CHAPTER-5
A NEW PROVINCE AND NEW PROBLEMS

The high hopes and aspirations which had been awakened among the educated people of Bihar by the creation of a separate Lieutenant-Governorship-in-Council naturally led them to demand a separate High Court, a separate University, and all those paraphernalia of a self-contained administration which would make their province equal in status to the other advanced provinces in the country. The existence of a High Court was the only way for the province to attain autonomy and it was only bare justice to the people that their province should be fully self-contained in all respects. The creation of the Patna University was necessary for the educational advancement of the Biharis and for the self-expression of Bihar. However, these achievements although great in their own respect, could hardly solve the problems of the Biharis as the vicious circle of unemployment continued to raise its ugly head and the struggle for existence led to the struggle amongst various groups within the Bihari society.

SECTION-A
SECRETARIAT

The Bihar Secretariat started on 1st April 1912 with eight departments- Appointment, Political, Judicial, Education, Revenue, Financial, Municipal and Public works. The first seven departments were referred to as the Department of the Civil Secretariat. The organizational set-up of the Public Works Department at the Secretariat level was referred to as the Public works Department Secretariat. The Civil Secretariat departments were managed by three Secretaries who were members of the Indian Civil Service. The Bihar Secretariat was initially located at Ranchi and it was shifted to Patna in 1919 when the Secretariat buildings were completed.

The Secretariat department had been a close preserve of the Bengalis. Not quite unnaturally perhaps, hopes had been entertained that when the new Government would
come into existence, a considerable number of appointments in the Secretariat would be
given to natives of the province. The Biharis saw in the new Secretariat a brand new field
of employment which had been opened to them. 4 Anxious as the Biharis were to satisfy
their just demands, in their eagerness to see the Secretariat manned by the natives of
the province, the people failed to take into consideration the difficulties of the Government. 5

When the appointments to the new Secretariat were being made it was found that
natives of the new province were practically absent from the Bengal Secretariat and they
could therefore be recruited from among the existing clerks to the extent the Government
desired. It was absolutely necessary in the interest of the Public revenues which would
otherwise have had to bear large changes for pensions and gratuities, and only fair to the
clerks themselves to provide for men already in employment at Calcutta and Dacca, many
of whom had done good work. Secretariat work demanded special aptitude and long
training and it would have been impossible to carry on the work if the new offices had
been started at the outset with a considerable number of untried men. 6 The newly
appointed head of a province was permitted to bring with him, from another Province his
secretaries and other officers whom he desired to work under him. 7 The effect of such a
wholesale importation upon the prospects and morals of the service in Bihar may be
easily imagined. The demand of the creation of a new Province was based mainly on the
demand of ‘Bihar for Biharis’. The importation of the civilians from East Bengal and
Assam, was considered to be an injustice to Bihar. The Bihari newspapers claimed that
there was no dearth of competent and highly qualified members of the service in Bihar
itself. 8 An article headed ‘The New Secretariat and Bihar’s claim’, which appeared in the
issue of ‘Young Behar’ of 29th January, 1912, induced Babu Braj Kishore Prasad to raise
questions in the Council on this issue. 9 To this Stevenson Moore said in reply that when
the selection would be made it would be necessary to pay due consideration to the claims
of those clerks who were already in the employment of the Government. The method of
selecting outside applicants to fill available vacancies in the Secretariat and other office
establishments of the new province of Behar and Orissa would rest with the Government

4 Ibid
5 Ibid
6 The Beharee, June 7, 1912
7 The Beharee, March 23, 1912
8 Ibid.
9 The Beharee, March 1, 1912
Keen disappointment was felt when the hopes of the people were not realized. Complaints on the subject of the appointments began to pour in. The 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' took a different tone in the whole problem.

Writing on the subject of the Secretariat clerks and their transfer to Bihar, the 'Patrika' wrote that a good deal of expenditure might have been avoided if local hands had been available to do the Secretariat work at Bankipur. The 'Beharee' protested against the contention of the 'Patrika' that sufficient number of competent men were not available in Bihar for the sub-ordinate service and offered to provide a list of such competent men. The 'Beharee' demanded that the Bengali clerks who were already in the service should not be dismissed, but those of them who could not be accommodated in the Bengal Presidency should be retained here but local hands should also be employed to supplement them. A beginning was made in this direction and the Government gave 16 appointments to the natives of the province. However majority of the employees of the Secretariat happened to be Bengalis which created problems for the future.

HIGH COURT

A strong demand made by the Biharis made the British Government realize that Bihar should have its own High Court and that the final disposal of its cases should not take place miles away from the province. On the 26th January 1912, it was decided in Council that the Calcutta High Court should be requested to submit proposals for the constitution of a High Court for Bihar and Orissa. The High Court replied that since the question whether the existing Court should be divided was one to be justified, on general grounds of public policy, any proposal made by them on the subject in anticipation of a pronouncement by Government of its final determination would be open to grave misconstruction. They emphasized the importance of the careful consideration of the date from which the change would be effected, since they deprecated any action which would tend to initiate the new Court without adequate buildings, establishment and equipment.

10 Ibid
11 The Beharee, May 30, 1912
12 Quoted in the Beharee, March 1, 1912
13 The Beharee, March 1, 1912
14 Ibid
15 The Beharee, June 7, 1912
16 Home Judicial-A—Proceedings, May 1912, Nos. 126-128, P. 5
They offered, however, to assist in the carrying out of any policy which Government would decide to adopt. They admitted that the question of policy rested with the Government of India, but they desired to point out that there were facts and circumstances peculiarly within their knowledge and experience which they thought should materially aid and influence the disposal of the case.17

Syed Hasan Imam pointed out that the Judge’s (of the Calcutta High Court) attitude towards the proposal was one of uneasiness as they apprehended that it will divide their Court and curtail its jurisdiction and powers. For a High Court to which the Bengali Press attributes marked statesmanship, such a proposal could not but be disconcerting. The judges wanted to have their say on the policy apart from the technical details of the scheme. Sir Ali Imam pointed out that the Calcutta High Court had no ‘locus standi’ in determining or taking part in this matter, however the British Government felt that as they were very largely affected, it would be judicious to give the appearance of wishing to muzzle them and accept their co-operation.18 The members in the Home Department expressed the opinion that it was unquestionable that Bihar should have its own High Court.19 The local government of Bihar was also consulted.20

The desire of the Biharis to get a separate chartered High Court for their province created quite a sensation in Bengal. The Bihari publicmen had fully anticipated that they would meet a vehement opposition from their Bengali countrymen as throughout their struggle for the due recognition of their individuality, they had to encounter a systematic opposition from their Bengali brethren. By this time, the Biharis had learnt to work and press their claims amidst ridicule and sneers, keeping their confidence unshaken in the ultimate triumph of their just cause. The Biharis were confident that there was no doubt about the need for the establishment of a separate High Court, if the amount of work taken to the Calcutta High Court from areas within the new province or the desire of the people to have a High Court of their own, were taken into consideration.21 The feeling that the connection with Bengal made Bihar pay heavy payments in the past, not only administratively but also because of being under the same High Court was strong. That

18 Ibid.
20 Ibid.
21 The Beharee, May 16, 1912.
there was a solitary Bihari Sub-Judge pointed to the fact that their claims were not recognized by the Calcutta High Court. The 'Beharee' wrote:

"Behar so far had been given the honour of sending only one Beharee — the Hon’ble Mr. Sharf-Uddin—to the High Court Bench, but his appointment was made primarily to have a Mahomedan Judge over the High Court Bench, and that being the case, Behar is totally unrepresented on the High Court Bench."\(^{22}\)

The paper further questioned the lack of solitude and interest of its contemporaries the ‘Bengalee’ and the ‘Amrit Bazar Patrika’ and wrote: “Can our contemporaries of the Bengalee and the Patrika say with their hands on their hearts that in Behar there is not a single lawyer who possesses the requisite qualifications to sit over the bench. And if they cannot say that, why have not they, in the name of fairness and justice, raised their voice even once and urged that a competent and qualified Beharee should be appointed as a judge of the Calcutta High Court?"\(^{23}\)

Various objections were raised in Calcutta and elsewhere to the establishment of a High Court at Patna. The first objection was that it will weaken the Calcutta High Court in authority and prestige.\(^{24}\) The ‘Bengalee’ wrote...

"Is it good for the country as a whole that Behar should have a separate High Court and the Calcutta High Court be necessarily weakened in authority and prestige?"\(^{25}\)

The Biharis questioned as to how the integrity and independence of the Calcutta High Court will be jeopardized by only a reduction in the number of its judges? It was the only Chartered High Court in this country which had direct relations with the Government of India and so long as it maintained its past glorious traditions and stood above the executive control or influence, it would remain a great asset in the British Empire and continue to inspire the same faith and confidence in the people quite

\(^{22}\) The Beharee, Jan. 19, 1912.
\(^{23}\) Ibid.
\(^{24}\) The Beharee, Feb. 16, 1912.
\(^{25}\) The Bengalee, Jan. 19, 1912.
irrespective of the number of its Judges. The Beharee retaliated to such charges by pointing out that the Calcutta High Court and other important institutions in Calcutta must lose their authority and prestige for Calcutta was no longer the capital of India but only the seat of the Governorship of Bengal. Delhi had now become the Capital of India, thus it had been restored to its past pomp and power. The Bengalis were, according to the journal, not justified in hankering after the exclusive privileges they had enjoyed in the past. The protest, according to the journal, was mainly due to the fact that the Bengali lawyers of the Calcutta High Court did not want to part with their Bihari clients, thereby being deprived of the loaves and fishes of Bihar. The loss of income of Calcutta lawyers was nothing to the greater convenience and good of the people of Bihar and the ‘Beharee’ very rightly asked the question—“What right has any body to maintain their prestige and status at the cost of others?” The Government of Bihar and Orissa felt that the strength of a High Court depends on its personnel, and not on the number of Judges in the Calcutta High Court would still considerably exceed the number in the High Court of Bombay, a tribunal which cannot be described as lacking in dignity or independence. Therefore the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council attached no weight to the objection. Efforts were being made at that time by the Indian National Congress to raise other High Courts in India to the standard of the Calcutta High Court – all the Indian High Courts should have the same direct relation with the Government of India as distinguished from Provincial Governments which the Calcutta High Court has. If this boon was granted, the people felt that, it will render the Bihar High Court along with the rest of Provincial High Courts, quite independent of any provincial executive influence. This step if taken, would naturally place all the provincial courts on an equal footing with the Calcutta High Court.

The second objection raised by ‘The Calcutta Weekly Notes’ was that the provincial High Court will not be as independent and command as much confidence as the one in Calcutta. It was feared that there would be a Chief Justice with three Puisne

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27 The Beharee, February 2, 1912.
28 The Beharee, February 16, 1912.
30 The Beharee; Feb. 16, 1912.
31 The Beharee, Feb. 16, 1912. also File No. J 2C/1 of 1912, op. cit. P. 76.
Judges, all under the influence of the Executive Government. The arguments and apprehensions of the Bengal newspaper was based on the assumption that appeals from Orissa and Chotanagpur would continue to be disposed of by the Judges of the Calcutta High Court. A further assumption was made that Orissa and Chotanagpur although united with Bihar under one Government would still like to remain linked with Bengali in the matter of litigation. The question for consideration was that if all the causes, civil and criminal of Bihar, Chotanagpur and Orissa be placed upon the new Provincial Court, a High Court at Patna would be of equal strength with that at Fort William, The ‘Beharee’ asked “And if the High Court of Behar is to be of equal strength, why should it not be of equal status with the Calcutta High Court.” Here the ‘Beharee’ took it for granted that the special Benches which had become a necessity in Bengal, would never come into requisition in Bihar. The paper considered that even if a body of seven judges be deemed by the Government to be of adequate strength to cope with the work of the new province, the apprehension that the High Court would be under the influence of the Executive Government is unfounded and imaginary. The example of the High Court at Allahabad was given as an example to obliterate any doubt that was entertained in any quarter. The paper charged that it was leveling a gross insult against the morals of such high dignitaries as the Judges of a High Court to suggest that they can descend from the lofty pinnacle of sacred responsibility to the low depths of partisanship and prejudice.

The third objection was that the Bar at Patna is too weak to justify the establishment of a local High Court. However the Patna Bar was stronger than the ordinary mufassal Bar. It had given a Law Member to the Government of India and two Judges to the Calcutta High Court. If the High Court was established at Patna, the local Bar would rapidly respond to the new conditions and would attract the best men from other parts of the Province and elsewhere. Even if the Patna bar was not at first equal to that of Calcutta in respect of legal acumen, it would have the great advantage of an intimate personal acquaintance with the local conditions languages and customs of the province. Also the number of people from Bihar who seek justice in the Calcutta High Court was not small and if the statistics of appeals from the new Province was taken into consideration, it would be clear that the new Province could very well maintain a separate

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32 The Beharee, Feb. 16, 1912.
33 Ibid.
34 File No. J 2C/1 op. cit. P. 77.
High Court of its own.\textsuperscript{36} The huge number of cases that came from Bihar, Orissa and Chotanagpur as shown in the following tables prove that the numbers affected by this change would not be small...

**Statement showing the total number of criminal cases instituted in the High Court, Appellate side, during each of the free years 1906-1910 and the number, out of those so instituted, which come up from the Patna, Tirhut, Bhagalpur, Chotanagpur and Orissa Divisions.\textsuperscript{37}**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Total number instituted</th>
<th>Number out of column 2, 3 &amp; 4 which came up from the divisions mentioned above</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Appeals</td>
<td>References</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>1906</td>
<td>1,125</td>
<td>106</td>
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<td>1,001</td>
<td>91</td>
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<td>1908</td>
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<td>1910</td>
<td>1,087</td>
<td>86</td>
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**Statement showing the total number of civil cases instituted in the High Court, Appellate Side, during each of the five years 1906-1910 and the number, out of those so instituted, which came up from the Patna, Tirhut, Bhagalpur, Chota Nagpur and Orissa Divisions.\textsuperscript{38}**

\textsuperscript{36} The Beharee, Feb. 16, 1912.
\textsuperscript{37} Home Judicial - A Proceedings, May 1912, Nos. 126-27.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Total number instituted</th>
<th>Number out of those shows columns 2, 3 &amp; 4 which came from the divisions mentioned above</th>
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<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>595</td>
<td>4,329</td>
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The information contained in the Home Department proceeding of March 1912 was instructive as it showed that half the number of institutions on the Civil Appellate side of the Calcutta High Court in the last five years had been from Bihar and Orissa. It was common knowledge that no less than four groups in that Court were continually engaged in the disposal of work on the Civil Appellate side – i.e. at least, if not less than four judges of the Calcutta High Court were exclusively engaged by the Civil Appellate work that came from Bihar and Orissa. Similarly, one of the institutions on the Criminal Appellate side came from the area that now constituted the new province. The proposed High Court would like wise have to deal with planting, colliery mining and railway interests within its jurisdiction. In addition to those, there would be thousands of cases wherein the parties, too poor to meet the expenses of litigation in the Calcutta High Court, who were hitherto deprived of justice, will seek it nearer to home with lesser expenses. So there was no question of the Patna High Court benefiting a small number of people. In
fact the existence of a High Court in Bihar would bring justice to every cottage door in the province.39

The ‘Bengalee’ conceded that an important and influential section of Biharis had made the demand for a separate High Court in Bihar. This statement shows that the public opinion in Calcutta was not sure that the demand for a separate High Court in Bihar was general and universal. The ‘Bengalee’ suggested that the matter should be left for public discussion for some time.40 Indeed the Oriyas had protested through indigenous press that the new Court would be located so far off,(which would be dealt in the next chapter in detail) but absolute unanimity is unattainable in human affairs. But the ‘Beharee’ claimed that “....such unanimity as is practicable does more than exist on this subject among us.”41 Babu Parmeshwar Lall wrote in the ‘Beharee’ (on Jan 26, 1912), and assured ‘the Bengalee’, Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea’s paper, that the desire for a High Court for Behar was shared by all his co-provincials.42 He forwarded the example that most representative meeting of educated Biharis was held on the 7th Jan, 1912, at the Calcutta residence of the Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga to consider matters connected with the Separation of Bihar.43 The meeting was attended by all the leading men of Bihar Hindus and Mohammedans, representing all classes of people. Among the present were :- Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga, the Maharaj Kumar of Tekari, Kumar Krityanand Sinha of Banailly, S. Sinha, Mazharul Haque, Deepnarayan Singh, Madhusudan Das and others. The meeting placed on record its firm conviction that to enable the new province to become fully self-contained and to develop in it a sense of provincial autonomy which is declared by the Government of India in their dispatch, to be the key-note of the memorable changes announced by the King Emperor, it is absolutely expedient and desirable that a chartered High Court for the new province be established at Patna as early as it may be practical.44 This resolution was proposed by the Maharaja Kumar of Tekari. Babu Parmeshwar Lall, who was himself present in this meeting, gave various names of leaders of different sections of public opinion who supported the resolution. The resolution was seconded by Shamsul Ulema Mohammad Usuf Khan Bahadur, the senior most Bihari Vakil of the High Court, who had great personal interests in Calcutta and was

40 Quoted in ‘The Beharee’, Jan 19, 1912.
41 Ibid.
42 The Beharee, Jan 26, 1912.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
more or less permanently residing there. However, he disregarded his own interest in favour of the wants and wishes of his people. The resolution was also supported by Madhuban [Champaran District] and Sheo Pratap Sahi of Hatwa.\textsuperscript{45} The ‘Bengalee’ changed that “the lawyers practicing in Bankipore would like to have a High Court and Bankipore as it would raise their status and position.”\textsuperscript{46} This was indeed an attempt to belittle the volume and strength of opinion in favour of a separate High Court, as was evident at that time. As if to give greater force to the representative character of the demand, the extraordinary session of the Behar Provincial Conference adopted the same resolution concerning the Bihar High Court. The Hindu Association that held its sittings at Muzaffarpur also urged for the formation of a separate High Court for Bihar. Thus, it was clear that there was no doubt that the Biharis were unanimous in their desire for a separate High Court.\textsuperscript{47} It was charged that public opinion being not so very strong here, the High Court for Bihar will be dominate over by the European members of the planting community. The ‘Beharee’ admitted that public opinion in Bihar was not as advanced as it was in Bengal, but it did not think that it was so weak and impotent as to tolerate the High Court for Bihar being dominated over by the planting Community.\textsuperscript{48} It argued that the influence of the planting community had diminished in Bihar and instead of the High Court being made a tool in their hands to perpetuate their oppression, it was believed, that a High Court in their midst will exercise a most restraining influence over the planting community. The people would have better facilities for bringing the vagaries of executive officers promptly to the notice of the Patna High Court, than they can at present.\textsuperscript{49}

As regards the people of Orissa and Chotanagpur ‘the Behar Herald’ felt that they would scarcely be placed at a greater disadvantage than in what they were now, when the High Court was established in Bihar. They would get sufficiently capable legal assistance at Patna at a much less cost. They would find a cheaper living in Patna than in Calcutta, and direct railway communication would soon be established among the three sub-provinces. There would be lawyers in Bankipur who would be able to read Oriya documents and scarcely any difficulty would be felt in the matter of language.\textsuperscript{50} The ‘Beharee’ wrote that it was aware of the capital which was being made out of the fact that

\textsuperscript{45} The Beharee, Jan 26, 1912.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid. (quoted from the Bengalee’)
\textsuperscript{47} The Beharee, March 15, 1912.
\textsuperscript{48} The Beharee, Jan 19, 1912.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{50} Quoted from the Behar Herald quoted in the Beharee,, Feb. 16, 1912.
a High Court at Patna may not commend itself to the people of Chotanagpur and Orissa, and the chief reason for the same being that Patna was not at present so easily accessible as Calcutta but it continued..

"With better communication we trust, they would be quite happy with us in having a High Court at Patna. When we have been thrown together, we cannot remain strangers any longer."51

This attitude is a show of taking for granted the wishes of the people of Orissa for the benefit of the Biharis. The 'Star of Utkal' protested against this by writing that Bihar is served first and the refuse from the table is left for Orissa. For this reason the High Court has been located in Bihar in the interest of the Biharis.52

It was quite natural that there was a flutter in the Calcutta Bar with the apprehension of a large number of cases from Bihar, Chotanagpur and Orissa was to be out of its reach. Thus, various discontented notes were struck to put a stop any agitation demanding a High Court for the new province.53 The 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' wrote: "The people of Behar will have more reason for weeping than rejoicing over a judicial tribunal which is likely to be a mere apology for a High Court."54 The 'Beharee' instantly retorted that the 'Patrika', "...having lost its balance of mind, can little distinguish between weeping and rejoicing."55

The 'Amrita Bazar Patrika' sought support from the Anglo-Indian press to bolster up, some kind of discreditable opposition to the Bihar High Court. The Anglo-Indian community, preferred the continuance of the present arrangement for its own sake but the Government of India could not with any sense of responsibility shape their policy and measures entirely in view of Anglo-Indian interest only. The paper later suggested that the Chamber of Commerce would have cause to view with anxiety the possible effect of the transfer of the litigation arising out of mining claims and Zamindari disputes from Calcutta to Patna. The 'Beharee' wrote that if these claims and disputes had their local jurisdiction in Bihar, why should there be anxiety if they should be adjudicated upon by

51 The Beharee Jan. 19, 1912.
52 The Star of Utkal, July 4, 1914.
53 The Beharee, June 28, 1912.
54 Quoted in Ibid.
55 Ibid.
the Bihar High Court which was based on the British principle of justice? A Chamber of Commerce was no more than a suitor and if could not arrogate to itself, to the detriment of an entire province, the power to determine where its suits are to be heard and decided High Courts in India had not been constituted to subserve the convenience of Chamber of Commerce or any particular community like the Anglo-Indians.56

The ‘Statesman’ leveled against Government of India the charge of “persistently pursuing the reactionary course of neglecting public opinion.”57 The people of Bihar found this change thoroughly unfounded. The ‘Beharee’ advised the Government to ignore it. It disagreed that there had been a violation of any sound principle of good Government as the “various public bodies” of Calcutta had not been consulted in the matter of the establishment of a High Court for Bihar. The paper joked that by “various public bodies” the ‘Statesman’ meant the Chamber of Commerce, the Trades Association, the associations of Calcutta lawyers and solicitors of all ranks and grades and the Calcutta Institute of journalists also.58 It wrote :-

“If it is to be contented that any one of these bodies has a right to be consulted on the question of a High Court for Behar, it may with equal cogency be maintained that ..... the hotel keepers the Tramway company ..... should all have a share in determining whether the Province of Behar should have a High Court or be made to hand on one of the pegs of the Bar Library at Calcutta.”59

The ‘Beharee’ threatened that because the Biharis had not been as vociferous as some of their neighbours in their attitude and had refrained from boisterous agitation in their own interest, it does not follow that they would be a consenting party to the destiny of their province being placed in the hands of the “various public bodies of Calcutta” at the instance of journals whose right to dictate in the interests of Bihar the paper emphatically repudiated.60 The people of the New Province had already spoken out in clear terms what they required and any attempt to mislead them, or break their line would be simply futile. The Bihar journals even suggested that in case the income from litigation leaves a deficit, the provincial revenues would meet the same. Also, if the number of

56 The Beharee, June 22, 1912.
57 The Beharee, June 28, 1912.
58 Ibid.
59 Ibid.
60 The Beharee, June 28, 1912.
lawyers needed to carry out the business of the Court, fall short, as alleged by the 'Patrika', Lawyers would be imported from Allahabad which is only 6 hours run from Patna and not from Calcutta which is a ten hour run.\(^{61}\) Thus, the journal was ready to take every measure for the fulfillment of its heartfelt desire.

The want of a High Court was seriously felt. The expression of the demand for the creation of it had to be made in a manner which would leave no doubt in the mind of the Government as regards the genuineness of the feeling and the urgency and pressing mature of the demand. The 'Beharee', which had till then carried out 'Bihar's' search for its identity and statehood, took up the job upon itself of gaining the desired objective by persistence in asking for the satisfaction of their just claims. It suggested that meetings should be held in all districts and a Deputation should be formed to wait upon the Local and the Supreme Governments to explain the situation to them. Unfortunately the articulate portion of the people who could take part in such movements was the lawyer class, but the journal warned them against taking too exclusive a part in this business, lest the movement be discredited as having been engineered by a selfish body.

The litigant public of Bihar realized difficulties and was conscious of the inconveniences it had to undergo and the heavy expenditure it had to incur in taking up cases in appeal to the Calcutta High Court. In addition to this large body, there was another class of persons, who could not, because of the accompanying troubles and difficulties, seek the protection of the High Court, meaning the peasants and the working class, who were by no means a negligible factor were expected to join in large number if it was made clear to them that the New High Court would be for their own benefit them. The lead in this matter had already been taken by the landed magnates. The paper wrote:

"Circumstanced as we were in the past there was very little of public life amongst us, but the creation of our province into a new administration had thrown heavy responsibilities on us all, and if we do not shake off our general listlessness and apathy we shall be left behind in the race for progress and advancement, and we shall have no one to blame but ourselves.\(^{62}\)

\(^{61}\) The Beharee, March 22, 1912.
\(^{62}\) The Beharee, May 16, 1912.
The Lieutenant-Governor in Council gave the matter his most careful consideration and endeavored to ascertain the views of all classes and races in all parts of the Province. Opinions were received from fourteen Associations and Judicial and Executive Officers. While, almost, throughout the Province, the Bengalis, whose interests naturally centered in Calcutta, were opposed to the establishment of a separate High Court, the Biharis who formed more than two thirds of the total population of the Province were vehemently in favour of it. In Sambalpur, which prior to 1905, was under the jurisdiction of the Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces, the public and also the Bar, including its Bengali members were in favour of a separate High Court, even if it was located at Patna. The people of the other Orissa districts would like to have a separate High Court, provided it were established at Ranchi (which was nearer to them) and not at Patna, but they would not oppose the scheme if arrangements could be made for the disposal of work from Orissa by Circuit Judges at Cuttack. In Chotanagpur, public opinions was less definite. On the whole, except, perhaps in parts of Manbhum, the people were either in favour of the proposal or indifferent. The non-official European opinion was somewhat divided. The Bihar Indigo Planters’ Association strongly supported the proposal, while the Indian Mining Association said that Calcutta, as the head quarters of the mining interest, was a far more convenient center than Patna and suggested that the proposal should be postponed. The five Divisional Commissioners were all in favour of a separate High Court. The District and sessions Judges were mostly in favour of the proposal. The Judicial Commissioner of Chotanagpur favoured the establishment of an independent Court of Appeal for Orissa and Chotanagpur under a Judicial Commissioner.63

The Bihar Land Holders’ Association held that the constitution of Bihar and Orissa as a separate administration would not be complete without the establishment of a High Court which would control the judiciary of the province and be responsible for the administration of justice within its area, in conjunction with the Local Government. To start the new administration without a High Court would be, same as to start it in a mutilated form with a single wing. Such a step would hamper the sense of responsibility of the Local Government in regard to the administration of justice in the new province as a system of dual control over the judiciary would creep into existence; the contact

63 File No. J 2C/1 of 1912.op.cit. P. 74.
between the local government and the highest judicial authority over the province would be missed. In regard to transfers, promotions etc in the Judicial Service, either the Local Government would have to forego its legitimate share of influence or the Calcutta High Court would have to relinquish its responsibility. Under the law, the local Government appointed the District Judges and the High Court nominated the Munsifs who were then appointed by the Local Government. In order that this system of divided power and responsibility may be worked with out friction, it was essential that High Court is located in the province.

The Biharis would regard the continued dependence on the Calcutta High Court as a decision showing that Government held them to be inferior to the Bengalis and as imposing a barrier on the progress which they hoped that the creation of the Province would assure to them. The question was not a mere sentimental one. Not only the Government underwent real inconvenience in conducting its legal business at a place outside the Province but the inconvenience was equally great in case of private persons. The litigants from Bihar felt that they were in a strange land and among a people having no real affinity with them or sympathy with their aspirations, where they could not understand the local vernacular and where the Bengali lawyers could not understand their language correctly. Apart from this, the expenses of litigation in Calcutta were notorious. The High Court situated in a great commercial center like Calcutta found it difficult to understand and appreciate the local conditions of the mufassal. The establishment of a High Court within the borders of the Province would bring justice nearer to the people and reduce the cost of litigation. A High Court at Patna would give the litigant public of the province the freedom to plead their cases at home and place them in the hands of the members of the local Bar, who were thoroughly converted with their language, customs and conditions of their life and surrounding. It would also provide the lawyers of Patna, a chance to earn their living in the state and the earning on the litigations would remain in the province. Thus, due to all these advantages it was agreed that, now that the Government of Bihar and Orissa had been severed from that of Bengal in the interest of administration, there ought to be as little inter-dependence between the two Governments as possible.

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64 Letter No. 150, dated Bankipur the 5th July 1912 From the Honorary Secretaries, Bihar Landholders’ Association. To the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar and Orissa Ranchi.
File no. J 2C/1 of 1912, Pp. 77-78.

65 File J 2C/1 of 1912.. Ibid. Pp. 75 – 76.
The dream of the Biharis was realized when, by Letter Patent, dated the 9th February 1916, the Patna High Court was ushered into existence with Circuit sittings at Cuttack, and from 26th February, 1916, the date on which the aforesaid Letter Patent was published in the Gazette of India, the High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal ceased to exercise jurisdiction, Civil, Criminal, Admirals Matrimonial, Testamentary and in estate, Enrolment, etc., in all matters in which jurisdiction was given to the High Court of Judicature at Patna. Thus, the ancient city of Pataliputra had a High Court of its own in 1916 with Sir Edward Maynard Des Champs Chamier, Barrister-at-Law as its first Chief Justice and Sarvashri Saiyid Sharfuddin, Barrister at Law, Edmund Pelly Chapman, I.C.S., Basant Kumar Mullick, I.C.S., Francis Reginald Roe, I.C.S., Cecil Atkinson Barrister-at-Law and Jwala Prasad B.A., L.L.B., as Puisne Judges.\(^66\)

A great cry had been raised from time to time on the non-existence of any Bihari Hindu judge at the Calcutta High Court by the local newspapers. The Government of Sir Charles Bayley readily responded to public opinion in regard to the appointment of a Hindu Judge to the Patna High Court. The appointment of Rai Bahadur Jwala Prasad, Government Pleader, Arrah, as a Puisne Judge of the Patna High Court, caused great satisfaction and redressed a long standing grievance of the Bihari Hindus. The ‘Beharee’ (Hindi Supplement), the Pataliputra, and the ‘Beharee’ acclaimed his appointment along with that of M. Sharf-ud-din to the bench.\(^67\)

The Patna High Court building on its completion was formally opened by Lord Hardinge of Penshurst in a Durbar held for the purpose on 3rd February, 1916 and the High Court actually commenced work from the 1st March 1916.\(^68\) The High Court with its magnificent building stands today as a symbol of Bihar’s pride, inspired with wisdom, justice and mercy. The separate High Court at Patna marks the achievement of one of the most important factors that go to make a self-sufficient and self-contained province. The date of the opening of the Patna High Court will ever remain in the grateful memory of the people of Bihar as a red letter day, ushering in a new era in the history of this young province.\(^69\)

\(^66\) Kumar N. *Patna High Court*, Patna, 1967, P. 1
\(^67\) Information combined from Beharee Aug. 3, 1915; Daily Hindi Supplement to the Beharee, July 20, 1915; Patliputra July 24, 1915.
\(^68\) Kumar, N. *Patna High Court*, Patna, 1967, P. 2
\(^69\) The Behar Advocate, Feb 6, 1916.
UNIVERSITY

There was absolute unanimity in Bihar that without the establishment of a separate University for Bihar, the people will not drive in full and to a very appreciable extent the benefit conferred on them, by the creation of Bihar into a separate province. At the time of the creation of the Dacca University the Biharis demanded that Bihar was more eligible for the same. In his Convocation speech, Sir Asutosh Mukerjee made a great onslaught on the projects for new Universities within the area served by the Calcutta University and based his attack on the work done by that University. The ‘Beharee’ promptly reminded its readers the conditions under which the University started work. It wrote that in the Bengali Division, consisting of Bengal proper, Orissa, Eastern Bengal and Bihar there was one solitary Arts College – the Hindu College and Pathshala, at the time of the starting of the University. Besides there were the Medical College, the Mahomedan Madrassa of Calcutta, the Sanskrit College and the College of Mohammad Muhsin of Hugli, and the Dacca College. Thus, the number of educational institutions included 2 arts Colleges, 4 special colleges and only 29 schools. The ‘Beharee’ wrote:

“We have now six times as many institutions in the new province of Behar ...... yet they say Behar is not yet ripe for a University. If the Calcutta University with this beginning could achieve such success, may we hope that even Behar, which is, in Bengal’s parlance, the Boetia of Bengal, under conditions which, even as they now stand..., far more likely to achieve a like success.”

The reasons for demanding a separate university were clearly stated. The utterly scanty representation of Bihar in the Calcutta University was a standing grievance. The Bihar Colleges had been more or less starved under the auspices of the Calcutta University. It was argued that if Bihar was backward, it was not due altogether to the apathy or indifference of the people but also to the want of proper facilities. Thus, while Bengal had 51 colleges, the United Provinces 49, Madras 39, the Punjab 19 and Bombay 15, Bihar had only 11 colleges by 1915. It was hoped that a University specially adopted to the requirements of the province would usher in a new era in the history of

70 The Beharee : Feb. 9, 1912.
71 The Beharee March 29, 1912.
72 Ibid.
73 The Behar Standard, August 10, 1915.
education. It would materially help the recruitment of the Public Service from the sons of the soil and the dissemination of knowledge among the masses. Thus, the creation of a University at Benkipore was therefore demanded in the interests of the public service as well as on the ground of promotion of educational progress.

The establishment of the Patna University was a matter of urgent necessity as the Calcutta University was entirely out of touch with the local conditions prevailing in Bihar and had no sympathy with the desire of the Local Government to see improvements made in respect of discipline, both in schools and colleges, and a more efficient system of education introduced. The Calcutta University had refused to adopt a proposal made by the Local Government that Headmasters of schools should be required to state in a transfer certificate the reasons why the boy was leaving. Under rule 5, Chapter XXIII, of the University Regulations the Registrars fee receipt in the case of a failed candidate was equivalent to a transfer certificate. This rule referred to college students, but it was applied also to plucked Matriculation candidates, who were admitted to any High School on the production of such a receipt. A case in which a political aspect gained admission to a school in Bihar through the production of such a receipt created tensions. The recognition and withdrawal of recognition of High Schools rested solely with the University, which did not even take the trouble to inform the Director of Public Instruction of the orders of this nature which were passed by it. It was desired that the power of recognition should be exercised by the Director of Public Instruction, but the change was not likely to be made until the province had a University of its own. Under the rules of the Education Department no alteration was to be made in the age shown in the admission book of a High School. The University, however, issued a circular without knowledge of the Local Government, permitting the revision of age entries on application being made to the Registrar. The Local Government felt that this procedure was wrong. The University made a considerable reduction in the minimum age of Matriculation candidates, in spite of the opposition of the official representatives of Bihar.

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74 The Beharee, February 16, 1912.
75 Delhi Records, Education – Deposit B Proceedings, July 1915, No 4, NAI.
76 Ibid.
77 Ibid.
78 Ibid.
The Local Government was in favour of introducing a school leaving certificate examination, but this measure was not likely to be a success unless the examination was recognized by the University as a substitute for the Matriculation examination, which was unlikely. Thus, the clash of interests and policy matters between Calcutta University and the Local Government of Bihar showed the need for expediting the establishment of the Patna University.

"A university is an embodiment of an ideal and the colleges affiliated to it are the expression of that ideal and its manifestations in a variety of shapes." If Bihar had intellectual cravings, if the Calcutta University was so far removed from it as not to be in personal touch with it, surely the need for a University for Bihar was more than demonstrated. It was an irony of fate that Bihar which had the celebrated University of Nalanda centuries ago, should now be considered to be not yet ripe for a University. It was pointed out that to deny the need of a University for Bihar was to predicate the absence of civilization and intellectual cravings in Bihar and to restrict the functions of a University to the prescription of a syllabus of studies and a system of impersonal examinations. The Biharis demanded a separate University not only for the mere intellectual welfare of the people of Bihar but for their social moral, spiritual political welfare as well.

In response to the public demand for the setting up of a University at Patna, the Government of Bihar and Orissa submitted to the Government of India a proposal for constituting a Committee to work out a scheme for setting up a University in the new Province. In May 1913, the Patna University Committee was appointed with R. Nathan as President and J. G. Jennings, officiating Director of Public Instruction, Bihar and Orissa, A. G. Wright, Director of Public Instruction of the Central Provinces, Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo of Kanika, Mr. Madhusudan Das, Rai Sheo Shankar Sahay, Saiyed Muhammad Fakhr-ud-din, Dwarka Nath, Saiy Nurul Huda, Sachchidananda Sinha, etc. The Patna University Committee consisted of nine Europeans and eight Indians. They began their operations in July 1913 and submitted their Report to the Local Government.

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79 Ibid.
80 The Beharee, February 16, 1912.
81 Ibid.
82 Ibid.
84 Silver Jubilee Souvenir Volume, Patna University, Patna, 1944, P. 22.
in March, 1914. The Report (usually known as the Nathan Committee Report) was published in 1914.\textsuperscript{85} It recommended the establishment of a central institution at Patna which would undertake the higher branches of instruction, conduct the examinations, supervise the general life and training of the students and regulate the teaching and organization of a number of incorporated colleges.

The central institutions was recommended to be located at Phulwarisharif, west of the new Capital and it was to consist of Patna College, Biseeshwar College (Bihar National College), Kings College, Mission College, a non Collegiate Department, a Sanskrit College and a Training College for teachers.\textsuperscript{86} The Report elicited criticisms from the press and the public alike. The Nathan Committee proposed that the University should have a whole-time officer as Vice-Chancellor, the Senate was to be called the Convocation, the executive body of the University was to be called the Council, consisting of the Vice-Chancellor two ex-officio members, the Principals of all Colleges, the Dean of Non-Collegiate students, six members of the staff nominated by the Chancellor and seven persons elected by the Convocation. The Committee wanted to make this Council the Supreme body in the University and its decision was not be subject to revision by the Convocation.\textsuperscript{87} The strong official control over the elected elements was disliked by the people. Also the Committee did not envisage the establishment of the Faculties of Engineering and Medicine which were so very essential for the development for the new province.\textsuperscript{88} The Local Government formulated a scheme and submitted it to the Government of India on the 28\textsuperscript{th} May, 1915.\textsuperscript{89} The Government of India, after considering the Report and the Local Government's recommendations, propounded a scheme of their own and submitted it to the Secretary of state on the 29\textsuperscript{th} October 1915.\textsuperscript{90}

The main feature of the scheme was that there was to be a central residential and teaching university at Patna with necessary provisions for the affiliation of a series of external colleges at various centers outside Patna. The Central University at Patna, and the external colleges, were to be kept so united as to form a single University governed by

\textsuperscript{85} Silver Jubilee Volume,\textsuperscript{Ibid.} P. 22.
\textsuperscript{86} Golden Jubilee Volume,\textsuperscript{op. cit.} P. 4.
\textsuperscript{87} Ibid. P. 5.
\textsuperscript{88} Ibid, P. 4.
\textsuperscript{89} Silver Jubilee Volume,\textsuperscript{op. cit.} P. 22.
\textsuperscript{90} Ibid, P. 23.
common regulations and under the same general control.\textsuperscript{91} Thus, the Patna University was to be both unitary as well as federal.

The high hopes which the Biharis entertained about the University were dashed because of some of the strange provisions of the Bill like:\textsuperscript{92}

“(i) No educational institution shall be admitted as a college of the University unless the following conditions are complied with, namely, (a) the College buildings are situated within one mile from the Senate House of the University\textsuperscript{93}

(ii) (a) “...the college buildings are situated in one of the following towns, namely Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Cuttack and Hazaribagh.”\textsuperscript{94}

Thus, the Bill would allow an increase in the number of colleges in Patna, if they were to be located within one mile of the Senate House. No town except the four mentioned was to have any college at all.\textsuperscript{95} The Monghyr College was not included in the new University. The Bill would thus put an end to an existing college.\textsuperscript{96} The increase of official control over the new University was another disappointing feature of the Bill.\textsuperscript{97} It provided that “all new regulations or additions to the regulations or amendments to or repel of regulations shall require the previous sanction of the local Government which may after the opinion of the Syndicate has been taken, sanction, disallow or remit the same for further consideration.”\textsuperscript{98}

The Patna University Senate’s decision was not binding on the Syndicate, which was to have a majority of official members.\textsuperscript{99} The Vice-Chancellor was made an autocrat because a clause in the Bill said that “every power that was not reserved by a regulation to the Syndicate was to be in the hands of the Vice-Chancellor”.\textsuperscript{100} A storm of protest was raised through Bihar. The Bill was discussed at the forum of the Indian National Congress.

\textsuperscript{91} Ibid
\textsuperscript{92} The Golden Jubilee Souvenir Volume, P. 7.
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{97} Ibid. P.8.
\textsuperscript{98} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid. P. 9.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.
at the Lucknow session in 1916. This was the first time that a University Bill had been so discussed, the reason being that it was feared that the cause of higher education in India would suffer if the existing universities were to be fashioned after the model of the Patna University. The Bill was referred to a select committee consisting of Messrs. Lowndes, Sharp, Maclagen, Jennings, Walsh, Shreenivas Shastri, Bhupendra Nath Basu, Mazhar-ul-Haque Raja Rajendra Narayan Bhanj Deo of Kanika and Rai Bahadur Krishna Sahay. The Bill was amended radically by the Committee and presented by the Council on 5th September 1917, It was taken up for discussion on 12th September and was finally passed into law the next day.

The Bill retained the second grade college at Monghyr as a recognized institution. It provided that second grade colleges might be opened without restrictions as to their location, but if any first grade college was to be set up at any place other than Patna, Muzaffarpur, Bhagalpur, Hazaribagh and Cuttack, Sanction had to be obtained from the Government of India itself. The Government was deprived of its independent judgment regarding affiliation and disaffiliation of colleges and its power of final decision was limited to those cases which were forwarded for the approval of the Syndicate and the Senate. The idea of the Vice-Chancellor as a whole time official of the University was also dropped, nominated element of the Senate was to have a maximum of twenty five members and the elected elements the Senate got a maximum of fifty. Thus the Patna University became more democratic than its counterparts. The Bill received the assent of the Governor-General on the 11th September 1917 and it was brought into force with effect from the 1st October 1917. The Patna University was inaugurated November, 1917. The Patna University remained both an affiliating and a teaching one till 11 February 1932. A Bill of 1932 divested the University of its teaching character and it remained an affiliating or examining body. The Patna University continued until

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101 Ibid. P. 8.
102 Ibid.
103 Ibid. P. 9.
104 Ibid.
105 Silver Jubilee Volume, op.cit. P. 25
106 Ibid.
107 Ibid.
108 Ibid.
109 Ibid.
November, 1943, to cater for the province of Orissa until a University was provided to the province.113

SECTION-B

SOCIETY

After Bihar became a new Province, the Biharis expected the development of their Province, which had been granted an individuality of political existence in India, by the British Government. When Bihar had been an appendage of Bengal, political power was largely inaccessible to the people. With the creation of the separate province, with the hold on the local Government, with the introduction of diarchy and the growth of the Indian National Congress as a mass movement, inter-caste competition entered new heights. Due to limited opportunities it was impossible to compensate the rising demands of the privileged sections for greater employment opportunities or to fulfill the hopes of those sections of unprivileged classes who had just got an opportunity to improve their lot. Thus started a competition among various groups of the Bihari society, privileged ones were not ready to share, unprivileged sections were also keen to have a piece of the cake. The Bihari society now witnessed three simultaneous processes of community differentiation—

(i) Bengali – Bihari (ii) Hindu-Muslim and (iii) Upper-castes-Lower-castes.

The first aftermath of the separation was the lowering of the status of the domiciled community in the province. The very first reaction of the educated Bihar was to claim his province as his own, where his inalienable rights could not be sacrificed for the benefits of any other community. Before the partition, the Bengalis were supreme and they treated the Biharis as they liked.114 After the creation of the province, the Biharis wanted to raise their status and assert their claims. Everyone was guided by self-interest and hence a conflict of interests was inevitable. Practically sandwiched between conflicting races, who had yet to cultivate the better sense of friendliness towards an isolated community like the Bengali, especially as till then they had been almost ‘ruled over’ by the very same community in their own province, the danger that now faced the

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113 Ibid.
114 The Behar Herald, August 15, 1914.
unhappy settlers was the gradually increasing restriction that were being imposed upon
them.

The task before the domiciled Bengali community was a dual one. It was to place
the Bengalis on an equal pedestal with the Biharis, while at the same time stressing the
distinctive identity of the community. There was no question, however of the merger of
the two communities by dissolving their separate identities. The Biharis on the other hand
claimed superior rights for the people who were related with the land. They believed that
progress could be achieved only if preferential treatment on which the ‘sons of the soil’
had a natural claim was accorded to the Biharis. The rights of the Bengalis in this respect,
could never be treated at par with those of the Biharis and their claims could be
considered only so far as it was....

“compatible with justice and backward condition of the children of the soil.”

The increasing restriction that was being imposed upon the spread of the Bengali
language in Bihar and of education among Bengalis residing in the province was a great
problem for the domiciled community. At Patna where there were so many Bangalis,
there was no provision for Bengali students in the Government Schools. The same case
could be found at Gaya, Mothiari, Muzaffarpur and many other districts. Persistent
attempts were being made to introduce Hindi where Bengali used to be taught or
spoken. Even with regard to admissions and stipends, Bengalis were placed at a serious
disadvantage. If this state of things continued, there would be only one result, viz, the
total extinction of Bengali language and hence of Bengalis in the province. In Bhagalpur,
Bengali pleaders were boycotted at the municipal elections held at the end of March and
the beginning of April 1912. The commissioner of Tirhut reported that Kayasthas made a
determined effort to shun the company of the domiciled Bengali Hindus. In one district
the Bihari pleaders refused to sit in the Bar library if it also allowed the Bengali
lawyers.

The idea held by the more assertive section of the Bihari leaders was that – now
that the creation of the New Province had severed the Bengali community from all

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115 The Bihar Advocate, August 10, 1914.
116 The Behar Herald, August 8, 1914.
117 Home, Political, June 1912, Progs. A
political connection with the province of Bengal, — the Bengali community in the New Province must prove themselves loyal in every way, loyal not merely in the ordinary sense of owing political allegiance to the Government, but loyal in the more fundamental sense of developing territorial patriotism. This, the domiciled community felt, was destroying their moral individuality as Bengalis, as a separate nationality, at the altar of Bihar.\textsuperscript{118}

Many Bengali families had settled in Bihar centuries ago and had made Bihar their adopted home. Yet the journals of Bihar frequently addressed the Bengali settlers to be 'outsiders' and 'intruders' in Bihar. Social tension was sure to flair-up by such statements. The 'Behar Herald' asked....

"In what respect are the children of such Bengalis less the citizens of Bihar than the children of the soil? It is a strange irony of fate that Bengalis settled in this province for centuries are to be treated as aliens. No rational governor can be expected to follow this kind of absurd journalistic logic.\textsuperscript{119}

The reason for claiming equal rights for domiciled Bengalis as 'children of the soil', like the Biharis, by the 'Behar Herald', may have been a real attachment to their 'adopted' home — Bihar, but other reasons for such loud acclaims cannot be denied! After the creation of the state, the domiciled Bengalis realized the danger with which they were threatened. The Bengalis had been suddenly torn asunder from all the ties of their parent country and were threatened by the feeling amongst the Biharis that they had an inalienable right to admission into every branch of the Public Service which could not be bartered away by any definition of the status of strangers within the province, \textit{Prima facie}, the settler, as such had, it was believed, no claims to any appointment superior to those of the Bihari. The 'Beharee' wrote ... "The Beharee will be less than human if they cordially embrace the domiciled Bengalee as their brethren."\textsuperscript{120} The 'Bihar Advocate' wrote... "If a handful of men from one province go and settle in another which is by no means impossible in this present advanced age, that is no reason why any local Government should look to their interests more than they deserve. If they want such privileges they are at liberty to go to their native province at any time. The Bengalis in

\textsuperscript{118} The Behar Herald, July 10, 1915.
\textsuperscript{119} The Behar Herald, Feb. 5, 1916.
\textsuperscript{120} The Beharee, Feb. 2, 1912.
Bihar cannot enjoy the same privileges as they did when Bihar was joined to Bengal, and they are bound to lose their status day by day till, according to their numerical strength and importance the Biharis attain to their rightful position."121

It was charged time and again that the domiciled Bengalis held Bengal as their mother country and Bihar as the place only for making their piles.122 Such feelings of hatred that were being represented in the local press had to be combated by the domiciled Bengali community, many of whom had settled in Bihar before the Mutiny and had hardly and connection left with Bengal.123 The ‘Behar Herald’ wrote that so long as a Bengali in Bihar had not become a ‘Bihari to all intents and purposes’ by losing his racial heritage, he must remain a ‘stranger’—

“The Bihari demands that the Bengali settler in Bihar must lose his soul for the sake of political advancement. Did the Bengalis of Bengal ever demand this form of a radical transformation on the part of the Biharis when the latter not many years since, owed political allegiance to Bengal? Did the Bengalis demand that a Bihari, so long as he owed political allegiance to the province of Bengal must not remain a Bihari, but lose his racial heritage and become a Bengali... in order that the Bihari might reasonably claim to be placed on a footing of equality with the Bengalis? Is it to be contended that no ‘outsider’ can be legally placed on a footing of equality with the ‘predominant partner’ in any administrative area, until and unless the ‘outsider’ has lost his racial heritage. If so, Bihar cannot preach this doctrine, seeing that she was never asked to accept it when she had remained part of Bengal, and that was only four years ago."124

Such articles, in the ‘Behar Herald’ clearly show that the very existence of the Bengali community in Bihar was jeopardized. Charges of aloofness of the Bengalis towards the natives were explained by the paper as the Bengalis had a “superior culture” and a “higher civilization” so the Bengalis could not “assimilate the ideals of the indigenous” which the paper called “a blessing in disguise” as it was the Bengalis who

121 The Bihar Advocate Aug. 10, 1914.
122 Mithila Mihir, Aug 21, 1915. (Darbhanga)
123 The Amrita Bazar Patrika, August 17, 1915.
124 The Behar Herald, July 17, 1915.
had induced the Biharis to achieve something “higher” and “nobler”. Such articles added fuel to fire in an already tense job situation in Bihar.

When the province of Bihar was separated from that of Bengal, it was expected that better employment opportunities would be given to the sons of the soil than before and some higher offices would be given to them as a matter of special claim. But this principle was carried out only to a limited extent. Most Government high posts which were disposed of under special circumstances were conferred upon outsiders. The Biharis felt that it was one thing to select only competent men from the range of outsiders and it was quite another thing to give opportunity to the children of the soil, so that they may be enabled to make themselves competent. Regional self-development demanded that the Biharis should pursue the latter line without sacrificing the efficiency of work and this could not be termed as “favoritism”. The Biharis considered that the disproportion in the case of permanent appointments could be possible as these must have been made out of candidates already enrolled for this province by the late Government of Bengal and Bihar, but certainly there could not be any excuse for the disproportion among the candidates enrolled after the separation of Bihar had been effected. An example of such stepmotherly treatment was given in the ‘Beharee’ of April 14, 1916, where it mentioned that in the Provincial Judicial Service, out of 17 Munsiffs appointed since 1st April 1912, 6 were Bihari Hindus, 6 Bihari Muhammadans and 5 were domiciled Bengalis. But of the 25 persons enrolled for Munsifftships since 1st April 1916, 6 were Bihari Hindus, 3 Bihari Muhammadans, 15 domiciled Bengalis and 1 domiciled Telegu. The plea that there was a dearth of suitable candidates among the Biharis by the Calcutta press as well as the domiciled Bengalis failed as the Biharis refused to accept this claim altogether. They on the other hand charged that applications of suitable and competent Bihari candidates on technical grounds were rejected but these grounds were actually frivolous. The Bihari press time and again charged the Bengali officers of partiality, due to which the Bihari clerks were left to rot in the appointments held by them and were shut off from all opportunities of bettering their conditions. This situation continued even after the creation of the new province, which was very unjust for the Biharis. The ‘Bihar Advocate’ protested against the very high qualifications required of candidates for

125 The Behar Herald, May 13, 1916.
126 Beharee April 14, 1916.
127 Beharee, May 16, 1916.
vacancies in the various Government offices with the result that few Biharis were appointed.\footnote{128}{Bihar Advocate, Nov 9, 1914.}

Thus, the Bengali-Bihari problem that continued even after the separation of the province was two sided. On one hand it was the question of the fear of a minority community of loosing its individually and separate culture in order to share the same politico-economic footing with the indigenous group. On the other hand, the Bengali-Bihari problem was economic in nature. The controversy between the two communities was confined to the educated sections of the society. As we have seen, both the Bengali and Bihari educated middle class mainly depended for their livelihood on Government employment. Any attempts to check or stop this source of employment meant a question of life and death for them. Thus, the ‘Beharee’ rightly wrote: —

\begin{quote}
"The Bengali-Bihari question is really a Bread and Butter problem. It is only a provincial aspect of the great Indian problem of how to secure as many posts as possible in the public services of the country, and to slowly but steadily become self-governing under the aegis of British Rule.\footnote{129}{Beharee, July 17, 1915.}
\end{quote}

The agencies which claimed to speak on behalf of the Bengali and the Bihari communities included the leaders of the intelligentsia and the newspapers, just as had been the case when the movement of separation was going on. But a new development in this conflict was the creation of the Bengali Settlers' Association, which could be taken as an organized attempt to further the interests of the domiciled Bengalis just and the Bihari Provincial conference was had been created in 1908 to put forward the case of the Biharis.\footnote{130}{‘Bengalee Settlers’ Conference’, political special, File 245/1914.}

The first annual conference of the Bengalee Settlers' Association was held in the Anglo Sanskrit School, Bankipore on 13\textsuperscript{th} and 14\textsuperscript{th} of August 1914. There was a fair gathering consisting of local gentries, including some Bihari leaders, and delegates from almost all parts of the province. Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha was chairman of the Reception Committee and Babu Kalipada Ghosh held the chair. Prominent Bihari leaders like Khan Bahadur Mouli Fakruddin and Babu Dwarkanath were present in the
conference. The association had branches in the districts. It was set up with the avowed object of “watching, safe guarding and furthering the interests of the Bengalee.”

The grievances of the Bengali community were—(a) denial of the same educational facilities to the sons of Bengali settlers as were allowed to the children of the soil: (b) the difficulties in the way of the Bengali students being enabled to learn their own language in the Bihar Schools and the crusade against the Bengali language which has been started: (c) denial, in concrete cases, of the privileges in the matter of bestowal of Government appointments, allowed to the children of the soil; (d) the word “Domiciled” not being defined, creating troubles for the Bengalis of Bihar.

The domiciled Bengalis were very keen about the education of their sons. Any disabilities and obstructions thrown in their way to a liberal education was disliked by them. They truly realized that education was the root of all progress. The Bengalis had always shown solitude and practical interest in securing the benefits of education for their countrymen. Education was the secret of the great progress of the Bengali national and the difficulties thrown in the way of their educational progress by the Biharis, was the greatest calamity to them.

The entrance qualification as laid down in the report of the Patna University Committee were as follows: —

“The Central University should be open to all students who are domiciled in the province of Behar and Orissa and to natives of the Province wherever they may reside. Subject to the prior claims of such candidates any other students may be received. The colleges should be open primarily to students of the division in which each is situated, then to any other students of the province and finally to students from elsewhere.”

Without the definition of the word “domiciled” the chances of success of the Bengali boys in the matter of getting admission into the Central University entirely depended upon the individual views of the authorities of the colleges into which

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131 The Behar Herald, August 29, 1917.
132 The Bengalee Settlers' Conference. op.cit.
133 Ibid.
admission was sought. The Patna Government College authorities notified the rules that the number of students admitted to the Science course would be strictly limited where preference would be given to Bihari students who passed with a first or second division. In the Arts courses, preference would be given to Bihari students who had read in the Patna College or who had passed their examinations in first or second division to the Bengali students who passed in the first division. \(^{134}\) Candidates for admission into the B.L. Classes had to provide applications stating that they were Biharis or domiciled Bengalis. Preference would be given to the Biharis over the domiciled Bengalis. The situation was the same in the Behar School of Engineering and Behar Medical School. \(^{135}\)

As there was no Medical College in the Province, some seats were reserved for Bihar and Orissa students in the Calcutta Medical College. In 1914, three domiciled Bengali boys of Orissa applied for admission, but were refused admission on the ground of their being domiciled Bengalis. \(^{136}\) To debar the domiciled Bengalis from competing for existing scholarships, denied the political status of a tax-payer to the domiciled Bengali. \(^{137}\) It also did injustice to the intelligence, character and industry of the Bihari boys. \(^{138}\) The Biharis had made rapid strides in education, wrote the ‘Behar Herald’, and were not likely to suffer in open competition with Bengali boys. \(^{139}\)

Bengali parents and guardians looked forward, with grave apprehension, to the time when their boys would be debarred from getting education in the schools and colleges of Bihar. The ‘Behar Herald’, in a bid to gain sympathy from the Government went on to stress that the Calcutta atmosphere was too much surcharged at present with political currents, and it was not without misgiving and dismay that Bengali guardians would consent to send their boys there. \(^{140}\) Thus, a tacit appeal to keep the domiciled Bengali boys away from Bengal politics was forwarded by the journal. The paper stressed that real fitness should be the sole passport in the sacred Temple of Learning. \(^{141}\)

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\(^{134}\) Ibid.

\(^{135}\) Ibid.

\(^{136}\) Ibid.

\(^{137}\) Ibid.

\(^{138}\) Compiled from The Behar Herald, Jan. 29, Feb. 5, 1916.

\(^{139}\) Ibid.

\(^{140}\) Ibid.

\(^{141}\) Ibid.
The creation of the new province and the provision of a University and additional educational facilities all along the line were intended to serve one great object, and that was to enable the Biharis, whether Hindus or Muslims, to realize their aspiration to attain to their rightful place in the administrative service of their own province. If this object was to be fulfilled, the Bengali demands had to be resisted. Existing interest must no doubt be protected, but existing interest should not be interpreted as constituting vested interest. Therefore the Biharis gave their full support to the education policy of the Government. A glance through the 'Beharee' for the concerned years shows various articles which praised any Bihari who got a high degree or scholarship, showing the eagerness of the Biharis to attain higher education which was considered the real passport to the development of the province.142

The want of provision for teaching of the Bengali language in the Government schools of the province necessarily stood in the way of Bengali boys joining the Government educational institutions and they were thus deprived of the benefits of the training in such institutions. The Bengali Settlers' Conference demanded that when there was a provision for the teaching of Hindi, Urdu and Uriya according to the requirements of the natives, why should there not be provision for the teaching of Bengali to the domiciled Bengali students?143 Another complaint of the settlers was the tendency of "Hindising" Bengali. In certain parts of the province such as Jamtara, Pakur and Rajmahal, although the Bengali speaking population preponderated, the court language in these parts was Hindi. An uneasy impression in the minds of the Bengalis of Bihar was created, that the language and dialect of the Bengalis may be gradually supplanted by Hindi.144

To these two allegations, the Bihar Advocate answered: —

"The Sikhs, the Punjabis and the Kashmiries and people of other provinces inhabiting Behar may equally claim to receive education in their own mother tongues and may similarly request the Government to create special chairs in Behar Schools for their respective Vernaculars. Besides, the number of the Bengalee Students in Behar is very small. So, it is inexpedient and unwise and at

142 Information gathered from native newspaper reports 1912-17.
143 The Bengali Settler's Conference, op.cit.
144 Ibid.
the same time only waste of public money to appoint Bengalee teachers in the schools of Behar to teach Bengalee to a few Bengalee boys. This is not all. When the domiciled Bengalees have cast their lots with those of ours, it is their primary duty to learn Hindi and feel and think and work with us. Then and then alone they may feel proud of calling themselves domiciled Bengalees of Bihar. Otherwise, it would be advisable for Behar Herald and its staunch followers to leave Behar bag and baggage.145

The subject of the practical ostracism of the Bengalis from the public services was discussed by both the Presidents but no resolution was passed related to it. It was pointed out that the number of appointments in the higher grades of Executive service given to the Bengali settlers was not worth the name. It was inadequately out of all proportion, specially when compared with the percentage of literate and educated members in the community that being the only rational method of computation.146 The Conference agreed that the higher service was already manned by a large number of Bengalis. They called it an “accident of Behar being so long tacked to Bengal.”147 The contention that the public departments of Government are already stocked with a large number of Bengali officers could not be raised against the domiciled Bengalis.148 The situation was the inevitable result of the province being hitherto a part of Bengal. The Bengali officers being already in service were bodily drafted to Bihar. If this fact was employed to deprive the claims of domiciled Bengalis, then they would be obliged to wait for several generations before a new opening occurred for them. This would be a gross injustice to them for no fault of theirs.149 And they hoped that the Government would not apply this unsound and cruel policy of debarring the domiciled community from getting their due share of Government patronage.150 The Beharee clarified that the imperative duty of the Bihar Government should be the gradual replacement of the Bengalis in the Secretariat and in the provincial executive and judicial services by Biharis. They did not advocate that any of them should be removed from the service, but new vacancies should be filled up by the appointment of

145 The Bihar Advocate, August 17, 1914.
146 The Behar Herald, Aug. 15, 1914.
147 Ibid.
150 Ibid.
people of the province, which would include some members of the domiciled community.151

The Express argued that equality of treatment did not mean that a Bengali should be appointed to every public office to which a Bihari might also be appointed, qualifications in both cases being the same. Nor did it imply that the present proportion of appointments held by Bengalis in all branches of the public service would or could be maintained without doing the grossest injustice to Biharis and disappointing all the hopes raised by the separate constitution of the province.152 The final justification of the creation of the new province was the satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of the Biharis to take their proper share in the administration of their province.153 The whole question had to be viewed from the broad point of view of the interests of the children of the soil.

The whole trouble arose because the word "domiciled" had not been defined.154 As long as the word was undefined, the claims of the Bengalis of Bihar be it regarding educational institutions or their claims to appointments, were left in a great measure to the caprice of officials. The Government had laid the rule that when an officer of Government had acquired a permanent domicile in this province as evidenced, for instance by his having purchased or built a house in which to spend his declining years and educated his sons at local institutions, his sons would be eligible for appointments here under the rules which existed.155 However the doors of the local educational institutions were not always open to the sons of Bengalis who were not recognized as domiciled. This meant: —

(1) None can acquire a domicile unless he educates his sons in local institutions.156

(2) None can educate his sons in local institutions unless he has acquired a domicile as the local institutions had been directed to recognize the prior claims of the natives and then the domiciled and the outsider but last of all.157

151 The Beharee, Nov. 8, 1912.
152 The Bengali Settlers' Conference op. cit.
153 Ibid.
154 Ibid.
155 Ibid.
156 Ibid.
157 Ibid.
This was an enigma too difficult for solution. The Bengali Settlers' Conference suggested that all who have purchased or built a house to live in should be recognized as domiciled and if this be not sufficient, it may be added and in which they have ordinarily resided for at least three years.\textsuperscript{158} Thus, the settlers wanted the determining factor in the solution of the domicile problem to be 'animus residendi'. However the Bihari journals stressed that the definition officially in vogue was comprehensive enough and the Bengalis were trying to get a new definition of domicile which would automatically enlarge their numbers.\textsuperscript{159}

"The fair view to take in this matter" wrote the 'Express', "is to regard the interests of Beharees as paramount.\textsuperscript{160}

Thus, both the communities urged each other in the course of the agitation to adopt equitable and justified criterion for sharing the jobs, justice obviously having different connotations in the case of the two communities. The ultimate arbiter to whom appeals were made for evolving a judicious method of distributing the jobs was the state. The state's discretion was recognized to be decisive in this affair and the state was considered to be an impartial agency which while maintaining benevolent neutrality in community affairs, was placed above the latter.

The scramble for position in the administration and professions increased the mounting tension between Western educated Hindus and Muslims. The happy relations between the Hindus and Muslims in Bihar, were strained because of the Government having given the Biharis Hindus a cold shoulder in the matter of higher appointments. The 'Beharee' wrote: –

"We think it our duty to protest against this cold and most undeserving neglect shown to the Beharee Hindus, and the only proper way to remedy it is to approach the Government directly in the matter.\textsuperscript{161}

The Bihari Hindus felt that they had so far been precluded from receiving any of the prized appointments and this was a patent and glaring injustice under which Bihari

\textsuperscript{158} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{159} The Express, August 18, 1914.  
\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{161} Beharee, Feb. 9, 1912.
Hindus had been laboring for many years past.\textsuperscript{162} A perusal of the Civil List for the province, for example, shows that out of a total of 244 Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors, only 140 were Hindus, and only 30 Bihari Hindus, while the Muslims filled 55 posts.\textsuperscript{163}

Kayastha leaders who had originally supported the demand for separate electorates for Muslims gradually became critical of the Muslim position in the administrative and professional structure of the region. Through questions in the legislature, they demanded greater Hindu representation in the administration.\textsuperscript{164} After the creation of the province, the attitude of Western educated Muslims also changed. The reforms of 1909 had satisfied Muslim aspirations and they did not share the dissatisfaction felt by the Hindus. Some Muslim leaders reacted sharply against criticism of their positions in the administration and professions. During a speech in the Legislative Council in 1909, a Muslim member, Saiyid Muhammad Tahir said:

"While before the creation of the new province there existed a disinterested feeling of friendship between Hindus and Muhammadans of Bihar, there seems after the separation of the province, a change in attitude taken by our Hindu brethren towards Muhammadans which has given rise to an apprehension among the Muhammadans of the province that our Hindu brethren have become most anxious that all the loaves and fishes of the state should now go to them."\textsuperscript{165}

Many Hindus felt that greater favour had been shown to the Muhammadans in matters of Primary Education in the province. The Hindus did not demand that the progress of education among the Muslims should be retarded in any way, but what they demanded was that both the communities should receive equal treatment in such matters. This question was raised by Rai Bahadur Dwarka Nath in the Bihar Legislative Council on which, the argument was put forward by Khwaja Muhammad Nur, that the special favour shown to the Muslims in education meant only an encouragement to a backward

\textsuperscript{162} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{163} Government of Bihar and Orissa Appointment Department, Appointment Branch, Deposit, 1912 File 41/1912.
\textsuperscript{165} Proceedings of the Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa, 1914, P. 37.
community. But this argument could not be accepted by the Hindus as in Bihar, the Muslims, unlike their brethren in East Bengal, were not at all backward.166

The Behar Provincial Conference which had upheld the banner of a regional community, where the distinction was not between Hindus and Muslims but between Biharis (both Hindus and Muslims) against the Bengalis, now addressed itself to the task of alleviating the backward condition of the Hindus. The president of the Bihar Provincial Conference in 1914, Brajkishore Prasad, sought the support of the Muslims especially for the purpose. Tracing the roots of the backwardness of the Hindus of Bihar to the pre-separation years, he blamed the then local government for it. He said that for the government "there were only two communities, the Hindus and the Muhammadans".167 As a result of this the Bihari Hindus were lumped up with their more advanced counterpart, the Bengali Hindus, and the Bengal Muslims with the more educated Bihari Muslims. Thus, when the local government offered jobs to the Hindus, these generally went to the Bengalis and when appointments were given to the Muslims as Muslims they generally fell to the Biharis.168

After the separation of the province the Muslims held proportionately a much larger percentage of appointments in the public services of the provinces than the Hindus.169 Braj Kishore Prasad argued that the demand for greater representation of Bihari Hindus should be accepted by the Bihari Muslims and they should extend a helping hand towards their brethren as this demand was not based on any communal grudge but it was based upon. "the complete identity of our interests as sons of the soil."170 Dwarka Nath argued during a debate in the council in 1914 :

"The Bihari Hindu is and shall ever remain the proverbial 'mild Hindu' but the march of events and progress made by other communities and the endeavors made by them to advance and jealously safeguard their own interests have opened his eyes, and it is no wonder that he had began to take stock of the situation and look round himself to find out his own status in the province ....... Interpellations in the Council revealed to the Bihari Hindu the subordinate and humiliating position

166 The Beharee, Dec. 22, 1915.
167 Bihar and Orissa Government, Political Department, Special Section, File 168 of 1914.
168 Ibid.
169 Ibid.
170 Ibid.
which he occupied in the province where he formed 85 percent of the population. We are anxious to have our full share of the patronage of the Government. The Bihari Hindus are a distinct and a very important factor in the administration of this province, and they can no longer be either ignored or consigned to a subordinate position as has hitherto been the case.171

The Kayasthas and the Muslims, who had been strong co-operators against Bengali domination once, now became keen competitors. The Bihari Muslims were expected to ‘welcome’ the creation of a new province which had ‘the project of separation from the more advanced Hindu influence in Calcutta.172 The Kayasthas in Tirhut division began to make a determined effort to secure for themselves the same political influence which the Bengali Hindus had in Bengal.173 This displaced the Muslims and they fought the municipal elections to keep the political power in their own hands.174 The municipal elections even led to communal clashes. An Intelligence Report of 1912 said:

“Considerable ill-feeling has arisen over the municipal elections in Patna city. Hindus and Muhammadans having taken oaths in their temples and mosques not to vote for Muhammadan and Hindu candidate respectively. In one case a Hindu was assaulted for having given one of his three votes to a Muhammadan…”175

Hindu-Muslim conflicts over the controversial question of cow-sacrifice on the occasion of Bakrid began to take place in many parts of province and got active support from the middle class Biharis.176 In 1915-16 in villages like Jadupur and Kanchanpur of Patna district thousands of Hindus belonging to all castes assembled to stop Kurbani (slaughter of cow) at the Bakr-Id. This led to serious communal clashes. Such incidents were repeated in September-October 1917 in villages like Piru, Ibrahimpur, Turkbigha

173 Ibid, June 1912, nos 15-18 NAI.
174 Ibid.
175 Weekly Reports of The Directors, Criminal Intelligence, dated 12 November 1912. Home Political A Proceedings, December 1912, Nos. 88-91, NAL
176 Home Political A Proceedings, June 1912 nos. 15-18 NAL.
The communal electorates created by the Montague-Chelmsford reforms (1919) divided the society on the basis of religion and perpetuated class divisions. The voters were classified into Muslims and non-Muslims, into the landholding, mining, European and planting special electorates. This enhanced the social tensions. Ill-feeling between the Hindu and the Muslims could be seen in 1924-25. There were clashes at Bhagalpur during the Janmashtami festival. By March 1925, however, the situation improved. The Mahabir Jhanda processions of the Hindus in March-April usually led to Muslim protests and riots. Besides religious issues, the main bone of contention remained the scramble for jobs. The appointments such as a Muslim Vakil as the principal of Patna Law College, Sultan Ahmad as the Junior Advocate for Patna High Court, Syed Alam as an Additional lecturer at Patna Law College were strongly criticized.

During the 1920s, this competition amongst various groups was brought about by the falling prices, agricultural difficulties, like absence of adequate irrigation facilities made it a very uncertain activity, need for ready cash for the payments of rent, medical treatment, education, clothes, Kerosene oil, it made the Government jobs more attractive. As the job opportunities in private industrial and commercial sectors were thin, the competition for government and semi government jobs became very intense. As time passed, the job seeking youth sought the patronage of their powerful caste men who in turn, needed the mobilization of their caste men behind them in search for a place in the political power structure. Thus, arose the spontaneous system of mutual dependence between caste leaders and their followers.

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182 The Express, March 19, 1916.
183 Mishra, Girish and Pandey, Braj K. op. cit. P. 40.
Caste feeling was generated with the growing competition among the educated section of the people. A. N. Sinha, the prominent Congress leader in Bihar noted in his ‘Reminiscences’ that the creation of Bihar as a separate province was beneficial not only to the Kayasthas but also the advanced Muslim group in Bihar.\textsuperscript{184} This was noticed by the prominent members of the other castes, who tried to encourage the members of their own castes to take benefit of the new opportunities of higher education and employment.\textsuperscript{185} The establishment of the Patna University and the opening of new schools and colleges attracted the attention of other privilege caste groups also in the state. For example, Sri Ganesh Dutta Singh, a minister of the Government of Bihar under the 1919 India Act, (a Bhumihar by caste), provided financial support to many young Bhumihars to come up in the new educational field.\textsuperscript{186} The Maharaja of Darbhanga, established many institutions and worked for the spread of Maithili language. The Maithil elites, mostly decided to remain in the field of education and did not meddle in politics.\textsuperscript{187} The Rajput were soon involved in the same competitive process which brought into existence, the Bhumihar leadership. Such attitude led the Express to point that when Bihar and Orissa formed portion of Bengal, the Kayastha Community was the only sect of the Bihari Hindu population who obtained appointment in Government service owing to their members being more self-assertive than the members of the Brahman and other castes who were of a retiring and shy disposition. It was however hoped that all castes would be adequately represented now that Bihar and Orissa was an independent administration.\textsuperscript{188} Resolutions were passed by the Maithil Brahmins at Bhagalpur and the ‘Gop’ caste at Chapra, praying for larger representation in the public service.\textsuperscript{189} Thus the struggle to gain more appointment which led the educated Kayasthas and Muslims to start the movement of ‘Bihar for Bharias’ now clearly was bringing about dissentions in the caste-dominated Bihari Society, as each and every educated group - the domiciled Bengalis, the Muslims as well as Bihar upper and lower castes were eager to grab the opportunities created in the new state.

All attempts at social reforms were made through the caste organizations. Political activity and competition gave casteism a new lease of life and caste remained the

\textsuperscript{185} Jha,Shashi Shekhar, \textit{op cit.} P. 77.
\textsuperscript{186} Ibid. P. 17.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid. P. 78.
\textsuperscript{188} The \textit{Express}, September 9, 1915.
\textsuperscript{189} The \textit{Bengalee}, Jan. 1, 1915.
backbone of Bihari social fabric. The inability of the elitist leaders to shun casteism and narrow sectarianism and the British government following a policy of denominational representation, enhanced the role of ‘caste’ in Bihar. Perhaps too much emphasis on caste association led to the emergence of loyalty to caste-politics. The period witnessed the emergence of hitherto backward castes. The lower caste people formed Sabhas to promote their social status. The Doms held meetings at Patna is July 1921 and the Mehatars resolved to improve their social conditions. The Dushashan Bansiya Kshatriya Mahasabha (of the Dusadhs) encouraged the abandonment of evil practices like early marriage of boys and girls. The Gope Jatiya Mahasabha was the most important and effective Sabha in Bihar. They worked for social and educational advancement among them. The process of ‘Sanskritization’ in all the low castes of Bihar had begun. The Ahirs, Kurmis, Kahars, Dhanus and other low castes claimed the right of wearing the sacred thread. Attempts at ‘Sanskritization’ by the lower castes developed tension among high and low castes and resulted in violence.

Thus, the chances of the Bengali domination becoming less imminent set in a process of competitiveness among the Biharis themselves. In order to assert themselves more effectively in the power structure of the province, both the Hindus and the Muslims began to mobilize on communal lines. The much talked of Hindu-Muslim unity of the top leaders had already served the purpose of the elitists. It was now substituted by not only communal but also caste politics. Thus, what had united the Biharis in the years before 1912, now divided them. Now Bihar stood unified but the Biharis fragmented.

The creation of a new province hardly changed the structure of Bihari society, although efforts were made through social legislation to remove existing social evils. The position of the women in the society can be a classic example. In 1921, there was an awakening among newly educated classes that “no women in Bihar should be married without her consent”. The main object of the Marriage Reform League (1931) was to provide individual freedom to women and to make them ready for inter-caste

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191 Ibid.
192 The Beharee, January 31, 1913.
193 Ibid. January 14, 1913.
195 Srinivas, M. N. Social Change in Modern India, California, 1966, P. 16.
196 The Searchlight, September 11, 1921.
marriages.¹⁹⁷ In Bihar occasional cases of Sati were attempted and accomplished.¹⁹⁸ A case of Sati was reported from Shahabad in February 1919.¹⁹⁹ Such a case was reported from Barh were ten persons were prosecuted and sentenced.²⁰⁰ Among higher classes, the cult of ‘purdah’ was a mark of prestige and status in the Society. It was widely prevalent among the propertied classes.²⁰¹ Illiteracy prevailed among them due to seclusion. A potent drive started against it and the Government felt the need of removal of such customs that promoted cultural backwardness among women. Babu Nissu Narayan Sinha said in Bihar & Orissa council on 23rd November 1921.

"The fact is that purdah system exists. We have traditionally inherited it. It is quite wrong to confine women to the four walls. I am opposed to this system..."²⁰²

Child Marriage remained a common phenomenon in rural as well as urban areas.²⁰³ Darbhanga had the largest proportion of child wives.²⁰⁴ One major step in this direction was the Sarda Art of 1929.²⁰⁵ Women’s Liberation movement gained currency only after Mahatma Gandhi entered into active politics. He encouraged women to enter politics and public life. Gandhiji urged the Bihari women to come out of seclusion during his tour of Bihar.²⁰⁶ A special resolution was introduced in the Bihar and Orissa Legislative Council on 23rd November 1921 to give the right of franchise to women but after a long discussion it was lost.²⁰⁷ But in 1929, the legislation was passed.²⁰⁸

The Government of Bihar took necessary steps to check the system of ‘begari’ (work without payment) The Indian National Congress recommended the abolition of ‘begari’ in the province. The Bihar Provincial Legislative Council paid due attention to this problem because of the social tension and rural violence resulting from it. In 1931, a resolution was passed by the council to end the system through legislation.²⁰⁹

¹⁹⁷ The Searchlight, January 18, 1933.
¹⁹⁹ Political Special, File No. 421, op.cit.
²⁰⁴ Ibid.
²⁰⁵ Ibid.
²⁰⁷ Proceedings of Legislative Council of Bihar and Orissa 1921, Vol. xii, P. 402.
²⁰⁸ Sewek, Ram, History of Bihar between the two world wars, New Delhi, 1985.
Untouchability Abolition week was observed on 30th September 1932 and an Anti-Un-touchability League was formed.\textsuperscript{210} Public meetings were also addressed by Sachchidanand Sinha on anti-untouchability and temple-entry bills on 21 February 1933.\textsuperscript{211} Mahatma Gandhi came on 11th March and addressed meetings for the upliftment of the Harijans.\textsuperscript{212}

Industrial changes in the new province, growth of education and the liberal democratic system brought about certain changes in the structure of society. Many radical changes in the constitution of the family took place. Earlier, the concept of joint family had wide recognition in the society and an individual had no right to go against the norms, rules and values established for the joint family. Gradually, the joint family system went into the background and a newly born industrial family which earned the epithet of ‘Nuclear family’ came into existence. Now a member of a family could develop independent outlook and could have his own separate establishment.\textsuperscript{213}

\textbf{EDUCATION}

Now that the province had been given an independent administrative existence with a separate Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council,\textsuperscript{214} the Biharis hoped that their interests would no longer be ignored. It was high time that they seriously turned to the work of building a modern Bihar. In the construction of the magnificent edifice which would symbolize the all-round cultural advancement of the province, the most important material necessary was education. Out of 14,383,645 male population in Bihar in 1911-12 (excluding Orissa), 508,721 were pupils at schools. This number rose to 119,336 out of population of 16,126,517 in 1936-37.\textsuperscript{215} The rate of Literacy and Literacy in English had also gone up among the various castes in Bihar.\textsuperscript{216}

\begin{footnotes}
\item[211] The Searchlight February 26, 1933.
\item[213] Census of India, 1931, vol7, part 1, P.6
\item[214] The fifth Quinquennial Review of the Progress of Education in Bihar (Dealing with the Period from April 1st, 1932 to March 31st, 1937), Patna, 1939, P. 6
\item[215] Ibid, P-6 (compiled from table)
\item[216] Census of India 1931, Vol. VII, P. 52
\end{footnotes}
Literacy in certain selected castes had gone up. For example among the Babhan (Bhumihars), 96,229 out of a total population of 943,683 were literate.\textsuperscript{217} Among them 149 males, aged seven years and above per thousand were literate in English in 1931.\textsuperscript{218} Among the Brahmans of Bihar, numbering 806,919 in 1931, 116,994 were literate.\textsuperscript{219} 371 males per 1000 were literate in English in 1931 among them.\textsuperscript{220} Thus, the Brahmans had advanced much in the field of English Education. The Kayasthas males, aged seven and over were far ahead in English education, their number per thousand being 761.\textsuperscript{221} What is interesting is the fact that among Kayastha girls of the same age, 154 were literate in English per thousand.\textsuperscript{222} In a population of 299, 222 Kayasthas in 1931, 98, 43 were literate.\textsuperscript{223} The Rajputs, numbering 1,088,793 in Bihar in 1931 about 100, 017 were literate.\textsuperscript{224} About 156 males per thousand were literate in English.

There were 21,990 Primary schools for boys with 613,359 pupils of these pupils, 5478 were reading in Government schools, 10,377 in Board and Municipal schools, 5,043 in Native State schools 463,007 in aided schools and 129,454 in un-aided schools. Of the total number of pupils 566,599 were boys and 46,760 were girls.\textsuperscript{225} By the end of our period of research, (1936-37), the number of upper primary schools became 2,936 and lower primary schools became 15,823.\textsuperscript{226} Of these 6 were managed by the government, 3, 168 were managed by local bodies, 14,808 were aided and 777 were un-aided.\textsuperscript{227} The total number of pupils in the different classes was 715, 288 in 1936-37.\textsuperscript{228} So for as the Secondary education for Indian pupils is concerned, the province of Bihar and Orissa began with 79 High schools having 21,271 pupils; 144 middle English schools with 12,875 pupils, 100 Middle vernacular schools with 7,578 pupils. Thus, the total number of schools were 323 educating 41,724 pupils.\textsuperscript{229} This number rose to 936 schools and 152,671 pupils in 1936-37, where the number of High shools rose to 196 with 57,043
pupils; Middle English schools were 637 in number with 83,009 pupils and Middle Vernacular schools were 103 in number with 12,619 pupils in 1936-37.\textsuperscript{230} The High schools suffered most owing to political upheavals.\textsuperscript{231} With a view to induce more students to take up commercial and clerical careers, the School Leaving Certificate Examination was introduced in 1918. But the tendency of the Bihari students was to take-up the Matriculation examination which was considered as the passport to the services, thus the School Leaving Certificate Examination had to be abolished within a decade due to its unpopularity.\textsuperscript{232}

\textbf{COLLEGES FOR GENERAL EDUCATION}

The following table gives the name, grades, management, and number of pupils of each of the Arts colleges returned on the 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1912.\textsuperscript{233}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Management</th>
<th>No. of pupils on 31\textsuperscript{st} March 1912</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patna</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>Government</td>
<td>265</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diamond Jubilee</td>
<td>2\textsuperscript{nd}</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aided</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bihar National</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un- aided</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tej Narayan Jubilee</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st}</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhumihar Brahman</td>
<td></td>
<td>Do</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Muzaffarpur)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Patna Training College and Patna Law College were the professional colleges that existed till 1911-12.\textsuperscript{234} By 1936, the progress made in college education in Bihar alone, excluding Orissa from its purview shows that there were nine arts colleges for males and five professional colleges for the same. The female population in Bihar was still very

\textsuperscript{230} Ibid, p- 56
\textsuperscript{231} Datta, K.K. (ed) CHB, op. cit, P. 429
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid. P. 429
\textsuperscript{233} Report on the Administration of Bihar and Orissa in 1911-12, Patna 1913, P. 224
\textsuperscript{234} Pandey, S.N. op. cit, Pp. 95-96
much neglected as not a single arts or professional college existed for them. Total male
students in arts colleges were 3,134 and in professional colleges were 918.

It is thus clear that some advance was made in all fields of education during our
period of research. Although if this advance is compared to that made by Bengal or the
other provinces of India, it will be considered very little, but provided the gloomy picture
Bihar made when she was joined to Bengal, this advance could form the basis for future
hope!

CULTURAL PROGRESS

With the creation of the new province, greater attention was paid to the cultural progress
of Bihar. In 1912, Mr. Tata of Bombay made an offer to the Government of India to
conduct archaeological excavations at his own expense. On the advice of the Director-
General of Archaeology, the site of Pataliputra, near Patna, was selected and work was
begun there during the cold weather of 1912-13. The excavations met with remarkable
success and Dr. Spooner, the local Superintendent of Archaeological Survey, located five
parallel rows of Asokan Columns, the columns being 14 feet apart and the rows likewise.
He inferred that the structure was originally of a religious nature and composed partly of
brick and partly of wood, the latter material being used for the cross pieces of the
columns and possibly the roof. The whole building appears to have been utterly and
completely overwhelmed but there was little doubt that the ground plan of a complete
Asokan building would be traced, and that there were indications that valuable
inscriptional and artistic materials would be found. Dr. Spooner’s further excavation led
him to the conclusion that the plan of the building was similar to that of the Hall of a
hundred columns at Persepolis and that the building was the palace or throne room of
Chandra Gupta Maurya. The excavation of the Kumrahar site had to be closed owing to
the proximity of Muslim graveyards.

The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, having placed a large sum
at the disposal of the Archaeological Department for the excavations, exploration of the

235 Ibid. P. 2
236 Ibid. P. 3
237 Annual Administrative Report, Bihar and Orissa, 1913-14, P. 111
238 Ibid. 1914-15, P. 97
site of the old Buddhist University at Nalanda, the work was undertaken by Dr. Spooner, the Superintendent of Archaeology, Eastern Circle. Portions of walls connected with buildings of the old Buddhist Monasteries were uncovered and 603 seals or tablets were found which, though differing in size and decoration, all appeared to bear characteristics of the Buddhist creed. The discovery was also made of a stone structure with interesting mouldings, containing 211 sculptured panels, of which some are of narrative character and others occupied with decorative devices, but all bear clearly the character of the Gupta era. The amount of money spent by the Local Government of conservation work was roughly Rs. 8,800. Besides annual repairs to various monuments, some special work was done in connection with the improvement of the tank surrounding the tomb of Sher Shah at Sasaram, the tomb of Hasan Sur Shah, the tomb of Bakhtiar Khan and the Mundeswari temple at Chainpur, and also the caves at Khandgiri and Udaygiri, in Orissa.

Bihar Research Society was established on the 20th Jan 1915 and was initially known as Bihar and Orissa Research Society. After the separation of Orissa from Bihar this society was renamed as Bihar Research Society. Its library contains 19,7265 volumes of printed books, journals and manuscripts. Among the important publications of the society are Dr. Buchanan’s Report on the districts of Purnea, Shahabad, Bhagalpur, Patna and Gaya. Ancient Indian history received its attention early. Inscriptions were collected, deciphered and interpreted and on the basis of new findings efforts were made to reconstruct the past history of India. There are four sectors, viz. (i) History 2) Archaeology and Numismatics 3) Anthropology and Folklore and 4) Philology which were established when it was started. The society has been publishing the following journals 1) Journal of Bihar Research Society and ii) The Indian Numismatic Chronicle.

Hindi Sahitya Sammelan, was established in 1919 by prominent Hindi Scholars of the town as well as the state. Its main object is propagation of Hindi language and literature. The Sammelan owns a sizeable library which includes some old manuscripts of Hindi literature.

239 Ibid.
240 Ibid.
241 Sachchidanand, Census of India, Series I, Part VI-B, 1971, Pp.81-84
242 Ibid.
243 Ibid.
Thus, a beginning was made to portray Bihar’s antiquity and heritage to the world which was carried on later years by the K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, A. N. Sinha Institute of Social Studies, Bihar Rastra Bhasa Parishad, Bihar Nritya Kala Mandir etc.

ECONOMY

The economy of Bihar was centered on land. It provided the people their livelihood and it remained the biggest source of social surplus. The entire socio-economic structure was woven round land. When Bihar and Orissa formed a separate province, the great majority of the people were dependent on agriculture and cognate pursuits. In Bihar and Orissa, nearly 31 million persons, or four-fifths of the population were supported by pasture and agriculture. Cultivation remained the means of livelihood of eighty percent of its inhabitant even after two decades. The number of those supported by industries and mining was nearly 3 million, or seven and a half percent of the population while four percent subsisted on trade in 1911-12. This ratio remained almost unchanged after a decade of the creation of a new province, where industry supported only seven percent of the population, commerce five percent and other professions accounted for the one percent of the population.

During the ongoing movement for the separation of the state, the common masses had remained aloof, untouched by the demands of the English educated intelligentsia. The reason behind this being that their troubles and problems were immediate and local in nature, based on the socio-economic set-up created by the British Raj and its colonial manipulations. When we talk of the masses, living in the villages, we must remember that eighty percent of the population was involved in agriculture. The creation of a new state hardly changed the agrarian structure of rural Bihar in our period of research. The basic problems of the people remained the same, namely the prevalence of uneconomic holdings, extreme poverty of the agricultural classes, absentee land-lordism, pressure of population on land leading to sub-infeudation of holdings, peasants being rack-rented

244 Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India (1911-12), London, 1913, Pp. 376-377.
246 Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India (1911-12). op.cit.
247 Census of India 1921, Bihar and Orissa Part I, P. 254.
248 Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India (1911-12) op.cit.
and illiteracy of the peasants which made any propaganda about improvement of agriculture difficult.249

Sharecropping became a big impediment in the way of agricultural development. There was no security of tenancy and fixity of rent. The payment of rent was in terms of produce. Since the rent-paying tenants knew that any increase in output would accrue to the landlord who mostly did not bear the expenses of cultivation, he would have little incentive to increase production. It was extremely difficult for him to use modern inputs, as a result of the high share of the produce taken from him, he was left with a bare subsistence minimum, with no margin for investment.250 The process of land alienation continued. During 1923-35, the total land area changing hands in Bihar (excluding Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas) varied from 1.4 lakh to 1.6 lakh acres per annum. It increased to, 1,53,905 acres in 1935.251 Most of the rural population was in debt.252 The Bihar and Orissa Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee (1929-30) estimated that about 72 percent of the rural population was in debt.253 It was reported that the peasants in Bihar paid Rs. twelve crores in the form of rent and Rs. twenty-seven crores in the form of interest.254 The relationship between the landed aristocracy and the tenants continued to be strained. In fact, such tensions were aggravated during the land survey and settlement operations. In both Patna and Gaya districts, there was a marked increase in the number of applications for the deputation of Government officers to appraise or divide the crops.255 The withholding of rent was extremely common.256 The strangle hold of Zamindars, money-lenders, traders, rich cultivators and lawyers on the rural life seemed to be unbreakable. Thus, it becomes very clear, that the agrarian set-up of the villages hardly underwent much change by the creation of a new state.

But the picture was not as dismal as it sounds. Steps were taken by the government for the improvement of agriculture. The department of Agriculture took of

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249 See, the administrative Report of Bihar and Orissa in 1921 for more details, Patna, 1922. P. 49.
250 Sen, Sunil, Agrarian relations in India; 1793-1947, New Delhi, 1979, P. 32.
252 Ibid.
254 The Searchlight, 5 November 1931.
255 Secretary, Board of Revenue to Secretary, Revenue Department, Government of Bihar and Orissa, 3 September, 1917. File No IVL/49 of 1917.
256 The Searchlight, 11 July, 1933.
many measures to increase the earnings of the cultivators. The different agricultural tracts of the province were divided into four ranges, each in charge of an officer with head quarters at Patna, Muzaffarpur, Sabour (Bhagalpur) and Kanke (Ranchi). Field scale research work on experimental farms, demonstrations to the cultivator improved seeds giving higher yields. Cheap labour saving implements drawn by bullocks, use of artificial organic compost manure from vegetable waste materials, cattle-breeding and solution of veterinary problems, were provided by the agricultural department. Gradually the cultivators started responding to the new methods of cultivation. Co-operative societies and banks started assisting the cultivators. In 1914, the province had 12 Central banks and only 707 primary societies, the membership being a little over 49000. After ten years, i.e. in 1924, the member of such banks increased to 58 and agricultural societies went up to 6,200 and the membership went up to 1,64,000.

**INDUSTRIES**

The province of Bihar and Orissa was backward from an industrial of view, right from its birth. The total number of concerns was only 583 and the employees being 180,00. The coal mines accounted for over one-third of the former and for nearly half of the latter. The number of indigo plantation returned was 119, which furnished employment to a little over 30,000 persons. If the coal-mines and indigo plantations are excluded, there were only 265 industrial and manufacturing concerns in the new province with a labour force of 62,000. A comparison with contemporary Bengal would show that if the three principal industries of jute, tea and coal were left out, there were 900 concerns with 163,000 employees in 1911-12. No major improvements were made in the industrial set-up in Bihar proper, during the twenty-four years of the existence of the united state of Bihar and Orissa.

Bihar, did not lack either labour or an internal market. Yet the pace of industrialization was very slow. Notwithstanding the availability of a wide variety of

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258 Annual Report on the Performance of the Agriculture Department for 1935-36, p. 36 File No. SA/7 of 1936, Part B.
259 The Searchlight, November 29, 1933.
260 Ibid.
261 *Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and condition of India (1911-12)*, London, 1913, P. 381.
mineral and other industrial resources, no large industrial base could be created, though a number of cement factories and sugar mills came up. It was the Chotanagpur region which saw the establishment of industrial units. Yet no viable sector of diversified light capital and consumer goods industries developed; nor was there any widespread development of medium and small-scale industries based on modern technology. Cottage and small-scale industrial units predominated even though they were in a state of decline.262

During the days when the movement the separation of Bihar from Bengal was going on, a feeling had grown in Bihar that among the causes of Bihar's economic backwardness, the most important was its political status, i.e., its being an appendage to Bengal. This was certainly true to a certain extent. Except a number of indigo factories, a few small workshops producing, saltpeter, crude sugar etc and a railway workshop at Jamalpur, there was no industrial establishment of any consequence in Bihar, where its inhabitants could find jobs.263 This is proved by the number of companies that both Bihar and Bengal had at the time of its inception the share of Bihar and Chotanagpur with Orissa being 56 in 1913-14 whereas the share of Bengal was much higher - 973.264 However, we find that by 1938-39, (when Orissa had already been separated from Bihar), Bengal had 4,631 concerns, Madras had 1,581, Bombay had 1,400, Punjab had 1,042 etc. Bihar along with Orissa had only 196 (combined figures are available).265

Most of the factories and firms operating in Bihar were owned and controlled by outsiders. All the important industrial establishments of Jamshedpur, namely TISCO (1911), TELCO (1921), the Tinplate Company (1922), the Indian Cable Company (1923) the Indian Steel Wire Products Company (1914), the Tata Nagar Foundry Co. (1927), the Indian Hume Pipe Company (1926) belonged to non-Biharis. The Indian Copper Corporation (1927), operating at Ghatsila belonged to the Anglo-Oriental Investment Trust. Cement factories of Bihar were owned by the Dalmia-Jain group. Paper mills were largely in the hands of the Dalmia-Jain group. Similarly the Sugar mills were controlled

262 Mishra Girish and Pandey Braj K. op. cit. P. 112.
263 Ibid.P.30.
265 Ibid.
by non-Bihari capitalists. A few of the sugar mills that were owned by the Biharis, were not equal to the modern sugar factories, either in terms of workers employed or the quantum of cane crushed. Except for a few small enterprises like a jute factory, a cotton mill, all other factories and industrial establishment were owned and controlled by non-Bihari capital and enterprise. Even where Bihari investment was substantial management was in the hands of outsiders. As a result, as most of factories operating in Bihar belonged to companies registered and with head offices located outside, their returns of incomes were filed elsewhere. Thus, Bihar was deprived of an adequate share in income tax revenue. This adversely affected the revenue of the province and consequently, budgetary allocations. For example, the department of industries received Rs. 20,000 in the 1935-36, budget.

An investigation of the reason as to why Bihari capital and enterprise could not make any headway into industrial and commercial ventures, even after the separation of the province would show that there was no dearth of investible financial resources at the disposal of Biharis. There were a number of Zamindars, tenure holders, big cultivator money lenders and traders with large incomes and assets. The income of Zamindars had increased because while the government revenue had remained fixed, the total rental had gone on rising as a result of the rise in the raiyati rental owing to the extension of the area under cultivation, the discovery of minerals, the enhancement of the rate of rent due to increased demand for land brought about by the increasing population and the absence of job opportunities in the non-agricultural sector to relieve the pressure on land and the rising prices. Thus, the Zamindars could easily have invested in the industries but they never thought of industrial or commercial ventures because they regarded them as beneath their dignity. Instead they spent the surplus money in building palaces, liquor, dancing girls, construction of temples, weddings, elephants, horses etc. so they a number of them sank into heavy debts. A few Zamindars who did make an investment in industries, gave their management to companies outside the province.

Excluding the Imperial Bank of India, there were other joint stock banks having their head offices outside the province with branches in Bihar, viz., the Allahabad Bank,

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266 Ibid. P. 112.
267 The Searchlight, Aug.30, 1932.
269 Ibid. P. 116.
The Central Bank of India and the Banaras Bank. The only Bank with its head-quarters in Bihar was the Behar Bank. There was a fierce competition among these banks. These lent money mostly to the traders and Zamindars. The joint stock banks having their headquarters outside the province invested much less than what they received as deposits.\footnote{The Searchlight, July 1, 1932.} They did not finance industry which was starving of funds, which reduced the risk taking capacity of these banks. The Imperial Bank gave no facilities on the remittance business and often refused to clear drafts. The bank did not finance industry or agriculture.\footnote{The Searchlight, June 30, 1932.} As a consequence the local trade and industry could not benefit from the credit base of these Banks.

The Government of Bihar and Orissa, in spite of re-organizing the industry department in 1920, was convinced that the exploitation of mineral wealth must depend in the future as in the past, on private capital and enterprise.\footnote{Annual Administrative Report, Bihar and Orissa, 1926-27, P. 108.} All that the government could do was to assist and encourage the private investor or qualified pioneer leaving the provincial revenues to grow naturally with the expansion of industry. But this thinking of the Government was no where near to the reality. The adoption, some fifty years ago of the policy of non-enforcement mineral rights in the permanently settled areas, prevented the Government from deriving except in Government estates, any revenue from the coal, iron ore, copper ore and other minerals in which the province was so rich. These mineral resources in fact, far from being a source of revenue, had been a considerable source of expenditure. The development of mining in coal fields and of the iron and steel industry at Jamshedpur had rendered necessary the employment of a more advanced and expensive police administration to maintain which the industries themselves contributed nothing in the form of provincial taxation, with the result that it had to be paid by the rest of the province.

Thus, no doubt the industries became valuable agents of economic progress in Bihar. In providing alternative employment and supplementary income to the depressed ranks of cultivators and to the landless labourers, nonetheless, these industries contributed little to provincial revenue nor did they assist as much as would have been expected in creating and retaining within the province reserves of wealth which would be available to
finance agriculture and smaller trade and industries peculiar to Bihar. The major demand of the ‘Bihar for Biharis’ movement had been gaining of jobs for the sons of the soil. A detailed perusal of the job situation of the Biharis in various industries of the state would not thus be out of place!

The Tata Iron and Steel Company in the course of about three decades (1907-1936) turned the practically uninhabited site at Jamshedpur in the district of Singhbhum with a population of 5,672 in 1911 to a township of importance with a population of 100,000 in habitants. The main products of the Tata Iron and Steel Company were pig Iron, Steel ingots, rolled Steel and Coke. Out of the 71 chemists working in this company, 5 belonged to Bihar and Orissa out of the 75 posts of the civil engineers, overseers and sub-overseers, 12 were from Bihar and Orissa. In the Ore mines owned by the Company, out of the total number of 125 posts carrying a pay of Rs. 20 per month and above, only 48 belonged to natives of the province.

The Tinplate Company of India, Limited was managed by the Messrs. Shaw Wallace and Company of Calcutta. It produced practically the whole consumption of tin in India. Out of 2,913 posts of Mechanical and Civil engineers, Foremen, mechanics, Medical staff, chemists, Ministerial staff etc, only 327 posts were held by the Biharis.

The Indian Steel Wire Products, Limited at Jamshedpur manufactured wires, wire-nails etc. The Company was originally registered in Bombay in 1919 and began working in Jamshedpur in 1922 Out of 645 technical and non-technical men employed in the factory, only 67 came from Bihar of the 36 clerical posts, only one was held by a Bihari. The table below shows the other subsidiary companies and workshops in Jamshedpur:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subsidiary Companies</th>
<th>Number of Posts</th>
<th>Number from Bihar and Orissa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Tata Nagar Foundry</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Indian Cable Company</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

274 Ibid. Pp. 80, 81. (Calculated from)
275 Ibid. (Calculated Pp. 81, 82)
276 Ibid. P. 83.
277 Ibid. P. 85.
Copper is another major industry of Bihar depending on her mineral resources. The entire industry is in the hands of Indian Copper Corporation Limited, which owned the copper mines in Mosabani and Dhubani in Singhbhum district. This industry started as late as 1930. The factory was located at Manbhandar near Ghatshila. The Corporation engaged 1,168 males and 168 females in its works and 2,500 persons in the mines. These were 715 posts, with pay of Rs. 20 or more per month. Of these 196 post were held by Biharis and most of them were of the subordinate rank. All the senior port Mining engineers, assayers and metallurgists were held by outsiders and only 1 or 2 posts of mechanical engineers were held by local men. Even among the 600 posts of mechanics, the number of Biharis was low.

The position of Biharis in the Coal Industry (Jharia) was not impressive either. Out of 3,600 posts in the coal mines, 1,400 or 40 percent are held by men from Bihar and Orissa. The poor representation of Biharis in the coal mines was because the collieries originally consisted mostly of outsiders and these in turn brought their sons and relations and the Biharis found it difficult to get a footing. There were very few Biharis holding posts of managers and assistant managers. Out of about 123 surveyors and 1,100 clerical officers working in the coal mines, these were hardly any belonging to the province. Only in the Mechanics and illiterate overseer class, Biharis found a place in this industry.

Bihar was the home of the mica industry. These were about 150 mica mines working in this province. Most of the Mica mines were owned by outsiders who brought their own men when the industry was started. The starting pay being generally low and the conditions not particularly congenial, service in the mica mines was not attractive to Biharis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East Indian Railway works</td>
<td>868</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bengal Nagpur Railway Loco Shed</td>
<td>135</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamshedpur Engineering and</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing Company</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Hume Pipe Company</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tata Nagar Chemical Company</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,487</td>
<td>475</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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278 Ibid. P. 85.
279 Ibid. P. 86.
280 Ibid. P. 87.
281 Ibid. P. 7.
282 Ibid. P. 88 and P. 90.
the Biharis and only 50% of the posts were held by them. As in Bengal, the struggle for existence was greater, the Bengalis took up most of the posts in the coal mines.283

India produced 90 per cent of the world consumption of lac, and Bihar's share was over half of total Indian production. The rearing of lac was an important subsidiary occupation of the agriculturists in Chotanagpur. These were 18 shellac factories in the province employing about 1,300 persons.284

Manufacture of cigarette was a fairly important industry particularly in North Bihar. The only cigarette factory of any importance was the Tobacco Manufacturers (India), Limited at Monghyr and employed 1,500 persons. The Biharis held the mechanic's post numbering 36 as senior staff were mostly Europeans.285

The 'Sone Valley Portland Cement Company' manufactured cement from the limestone rock in the Rohtas hills. About 700 persons were employed in the works out of a total of senior posts (157) only 81 were held by men of Bihar and Orissa.286 The recruitments were done by the Company's head-office at Calcutta, therefore the small number of Bihar and Orissa men in clerical and other posts is explained for.287

East Indian Railway Works, Jamalpur was the largest engineering works in the province employing about 8 thousand persons, most of whom belonged to the province.288 The Kumardhubi Engineering Works Limited employed about 1,000 persons for the manufacture of structural steel and iron and steel castings of the 82 post in the senior ranks, only 14 were held by Biharis, in the machine shop but of 351 men, 136 were domiciled in Bihar. Out of 84 clerical posts 18 are held by local men.289 The Saran Engineering Works, Marhowrah manufactured sugar machinery and were attached to the sugar factory of Messrs Bagg Sutherland and Company at Marhowrah. All superior posts requiring a degree or diploma in mechanical engineering were held by outsiders.290

Messrs. Arthur Butler and Company, Ltd. Muzaffarpur, was concerned with building,
repairing of sugar machinery, including manufacture of spare parts and motor repairs. The number of Biharis in the superior mechanical engineering posts, the percentage of Bihars was small. 291

The Milling industry of Bihar could be divided into four classes. Their details are given below: 291

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of mill</th>
<th>Number of mills</th>
<th>Persons employed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice mills</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>4,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oil mills</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flour mills</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dal mills</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>120</strong></td>
<td><strong>6,286</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were 90 posts of managers and supervisors held by the proprietors themselves or by their relatives who belong to other provinces. Most of the 963 posts of mechanics were held by Biharis. Out of 189 posts of clerks, a large portion of these posts were held by men from other provinces. 293

The Bihar Cotton Mills started at Phulwari Sharif in the district of Patna, was the only cloth mill in the province. It was handicapped for lack of funds. 294 A button factory was started in 1929 at Mehsi in Muzaffarpur district but the industry could not face foreign competition and failed mainly on account of insufficient working capital and lack of trained labour. 295

Bihar was rich in raw materials for the manufacture of glass, large deposits of first class sand and feldspar suitable for the manufacture of glass, were available in the province. Bihar had unfortunately not taken advantage of these natural facilities and although there were 62 glass factories working in India, not a single factory had been

291 Ibid,
292 Ibid,
293 Ibid, Pp. 103-104.
294 Ibid, P. 104.
295 Ibid, P. 105.
started in this province. Glass blowing as a cottage industry survived in certain parts of Bihar, but the articles were made from broken and scrap glass and these was no proper glass manufacture.296

Match industry was another industry in which Bihar had apparent natural facilities on account of her forests and the supply of cheap labour. In 1925, a demonstration match factory was started by the Department of Industries but due to poor quality of wood and lack of skilled labour and fall in price of matches, it failed in 1927.297 Bihar is rich in raw materials such as bamboo and Sabai grass for the manufacture of paper pulp. Unfortunately, most of the available raw materials had been leased out to paper mills outside the province and there were not enough raw materials for starting a mill in Bihar.298

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

According to the Census Report of 1931, there were about one million people of Bihar and Orissa dependent on such industries as their principal or subsidiary occupation.299 The cottage worker had to pay more for his raw materials, owing to the lack of marketing facilities, he fell an easy prey to the mahajan or money-lender, who financed him. Working in isolation and without proper advice, he continued with the primitive methods of manufacture and refused to adopt improved appliances which could reduce the cost of manufacture.300

Hand weaving was the premier cottage industry of this province. According to the estimate of the Department of Industries, there were 1.8 lakhs of handlooms and about 5 lakhs of weavers in Bihar and Orissa. In 1911, steps were taken to establish weaving schools in important centers with a view to find wider markers for Bihar art textiles, a commercial department known as the Purdah Manufacturing Section was introduced in the Cottage Industries Institute at Gulzarbagh in 1925-26. With the help of the Government of India grant sanctioned for the development of the handloom industry, the

296 Ibid, P. 105.
297 Ibid, p. 106.
298 Ibid,
300 Ibid,
old Purdah Section was merged in a new Marketing Organisation which included not only art textiles but also a large variety of staple goods having a local demand.\footnote{301}

The Wool Weaving Institute at Gaya, started by the local district board in 1922 and taken over by the Department of Industries in 1925 trained educated young men in the use of improved looms and better designs. The Bihar sheep was considered one of the best of the indigenous types in India. The value of woolen goods produced by the wool-weavers was estimated at about Rs. 18 lakhs. spinning of wool and weaving of blankets and carpets were mainly confined to the district of Gaya, Shahabad and Palamau.\footnote{302}

Bihar and Orissa had a monopoly of tasar silk and produced practically the entire Indian output of this material. According to the census of 1911, about 170,000 people in Bihar and Orissa were involved in rearing, collecting, twisting and weaving of Tasar. Tasar weaving was carried on in Bhagalpur.\footnote{303} Three power loom units had been established in Bhagalpur which provided an excellent opening for educated young men trained in the Bhagalpur Silk Institute.\footnote{304} Dyeing and printing industry had considerable scope in this province. Silk factories were introduced in Bhagalpur in 1929 and the industry was so successful that in the course of 7 years over 50 factories were established in Bhagalpur.\footnote{305} Hosiery did not yield a sufficient income.\footnote{306}

Tanning was a natural industry of Bihar. The best Indian hides came from Bihar. About 4 lakh maunds of hides and skins were exported annually from Bihar and Orissa.\footnote{307} The raw hides taken from Bihar were tanned in Madras and other provinces and exported to England at considerable profit. The Kanpur Tannery, which was one of the largest tanneries in India, used 30 to 40 percent of Bihar hides. There was scope for the establishment of large scale tanneries in this province.\footnote{308} About 800 Chinese earning a living in Calcutta by shoe-making, engaged 6,000 Bihari ‘mochis’ under them. The artisan class attached to the Tirhut Technical Institute and the Ranchi Technical School provided training in shoe-making and manufacture of leather goods. There was scope of

\footnote{301}{Ibid. Pp. 108 – 109.}
\footnote{302}{Ibid. P. 110.}
\footnote{303}{Ibid. P. 111.}
\footnote{304}{Ibid.}
\footnote{305}{Ibid. P. 112.}
\footnote{306}{Ibid.}
\footnote{307}{Ibid.}
\footnote{308}{Ibid. P. 113.}
starting shoe-making factories in Bihar.\textsuperscript{309} Bihar was rich in raw materials necessary for Glazed pottery industry but not much had been done in this field.\textsuperscript{310} Cane-work and basketry was another field in which much could be done.\textsuperscript{311} Toy-making industry faced stiff competition from Japan.\textsuperscript{312} Although there were about 50,000 wood workers in this province, there was a dearth of good cabinet makers even in towns like Patna. Most of the high class furniture used in offices and private houses were imported from outside or employed Chinese workmen from Bengal.\textsuperscript{313}

At one time, brass and bell-metal work was an important cottage industry of Bihar. The Census reports shows that while 21,000 men were engaged in this work in Bihar in 1921, only 6,000 depended on this industry in 1931. The decrease was mainly due to the fact that the workers were in the hands of mahajans and had no initiative to improve their designs to suit modern tastes. These articles were replaced by cheap aluminium and enamel goods, but brass and bell-metal demand among orthodox Hindus and were important from Bengal. The district of Manbhum and Monghyr were famous for their cutlery and for the manufacture of swords and guns. This industry had been more successful in Bengal which had a ready market in Calcutta and in the tea gardens.\textsuperscript{314} Umbrella-making was a cottage industry which had some prospect.\textsuperscript{315} Government introduced a new section in the Cottage Industries Institute at Gulzarbagh to teach tailoring to Biharis and this industrial profession had high demand due to increase in the standard of living. The Industrial Chemistry Section attached to the Science College trained a few educated young men every year in the manufacture of soap. As a result a number of small factories manufacturing soap sprung up in the province.\textsuperscript{316}

The big and small cultivators along with the laboureres formed the base of the social pyramid. It is a historic truth that the base consisting of the millions which really paid for the running of the administration was left rather uncared for by the administrators. Most of the laws that were passed for the improvement of the raiyats were rather belated measures and hence were the results of a certain amount of agitation. There

\textsuperscript{309} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{310} Ibid. P. 114.
\textsuperscript{311} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{312} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{313} Ibid. P. 115.
\textsuperscript{314} Ibid. P. 116.
\textsuperscript{315} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{316} Ibid. P. 117.
was a big gap between the zamindars and the raiyats and not much was done by the administrators to bridge this gap. The spread of education had brought in an incidence of unemployment in the educated middle class families. But this spread of education had created more havoc in the families of the village raiyats and the labourers. In an educated middle class family one or two unemployed educated men did not matter much as they could be easily absorbed in various affairs of the family and particularly in looking after the cultivation of the lands. But when a farmer stakes a lot and deprives himself of various necessities to get his son educated and the son does not get a suitable employment and at the top of it, will not take to farming thinking it to be an insult to his educations the distress is much more acute. The type of Western education that was evolved, there was more of the teaching of arts and less of science and still less of technical subjects were by one could easily earn his livelihood. The prospect of the employment of the Biharis in the industries was poor. The result was the creation of a disconsolate army of unemployed, semi-educated or educated young men who were all clamoring for white-collared jobs.317

GOVERNMENT EMPLOYMENT AND THE PROFESSIONS

From the Bengali-Bihari dichotomy an impression can be formed that the Biharis were job-hunting people and the hunt for office employment first led them to raise their voices in protest against the Bengalis and then differences appeared among the Bihari Hindus and Muslims and even among various castes of the Bihari Hindus for the same. The impression is probably derived from the advocacy in the press of their claims for appointment in the public services. In Bengal, there was no cry for appointment but in Bihar there was a deafening cry. The ‘Beharee’ stressed that this cry was that of the ‘starving’ and not that of the ‘pampered’ It wrote: –

“In any other province, the natives were treated as they have been here we admit by the force of circumstance, and not by a set purpose or malice ..., there would have been such a howl as would have drowned the cries of even the blatant agitators.”318

318 The Beharee, July 26, 1912.
However, were the Biharis actually able to fulfill their ambition of the offices being held by the ‘sons of the soil’? There can be no question that the volume of unemployment was considerable in Bihar and Orissa till the year 1935-36. This is evident from the very large number of applications that were received when any post under the Government or local bodies was advertised. The average number of applications from Bihar and Orissa men for each vacancy advertised by the Government brought about 30 application from Matriculates, 42 froms I.A., 12 from B.A.s, 12 from B.Sc., and 27 and 6 from men with M.A. or M.C. degrees.319 Allowing for the fact that some of the candidates who applied may have had other private or less remunerative employment and some of them may have applied for more than one vacancy, but such allowances were expected to be small. The table clearly indicates that unemployment embraced all the sections of educated youth of Bihar and Orissa.320

**NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS RECEIVED IN RESPONSE TO ADVERTISEMENTS, FOR VACANCIES DURING THE YEARS 1933-34 AND 1934-35**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification required</th>
<th>Number of vacancies advertised</th>
<th>Qualified Bihar and Orissa men</th>
<th>Outsiders</th>
<th>Average number applications from Bihar and Orissa men for each vacancy</th>
<th>Number of office from which compiled</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Matriculation</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>9,214</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Compiled from 53 offices of Government</td>
<td>Sub-inspectors and assistant sub-inspectors of police, clerks, typists, steno typists and probationers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I.A. or I. Sc.</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>42</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clerks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. A. or B. Sc.</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>372</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td>Co-operative inspectors, clerks and Teachers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

320 Ibid, Government Departments (Bihar and Orissa) *Appendix V(A), P. 200.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Qualification</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Skill</th>
<th>Salary</th>
<th>Relevance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. Sc.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. A.</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>107</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Sc.</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.C.E</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial or Mechanical diploma</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.O.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>201</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L. M. P</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Ed or Dip. In Ed.</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>221</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. T. S</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. T. S. (secondary)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V. T. S. (Primary Commercial diplomas</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acharya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alim</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mechanical and Electrical Engineering (B. Sc.) Weaving</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chemists, laboratory assistants, agricultural overseer etc. Lecturers
Chemists, assistants and demonstrators
Overseers, estimators and draftsmen
Doctors and Professors
Sub-assistant surgeon
Sub-inspectors of schools and trained teachers
Vernacular teachers
Ditto Commercial teacher
Lecturers and teachers in Sanskrit
Teachers and inspecting man/viz.
Weaving Supervisors
The average number of application for each post as shown proves the scarcity of jobs in Bihar and Orissa. The position in regard to the matriculates out of an average of 889 passes each year, 507 could be absorbed in Government Service, local bodies, banks and private educational institutions. The table clearly shows that the number posts was slightly in excess of the output. But what is interesting is that remaining 382 candidates had to find employment in the railways and industries of the province, but the majority of the posts were then held by outsiders. It was clear that the unemployment among matriculates was due largely to the employment of men from other provinces.

On an average 14,125 boys each year passed the middle standard, but were not able to pass the Matriculation examination. Some of them took up inferior service (e.g. constables, peons, etc), for which bare literacy was a sufficient qualification. Some of them were absorbed in clerical posts and some returned to their father’s profession such as cultivation, trade, etc. while others found employment as tahsildars, muharrirs, etc., in Zamindars, clerks of lawyers etc. There were a considerable number of under-matriculates who swelled the ranks of the unemployed. Industry could absorb every year over, 1,300 mechanics drawing Rs. 20 a month or more against which there were barely 100 passing out from technical schools each year. Some of these posts were held by Biharis of the mistiy class, but a considerable proportion was recruited from outside the province. There was thus considerable scope for the absorption of under-matriculates in industry.

The average number passing the Intermediate stage (Arts and Science) was 222 as against 112 vacancies each year, under the Government, local bodies and private institutions. As regards graduates, M.A.’s and M.Sc.’s, there were 89 vacancies in the above mentioned institutions against 111 passes every year. Most of the surplus was absorbed in clerical posts or industries requiring lesser qualifications. The problem was that, an unduly large proportion of the graduates studied for the law and even after qualifying for the legal profession, they were in no way better-off than unemployed graduates. About 40 percent of the lawyers in the province were unable to earn even a pittance and only about 20 percent were earning a decent income. The number of lawyers

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321 Ibid. P. 18.
322 Ibid.
324 Ibid.
passing out each year was more than double of what the bar could properly absorb.\textsuperscript{325} The extent of overcrowding in the legal profession is clearly apparent from the census Report of 1931, according to which the number dependent on it increased from 5,797 in 1921 to 8,129 in 1931, i.e. by about 40 percent.\textsuperscript{326} Out of 3,437 advocates and pleaders and 1,475 mukhtears and revenue agents, only 2,069 advocates and pleaders and 787 mukhtears and revenue agents were able to earn a living.\textsuperscript{327} About 2000 lawyers were thus struggling in vain at the bar.\textsuperscript{328} About 1,100 legal practitioners in Bihar and Orissa had an annual income of Rs. 1,000 or more.\textsuperscript{329} Thus, the training of so many of the graduates in law involved a waste of time, energy and money.

In regard to the unemployment among medical practitioners, 9 graduates and 66 licentiates turned out each year, but only 18 M.B.B.S.’s out of 25 and 476 L.M.P.’s out of 66 were provided were unemployed or under employed.\textsuperscript{330} As regards doctors the number of posts available was only about half the annual production, the excess number having to depend on private practice. About 30 percent of the medical graduates who were licentiates were unemployed or under-employed while the towns were over-staffed with doctors.\textsuperscript{331}

\textbf{STATEMENT SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS EARNING RS. 1,000 OR MORE A YEAR.}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|}
\hline
1. & Bhagalpur & 15 \\
2. & Champaran & 3 \\
3. & Mazaffarpur & 30 \\
4. & Patna & 44 \\
5. & Saran & 18 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{325} Ibid., P. 48.
\textsuperscript{326} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{327} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{328} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{329} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{331} Ibid, P. 44.
The average annual passes for Bihar and Orissa Students from the Veterinary College at Patna (started in July 1930) was 7 and annual vacancy was also 7, therefore the supply was equal to the demand for such posts.\textsuperscript{332}

**ENGINEERS & TECHNICIANS**

The Bihar College of Engineering provided a degree as well as subordinate course in civil engineering, besides the Industrial Diploma course in mechanical and electrical engineering. There was a considerable overproduction of civil engineers in the province. The post of Civil Engineers available in Bihar and Orissa were:\textsuperscript{333}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Department</th>
<th>Civil Engineers</th>
<th>Subordinate Civil Engineers (Overseers &amp; Sub-Overseers)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Public Works Department</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Government Departments</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Boards &amp; Municipalities</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>385</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual vacancy at 04 %</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>02</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adding 10 percent for business and private employment, the annual demand was estimated at 7 graduates and 32 sub-ordinate engineers. But the output from the Bihar College of Engineering and the Orissa School of Engineering was 25 civil engineers and 40 subordinate civil engineers.\textsuperscript{334} From 1928 to 1933, 71 percent of the graduates and 63 per cent of the subordinates were unemployed. Most of the superior engineering posts under the Public Works Department were held by outsiders because the degree course in the Bihar College of Engineering had recently been started and very few Biharis possessed the necessary experience to qualify for the senior posts. The rules regarding appointment of engineers by district boards and local bodies, were framed when there was no facility for engineering education in the province, thus they did not require a minimum residence in the province as a necessary qualification Also, the district engineer had to

\textsuperscript{332} Ibid, Pp. 38-39.
\textsuperscript{333} Report of the Bihar Unemployment Committee, 1935-36. P. 120.
\textsuperscript{334} Ibid.
have five years experience of important construction work which was possessed by very few local graduates. Thus, men of other provinces were easily recruited in place of Biharis in these posts.\footnote{Ibid. P. 122.}

Although there were only 99 posts under the Government and local bodies requiring a degree or senior diploma in mechanical and electrical engineering, which gave 3 or 4 vacancies every year, there were over 1,000 posts requiring such qualifications in the industries of the province, which required about 40 men each year. Only a few Biharis had qualified themselves in this line at the Benares Hindu University, besides a very limited number qualified in England with the help of State Scholarships granted in the post. Most of these posts were therefore held by men of other provinces. For example, The Tata Iron and Steel Company recruited 10 to 12 men every year, all of whom had been outsiders.\footnote{Ibid. P. 123.} There was no facility in the province for higher training in any of the technical subjects, except civil engineering at the Bihar College of Engineering and mining at the Indian School of Mines, Dhanbad. A degree course in mechanical and electrical engineering in the Bihar College of Engineering was needed. A limited number of scholarships were granted for training in textile engineering at the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute.\footnote{Ibid. Pp. 138-39.}

In the field of Training in press work, about 400 posts in the Government Press existed, but, more than 50 per cent of them were held by outsiders who came originally from Bengal when the press was started in 1912. There were about 70 private presses in Bihar and Orissa where not less than 100 educated men were employed. However, the Biharis had limited knowledge of English and most of the superior posts were held by outsiders in these presses.\footnote{Ibid. P. 131.}

The total number of vacant posts which required general qualifications for provincial and subordinate services and the average number of students passing out of the educational institutions of Bihar and Orissa with these qualifications each year have been indicated in the table below.\footnote{Ibid. P. 29.}
Qualification | Annual Vacancies | Average number qualified each year
---|---|---
Matriculation, | 299 | 889
I.A. and I. Sc. | 42 | 222
B.A. and B.Sc. | 34 | 47
M.A. | 4 | 55
M. Sc. | 2 | 9
Total | 381 | 1,222

Thus the Government service could absorb only 31 percent of the annual output. But the Government Service and the stereotyped professions continued to have an undue attraction for the Bihari boys. The system of education was also defective, as it created maladjustment between supply and demand. The job situation in the Government sector has been shown in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Service (1930-1936)</th>
<th>Total number of candidates from all provinces</th>
<th>Number of Bihar and Orissa Candidates</th>
<th>Total number selected by competition</th>
<th>Number of Bihar and Orissa men selected</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Indian Civil Service</td>
<td>1,231</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Police Service</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Service of Engineers and Indian Railway Service of Engineers</td>
<td>604</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian Audit and Accounts Service</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation (traffic) and Commercial Departments</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3,003</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ibid.
Ibid. P. 25.
Although, the movement for a ‘Bihar for Biharis’ was successful in creating a separate province, but the actual issue of gaining more employment opportunities for the Biharis youth remained unsolved. This was due to various reasons. Boys from Bihar were not prepared to begin at the lowest rung of the ladder and work their way up. As a result, educated young men from other provinces occupied the posts which would otherwise be held by them. One reason behind this was the joint family system could not maintain its idle members in luxury or even in comfort, but quite a large proportion of the unemployed young men were maintained by their family above the level of bare subsistence. This accounted for the reluctance to accept a post which was not considered good enough. The acceptance of a post below their standing in society lowered their prestige and often stood in their way when they applied for a higher post. Industrial concerns could not be expected to adopt the meticulous grading of new entrances according to their qualifications or their position in society. Thus, public opinion had to be changed in order to induce the young Bihari boys for recruitment in lower clerical posts and industrial establishments. There were many instances of young men from other provinces with high qualifications who were prepared to make a small beginning. Failure of the Biharis to do likewise resulted in their exclusion from industry and petty clerical posts which resulted in import of outsiders to fill up the vacancies.

The dislike for manual labour among this class was another factor. Unfortunately, there were very few under-graduates who joined the technical schools. They were unduly obsessed with the idea of finding something better. It was not uncommon to find an educated youngman in industry looking out for vacancies in the clerical line. This clearly divided allegiance between industrial employment and clerical service led the factory owners to employ, illiterate men of the ‘labouring class’ who were prepared to work with their hands and to start from the bottom, rather than the under-matriculates who like rolling stones, were always eager to change jobs. Thus, the industry had no place for them.

Another major reason responsible for the exclusion of the Bihari boys was the competition with outsiders. In the large industries and in the railways, even in posts

342 Ibid. P. 24.
343 Ibid.
344 Ibid.
requiring general qualifications for which qualified Bihari boys were available in large numbers, outsiders had been and were still being recruited.\textsuperscript{345} The large industries of the province were mostly in the hands of outsiders and many had their head offices outside the province. When the industries were started, experts and managers were brought from outside, who naturally, recruited persons known or familiar to them, even for subordinate appointments. Even after 25 years of the creation of an independent province, the appointments were still made or controlled by the head office at Calcutta or Bombay.\textsuperscript{346} It was also the practice with most concerns to give preference to sons and relatives of old employees. As these old hands were originally brought from outside the province, the system perpetuated itself and the flow of outsiders continued at the expense of the children of the soil.

Another factor which continued to play a part in increasing the unemployment problem among educated young men who were in search of Government service, was the facility with which domicile certificates were obtained by outsiders.\textsuperscript{347} The rules regarding the grant of certificates of domicile, circularized by Government were stringent enough, but they were not rigorously enforced. In most cases where domicile certificates were required, the person bought a piece of land or a house which was sold as soon as the object had been achieved.\textsuperscript{348} About 50 percent of the men who passed as domiciled in the province were not genuinely domiciled at all. This caused much bitterness amongst the aspiring Bihari youth.

Another source of bitterness was the fact that Biharis were seldom allowed to secure top positions in the establishments controlled by outsiders. For example, no Bihari was appointed general manager or core manager in a sugar mill controlled by an outsider. Till 1947, no Bihari was allowed to hold any top position in any of the establishments at Jamshedpur or Dalmianagar.\textsuperscript{349} The Biharis, thus, had an uphill task for each vacancy in an industrial establishment within the province involved an all-India competition for which they had no backing or support. Besides, unemployment in other provinces compelled their young men to take up employment in Bihar, even on a miserably low rate

\textsuperscript{345} Ibid. P. 25.
\textsuperscript{346} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{347} Ibid P. 51.
\textsuperscript{348} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{349} Mishra Girish and Pandey Braj K. op. cit. P. 115.
of pay. The presence of outsiders in such large numbers therefore, adversely affected the prospects of the educated young men of the province. As most of the investments had come from outside Bihar, most of the surplus generated went out in the form of profit and interest. A large number of workers, especially skilled ones, were migrants from outside. Consequently a large proportion of incomes by way of wages and salaries accrued to them. Thus, Bihar continued to be doubly drained. She failed to provide large scale employment for her youth. Her industries, contributed little to the provincial revenue, nor did she succeed in creating and retaining within the province, reserves of wealth which would be available to finance agriculture and the smaller trade and industries, peculiar to her.

CHANGES IN BIHAR POLITICS AFTER THE CREATION OF THE STATE

Gaining a distinct political identity for its inhabitants had been the basis of the political activities in Bihar during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. They were, however, confined only to the upper layers of the society. The movement for the separation of Bihar, as we have seen, remained an elite movement and failed to involve the overwhelming majority of the population in any political activity. The politics of this period (1885-1911) remained pro-British and anti-Bengali. Revolutionary terrorist activities of Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chaki did not create more than a ripple in Bihar. The sporadic agitations and actions against indigo planters were narrow in their aims and objectives and did not have an organizational infrastructure. It was only after the creation of a separate province that the Biharis plunged into the national movement under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi. The greatest change brought about in the politics of Bihar under the leadership of the Congress was that it became mass-oriented and mass-based. Along with this however, caste began to play a major role in Bihar politics.

The first step towards politicizing the people of Bihar was taken by Mahatma Gandhi during his Champaran campaign which aroused the consciousness of the people and instilled in them a sense of self-confidence and optimism. It was due to Mahatma Gandhi that Bihar Congress leaders came close to peasant masses and realized that, without the support and active involvement of the peasantry, their nationalism, was impotent.

350 Ibid. P. 25.
Gandhiji's first struggle in India was on the soil of Champaran district. He was invited to look into the oppressions of the European Indigo planters by RajKumar Shukla, a raiyat of Champaran.\textsuperscript{351} Gandhiji's experiment in non-violent Satyagrah in India, first launched and won in Bihar projected Gandhiji as the undisputed leader of the national movement. It also brought Bihar into the vortex of active national politics. Regional issues being solved by the creation of a separate state, Bihar plunged into active Satyagrah programme. Moulana Mazharul Haque played host to him and saw him off to Champaran. On the 18\textsuperscript{th} April, 1917, H. S. Polak, Maulana Mazharul Haque, Rajendra Prasad, Brajkishore Prasad and others also went to Motihari from Patna to assist Mahatma Gandhi in collecting evidence into the excesses of the planters against the local tenantry.\textsuperscript{352} During Gandhiji's stay in Champaran district (which was over six months) he used to be visited by hundreds of men with their grievances.\textsuperscript{353} The Champaran visit of Gandhiji had a great political and social effect in Bihar. The technique of non-violence and non-co-operation of Gandhiji won this historical struggle and the miseries of the indigo cultivators were removed by an Act.\textsuperscript{354}

A New Phase of the Freedom Movement in Bihar could be said to have started in 1916, with the agitation for Home Rule in India. The influence of the Home Rule was felt in Bihar,\textsuperscript{355} and at the meeting held at Bankipur on 16\textsuperscript{th} December 1916, it was decided to start a Home Rule League at Bankipur and Maulana Mazharul Haque was elected its president. The League decided to organize campaigns in rural areas and to collect subscriptions. Mrs. Besant arrived at Patna on the 18\textsuperscript{th} April, 1918 and was accorded a great welcome. A large number of students, both Hindu and Muslims lined the streets and filled up the house tops and women folk also crowded Mrs. Besant in some places. Among the local leaders of the Home Rule Movement, Hasan Imam, Purendu Narayan Sinha and Syed Hasan Khan may specially be mentioned. The Movement spread to various parts of the state and its branches were opened at Muzaffarpur, Chapra and Gaya.\textsuperscript{356} In Gaya, there was a public meeting addressed by Hasan Imam, S. N. Sinha and Bajrang Dutta Sharma in front of the Theosophical Hall.\textsuperscript{357} In Champaran, the associates

\textsuperscript{351} Kumar,N.,\textit{B.D.G. Patna}, Patna, 1970,P.57
\textsuperscript{352} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{353} Roychoudhury, P.C \textit{Bihar District Gazetteers}(B. D. G.), Saran, Patna, 1960.P.72
\textsuperscript{354} Ibid, P. 72.
\textsuperscript{355} Bihar and Orissa Police Abstract of Intelligence, 1917 dated 6\textsuperscript{th} Jan, 1917.
\textsuperscript{356} \textit{B. D. G. Patna},op.cit., P. 60.
\textsuperscript{357} Roychaudhary,P.C.,\textit{B. D. G. Gaya}, Patna 1957, P. 50.
of Mahatma Gandhi kept themselves aloof from the Home Rule activities.\textsuperscript{358} Rai Puran Chand, Joint Secretary of Patna Home Rule mooted the idea of starting the worship of Bharat Mata on the Vijaya Dashami day. This worship is observed even now in some localities.\textsuperscript{359}

The first Great War of 1914-1918 had its effects on Bihar as well. A large number of Biharis, well noted for martial spirit, had joined the war and there were great expectations among the people.\textsuperscript{360} The Rowlatt Act and the sad occurrences of firing at Jalianwala Bagh had their effects in Bihar. Widely attended meetings, hartals and picketing took place in different part of Bhagalpur\textsuperscript{361} and Gaya\textsuperscript{362}. The students were prominent in these moves. 6\textsuperscript{th} of April 1919, was observed as a day of Prayer in Patna. A Hartal was observed in protest of the Rowlatt Bills, not only in the cities of Bihar but in the remotest villages.\textsuperscript{363} Syed Hasan Imam led a peaceful procession to demonstrate public sentiments. A Hartal week from 13\textsuperscript{th} April, 1920 was observed and made a success at Patna by Maulana Azad.\textsuperscript{364}

After the First World War, there was an universal protest on behalf of the Muslims in India and in the other Islamic countries, against the British who were mainly instrumental behind the breaking up of Turkey, which had hitherto been a symbol of Islamic power. As the Indian National Congress had launched Non-Cooperation Movement against the British power in India, it found a common ally in Muslims and supported the cause of Khilafat. In accordance with the desire of Maulana Mazharul Haque and other Muslim leaders, a hartal was observed throughout Bihar on the 19\textsuperscript{th} March, 1920.\textsuperscript{365} In Shahbad, the Khilafat Movement based on Hindu-Muslim unity had a tremendous success. Gandhiji visited Sasaram four times on his great mission of forging ahead the Khilafat Movement, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan of the North-West Frontier had also visited Sasaram in the connection.\textsuperscript{366}

\textsuperscript{358} B. D. G. Patna,op.cit. P. 60.\hfill \\
\textsuperscript{359} Ibid.\hfill \\
\textsuperscript{360} B.D.G. Saran, op.cit.
\textsuperscript{361} Roychadhury P.C., \textit{(B. D.G)}, Bhagalpur, Patna, 1962, P.76.\hfill \\
\textsuperscript{362} B. D. G. Gaya, 1957, P – 50.\hfill \\
\textsuperscript{363} Sinha, B. P. (ed.) \textit{The Making of Modern Bihar} in \textit{Brajnandan Prasad Centenary Volume 1893-1993}. Patna, 1993, P. 120.\hfill \\
\textsuperscript{364} B.D.G. Patna ,op.cit., 1970, P.58.\hfill \\
\textsuperscript{365} Ibid.\hfill \\
The next wave of nationalism came in the wake of Non-Cooperation Movement in 1921. The momentous resolution of the Indian National Congress in Nagpur was followed keenly by the people of Bihar. Maulana Mazharul Haque founded the Sadakat Ashram at Digha which became the seat of political activities for the Indian National Congress. It was under Mahatma Gandhi’s influence during his sojourn in Bihar during 1920-21 that the Bihar Vidyapith and the National College were founded to provide education to students who had been withdrawn from Government educational institutions as a part of the policy of the Non-Cooperation Movement. The Bihar Vidyapith was to co-operate the activities of all national education institutions in Bihar. Maulana Mazharul Haque became the Chancellor and Babu Brajkishore Prasad, Vice-Chancellor of the Vidyapith while Rajendra Prasad was the Principal of the National College opened on 4 February, 1921.367

Titles offered by the Government were abandoned, lawyers left their practice at the bar, students observed hartals in schools and Colleges, panchayats were formed in the villages, boycott of the foreign cloth and goods were undertaken and the use of Charkha and Swadeshi goods became quite common.368 Shiva Pujan Sahaya, Suraj Prasad Tewari, Bindhavasini Prasad, Ramdeo Tewari and others joined the Arrah national school after giving up their lucrative professions.369 Dr. Rajendra Prasad gave up his lucrative practice as an advocate in the Patna High Court at the call of Gandhiji and became the uncrowned king of Bihar.370 Various meetings were organized at different places and were addressed by Rajendra Prasad, Swami Sahajanand Saraswati, Bindhavasini Prasad, Ganga Prasad, Jaya Prakash Lal etc.371 The Bhagalpur Central Jail was commonly used for lodging a large number of political prisoners who were being arrested all over the province because of joining the Non-Cooperation movement at the bid of Gandhiji.372 In 1922, the Congress party flag was hung at an Industrial Exhibition held at Bhagalpur. The European District Magistrate objected to this and at the intervention of B. C. Sen, the Commissioner of the Division, the union flag was not taken out but fixed higher.373 Throughout

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370 B.D.G, Saran, op. cit, P. 73.
373 Ibid, P. 76.
Shahabad, national flags were hoisted on the Local Board and District Board buildings. Simultaneously the collection for the famous Tilak Swaraj Fund sponsored by Gandhiji was going on, when Anugraha Narain Sinha and Krishna Ballabh Sahay toured throughout Gaya for this purpose. The subdivision of Aurangabad gave a big response to the collection. After the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi, the All-India Congress Session was held at Gaya, presided over by Deshbandhu Chittaranjan Das. A large number of leaders like Pandit Motilal Nehru, Hakim Ajmal Khan, etc., attended the session. The Gaya session was important as the problem of Council entry was discussed and lost by a majority, thus, the Gaya Congress session paved the way for the birth of the Swaraj party. A section of Congressmen who were in favour of Council entry met at Patna on the 26th February, 1923 and formed the nucleus of Swaraj Party. Rajendra Prasad and Anugrah Narayan Sinha were elected Chairman and Vice-Chairman respectively of the Patna Municipality. Khan Bahadur Sarfraz Hussain was returned in the Legislative Council. Swarajists won resounding success in Bihar, claiming almost all the general seats in Central Assembly and 3 out of 4 seats in the Council of State, and doubled their strength in the Legislative Council.

The Simon Commission arrived at Patna on 12th December, 1928. A conference of all parties was held at Patna under the Presidentship of Sir Ali Imam and it was decided to boycott the Commission. Demonstrations against the Simon Commission were led by Rajendra Prasad. In 1929, the Provincial Political Conference was held at Monghyr which was attended by Sardar Vallav Bhai Patel. A parallel organization which counted a large number of young men in its fold was started by the Youth League in 1929. An absconder of the Inter-Provincial Case of Bengal was followed at Gaya and while he was escaping to Calcutta, he was apprehended at the Howrah Railway Station. Some papers were found with him. In course of search the police found a revolver in the house of a well-known zamindar of Gaya and a number of members of the Youth League.

377 Ibid, P. 52.
382 *B.D.G, Monghyr*, op.cit., P. 60.
were rounded up for underground activities. A mail bag was looted in Gaya mofassil and 16 young men were convicted. Seshav Prasad Singh along with Sri Shyama Charan Bharthuar and Sri Biswanath Mathur were sent to the Cellular Jail at Port Blair in Andaman Islands. In 1927, Sachin Bakshi was arrested at Bhagalpur on the charge of being a leader of the Revolutionary movement.

Gandhiji supported the cause of women in India and wanted them to take due share in the freedom movement. Purdah among women in Bihar was an impediment. Gandhiji sent his nephew Magan Lal Gandhi to Patna to work for women. In a public meeting of women in Patna, 1928, pardanashin women of good families attended without their veils, along with their menfolk. This event galvanised the women of Bihar and they remained very active in the freedom struggle since then and never looked back. Vallabhbhai Patel toured Bihar in 1929, and electrified the kisans exhorting them to be fearless against landlords and their patrons—the Government. The Bihar Youth Conference met at Monghyr in December 1929 under the Presidentship of Subhas Chandra Bose. The Bihar Youth League was born in 1928 under Professor Gyan Saha. The Freedom Movement involved all sections of Bihari society—women students, farmers, labours and the intelligentsia.

Gandhiji decided to launch Civil Disobedience by defying salt laws. Every where salt from saltpetre was being manufactured in Bihar, and repression was let loose. In Patna, the Congress volunteers faced lathi blows, hunter charging and risk of being trampled by mounted police but none of this could break their resolve. As soon as the police removed one batch of volunteers, the other batch came to take its place in unending sequence ultimately the government had to give way, mounted police were withdrawn on 23rd April, the Congress volunteers went to Nakas Pind and manufactured salt.

The Civil Disobedience Movement initiated by Gandhiji in April 1930, was fully implemented in Bihar. In connection with the Satyagraha Movement sponsored by Gandhiji a whirlwind tour of the different parts of Bihar was done by Pandit Jawahararlal Nehru. Sometime after Dr. Rajendra Prasad was arrested in Chapra and sent to

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384 Ibid, P. 53.
385 B.D.G. Bhagalpur, op.cit. P. 77.
386 Sinha B.P. op. cit. P. 126.
387 Ibid.P. 127.
Hazaribagh Central Jail. A procession was led by Ram Briksha Benipuri, editor of the 'Yuvak' at Gulzarbagh and he was arrested. Prof. Abdul Bari and Acharya Kripalani led a procession of Satyagrahis near Patna College and were severely beaten by the European officers and the mounted police chased the processionists and whipped them indiscriminately. Another phase of this movement was picketing of toddy, liquor and ganja shops. No-rent campaign was also launched. Bihpur became the storm centre and the district authorities were out to crush the movement at Bihpur. On 30th August 1931, Rajendra Prasad opened a Khadi exhibition at Arrah. A demand for reduction of canal rates was made. In the village of Chakia, (where Rajendra Prasad had visited in 1926), hundreds went to jail in 1930. Boycott of foreign goods in the villages had been pushed up to an extreme end and even kerosene oil was completely boycotted for some time. The village Panchayat system stood very well introduced for some time and the number of cases going to the courts had a distinct fall. The Gandhi-Irwin Pact signed on the 5th March, 1931 brought a truce in the struggle between the Government and Congress, but due to Lord Wellingdon's repressive measures, the movement was re-launched. Patna city became a centre of secret activities by the members of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army. In the Patna Bomb Case, Hazari Lal and Surendra Nath Choube were nabbed, and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Terrorists were being apprehended at Gaya, Bhagalpur, Bettiah. Baikunth Shukla was arrested and hanged in Gaya jail in April 1934. Jayaprakash Narayan, emerged as the leader of the socialist movement in India and the Congress Socialist Party, inaugurated at Patna played an important part in the freedom movement.

Simultaneously the Kisan Movement at the instance of Swami Sahajanand Saraswati and others was exciting the agriculturists against the load of grievances against the Zamindars and the administration. The low prices of agricultural produce were highlighted. Various Kisan Sabhas were organized in Bihar side by side the Congress

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392 Ibid.
394 B.D.G., Patna op.cit.P. 61.
395 B.D.G., Bhagalpur, op. cit. P. 77.
396 Sinha B.P.op cit. P. 129.
397 Ibid, P 130.
Offices. They upheld the cause of the tenants against the repression of Zamindars, asking them not to make payments. A large number of Kisan Sabhas were arrested under various sections by 1936.

Even though the Congress succeeded to draw all sections of the Biharis into national politics, the Bihar Pradesh Congress Committee (BPCC) never took up demands of peasants, landless labourers, tribals etc. The main reason behind its failure to ameliorate the grievances of these classes was that the BPCC was dominated by the Zamindars, tenure holders, rich peasants and urban intelligentsias, and who did not wish to break their economic strangle hold over the masses. Thus, the economic basis of social life remained unaltered in Bihar.

Table: Numerical Strength of some castes in 1911.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Brahman</th>
<th>Rajput</th>
<th>Bhumihar</th>
<th>Kayasth</th>
<th>Ahir</th>
<th>Kurmi</th>
<th>Koeri</th>
<th>Chamar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patna</td>
<td>58,566</td>
<td>81,077</td>
<td>1,06,743</td>
<td>34,061</td>
<td>2,77,263</td>
<td>1,73,146</td>
<td>71,239</td>
<td>70,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaya</td>
<td>74,297</td>
<td>1,20,364</td>
<td>1,64,731</td>
<td>38,112</td>
<td>3,72,811</td>
<td>42,459</td>
<td>1,58,073</td>
<td>1,03,903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shahabad</td>
<td>1,99,544</td>
<td>2,00,253</td>
<td>61,176</td>
<td>36,446</td>
<td>2,73,005</td>
<td>59,040</td>
<td>1,48,659</td>
<td>1,38,921</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saran</td>
<td>1,76,875</td>
<td>2,51,348</td>
<td>95,422</td>
<td>39,487</td>
<td>3,32,608</td>
<td>1,08,512</td>
<td>1,68,060</td>
<td>1,40,763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Champaran</td>
<td>91,941</td>
<td>83,625</td>
<td>53,161</td>
<td>27,697</td>
<td>2,09,875</td>
<td>1,00,981</td>
<td>1,16,546</td>
<td>1,55,444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzaffarpur</td>
<td>1,30,927</td>
<td>1,62,168</td>
<td>1,65,446</td>
<td>39,775</td>
<td>3,54,607</td>
<td>1,30,683</td>
<td>1,44,877</td>
<td>1,55,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darbhanga</td>
<td>3,21,382</td>
<td>89,352</td>
<td>49,065</td>
<td>40,596</td>
<td>4,00,312</td>
<td>67,295</td>
<td>1,47,787</td>
<td>1,22,213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monghyr</td>
<td>1,13,285</td>
<td>71,915</td>
<td>1,38,742</td>
<td>24,030</td>
<td>2,79,407</td>
<td>58,891</td>
<td>1,02,030</td>
<td>65,348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhagalpur</td>
<td>1,09,722</td>
<td>69,052</td>
<td>16,857</td>
<td>21,893</td>
<td>3,74,677</td>
<td>35,645</td>
<td>90,238</td>
<td>1,07,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purnia</td>
<td>34,940</td>
<td>55,106</td>
<td>3,693</td>
<td>9,046</td>
<td>1,44,934</td>
<td>12,774</td>
<td>24,694</td>
<td>26,173</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When elections to local bodies and the Legislative Council began, on the basis of limited franchise, people possessing educational and property qualifications alone came to matter. Till the creation of the state, the Kayasthas had been most advanced in educational qualifications but they did not have much landed property and were numerically not very significant, were pushed down to a secondary position in Bihar politics which they were unable to dominate like pre-separation years. Now the

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402 Ibid.
emerging forces were the Zamindars, tenure-holders and rich peasants who were mostly Bhumihars and Rajputs, the traditional propertied classes of Bihar. These castes had advanced educationally and thus they came to matter most. The contest for political power now began between them. The Kayasthas numerically weak, as shown in the table above were challenged by the upcoming Bhumihars and were forced to seek allies to sustain them in politics. The Brahmans, although educationally advanced, lacked substantial landed property to sustain themselves in their bid for a share in power. The other castes only played a subsidiary role as they lacked resources and were lagging educationally. While Ganesh Dutta Singh and S. K. Sinha became the leaders of the Bhumihar, Amagraha Narayan Sinha of the Rajputs, even Sachchidanand Sinha and Rajendra Prasad were projected as leaders of the Kayastha community. Caste remained the single most important basis for mobilizing support and dispensing patronage. Congress politics in Bihar remained concerned with following individual leaders and placing oneself in the ongoing caste-alignments.403

Another major change in the Political scene of Unified Bihar and Orissa was the movement of the tribals of Chotanagpur and Santhal parganas, for a well-defined regional/sub-national self identify. In these areas were concentrated several major tribes like Santhal, Ho, Oraon and Munda, who practiced settled plough agriculture.404 Their relative isolation was eroded by the penetration of market forces as they were integrated with the British Colonial structure.405 Strong antipathy towards the 'Dikus' (outsiders/exploiters)406 who had made inroads in the tribal areas as money-lenders, traders, revenue-farmers and other middlemen and petty officials and disrupted the tribals traditional way of life, made them realize that until they had a separate state of their own, they would not get rid of the vested interest which where eating into the vitals of their society and economy.407

Although, the name Jharkhand was used in this context for the first time in 1938408, it was during the separation of Bihar, Chotanagpur and Orissa from Bengal.

405 Ibid.
408 Narayan, Sachindra 'Jharkhand Movement and the Forest Problem’ in 'Social Realities in Bihar' op. cit. P. 213.
(1911-12) that its beginning was laid with the formation of the students union under the leadership of J. Bartholomew. The Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj or the Chotanagpur Improvement Society was founded in 1915. The Society decided to make all out efforts enter government services and occupy higher positions so that the interests of the tribals could be protected. The membership of the society was restricted to the Christians only. Its leaders— Anand Masih Toppo, Alfonso Kujur, C. P. Kachchap, Rai Sahib Bandiram Oraon, tried their level best to spread its influence to the masses but the society remained essentially an urban movement. The society appealed to the Simon Commission in December 1928 (Ranchi) under the leadership of Bishop Van Hoesk and Joel Lakra, for the partition of Bihar and creation of a separate state including Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas.

Other organizations included the Chhotanagpur Charitable Association (1912), Shiksha Sabha (1912) Chhotanagpur Catholic Sabha (1929), all dominated by Christian tribals were formed to demand a separate administration for the tribal areas. In 1930, the Kisan Sabha led by Theble Oroan was constituted for the upliftment of the tribals.

The formation of Orissa as a separate province in 1936, and provincial autonomy granted in the same year, convinced the tribals that political power and progress lay in the creation of a separate ‘Adivasi’ Province. However, the Congress victory in the elections in 1937 under the Government of India Act forced the merger of the Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj, the Catholic Sabha and the Kisan Sabha to form a new organization called the Adivasi Maha Sabha (1938) with Theodre Surin and Paul Dayal as its President and Secretary respectively. The most dynamic leader that the sabha produced was Jaipal Singh, a product of the Oxford University, London, former Olympian and captain of the Indian Hockey Team at Amsterdam (1928). Under him the Mahasabha followed an anti-Congress and a pro-British policy, pursuing the goal of separation. The seeds of the Jharkhand movement, which led to the formation of a separate Jharkhand state on 15th November 2000, as a result of a prolonged spanning over many decades, by the people of

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409 Narayan, Sachindra, *Jharkhand Movement* [ND], New Delhi.
411 Ibid, P. 282.
415 Sharma Usha, op. cit. P. 700.
the tribal dominated areas of Chotanagpur and Santhal Parganas for separate statehood, were definitely laid in our period of research.

In conclusion, we can say that, the Biharis had thought and hoped that the creation of a new Province would act like a talisman which would lead to the advancement of their social status and regional dignity and also, open new vistas of wealth and influence for them. The birth of the new province indeed stimulated a process of socio-political change. The members of the new Western educated Bihari middle class moved into the social space which their domiciled Bengali counterparts were forced to vacate. Impetus was given to higher education by the creation of the Patna University. Thus, the Biharis achieved their objective to a certain extent but Bihar was now to face new problems of multi-caste fractions, the growth of communalism, and ethnic stratifications. However, the recognition of their separate identity definitely proved to be the catalytic agent for the transition of Bihar from tradition to modernity.