballe, an area in which Oriyas have long been established and which lies hard by the through road from Bihar and Orissa to Ganjam plains. On the north-west corner above the blue enclave percentages run from 26 to 45. Along the hills which divide the upland taluk from Chokkapad the Oriya

mother-tongue percentage is very low indeed, never reaching double figures and generally below 5. The same applies to most of the south half of the taluk. In the north-west, the Oriya representation rises to 15, 24 and 32. In G. Udayagiri town, the headquarters of the taluk, it reaches 44, a not unnatural result from the regular presence of traders, officials, etc., in the place.

2. The Telugu representation in this taluk is negligible throughout. The prevailing mother-tongue is Kond and aboriginal mother-tongues have an absolute majority in 38 out of the 43 circles.

Ramagiri.—In this taluk we have a well-marked Oriya mother-tongue element throughout. Percentages of over 90 number five and 75 or over four more. There is a considerable area of uniform Oriya predominance. This runs along the eastern border of the taluk where it abuts on Sanokimedi, Bodokimedi and Surangi, and corresponds approximately to the main south road, from the plains access *via* the Taptapani Ghat at Luhagudi, down through Chandiput, Chandragiri, Chelligodo, Puipani and Ramagiri. All but one of the high percentages mentioned above occur in this strip. Oriya exceeds 50% elsewhere in isolated circles, *e.g.*, Udayagiri, Kerodango. Only in the extreme south-east and south-west corners does the Oriya percentage reach zero. In the west, percentages of 12 and 16 are found and in the north-east they drop to 20. Only twice does Telugu reach an appreciable percentage. These are in the Chelligodo and Lakhmipur areas where it scores 25 and 35%. Nowhere however can it claim a predominance and practically throughout the taluk it is non-existent. Ramagiri then may be said to be predominantly Oriya by mother-tongue on the south-eastern rim bordering the plains, strongly Oriya over practically all its southern border, and with a considerable Oriya element throughout the rest. The aboriginal tongue spoken in this taluk is mainly Savara. Aboriginal mother-tongues have an absolute majority in 38 circles out of 60; *i.e.*, in every one where Oriya is less than 50%; these lie mostly in the north and west and the extreme south.

Parlakimedi Maliahs.—The Parlakimedi Maliahs (which are not part of the Estate) show a tongue of Oriya predominance running up from the plains. This tongue is along the main access from the plains into the Maliahs, a road going up from Parlakimedi town *via* Burujangi to Rayagada. The south-eastern projection of this represents Narayanapuram, through which another road comes from the east to join the first below Burujangi. Narayanapuram is a border trading and halting village of some importance. In this region Oriya as mother-tongue is 71 per cent. Gandahatti farther east, a smaller place of similar nature, forms the centre of a small blue enclave. Here Oriya reaches 97 in the actual village and 55 over the circle. Gumma, an important road centre in the west of the Maliahs, is practically an Oriya village; the Oriya mother-tongue percentage here is 92. The surroundings are entirely Savara.

The Oriya mother-tongue percentages within the blue tongue run from 82, round Burujangi, etc., along the actual course of the road to 66 in Rayagada village itself and 65 just beyond it, and 59 in the area west of and parallel to the road.

2. The Oriya percentage is 0 on the extreme east. It reaches 32 round Tumba in the north-east, then passes through one-figure percentages until

the environs of Rayagada, where it rises through 22 to 45. Immediately to the west of the blue tongue, Oriya is 40 per cent. but quickly descends through 16 and 14 to 0 in two large circles and to 2 in a third. In the extreme west of the Maliahs, it rises again to 19 and 13 per cent.

On the Ramagiri border running from west to east, Oriya mother-tongue percentages are 19, 0, 16, 11, 11, 26, 7, 4, 9, 32, 0.

3. Telugu is hardly represented at all. Along the extreme south, a few villages show a Telugu majority, but elsewhere what is not Oriya is Savara. These Maliahs are essentially a Savara country governed through Oriya Bissoyis as intermediaries, whose headquarters, frequently distinguished by the suffix 'godo' (= 'fort'), generally show an Oriya predominance, due to the paiks and other servants and followers of Oriya origin who cluster there.

PARTICULARS FOR THE SPECIAL MAP.

By Race.

NOTE.—The figures marked * are given only to facilitate comparison with those for mother-tongue for the same areas. In the map however only taluk rectangles for Ramagiri and Padwa have been shown, as sectional rectangles would have no apparent relation to the lines.

Serial No.	Taluk or section.	Population.	By Race.			
			Oriya (Blue).	Telugu (Red).	Neither (Green).	Doubtful (Blank).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	GANJAM AGENCY.					
1	G. Udayagiri	85,188	32,687	170	51,828	503
2	Pondakhol (Surada I) ..	2,837	1,613	22	1,201	1
	Balliguda	108,955	36,802	829	70,662	662
	Total	111,792	38,415	851	71,863	663
3	Ramagiri A*	35,698	14,604	55	21,035	4
	Ramagiri B*	55,879	13,937	201	41,733	8
	Total	91,577	28,541	256	62,768	12
4	Parlakimedi Maliahs ..	69,681	15,620	1,276	52,754	31
	GANJAM PLAINS.					
5	Ghumsur	180,615	143,139	8,466	12,924	16,086
6	Bodogodo (Surada II) ..	23,877	20,419	567	2,820	71
7	Kodala	207,228	171,075	15,032	4,432	16,689
8	Aaka (less Sanokimedi) ..	151,501	116,226	14,093	3,972	17,210
	Sanokimedi	58,769	45,718	6,887	3,220	2,944
	Total	210,270	161,944	20,980	7,192	20,154

Serial No.	Taluk or section.	Popula- tion.	By Race.			
			Oriya (Blue).	Telugu (Red).	Neither (Green).	Doubtful (Blank).
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	GANJAM PLAINS— <i>contd.</i>					
9	Chatrapur A.	159,024	128,651	21,726	232	8,415
	Chatrapur B.	28,141	10,886	16,870	181	204
	Total ..	187,165	139,537	38,596	413	8,619
10	Bodokimedi	64,220	45,552	9,678	5,346	3,644
11	Berhampur (less Bodoki- medi) A.	146,124	95,596	35,707	6,451	8,370
	Berhampur (less Bodoki- medi) B.	95,565	23,104	67,097	452	4,912
	Total ..	241,689	118,700	102,804	6,903	13,282
12	Ichapur	80,300	50,947	23,182	4,543	1,628
13	Sompot, A.	20,707	13,195	3,567	3,393	552
	Sompot, B.	99,928	18,140	72,324	2,503	6,961
	Total ..	120,635	31,335	75,891	5,896	7,513
14	Tekkali	152,236	19,074	102,737	5,769	24,656
15	Parlakimedi	293,319	67,522	156,859	53,518	15,420
16	Chioacole	291,327	16,442	236,185	1,593	37,607
	VIZAGAPATAM AGENCY.					
17	Naurangpur	195,911	140,328	4,460	49,625	4,496
18	Jeypore	201,060	141,455	6,002	48,598	5,005
19	Koraput	74,898	29,725	2,991	41,308	874
20	Pottangi	97,427	35,432	9,021	52,519	455
	Salur Agency	6,253	57	313	5,883	..
	Total ..	103,680	35,489	9,334	58,402	455

Serial No.	Taluk or section.	Population.	By Race.			
			Oriya (Blue).	Talugu (Red).	Neither (Green).	Doubtful (Blank)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	VIZAGAPATAM AGENCY— <i>contd.</i>					
21	Padwa A*	88,812	30,445	12,251	45,987	129
	Srungavarapukota ..	5,362	866	1,290	3,205	1
	Total* ..	94,174	31,311	13,541	49,192	130
22	Padwa B*	40,768	9,605	16,670	14,480	13
	Viravilli Agency ..	5,293	1,178	2,678	1,437	..
	Total ..	46,061	10,783	19,348	15,917	13
	Padwa	129,530	40,050	28,921	60,467	142
23	Malkanagiri A	30,155	20,308	1,640	5,420	2,787
	Malkanagiri B.	46,091	8,538	6,072	28,575	2,906
	Total ..	76,246	28,846	7,712	33,995	5,693
24	Gudem	23,547	195	17,616	5,718	18
25	Golgonda Agency ..	20,831	290	18,214	2,303	24
26	Parvatipur Agency ..	42,651	5,668	2,623	34,353	7
27	Rayagada	83,412	14,335	5,946	62,474	657
28	Bissamkatak	64,755	22,800	1,691	40,168	96
29	Gunupur	120,854	22,348	11,875	86,386	245
30	Palkonda Agency ..	13,918	464	83	13,371	..

GENERAL NOTE ON THE CASTE MAP.

In a comparison of the caste and mother-tongue maps in such an area as that dealt with, one would expect the general run of the lines to be the same, differences being chiefly a matter of rather greater extension of the green lines in the caste map than in the mother-tongue one. This tendency would be in accord with the well-established fact that caste or tribe associations and identity are more enduring than language, and that where primitive tribes especially come into contact with more civilised communities, the language is as a rule the first distinctive feature to weaken and disappear.

Another illustration of the same phenomenon that might be looked for would be a lower degree of Oriya or Telugu representation in those Agency parts which occur as green in both maps. This also has been observed. In the Agency taluks percentages of Oriya or Telugu race composition run definitely lower than those for mother-tongue.

2. Such an impression is confirmed by a comparison of the race and mother-tongue maps now before us. It should be remembered that the green colouring may be the result of two sets of conditions : (a) an absolute majority of the elements neither Oriya nor Telugu, and (b) a state of things in which, while both Oriya and Telugu are represented, neither of them reaches nor can reach 50 per cent ; in other words, foreign elements hold the balance. Another category enters however here and there in the caste map by the presence of small areas in which the classification of a doubtful element as either Oriya or Telugu would definitely make that area blue or red as the case may be. These cases are nowhere numerous and occur chiefly towards the south of Ganjam ; the balance is usually held by a caste returned as Kalingi. A separate statement deals with these cases. Nearly always the mother-tongue association is overwhelming on one side or the other. Always they appear as isolated phenomena and their importance will be gauged from the remark that out of 1,404 circles only 38 produced this dubiety.

3. A good illustration of the extension of the green element in the caste map is given by Parlakimedi. The mother-tongue map showed in the south of the estate an isolated belt of absolute Savara predominance coloured of course green. In my notes I mentioned that all round this area a strong Savara mother-tongue element remained and the racial feature connoted by this has been sufficient to render green a tongue of land reaching up to unbroken connection with the Maliahs. Similarly, the green area on the interior fringes of the taluk shows a diffusion rather greater than in the mother-tongue map. Another illustration could be taken from Balliguda, Rayagada and Gunupur taluks, where the enclaves existing in the mother-tongue maps have disappeared in the race map. Similarly, the blue area in Ramagiri shows contraction in favour of the green.

G. Udayagiri.—The blue area is much contracted in the north and east and extended somewhat in the south. The contraction represents the Kond element which has adopted Oriya as mother-tongue (a feature of Chokkapad), the expansion (which is round G. Udayagiri village, strongly Oriya by mother-tongue already) reflects persons of Kond or other non-Oriya mother-tongue who are rated as Oriya by race. Throughout the green area the non-Oriya elements have an absolute majority.

Balliguda.—The blue enclave disappears. Throughout the green area the non-Oriya-Telugu majority is absolute. The general run of figures does not differ much.

Ramagiri.—There is a considerable contraction in the blue area here. This represents large numbers of Savaras who returned mother-tongue as Oriya. Throughout the green area, the non-Oriya-Telugu has an absolute majority.

Parlakimedi Maliahs.—The small blue area round Gandahatti disappears in this map. Otherwise the distribution of blue and green remains unaltered.

The strength of the Oriya and Telugu elements runs generally slightly lower than for mother-tongue. The non-Oriya-Telugu elements are in an absolute and usually very large majority throughout the green area.

Ghumsur.—The green area here is unchanged. Within this, non-Oriya-Telugu elements (chiefly Kond) are in a definite majority. In the south border of the taluk and in Russellkonda town, the doubtful castes are more strongly represented; elsewhere they are inconsiderable. Only twice, however, do they affect the final determination of colour. One of these cases is Russellkonda town, the other is a small area in the south. The chief element is Kalinji; and in both it is impossible for the area to be ever red though it might be blue or green. In both, the Oriya element already stands over 40% without reckoning in the doubtful castes. Telugu is 2% in one case and 30% in the other (Russellkonda town).

Elsewhere the picture is an unbroken one of heavy and uniform Oriya predominance and Ghumsur repeats its mother-tongue story.

Surada.—Taking separately as before, the two detached parts which make up this, Pondakhil repeats its mother-tongue story, Oriya having a pronounced predominance in the eastern end, Kond in the western, Telugu being infinitesimal in both. *Bodogodo* estate shows now a small green strip. The non-Oriya-Telugu elements, chiefly Savara, do not reach an absolute majority here but along with the almost equal Oriya contribution make up over 90% of the total. The region is the hill area which occupies the south-west angle of the estate and runs along with the Agency border.

Kodala.—The single change is the emergence of a "green circle on the northern border. This represents the presence of Savaras and the non-Oriya-Telugu elements have an absolute majority. This area is the upper part of the spur of hills that ends in the Chilka Lake and along which the presidency frontier runs.

Otherwise the uniform and heavy predominance of the Oriya element continues. Telugus are distinctly and uniformly more numerous by race than they were by mother-tongue but only once do they come near the Oriya figures. That, significantly enough, is in the extreme south of the taluk, close to Purushottapur. There they attain 44%. On another occasion (again on the southern border) they reach 35%. Nowhere else do they approach these figures.

The doubtful element crops up, generally in small numbers. Even its greatest representation, however, is never in sight of influencing matters.

Aska.—This repeats its mother-tongue story. The general run of figures is much the same. The Telugu contribution is rather higher than in the mother-tongue case but never sufficient to affect the Oriya predominance which in most cases is very marked; the stronger Telugu element occurs in this map exactly where the stronger mother-tongue representation was found in the other.

One circle is undecided. Here Kalinjis number almost half the total. Oriya castes excluding them are 47%.

Sanokimedi.—A green area shows itself on the north and north-west. This is a hill region, a spur in fact of the Eastern Ghats. It runs with the spur

in Bodogodo estate which we already noticed as green also. In general, this hill mass partakes of the nature of the Agency behind, with a Kond and Savara element in the population.

In the extreme south-east corner of Sanokimedi, one small circle showed itself as doubtful, i.e., while Oriya has a considerable advantage, it does not reach 50%. This same circle in the mother-tongue map showed a Telugu element of over 40. So its appearance as 'doubtful' this time is not surprising. Actually, it is impossible for this circle ever to be red. Otherwise the general run of figures is the same and the tendencies observable in the mother-tongue map repeat themselves.

Chatrapur.—The run of the lines here shows little change from the mother-tongue map. The small red enclave in the west of the taluk shrinks and there are slight extensions of red in the east. The south shore of the Rushikulya mouth this time shows a red majority. In no case, however, do these changes of colour imply a switch-over of any more than a few per cent., for in every one of the areas, the mother-tongue percentages ran close to the 50's and in the circle to the south of Rushikulya mouth the mother-tongue results were exactly 50—50.

The general run of the figures is the same. Doubtful elements are mostly in a stretch of country south of the river opposite Purshottapur, but only once does their determination influence the colouring. Here Belamas, numbering nearly half the population, hold the balance. Oriyas are already 45%.

Bodokimedi.—There is an extension of the green here. One is on the west flank of the Mohiri Hills where 50% of the people are Konds by race, the majority of whom returned Oriya as mother-tongue. The other is the long narrow hill spur which thrusts in westwards from the Maliahs. Here 9/10ths of the population are Konds.

Part of the former red area remains red, part becomes blue, and part is doubtful, the two constituents running very even. The mother-tongue percentages in both the latter cases were in favour of Telugu by 40/60.

There is one other doubtful circle, in the north-east. Here again the Kalinjis hold the scale; they are 1/3 of the total population.

Berhampur.—The green enclaves are the same as in the mother-tongue map and for the same reasons.

Five circles are in doubt in this taluk, all hanging upon Kalinjis (or Kalinjis). Details of these are given in the separate statement. In three of these the mother-tongue map was red and in the other two blue. The mother-tongue percentages in the first case ran close, 44/56, 49/51 and 43/57 (Oriya mentioned first). In the other two the gap was wider, 60/40 and 91/9. Nowhere else do the 'doubtful' elements have any bearing on the result.

Otherwise the run of the figures is the same, the general totals preserving a close parallelism.

Ichapur.—The only change is that a circle which was red in the mother-tongue map becomes undecided now owing to the presence of a doubtful element of 500 odd, the only occasion in this taluk when the doubtful element is of any moment whatever. It should be noted that in this circle in the

mother-tongue map the Telugu percentage was only in the 50's, so there has been little actual turnover. The doubtful element in question is made up of Kalinji with mother-tongue Telugu.

2. The general run of figures follows very closely that of the mother-tongue map. There is consequently little need for further comment. In a central plains area language is a much less fluid matter than in primitive tracts and its distribution and that of race association should not ordinarily be very dissimilar.

Sompeta.—This taluk shows in this map two slight extensions of the green. One is in the north-west where a Savara element is well represented though without having an absolute majority. The other is to the east of Mandasa town, where Telugu and Oriya run very close and a small number who are neither is sufficient to hold the balance and produce the green.

Elsewhere the run of affairs follows very closely the mother-tongue course. The 'doubtful' element appears, chiefly in the north-east and south-west, but only once affects. In this circle Kalinjis (Kalingis) are over half the population. Telugu castes have a considerable advantage in the remainder.

Tekkali.—The green area in the south-west (a continuation of the Parlakimedi green area) remains in this map but the small part which was green in the north-west in the mother-tongue map becomes blue in this. Otherwise the general colouring remains unchanged. So too is the general run of the figures. The doubtful element is fairly well represented in this taluk but only in 7 cases does it exercise any bearing on the colour. In every case, it is Kalingis who hold the balance. Of the 7 cases, omitting the Kalingi element, Oriya holds a small advantage in 2, Telugu a larger advantage in 4, and an overwhelming advantage in 1. In this last case, however, the Kalingis alone are more than 50% of the population. The separate statement will give mother-tongue details for this case. It will be observed that Telugu is the mother-tongue of a very large majority.

Parlakimedi.—As in the mother-tongue map, this is the most intricate taluk of all. I have commented in the general introduction on the principal difference to be observed between the two maps and on the reasons for it. This taluk forms a triangle with the apex south. There is a strong Savara element present on the north and west sides and in the middle of the south side, and the racial element persisting unaffected after the mother-tongue has weakened or vanished is responsible for nearly all the green extension noticed in this taluk. It is an illustration of this that in most of this green extension the non-Oriya-Telugu elements do not have a clear majority but hold the balance and prevent either Oriya or Telugu (in nearly every case Telugu is the only real competitor) from attaining 50%.

There are 3 cases of turnover from red to blue. In two the turnover from the mother-tongue figures is very slight, a matter of one or two per cent. In the third it is more considerable. All reflect the presence of castes classed as Oriya by race members of which have returned Telugu as their mother-tongue.

The doubtful element is present throughout in widely varying numbers, generally however, insignificant. In 8 cases out of 129, it prevents a definite coloration being established. Once again it is the Kalingis who usually hold the balance, in all cases with mother-tongue given as Telugu. Chakkali Oddis

also appear though in much smaller numbers. In 6 of these cases Oriya could not reach 50% even if all the doubtfuls were adjudicated to it and in all but one Telugu is in a definite majority apart from the consideration of these doubtful elements.

In that part of the taluk farthest away from the aboriginal margins the mother-tongue map record is repeated practically unchanged.

2. All over, Parlakimedi taluk illustrates admirably in these two maps how a racial element can continue strong after its absorption from the mother-tongue aspect is far advanced or even complete.

Chicacole.—The general tale of heavy and uniform Telugu predominance continues unaltered in the race map. A 'doubtful' element occurs almost throughout, frequently in a very small degree but occasionally in some numbers. Only in 6 cases however, can it affect the colouring of the circle. In all, the preponderating doubtful element is Kalingi, though in two of them a special brand of Kalingi, called Kintala, contributes strongly. In 3 of these cases, the doubtful elements alone total more than 50% of the total population of the circle while in a fourth it is close on that figure. In all, a definitely Telugu element is in enormous preponderance in the residue. Thus, in one case, it already totals 49% of the whole. The Oriya element in 4 is absolutely inconsiderable and in the fifth is considerably less than half the Telugu. The mother-tongue affiliation of these people is, as a separate statement will show, overwhelmingly Telugu.

Otherwise there is no comment to make. The race as well as the mother-tongue association of Chicacole taluk is too obvious to require further illustration.

Naurangpur.—The green area is in the same general position but has shifted slightly north-westward. Close to this area, east of the road, occurs a single circle in which the doubtful element holds the balance. Oriya is over 30%, apart from this (Bhogi) element.

2. Otherwise the same comment has to be made as for Jeypore taluk. The blue majority is steady but less pronounced throughout than was the case with mother-tongue. There are no 100 per cents. here but on the other hand several in the 50's and 60's. The highest concentration of Oriya race adjoins a similar region in Jeypore, i.e., it lies across the Indravati from Kotpad, and in general, higher proportions of Oriya race tend to be found in the west.

Jeypore.—A green area appears here lying to the south and east of Jeypore town itself. The lowest Oriya percentage touched in this area is 31. Jeypore town, as before, returns a low Oriya majority and the same two wards in it which were Telugu in the mother-tongue map are still Telugu.

The rest of the taluk remains blue but the Oriya majority is considerably reduced throughout, particularly in the north-east triangle between Naurangpur and Koraput, where the Oriya percentage runs in the 50's and 60's. Oriya majorities are highest in the west and north-west. As against the mother-tongue figures, there is no 100% this time and 90 is reached or exceeded only 8 times out of 52. This diminution in the Oriya poll is not due to an emergence of Telugu which remains inconsiderable but is an illustration of the numbers of persons (mainly aboriginal), not of Oriya origin, who have adopted or returned Oriya as their mother-tongue.

Koraput.—Here again, blue enclaves occur in much the same position as those in the mother-tongue map but are less extensive. The Oriya element is considerable in one or two circles adjoining these areas and maintains a fair representation towards the western flank; in the east, however, it diminishes considerably. The non-Oriya-Telugu elements maintain however an absolute majority in nearly all the green area. Telugu is inconsiderable throughout.

Pottangi.—This taluk preserves the blue enclaves in more or less the same position as noticed in the mother-tongue map, here again, however, diminished. Oriya is well represented in the west and centre, weak in the east. Telugu is the reverse. The Oriya element all over is much more pronounced. Over nearly all the green area, the non-Oriya-Telugu element has an absolute majority.

Salur.—The Oriya-Telugu elements are even less here than they were in the mother-tongue map. Between them they can only raise 6%.

Padua.—This taluk illustrates well the extension of the green in the race as compared with the mother-tongue map. The figures call for little comment. Both the red and the blue element have undergone very considerable contraction. Both Oriya and Telugu race elements, however, remain well represented as figures will show and some of the green extension is due to the balance-holding aspect already referred to. Of the 20 green circles, 8 illustrate this aspect of the position. Always, however, the non-Oriya-Telugu element is considerable..

Srungavarapukota.—This taluk showed itself as mostly Telugu and the rest Oriya, so far as mother-tongue was concerned. It appears on the race map wholly green and in only 3 out of the 8 circles, does the non-plains element lack an absolute majority. In actual numbers, Telugu exceeds Oriya by about 450 over the whole Agency, while the other elements are more than half as great again as both Oriya and Telugu put together.

Malkanagiri.—There is no change in the general position of the blue and red areas and very little in dimensions. The general run of figures is little changed. The 'doubtful' element present in the north produces a reduction in the Oriya representation as compared with the mother-tongue figures.

Gudem, Viravilli, Golconda.—These taluks which showed a red front in the mother-tongue map maintain it in the race map but in illustration of the general principles expressed in the introduction to this note, a few pieces of green make their appearance and the Telugu majorities run smaller. The green area in Gudem showed an absolute, though not very pronounced majority of non-Oriya-Telugu; Viravilli green represents the balance-holding aspect of this colour for it does not reach the actual majority. Throughout Gudem and Golconda the Oriya race element is insignificant, and generally zero. In Viravilli, however, Oriya as a race element is definitely stronger than as mother-tongue although still much below the Telugu.

Parvatipur.—This taluk returns an absolute, in most cases very considerable (Kond and Jatapu) majority of non-Oriya-Telugu in every circle. Thus the single blue language enclave round Narayanapatnam disappears in the caste map.

Rayagada.—The mother-tongue blue and red enclaves disappear. The taluk is entirely green in this map. Only in 3 cases out of 80 does the non-Oriya-Telugu element fail to secure an absolute majority and that majority is in nearly all cases very heavy.

Bissamkatak.—The blue territory remains the same but the red enclave disappears altogether. The general run of figures shows little change here.

Gunupur.—The enclaves disappear. In what was the blue enclave in the mother-tongue map no element has now an absolute majority; Oriya remains considerable but fails to reach 50%. In the former red areas however non-Oriya-Telugu elements have an absolute majority now. In one other area, *viz.*, Gunupur town itself, the colouring is green because neither Telugu nor Oriya can reach 50% though both get into the 40's. Elsewhere, however, the green majority is absolute and pronounced. Telugu has suffered rather more than Oriya in numbers from which a conclusion might be drawn that the Telugu-speaking element owes less to race than does the Oriya. The Oriya element though small is not much changed from the mother-tongue figures which would seem to show that in this taluk Oriya has not been adopted to any notable extent as a mother-tongue by persons of non-Oriya origin.

Palkonda.—This taluk repeats with emphasis its mother-tongue story. The Oriya and Telugu racial elements added together are completely inconsiderable, a mere 4% of the whole population.

Note on doubtful castes.

In the list of 'doubtful' castes which accompanies this, details of the numbers and chief habitat are given and also the mother-tongue representation. The taluk notes indicate the distribution.

2. The reason for treating these castes as doubtful is that it has not been found possible so far to determine their racial origin. All available authorities have been consulted, Thurston, previous census reports, etc., and references have been made to local officers without so far sufficient information having been forthcoming. It must be remembered that Malkanagiri taluk, *e.g.*, covers 2,288 sq. miles, in which communications where they exist at all are of extreme difficulty. The making of local enquiries therefore by the Deputy Tahsildar or other officer is not a matter of a few days. In some cases, *e.g.*, Kalangi (Kalinji), the community is well-known and lives in accessible areas but its origin or racial affinities are definitely a matter of dispute between Oriyas and Telugus. It has been thought better to leave this matter open and to display the extent of the dubiety rather than to follow any tentative classification.

3. The presence of the doubtful element has seldom any determining influence on the issue. The total number of circles dealt with is 1,404. Only in 38 of these does the doubtful element hold the balance. A separate statement gives the detailed figures for these circles. Most of these lie in the south Ganjam plains and represent the influence of the Kalangi element. The mother-tongue predominance is in nearly all cases pronounced.

List of doubtful castes.

Serial No.	Caste.	Chief areas.	Number.	Mother-tongue.
1	2	3	4	5
1	Belama ..	Chatrapur ..	6,536	Telugu .. 343 Oriya .. 6,193
		Kodala	1,619	Oriya .. 1,616
		Ichapur	180	Telugu.. .. 180
		Ghumsur.. ..	369	Oriya 330 Telugu.. .. 39
		Berhampur ..	1,815	Oriya 894 Telugu.. .. 921
NOTE.—There are 69 Belamas in Malkanagiri.				
2	Bhoi	Parlakimedi ..	227	Oriya 139 Telugu.. .. 88
NOTE.—Bhoi is less than 100 in Balliguda and Koraput, aggregating 12.				
3	Bhoji	Naurangpur ..	1,662	Oriya 1,606 Telugu.. .. 51
NOTE.—There is 1 Bhoji in Jeypore.				
4	Bhoyya ..	Malkanagiri ..	1,030	Oriya 1,030
5	Boistomo ..	Naurangpur ..	176	Oriya 170
6	Bondili ..	Aska	260	Telugu.. .. 226 Oriya 28
NOTE.—Bondili is less than 100 in Padwa, Gunupur, Jeypore, Kodala, Ghumsur, Chatrapur, Chicacole, Berhampur, Tekkali, Parlakimedi and Sompot, aggregating 215.				
7	Chakali oddi ..	Parlakimedi ..	2,746	Oriya 1,196 Telugu.. .. 1,550
8	Chakali vaddi ..	Sompot	435	Oriya 203 Telugu.. .. 232
		Chicacole	1,493	Oriya 21 Telugu.. .. 1,472
		Tekkali	2,686	Telugu.. .. 2,577 Oriya 109
9	Chandala ..	Pottangi	381	Oriya 221 Desya 23 Chandala .. 137
		Jeypore	1,145	Oriya 595 Chandala .. 547
		Naurangpur ..	230	Oriya 201 Chandala .. 29

NOTE.—Chandala is less than 100 in Malkanagiri, Padwa, Rayagada and Koraput, aggregating 214.

Serial No.	Caste.	Chief areas.	Number.	Mother-tongue.
1	2	3	4	5
10	Chosa ..	Kodala	640	Oriya 640
11	Dhuruva ..	Jeypore	1,849	Oriya 1,348 Bhumia 114 Dhuruva 377
NOTE.—Dhuruva is less than 100 (21) in Naurangpur.				
12	Dura ..	Jeypore	631	Oriya 320 Durva 311
13	Durva ..	Malkanagiri ..	1,277	Oriya 169 Durva 1,094
14	Gopalo ..	Aska	252	Telugu.. .. 117 Oriya 135
NOTE.—There are 24 Gopalos in G. Udayagiri.				
15	Holeya ..	Malkanagiri - ..	863	Oriya 777 Halba 82
NOTE.—Holeya is less than 100 in Kodala, Aska and Ghumsur, aggregating 99.				
16	Jaipari..	Naurangpur ..	205	Oriya 189
17	Joggali ..	Parlakimedi ..	239	Oriya 192 Telugu.. .. 47
18	Jogula ..	Koraput	738	Oriya 120 Telugu.. .. 27 Jogula.. .. 591
NOTE.—Jogula is less than 100 in Rayagada and Pervatipur, aggregating 12.				
19	Kachura ..	Kodala	137	Oriya 137
20	Kakusto ..	Kodala	479	Oriya 479
21	Kalingi ..	Jeypore	326	Oriya 302 Telugu.. .. 24
		Naurangpur ..	298	Oriya 282
		Chatrapur ..	1,438	Telugu.. .. 40 Oriya 1,398
		Aska	1,201	Telugu.. .. 1,201
		Sompet	4,183	Oriya 77 Telugu 4,106
		Chicacole ..	33,922	Telugu.. .. 33,915
		Berhampur ..	10,605	Oriya 3,793 Telugu.. .. 6,81

Serial No.	Caste.	Chief areas.	Number.	Mother-tongue.
1	2	3	4	5
21	Kalingi— <i>contd.</i> ..	Tekkali	19,318	Telugu.. .. 19,206 Oriya 112
		Parlakimedi ..	9,744	Oriya 67 Telugu.. .. 9,677
		Kodala	739	Oriya 598 Telugu.. .. 141

NOTE.—Kalingi is less than 100 in Malkanagiri, Parlakimedi Maliah, Bissamkatak, Gunupur and Rayagada, aggregating 62.

22	Kalinji ..	Ichapur	1,206	Telugu.. .. 1,099 Oriya 107
		Kodala	12,571	Oriya 12,221 Telugu.. .. 350
		Aska	18,002	Oriya 18,002
		Sompet	2,673	Oriya 2,673
		Ghumsur ..	15,120	Oriya 14,960 Telugu.. .. 160
		Chicacole ..	512	Telugu 512
		Berhampur ..	3,512	Oriya 3,171 Telugu 341
		Tekkali	799	Telugu.. .. 799

NOTE.—Kalingi is less than 100 in Balliguda, G. Udayagiri and Koraput, aggregating 64.

23	Kammari ..	Malkanagiri ..	2,337	Poroja 2,337
24	Kammari odde ..	Tekkali	143	Telugu.. .. 44 Oriya 99
		Parlakimedi ..	264	Oriya 51 Telugu.. .. 213
25	Kurakula ..	Gunupur ..	152	Telugu.. .. 142
		Chicacole ..	261	Telugu 261
		Parlakimedi ..	382	Telugu.. .. 382
	Medari.. ..	Jeypore	116	Oriya 96
		Chatrapur ..	141	Oriya 111 Telugu.. .. 30
		Kodala	114	Oriya 111
		Sompet	178	Telugu.. .. 175
		Ghumsur.. ..	219	Oriya 201

Serial No.	Caste.	Chief areas.	Number.	Mother-tongue.
1	2	3	4	5
26	Medari— <i>contd.</i> ..	Chicacole ..	356	Oriya 77 Telugu.. .. 279
		Berhampur ..	436	Oriya 142 Telugu.. .. 292
		Tekkali	251	Telugu.. .. 220 Oriya 31
		Parlakimedi ..	803	Oriya 48 Telugu.. .. 755
NOTE.—Medari is less than 100 in Bodogodo, Pottangi, Malkanagiri, Parlakimedi Maliahs, Bissamkatak, Gunupur, Rayagada, Koraput, Naurangpur, Gudem and Ichapur, aggregating 263.				
27	Mogada ..	G. Udayagiri ..	176	Oriya 176
NOTE.—Mogada is less than 100 in Balliguda and Ghumsur, aggregating 76.				
28	Moruva ..	Jeypore	564	Oriya 560
29	Muchi	Chatrapur ..	138	Oriya 90 Telugu.. .. 42
		Kodala	144	Telugu 41 Oriya 103
		Aska	248	Telugu.. .. 135 Oriya 113
		Ghumsur.. ..	236	Oriya 235
		Berhampur ..	157	Telugu.. .. 157
NOTE.—Muchi is less than 100 in Balliguda, Bodogodo and Rayagada, aggregating 15.				
30	Parla	Naurangpur ..	323	Oriya 321
31	Ponako	Naurangpur ..	1,164	Bothara 21 Oriya 962 Ponako 171
32	Sapati	Chatrapur ..	118	Telugu.. .. 107
33	Vaddi	Rayagada ..	382	Oriya 251 Telugu.. .. 115
		Naurangpur ..	196	Oriya 182
		Tekkali	1,052	Telugu.. .. 442 Oriya 610
		Chicacole ..	1,009	Oriya 41 Telugu.. .. 961
		Parlakimedi ..	266	Oriya 159 Telugu.. .. 107

NOTE.—There is 1 Vaddi in Parvatipur Agency.

The following list gives the name and representation of castes which do not exceed 100 in any Taluk.

The numbers give their representation over the whole area.

Caste.	Number.	Caste.	Number.
1. Amakipa	4	26. Bhungi	12
2. Amantiya	7	27. Bhutalu	4
3. Arjali	1	28. Bidhari	6
4. Arna	41	29. Bijontri	51
5. Asari odde	5	30. Bitopi	70
6. Asra	6	31. Bogi	38
7. Asri	1	32. Bogodo	93
8. Atchialu	5	33. Bohula	26
9. Babaji	1	34. Boisto	21
10. Bagadai	76	35. Bolanti	3
11. Bagho	13	36. Bolantri	4
12. Bahana	40	37. Bommalata	16
13. Bakiti odde	79	38. Boniko	2
14. Balasundrya	1	39. Boppi Hajji	7
15. Baliri	2	40. Borattika	23
16. Basudevo	51	41. Budda	17
17. Batakara	4	42. Bugurula	3
18. Beldar	7	43. Bukuta	4
19. Bellala	3	44. Byripati	15
20. Benangi	10	45. Chandra Vamsa	15
21. Bhondari Kapu	12	46. Chasa	45
22. Bhondari Telaga	18	47. Chatai	6
23. Bhoppulia	23	48. Chattia	15
24. Bhoya	25	49. Chetti odde	11
25. Bhukuta	38	50. Chila	13

Caste.	Number.	Caste.	Number.
51. Chita	33	78. Gonika	8
52. Chitra	33	79. Gottia	35
53. Chokari	4	80. Gountia	5
54. Chotnia	25	81. Gowli	23
55. Chotra	76	82. Hajam	29
56. Dahut	14	83. Halidiya	21
57. Danchi	4	84. Haluka	12
58. Danna	1	85. Hambala	3
59. Darji	191	86. Haridasu	47
60. Dendara	3	87. Hodstudia	36
61. Desya	10	88. Hora	6
62. Dhoba Telaga	5	89. Jangi	21
63. Diagola	114	90. Jantri	7
64. Dimolia	15	91. Jarasuddho	4
65. Donka	53	92. Jerji	7
66. Dowaito	1	93. Jhonkara	19
67. Dudekula	60	94. Joura	82
68. Dumparas	41	95. Kahiliya	18
69. Gadudia	12	96. Kalabortham	19
70. Gagirita	4	97. Kalagara	11
71. Gana	56	98. Kampo Dasari	13
72. Gara	7	99. Kampo Telaga	52
73. Gattuvallu	13	100. Kamsali odde	35
74. Gentomara	1	101. Kapu muli	7
75. Godai	34	102. Karaba	4
76. Gokha	28	103. Karlinia	8
77. Golla gowdo	82	104. Karnam Telaga	8

Caste.	Number.	Caste.	Number.
105. Kati Karla	9	132. Markhayya	17
106. Kendhu	1	133. Merahola	1
107. Khalasi	42	134. Meridia	37
108. Khalza	19	135. Mebuli	8
109. Khojura	6	136. Muli Telaga	4
110. Koitama	8	137. Mundopathi	6
111. Kolaru	24	138. Napito	9
112. Kolasa	15	139. Neyyali Vaddi.. ..	122
113. Konait	62	140. Nohara	77
114. Konari malla	1	141. Naya	4
115. Kosalya	37	142. Paigi.. ..	33
116. Kota Dolai	63	143. Panothia	12
117. Kotika	40	144. Pantla	6
118. Kumba Kowai	36	145. Pattara	42
119. Kura Kondiya	27	146. Prusti	1
120. Langiya	74	147. Rahut	10
121. Liagaito	1	148. Rajoko	3
122. Madala	15	149. Rancho	4
123. Madiyali	3	150. Resoliya	1
124. Madiyara	7	151. Sadhu	43
125. Maduli	12	152. Samia	18
126. Mandari	1	153. Sayanakulam	7
127. Mandhya	13	154. Seluvia	80
128. Mangali odde	91	155. Sethra	2
129. Mangali oddia	82	156. Sikari	6
130. Manjuga	76	157. Sindhiay	28
131. Mantri	29	158. Slahanta	3

Caste.	Number.	Caste.	Number.
159. Sonna	48	167. Thodia	20
160. Suda	16	168. Thudia	29
161. Surya Vamsa	6	169. Torasia	16
162. Telakali oddi	7	170. Tori	20
163. Telega Kampo	51	171. Yajula	7
164. Telega Mula	65	172. Yanadri	105
165. Telli Kapu	94	173. Zamindar	1
166. Telli Telega	15		

Constituent castes of the doubtful element in circles where it influences the decision.

Taluk.	Charge and circle.	Caste.	Number.	Mother-tongue.
<i>Vizagapatam Agency.</i>				
Naurangpur	XI-1 ..	Bhoji	1,585	Oriya.
		Boistomo	15	Do.
		Chotnia	2	Do.
		Karlinia	1	Do.
		Kalingi	6	Telugu.
		Jaipari	13	Oriya.
		Do.	4	Poroja.
		Manjuga	2	Oriya.
		Mandhya	1	Do.
		Ponako	22	Do.
			1,651.	
Malkanagiri	I-2 ..	Bhoyya	4	Oriya.
		Durva	73	Do.
		Do.	640	Durva.
		Holeya	437	Oriya
			1,154	
	III-2 ..	Medari	1	Telugu.
		Do.	18	Oriya.
		Kammari	2,337	Poroja.
		Durva	1	Oriya.
		Do.	12	Halba.
			2,369	

Taluk.	Charge and circle.	Caste.	Number.	Mother-tongue
<i>Ganjam Plains.</i>				
Ghumsur	I-5 ..	Muchi	20	Oriya. Do.
		Kalinji	930	
			950	
	IX-1, 2 & 3	Muchi	1	Oriya.
		Belama	6	Telugu.
		Bondili	1	Oriya.
		Do.	2	Guzrati.
		Nobara	9	Telugu.
		Kalinji	558	Oriya.
		Do.	130	Telugu.
		Medari	92	Oriya.
		Do.	6	Hindustani.
			805	
Aska	VI-8 ..	Kalinji	314	Oriya.
			314	
	VIII-1 ..	Kalinji	1,183	Oriya.
			1,183	
Chatrapur	IV-1 ..	Belama	1,429	Oriya.
			1,429	
Berhampur	I-3 ..	Kalingi	425	Telugu.
			425	
	I-7 & 8 ..	Kalingi	989	Telugu.
			989	
	V-11 ..	Kalingi	451	Telugu.
			451	
	VII-5 ..	Kalingi	982	Oriya.
			982	
	VII-8 ..	Belama	42	Oriya. Do.
		Kalingi	163	
			205	

Taluk.	Charge and circle.	Caste.	Number.	Mother-tongue.
<i>Ganjam Plains—contd.</i>				
Bodokimedi	XIII-6 ..	Mochi	71	Telugu.
		Belama	160	Do.
			231	
	XIII-10 ..	Kalinji	821	Oriya.
			821	
Ichapur	I-5 ..	Mantri	2	Telugu.
		Kalinji	531	Do.
			533	
Sompot	VI-13 ..	Kalingi	894	Telugu.
		Do.	1	Oriya.
			895	
Tekkali	I-5 ..	Kalingi	251	Telugu.
			251	
	I-7 ..	Chakali Vaddi	19	Telugu.
		Kalingi	381	Do.
		Jargi	7	Do.
			407	
	I-12 ..	Chakali Vaddi	66	Telugu.
		Vaddi	1	Do.
		Kalingi	859	Do.
		Golla Gowdo	1	Do.
			927	
	II-6 ..	Chakali Vaddi	1	Oriya.
		Do.	1	Telugu.
		Telli Kapu	14	Do.
		Kalingi	597	Do.
			613	
	II-7 ..	Medari	43	Telugu.
		Chakali Vaddi	25	Do.
		Do.	36	Oriya.
		Asari Oddi	2	Do.
		Kalingi	300	Telugu.
			406	

Taluk.	Charge and circle.	Caste.	Number.	Mother-tongue.
<i>Ganjam Plains—conold.</i>	II-8 ..	Kamsali Odra ..	16	Telugu.
		Neyyali Vaddi ..	20	Oriya.
		Kalingi ..	2	Do.
		Do. ..	716	Telugu.
			754	
	III-6 ..	Chakali Vaddi ..	97	Telugu.
		Neyyali Oddi ..	5	Do.
		Kalingi ..	18	Oriya.
		Do. ..	1,652	Telugu.
			1,772	
<i>Parlakimedi Plains</i> ..	I-13 ..	Kalingi ..	445	Telugu.
		Telaga Kampo ..	35	Do.
			480	
	III-5 ..	Chakali Odde ..	30	Telugu.
		Do. ..	14	Oriya.
		Kalingi ..	16	Telugu.
			60	
	IV-4 ..	Chakali Odde ..	10	Oriya.
		Do. ..	7	Telugu.
		Kalingi ..	86	Do.
			103	
	IV-8 ..	Kalingi ..	717	Telugu.
		Chakali Oddi ..	39	Do.
		Do. ..	11	Oriya.
			767	
	IV-9 ..	Chakali Oddi ..	51	Telugu.
		Kalingi ..	1,055	Do.
		Golla Gowdo ..	7	Do.
			1,113	
	V-1 ..	Medara ..	101	Telugu.
		Chakali Odde ..	31	Oriya.
			132	

Taluk.	Charge and circle.	Caste.	Number.	Mother-tongue.
<i>Parlakimedi Plains—contd.</i>				
Chicacole	V-19 ..	Kalingi	579	Telugu. Oriya.
		Do.	20	
			599	
	VI-13 ..	Chakali Oddi ..	256	Oriya. Telugu. Do.
		Do.	54	
		Kalingi	10	
			320	
	III-2 ..	Kalingi	1,124	Telugu. Do. Oriya. Telugu. Oriya.
		Vaddi	6	
		Do.	34	
		Medari	2	
		Do.	8	
			1,174	
	III-12 ..	Kalingi	1,180	Telugu. Do.
		Kalingi Kintala ..	182	
			1,362	
	IV-1 ..	Kalingi	812	Telugu. Do. Do.
		Kalingi Kintala ..	589	
		Vaddi	1	
			1,402	
	V-3 ..	Kalingi	586	Telugu.
			586	
	VII-8 ..	Kalingi	1,782	Telugu. Do. Do. Oriya.
		Kalingi Kintala ..	374	
		Chakali Vaddi ..	15	
		Do.	8	
			2,179	
	VII-10 ..	Kalingi	1,496	Telugu. Do. Do. Oriya.
		Kalingi Kintala ..	5	
		Chakali Vaddi ..	6	
		Do.	3	
			1,510	

ESTATE FIGURES.

Taluk.	Estate.	Mother-tongue.	
		Oriya.	Non-Oriya.
Surada	Bodogodo	22,037	1,840
*Kodala	Athogodo	118,457	5,668
	Khollikot	75,590	7,513
*Aska	Aska	16,252	3,646
	Dharakot	51,424	2,642
	Sherugodo	13,953	919
	Sanokimedi	51,110	7,659
*Chatrapur	Humma	1,890	197
	Palur	5,277	554
	Biridi	14,258	4,125
Berhampur	Bodokimedi	50,425	13,795
Iohapur	Jarada	7,193	3,003
	Surangi	16,358	2,465
	Chikati	28,834	22,447
Sompet	Jalantra	12,867	25,791
	Chikati	4,557	8,958
	Budarasingi	2,919	453
	Baruva	1,678	4,239
	Peta	891	4,571
	Mandasa	10,918	43,391
Tekkali	Pata Tekkali	5,331	40,305
	Nandigam	3,247	36,844
	Tarla	6,663	35,126
Parlakimedi	Parlakimedi	60,092	232,975

* In these three taluks it has not been possible to effect a complete allocation by mother-tongue of detached villages, removal of Government villages, etc., for reasons already explained. The numbers involved are not great.

Athogodo includes 1,837 (Government).

Khollikot includes 523 (Government).

Aska includes 1,005 (Dharakot).

Dharakot includes 2,514 (Government).
1,076 (Sherugodo).

Palur excludes 762 shown in Government area.

APPENDIX 5.

CENSUS MAPS.

1. Map showing the distribution of population of the district of Midnapur by mother-tongue.
2. Map showing the distribution of population of the district of Midnapur by subsidiary language.
3. Map showing the distribution of population of the district of Midnapur by vernacular of literacy.
4. Map showing the distribution of population of the district of Midnapur by race.
5. Map showing the distribution of population of Chota Nagpur and Orissa (including Feudatory States) by mother-tongue.
6. Map showing the distribution of population of the district of Singbhum subsidiary language.
7. Map showing the distribution of population of the district of Singbhum by race.
8. Map showing the distribution of population in the tracts in the Central Provinces bordering on Orissa by mother-tongue.
9. Map showing the distribution of population in the tracts in the Central Provinces bordering on Orissa by subsidiary language.
10. Map showing the distribution of population in the tracts in the Central Provinces bordering on Orissa by race.
11. Map showing the distribution of population of the district of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency by mother-tongue.
12. Map showing the distribution of population of the district of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency by subsidiary language.
13. Map showing the distribution of population of the district of Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency by race.
- *14. General map showing the distribution of population in the affected areas by mother-tongue.
15. General map showing the distribution of population in the affected areas by subsidiary language.
- *16. General map showing the distribution of population in the affected areas by race.

* Note.—Out of these only Nos. 14 and 16 are printed as they show at a glance the chief results of the work of the Committee with which the general public are interested.