

A Note On  
The Linguistic Tables  
CENSUS OF BIHAR  
(1911-1951)

INSTITUTE OF APPLIED STATISTICS

Published by  
JNANENDRA NATH ROY  
Institute of Applied Statistics  
35, Chittranjan Avenue  
Calcutta-12

Printed by  
SAILENDRA NATH GUHA RAY  
Sree Saraswaty Press Ltd.,  
32, Upper Circular Road,  
Calcutta-9

## CONTENTS

	Page
1. Classification of languages . . . . .	3
2. Growth of population in the State of Bihar . . . . .	4
3. Growth of population in the border districts area and interior districts area in Bihar . . . . .	8
4. Growth of population in the districts composing border area :—	
(i) Manbhum . . . . .	13
(ii) Singbhum . . . . .	23
(iii) Santal Parganas . . . . .	29
(iv) Purnea . . . . .	36
5. Grouping of Sub-dialects or Border-line languages under Hindi and Bengali . . . . .	43
6. Summary and Conclusion . . . . .	47

## ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Growth of population in the State of Bihar . . . . .	7
2. Growth of population in the interior districts area of Bihar . . . . .	11
3. Growth of population in the border districts area of Bihar . . . . .	12
4. Growth of population in Manbhum district . . . . .	21
5. Growth of population in Singbhum district (with Saraikela and Kharsawan) . . . . .	27
6. Growth of population in Santal Parganas . . . . .	35
7. Growth of population in Purnea district. . . . .	42

If it is a sin to harness science to the chariot of death and destruction, it is a sin and a crime to manipulate statistics to serve a particular purpose. The results of Census are to be used for various kinds of improvements. To deform them is to deprive humanity of sources of improvements.

*Dated 16th June, 1954.*

From  
The Secretary,  
Institute of Applied Statistics,  
35, Chittaranjan Avenue,  
*Calcutta-12.*

To  
The Registrar General,  
Government of India,  
*New Delhi.*

Sub : *Linguistic Tables in the Census records of Bihar,*  
*(1911-1951)*

Sir,

I have been directed by my Committee to forward to you, for your serious consideration, the enclosed brochure entitled "A Note on the Linguistic Tables, Census of Bihar," which is a close analytical study of the language tables of the Census records of Bihar from 1911 to 1951.

2. The recent appointment of the States Re-organisation Commission by the Government of India has naturally roused a very keen interest throughout the country about the proposed delimitation of the States on linguistic basis. Having been approached by some of the members and a few associations interested in the resettlement of boundaries between W. Bengal and Bihar, this Institute took up the work of making a thorough and intensive study of the question of the distribution of population speaking different languages in the neighbouring State of Bihar. As the only reliable source of necessary data and informations the various Census Reports with Tables had to be very carefully examined and analysed for the purposes of this enquiry and in the course of the study, the linguistic Tables in the Census of Bihar have been found to contain certain facts and figures which are apparently anomalous and seem to be quite unaccountable. It has, therefore, been felt that the irregularities and anomalies that have been noticed in the Census

records should be brought to the immediate notice of the authorities concerned, so that steps can be taken to investigate into the matter without delay.

3. Moreover, the recently appointed States Re-organisation Commission will have to depend, in their work, almost entirely on the Census figures for correct data, and it is therefore essential that the Census records should be made as free from errors as humanly possible. I am, therefore, to request you to kindly look into the matter and see that these anomalies are either elucidated or rectified after proper investigation.

4. Lastly, it is perhaps necessary to add here a few words to clarify the purpose or rather the *raison d'être* of this study. The present enquiry was not undertaken with any bias against any people, and its findings are entirely free from any political prejudice. It is purely a scientific analysis, taken up with the sole purpose of finding out the true position of the distribution of population under the various language heads in Bihar. If, in pointing out the irregularities, the criticisms of the Census records have, at any place, been harsh or severe, they are, however, seldom undeserved, for, in view of the supreme national importance of the Census, such defects in its records are extremely deplorable.

Enclo : One brochure

Copy forwarded to  
Shri Jawaharlal Nehru,  
*Prime Minister.* -

Yours faithfully  
Sd/- B. L. ROY,  
*Secretary.*

## A NOTE ON THE LINGUISTIC TABLES CENSUS OF BIHAR (1911-1951)

This Note is a close analytical study of the linguistic tables of the Census records of Bihar, and is the result of an attempt to examine and understand the question of linguistic distribution of the population of Bihar from 1911 to 1951.

### **Classification of Languages**

2. The dialects and languages prevalent in Bihar are grouped in the Census table under the following main language heads, viz., Indo-Aryan, Munda, Dravidian, other Indian and other than Indian languages. This classification and grouping thereunder in the Census, however, do not strictly follow Grierson.

3. In the Indo-Aryan Group, Hindi\* along with Urdu, Bengali and Oriya are spoken by the majority of the people in Bihar. Hindi is mainly spoken in the northern and western parts of Bihar, while Oriya and Bengali are commonly used by people in the eastern and southern parts, that is, in the areas adjoining Orissa and Bengal. Munda and Dravidian languages are spoken by the tribal people, who are distributed throughout the State and claim a good portion of the population of Choto Nagpur Plateau.

4. According to the Census Superintendent of Bihar and Orissa, 1931, all Dravidian languages are not accepted as "Tribal Languages," which comprise all the Munda and Dravidian languages excepting Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. Besides these, there are sub-dialects which the Census Superintendent calls 'Border-line languages.' These are mixed dialects of two or more mother tongues. Grierson classifies them under the main language to which they have predominant affinity. But the Census does not follow Grierson and adopts different sorts of grouping in different years of

---

\* Hindi or Hindusthani includes pure Hindi as well as Urdu.

Census operation, giving rise thereby to a great deal of confusion.

5. The present study is mainly confined to the analysis and comparison of the growth of the total population and the population speaking different mother tongues since 1911 in (i) the State of Bihar as a whole, (ii) border districts area of Bihar adjoining Bengal, consisting of Manbhum (Purulia and Dhanbad in 1951), Singhbhum (with Kharsawan and Saraikela), Santal Parganas and Purnea as one unit and the interior districts of Bihar as the other unit and (iii) individual districts composing border area.

In the present study, the figures of 1941 Census have not been taken into account as the language tables for that year were not published.

### (i) Growth of Population in the State of Bihar

6. The population of Bihar in 1951 as enumerated in the Census is 40225947. The following Table 1.0 shows the total population of Bihar and its variation since 1911.

TABLE 1.0  
Growth of population in the State of Bihar since 1911

YEAR	POPULATION	VARIATION	
		Number	Percent
1911	29506977	..	..
1921	29185813	- 321164	- 1.09
1931	32558056	+3372243	+11.55
1951	40225947	+7667891	+23.55

7. The above table records an increase in 1951 of 10718970 persons or 36.33 P.C. over the population of 1911 and when compared with the number of 1931, the gain is 23.55 P.C. in 1951.

8. The following table shows the variation of the Hindi speaking people of Bihar since 1911.

TABLE 1.1

**Growth of Hindi speaking population in the State of Bihar since 1911**

YEAR	POPULATION		VARIATION	
	Number	P.C. to total population of the State	Number	Percent
1911	24629800	83.47	..	..
1921	24954067	85.50	+ 324267	+ 1.32
1931	27577217	84.70	+ 2623150	+10.51
1951	34817133	86.55	+7239916	+26.25

9. Hindi is spoken by an overwhelming majority in Bihar and the proportion of Hindi speakers rises from 83.47 P.C. in 1911 to 86.55 P.C. in 1951. Excepting the year 1931, the rate of increase as recorded in the above table is not consistent with the rise of the total population. The most curious point is the rise of 1.32 P.C. of Hindi in 1921 when the total population of Bihar suffers a degrowth by 1.09 P.C.

10. Table 1.2 gives a picture of the change in Bengali population of Bihar since 1911.

TABLE 1.2

**Growth of Bengali speaking population in the State of Bihar since 1911**

YEAR	POPULATION		VARIATION	
	Number	P.C. to total population of the State	Number	Percent
1911	2176584	7.38	..	..
1921	1577459	5.40	-599125	-27.53
1931	1861536	5.72	+284077	+ 18.01
1951	1759719	4.37	-101817	-5.47

11. In Bihar, the proportion of Bengali speaking population is shown to be decreasing continuously from Census to Census, from 7.38 P.C. in 1911 to 4.37 P.C. in 1951. In 1921, when there was a slight general degrowth in the State of Bihar by only 1.09 P.C., Bengali suffers heavily by 27.53 P.C., while Hindi gains an increase of 1.32 P.C. over the figure

of 1911. From 1911 to 1951, Bengali dwindles from 2176584 down to 1759719, a decrease of 19.15 P.C. and Hindi increases from 24629800 to 34817133 or by 41.36 P.C. Such contrast in the simultaneous rise and fall of population under the two language groups, in the same area and in the same period of time, is, at any rate, extremely curious, if not improbable, and can hardly be explained by any demographic law. It is difficult to avoid the suspicion that there has been some grave confusion in returning the people under the different language heads.

TABLE 1.3

**Growth of the population speaking Tribal languages in the State of Bihar since 1911**

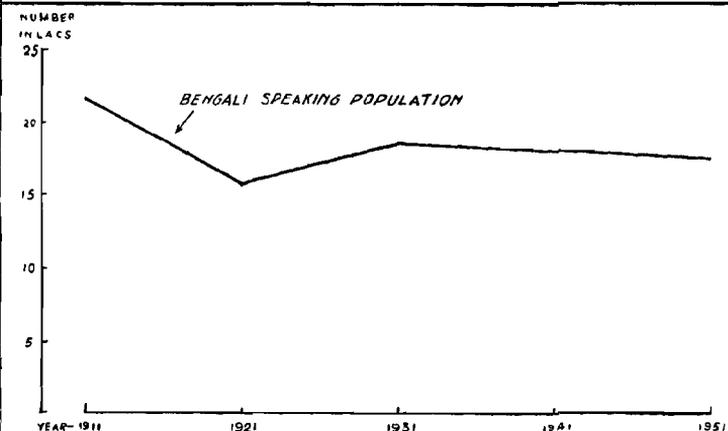
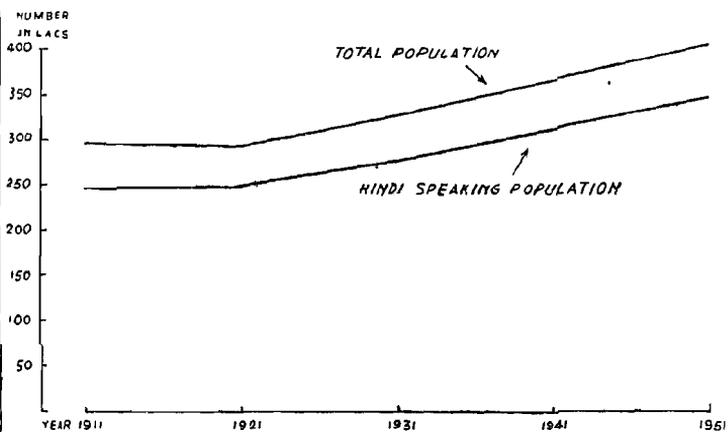
YEAR	POPULATION		VARIATION	
	Number	P.C. to total population of the State	Number	Percent
1911	2493063	8.45	..	..
1921	2419541	8.29	- 73522	- 2.95
1931	2823638	8.67	+404097	+16.70
1951	3214383	7.99	+390745	+13.84

12. The above table is the record of the people speaking Tribal languages. It clearly shows that the proportion of the tribal people has remained almost constant at about 8 P.C. and that their number is on the increase. They are obviously in their own place varying and increasing along with the natural laws of variation. Even the Superintendent of Census of Bihar and Orissa in his report in 1931, (Census of India, Vol. VII, part 1, pp. 234) admits that "here it may be noted that in those parts of Plateau (Chotonagpur) where Hindusthani is spoken more commonly than it was a decade ago, the corresponding decline occurs for the most part in Oriya and Bengali, and not in the languages of the primitive tribes."

13. These remarks of the Superintendent of Census, supported by the figures given in the above table, go directly to disprove the oft-repeated theory that the disproportionate rise of Hindi in Bihar is due to the tribal people being gradually Hindi-ised.

# GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THE STATE OF BIHAR

1911 — 1951



(ii) **Growth of Population in Border Districts Area and Interior Districts Area in Bihar**

TABLE 2.0

**Growth of population in Border and Interior Districts areas of Bihar since 1911**

YEAR	POPULATION		VARIATION	
	Number	P.C. to total population of the State	Number	Percent
INTERIOR DISTRICTS				
1911	23243751	78.77	..	..
1921	22901854	78.47	- 341897	- 1.47
1931	25392727	77.99	+2490873	+10.88
1951	31618549	78.60	+6225822	+24.52
BORDER DISTRICTS				
1911	6263226	21.23	..	..
1921	6283959	21.53	+ 20733	+ 0.33
1931	7165329	22.01	+ 881370	+14.03
1951	8607398	21.40	+1442069	+20.13

14. Table 2.0 gives the population along with its variations in the interior as well as in the border districts area of Bihar adjoining Bengal, consisting of Manbhum (Purulia and Dhanbad in 1951), Singhbhum (with Saraikela and Kharasawan), Santal Parganas and Purnea. It is evident that during the period 1911 to 1931, the rate of growth of population in the border area has been a bit faster than that in the interior districts area. Even in 1921 when the entire population of Bihar records a general degrowth, the population of the border districts area shows a rise by 0.33 P.C. In 1931, the rate of change in the border districts is faster than that in the interior districts, but in 1951 the process is completely reversed. In fact, the variation in the interior districts, which comprise about 78 P.C. of the total population of Bihar, changes in conformity with the general variation of the population of Bihar.

15. Table 2.1 shows the number of people speaking different languages in the interior as well as in the border districts area of Bihar with their variation. A comparative study between the growth of Hindi speaking population in the interior and border districts presents a picture of strange anomaly. Leaving aside the year 1931, the number of the Hindi speaking people in the border districts is seen to jump up by leaps and bounds, but in the interior districts where Hindi speaking population is naturally in a comfortable majority, the increase is moderate enough to be in perfect consistency with the rate of general growth. Again, in 1921 the total population of the border districts remained almost constant, with a slight increase of 20733 persons only or by 0.33 P.C. over 1911 figure. But in the same year and in the same area, Hindi has been shown to have increased by 604398 persons or by 25.05 P.C. over the 1911 figure. This, to say the least, is an abnormal phenomenon and, in the absence of any rational explanation, can not fail to rouse grave suspicions as to the correctness of the figures. This, however, is not the only instance. In 1951, an increase of 38.46 P.C. has been recorded in case of Hindi speaking population in the border districts, whereas in the interior districts, the Hindi speakers record a rise of 24.57 P.C. The freakish nature of such increase can best be appreciated if it is remembered that in the same year, the general growth of the total population of Bihar is 23.55 P.C., that of the border districts is 20.13 P.C. and that of the interior districts is 24.52 P.C. only.

16. In sharp contrast to this steep rise in the Hindi speaking population in the border districts, the Bengali speaking people of the area are shown to have decreased in number almost in the same proportion. In 1921, against a rise of 25.05 P.C. of Hindi, Bengali of the same region is shown to have suffered, for no apparent reason and against all laws of demography, a degrowth by 28.08 P.C. Again, in 1951, when the total population of the border districts gains a rise of 20.13 P.C., and the Hindi speakers of the area increase by 38.46 P.C., the Bengali speakers show a fall by 11.59 P.C. The unnatural regularity with which Hindi and Bengali speaking people are seen to vary in inverse ratio, year after year, in the border districts area, becomes all the more surprising if these

TABLE 2.1

**Growth of population speaking Hindi, Bengali, Tribal languages in Interior and Border Districts  
areas of Bihar since 1911**

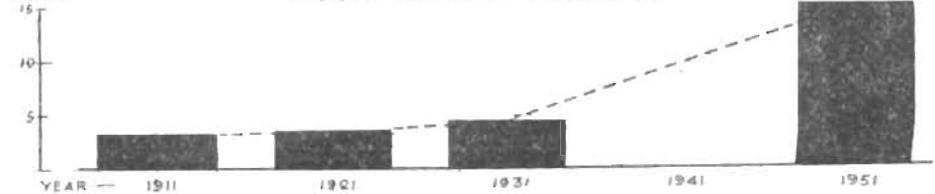
YEAR	HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION				BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION				POPULATION SPEAKING TRIBAL LANGUAGES			
	POPULATION		VARIATION		POPULATION		VARIATION		POPULATION		VARIATION	
	Number	P.C. to total population of the area	Number	P.C. to total population of the area	Number	P.C. to total population of the area	Number	P.C. to total population of the area	Number	P.C. to total population of the area	Number	P.C. to total population of the area
1911	22217436	95.58	..	..	33692	0.14	..	..	965030	4.15	..	..
1921	21937305	95.79	- 280131	- 1.26	36237	0.16.	+ 2545	+ 7.55	897731	3.92	- 67299	- 6.97
1931	24241354	95.46	+ 2304049	+ 10.50	46464	0.18	+ 10227	+ 28.22	1071367	4.22	+ 179636	+ 19.34
1951	30198276	95.51	+ 5956322	+ 24.57	154958	0.49	+ 108494	+ 233.50	1204976	3.81	+ 133609	+ 12.47
INTERIOR DISTRICTS												
1911	2412364	38.52	..	..	2142892	34.21	..	..	1528033	24.40	..	..
1921	3016762	48.01	+ 604398	+ 25.05	1541222	24.53	- 601670	- 28.08	1521810	24.22	- 6223	- 0.41
1931	3335863	46.56	+ 319101	+ 10.58	1815072	25.33	+ 273850	+ 17.77	1732271	24.45	+ 230461	+ 15.14
1951	4618857	53.66	+ 1282994	+ 38.46	1604761	18.64	- 210311	- 11.59	2009407	23.35	+ 257136	+ 14.67
BORDER DISTRICTS												

# GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THE INTERIOR DISTRICTS AREA OF BIHAR

1911 — 1951

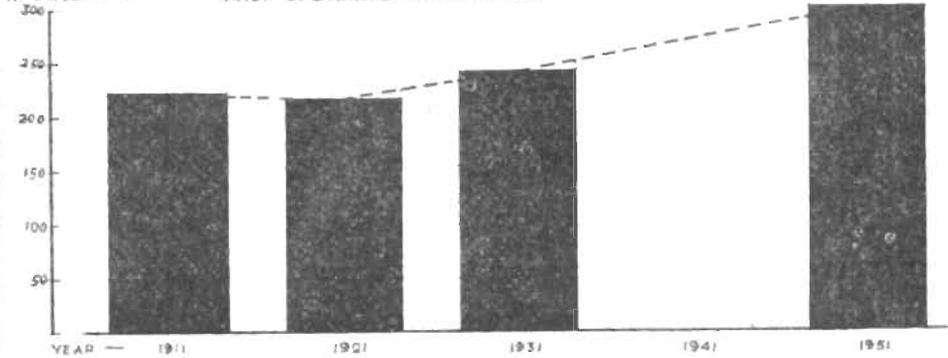
NUMBER IN  
10,000

*BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION*



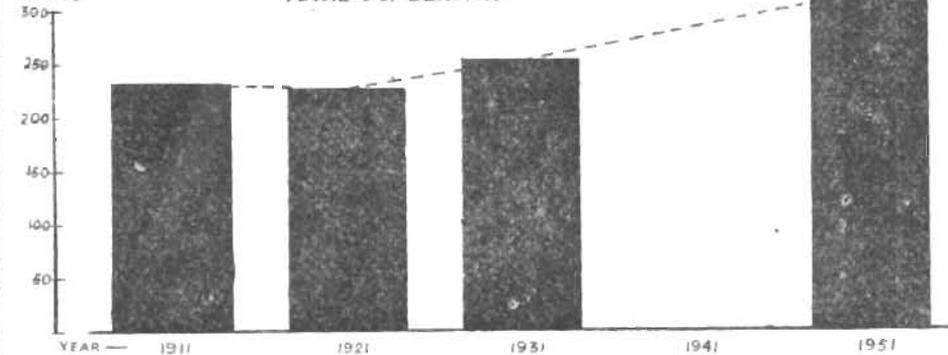
NUMBER  
IN LACS

*HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION*

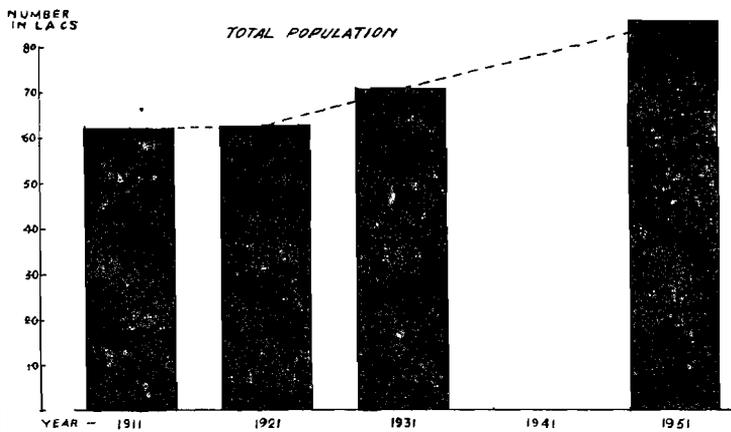
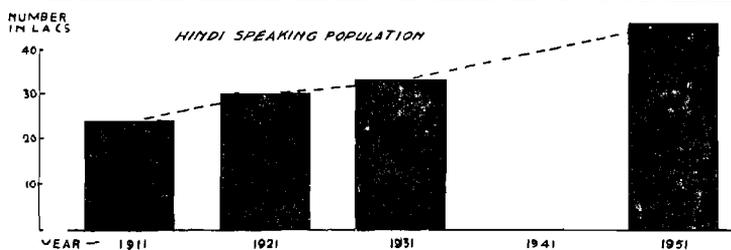
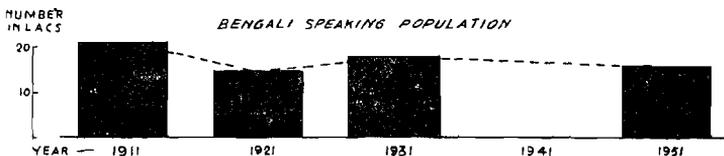


NUMBER —  
IN LACS

*TOTAL POPULATION*



## GROWTH OF POPULATION IN THE BORDER DISTRICTS AREA OF BIHAR 1911-1951



figures are compared with those in the interior districts of Bihar where the Bengalis are in a decisive minority. In these places, all groups of population show a systematic increase and the number of Bengali speakers has, in 1951, become more than three times the figure of 1931. Even after the closest scrutiny, the Census Reports and Tables fail to give any indication of the presence of any special factor or circumstance to justify the phenomenal increase of Hindi and the sharp fall of Bengali in the border districts area alone, while no where in the interior districts does Bengali show any disproportionate fall or Hindi any unusual rise. During the last four decades, the proportion of Hindi speakers in the border area rises from 38.52 P.C. in 1911 to 53.66 P.C. in 1951, but Bengali shows a fall from 34.21 P.C. in 1911 to 18.64 P.C. in 1951.

17. So far as the speakers of Tribal languages are concerned, they form a substantial group of about 24 P.C. of the total population of the border area. They all along maintain almost the same percentage, and their rate of variation with the exception of the last Census year conforms to the variation of the general population.

### **(iii) Growth of Population in the Districts Composing Border Area**

18. In studying the fluctuations of population, district by district, of the border area, it is well to remember that only some 40 years ago these districts were a part and parcel of Bengal physically, economically and linguistically. From this point of view, it is interesting to note that, according to the Census figures of 1951, within a short period of 40 years, the entire character of the area seems to have completely changed, the population being no longer predominantly Bengali speaking.

#### **MANBHUM**

19. The following Table 3.0 shows the population of the districts along with its variations grouped under Hindi, Bengali, and Tribal languages since 1911.

20. The table shows that in 1921, when there was a general degrowth in the total population of Bihar, due very possibly to an epidemic outbreak of Influenza, the population

TABLE 3.0  
**Growth of Population in MANBHUM District since 1911**

TOTAL POPULATION OF THE DISTRICT							HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION						
YEAR	Population			Variation			Population			Variation			
	Number	P.C.	P.C. to total population of the district	Number	P.C.	P.C. to total population of the district	Number	P.C.	P.C. to total population of the district	Number	P.C.	P.C.	
1911	1547576			327768		21.18							
1921	1548777	+ 1201	0.08	289356	+ 0.08	18.68				- 38412		- 11.72	
1931	1810890	+ 262113	16.92	321690	+ 16.92	17.76				+ 32384		+ 11.17	
1951	2279259	+ 468369	25.86	978046	+ 25.86	42.91				+ 656356		+ 204.03	

BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION							POPULATION SPEAKING TRIBAL LANGUAGES						
YEAR	Population			Variation			Population			Variation			
	Number	P.C. to total population of the district	P.C.	Number	P.C.	P.C. to total population of the district	Number	P.C.	P.C. to total population of the district	Number	P.C.	P.C.	
1911	983338	63.54		232033		14.99							
1921	1035386	66.85	5.29	214377	+ 5.29	13.84				- 17656		- 7.61	
1931	1222589	67.52	18.09	255396	+ 18.09	14.10				+ 41019		+ 19.13	
1951	991126	43.48	- 23.563	291197	- 18.94	12.78				+ 35801		+ 14.02	

of Manbhum however underwent little change and even gained a slight increase of 1201 persons or by 0.08 P.C.

21. The Census of 1951 records a very curious phenomenon in the population figures of the district. While the general population increases by 468369, Hindi alone accounts for a rise of 656356, vis-a-vis. a decrease of 231563 persons speaking Bengali. It will be seen that the number of Hindi is greater by 187987 than the total increase of the whole population of the district. This is rather unusual and it is not possible to suggest any plausible explanation for this sudden plethoric growth of Hindi population in the district.

22. The percentage of Hindi speakers in Manbhum has been steadily decreasing since 1911 but suddenly it leaps from 17.76 P.C. in 1931 to 42.91 P.C. in 1951, and the rate of increase rises from 11.17 P.C. in 1931 to 204.03 P.C. in 1951, against a rise of 25.86 P.C. only of the entire general population. In strange contrast to the phenomenal rise in the rate of growth of Hindi, the Bengali population, after a short record of increase in its rate of growth in 1921 and 1931, suddenly goes down by 18.94 P.C. in 1951, without any apparent reason. Consequently, the percentage of Bengali speaking population drops down from 67.52 P.C. in 1931 to 43.48 P.C. in 1951.

23. The people speaking Tribal languages in Manbhum form about 14 P.C. of the population of the district and their rate of increase, contrary to their usual progress, falls much below the general increase of the total population in 1951.

24. Thus, what, in short, is true of the border districts area as a whole is also true of this particular district, only perhaps, in a more accentuated form. There is the same disproportionate rise of Hindi and the same astonishing fall of Bengali and the same lack of any explanation of this curious phenomenon.

25. Indeed, the whole record of the simultaneous rise and fall of the Hindi and Bengali groups of people of this district is so unusual and goes so much against the laws of demography that it is difficult to resist the conclusion that some sort of irregularity and confusion, conscious or unconscious, must have occurred in returning the people under different language heads.

26. That the suspicion of irregularity is not entirely idle

may be shown with some definiteness by the slipshod manner in which the Kurmali question has been treated. In the Census table of 1911, there is a large group of persons, 211411 in number, whose language is shown as Kurmali, a dialect grouped under the main language Hindi. There are, however, very good reasons to doubt the validity of this figure, for, the Census table of 1901 shows the number to be only 44214 and in Coupland's District Gazetteer, the number of Kurmali speakers is estimated at that time (1910) to be 43770. As Coupland is too respectable an authority to be lightly brushed aside, it is only reasonable to assume that, in spite of their meagre difference, the figures given in the Census table of 1901 and Coupland's Gazetteer in 1910 represent the nearest approach to truth. Taking, therefore, Coupland's figure to be the actual number of Kurmali speakers in 1910, it is simply ridiculous to place any trust on the Census figure of 1911, for, it is biologically impossible for any people on earth to multiply and increase from 43770 to 211411 in course of a single year. As a matter of fact, the number of Kurmali population in Manbhūm, as recorded in the 1911 Census, is reported to exceed by far the total number of Kurmis throughout India as shown in the 1901 Census. The following Table 3.1 gives the number of Kurmali speaking population in Manbhūm as recorded in Census tables and Coupland's District Gazetteer.

TABLE 3.1

**The number and estimate of Kurmali in  
MANBHUM District**

According to :		Number of Kurmali
1901 Census	..	44214
Coupland's estimate (1910)	..	43770
1911 Census	..	211411
1921 Census	..	74195

27. There is, therefore, hardly any room for doubt that the number of Kurmali, given in the Census table of 1911, is an exaggerated figure, which, in the absence of any cogent explanation, may be supposed to have been very-likely inflated at the cost of other groups of people speaking languages other than Kurmali. How such a big and obvious confusion could ever take place in Census operations is a question that should best be left undiscussed here, but that the authorities concerned

were not unaware of this fact, and did not feel very happy over the matter seem to be quite conclusively proved by the subsequent attempts to mend the irregularity in the Census years that followed.

28. In the Census table of 1921, the Kurmali people are recorded to be 74195 in number, which is less by 137216 than the 1911 Census figure. This reduction in Kurmali in 1921 results in an apparent degrowth of Hindi by 38412 persons or 11.72 P.C., and curiously enough, a rise in Bengali by 52048 persons or 5.29 P.C.—a fact, which may be taken to plainly indicate from which quarter the inflated strength of Kurmali in 1911 was mainly recruited. The remarks of the Superintendent of Census, Bihar and Orissa in 1921, on this point are rather significant. He says, "In Manbhum there has been a decline in Hindi which, taken with the decline in Santhali exactly accounts for the increase in Bengali. Kurmali and Khotta combined which were classified as Hindi accounts for only 74195 persons whereas in 1911, they accounted for 211411 : it is clear that there has been a sundering out of Hindi and Bengali from the indeterminate Khotta and that Bengali has come out rather stronger in this separation." (Census of India, 1921, Vol. VII. Part 1, pp. 212).

29. The explanation put forward by the Census Superintendent quoted above about the growth of Bengali and degrowth of Hindi in 1921 clearly accepts the fact that the advantage gained by Bengali over Hindi in 1921 is mainly due to the falling off of a large number of persons from the Kurmali group. Now, if it is remembered that the Kurmali population of 211411 persons in 1921 is an inflated figure, as has been shown before, and if, as the Census Superintendent admits, a decrease in Hindi has caused the rise in Bengali and that the total population of Manbhum in 1921 was practically the same as in 1911, then, it does not appear to be very unjustifiable to infer that, all other conditions remaining the same, the Kurmali figure of 1911 was largely made up of genuine Bengali speaking people wrongly returned as Kurmali in 1911. Taking Coupland's figure of 43770 persons to be the probable number of Kurmali population existing in 1911, something like 167641 which is the difference between Coupland's estimate and the 1911 Census figure appears to be the

number of Bengali speaking people recorded under Hindi in 1911.

30. In ascribing the rise of Bengali to the degrowth of Hindi in 1921, the Census Superintendent has touched the question only very superficially and his interpretation of facts is misleading. It is not true, for instance, that there had been a decline in Hindi in 1921. The degrowth that was recorded in the Census table in that year is more apparent than real. In no year, from 1911 to 1951, has purely Hindi speaking population suffered a decline, and even in 1921, Hindi proper has maintained its increase as usual. In 1911, proper Hindi without Kurmali numbers 116357 persons, and in 1921, the figure rises to 215161, which shows a distinct rise of 98804. It is only the Kurmali population that shows a fall in 1921, but then, this can by no means be strictly called a degrowth for the simple reason that, in 1911, the Kurmali speaking people did never actually exist in such large numbers. There can, therefore, be no question of 'sundering' but rather of surrendering by Hindi only a part of what may be called its legitimate dues to Bengali out of the Kurmali group, still retaining, however, a pretty large number of roughly 30425 heads in Hindi fold.

31. Although a correct and precise reconstruction of the incorrect Census population tables is not possible under the present circumstances, a very close estimate may, nevertheless, be made with the help of demographic laws, about the actual growth of the various linguistic groups of population in this district since 1911 and it may show, with a fair amount of accuracy, what the population figures should really have been, or perhaps, actually were behind the confused scene of error-ridden Census figures.

32. The following Table 3.2 attempts to present such a re-constructed and revised picture of the population of Manbhum from 1911 to 1951. The estimates of 1951 have been made allowing maximum variation to Hindi population.

33. In the Census tables of 1931, no record is given of the number of people speaking different dialects grouped under Hindi, Bengali and other main languages. The noticeable point in Table 3.2 is the surprising fall of Bengali and the disproportionate rise of Hindi in 1921 and this seems to indi-

cate that certain factors other than the Kurmali population were at work to exaggerate Hindi figures at the expense of Bengali.

TABLE 3.2

**Reconstructed estimate of Hindi, Bengali and Kurmali speaking population in MANBHUM District since 1911**

YEAR	POPULATION		VARIATION	
	Number	P.C. to total population of the district	Number	Percent
HINDI (without Kurmali)				
1911	116357	7.52	..	..
1921	215161	13.89	+ 98804	+84.91
*1931	270514	14.94	+ 55353	+25.73
*1951	365886	16.05	+ 95372	+35.26
BENGALI				
1911	1150979	74.37	..	..
1921	1065811	68.82	- 85168	- 7.40
1931	1222689	67.52	+156878	+14.72
*1951	1538876	67.52	+316187	+25.86
KURMALI				
1911	43770	2.83	..	..
*1921	43770	2.83	..	..
*1931	51176	2.83	+ 7406	+16.92
*1951	64410	2.83	+ 13234	+25.86

\* Estimated figures.

34. The Bengali figure in 1931, as given in the above table, suffers from the exclusion of 30425 genuine Bengali speaking people disguised as Kurmali, together with the expected increase due to natural variation. During the years 1931-1951, Bengali should have increased by 316187 persons if they had been correctly recorded. The above table also gives a reconstructed estimate of the Hindi speaking population in 1951, which, along with Kurmali forms 18.88 P.C. and Bengali 67.52 P.C. of the total population of Manbhum.

### Migration

35. An explanation for the rise of Hindi in 1951 may be sought in the heavy immigration of Hindi speaking people into the district. But this hypothesis finds no support from the migration figures given in the Census and reproduced in the following Table 3.3.

TABLE 3.3

## Migration in MANBHUM District

POPULATION		IMMIGRATION					
YEAR	Actual	Immigrants		Immigrants from Bihar outside the district		Immigrants from Bengal (W. Bengal in 1951)	
		Total	P.C. to actual population	Total	P.C. to actual population	Total	P.C. to actual population
1911	1547576	142776	9.23	78543	5.08	57373	3.71
1921	1548777	153324	9.90	102285	6.60	24266	1.57
1931	1810890	170914	9.44	103431	5.71	33244	1.84
1951	2279259	262488	11.52	163817	7.19	35360	1.55

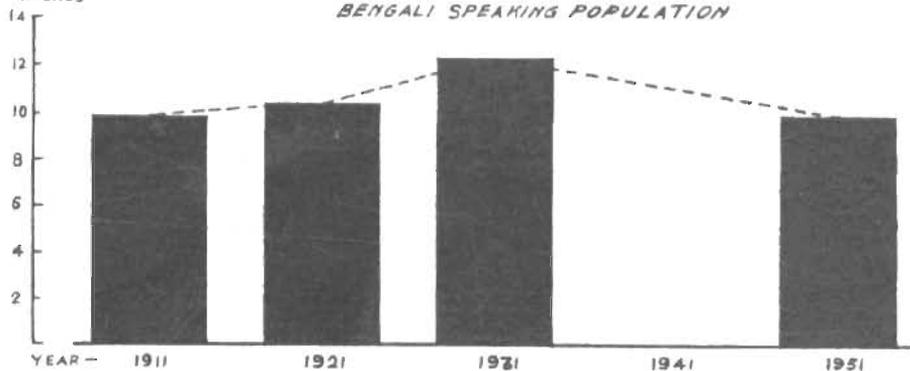
  

EMIGRATION		Emigrants to Bihar and Orissa districts (only Bihar in 1951)	
YEAR	Emigrants		P.C. to actual population
	Total	P.C. to actual population	
1911	115492	7.46	1.86
1921	117673	7.60	1.36
1931	22397	1.24	1.24
1951	37373	1.64	1.64

## GROWTH OF POPULATION IN MANBHUM DISTRICT 1911 — 1951

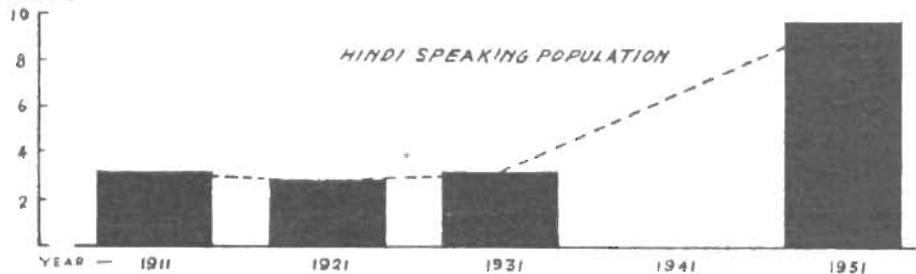
NUMBER  
IN LACS

*BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION*



NUMBER  
IN LACS

*HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION*



NUMBER  
IN LACS

*TOTAL POPULATION*

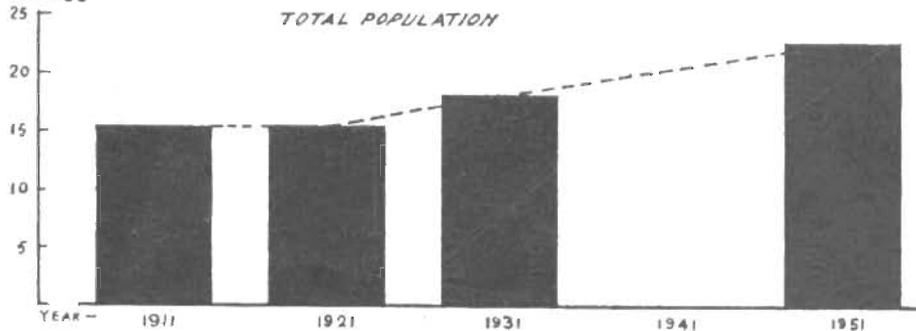


TABLE 3.4

## Bilingualism in MANBHUM District

AREA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Population	Mother tongue	Total speaking language in Col. (2) as mother tongue	P.C. of Col. (3) to total population of the area	Total speaking language in Col. (2) as subsidiary to some other mother tongue	P.C. of Col. (5) to total population Col. (3) x 100	Total speakers of language in Col. (2)	P.C. of Col. (7) to total population Col. (7) x 100
				<b>1931</b>				
Sadr	1289798	Bengali Hindi	1046653	81.15	75306	5.84	1121959	86.99
		Santali	62269	4.83	7040	0.55	69309	5.37
			168714	13.08	1465	0.11	170179	13.19
Dhanbad	521092	Bengali	176036	33.78	8011	1.54	184047	35.32
		Hindi	259421	49.78	13157	2.52	272578	52.31
		Santali	73377	14.08	1487	0.29	74864	14.37
Manbhum (Total)	1810890	Bengali Hindi Santali	1222689	67.52	83317	4.60	1306006	72.12
			321690	17.76	20197	1.12	341887	18.88
			242091	13.37	2952	0.16	245043	13.53
				<b>1951</b>				
Purulia	1547559	Bengali Hindi	805063	52.02	321685	20.79	1126748	72.81
		Santali	502503	32.47	96551	6.24	599054	38.71
			213321	13.78	16454	1.06	229755	14.85
Dhanbad	731700	Bengali Hindi	186063	25.43	76688	10.48	262751	35.91
		Santali	475543	64.99	85912	11.74	561455	76.73
			49205	6.72	5105	0.70	54310	7.42
Manbhum (Total)	2279259	Bengali Hindi Santali	991126	43.48	398373	17.48	1389499	60.96
			978046	42.91	182463	8.00	1160509	50.92
			262526	11.52	21559	0.95	284085	12.46

36. During the period 1931 to 1951, total immigrants to Manbhum constitute only 11.52 P.C. of the actual population, of which immigrants from West Bengal (35360) along with displaced persons (6961) from East Pakistan who are settled in the district since 1946, constitute only 1.86 P.C., leaving 9.66 P.C. to those who have immigrated to Manbhum from all the States of India other than West Bengal. Even allowing that all these 9.66 P.C. have come from Hindi speaking area, the rise of Hindi speaking population in 1951 can not be satisfactorily explained.

### **Bilingualism and mother tongue**

37. Table 3.4 gives the distribution of the population speaking Hindi, Bengali and Santali as mother tongue and also as subsidiary language to some other mother tongue. In Manbhum Sadr, in 1931, Bengali is the mother tongue of 81.15 P.C. of the total population and Hindi is that of 4.83 P.C. only.

38. Bengali as a subsidiary language claims the highest proportion in Manbhum in 1931 as well as in 1951. It is spoken as subsidiary language most predominantly in Manbhum Sadr. The unusual rise of Bengali as a subsidiary language in Manbhum from 4.60 P.C. in 1931 to 17.48 P.C. in 1951 is rather suspicious and, in the absence of any explanation, this peculiar and sudden increase in the number of people speaking Bengali as a subsidiary language may be taken to indicate some irregularity which has made Bengali as a subsidiary language unduly inflated at the cost of Bengali as a mother tongue.

### **SINGHBHUM**

39. In course of the last 40 years, the population of Singhbhum with Kharsawan and Saraikelela has increased from 843040 to 1480816. The following Table 3.5 gives the population of the district since 1911, under Hindi, Bengali, Oriya and Tribal languages. In 1911 Hindi was only 5.19 P.C. of the total population, but in 1951 it rises to 14.36 P.C., Bengali, in 1911, was 16.16 P.C. and rises in 1951 to 18.15 P.C., and the number of people speaking Tribal languages drops down from 58.45 P.C. in 1911 to 43.55 P.C. in 1951, while Oriya speakers remain at about 20 P.C. of the population of

TABLE 3.5

**Growth of population in SINGBHUM District (with Saraikela and Kharsawan) since 1911**

TOTAL POPULATION OF HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION											
THE DISTRICT											
YEAR	Popu- lation	Variation		Population		Variation		Population		Variation	
		Number	P.C.	Number	P.C. to total of the district	Number	P.C.	Number	P.C. to total of the district	Number	P.C.
1911	843040			43767	5.19			136218	16.16		
1921	911935	+ 68895	+ 8.17	62799	6.89	+ 19032	+ 43.48	162376	17.81	+ 26158	+ 19.20
1931	1116424	+ 204489	+ 22.42	91273	8.18	+ 28474	+ 45.34	192881	17.28	+ 30505	+ 18.79
1951	1480816	+ 364392	+ 32.64	212669	14.36	+ 121396	+ 133.00	268785	18.15	+ 75904	+ 39.35

ORIYA SPEAKING POPULATION											
POPULATION SPEAKING TRIBAL LANGUAGES											
YEAR	Population	Variation		Population		Variation		Population		Variation	
		Number	P.C. to total of the district	Number	P.C.	Number	P.C. to total of the district	Number	P.C. to total of the district	Number	P.C.
1911	167651							492777	58.45		
1921	180895	+ 13244	+ 7.90			496651	54.46			+ 3874	+ 0.79
1931	223093	+ 42198	+ 23.33			587423	52.62			+ 90772	+ 18.28
1951	297629	+ 74536	+ 33.41			644861	43.55			+ 57438	+ 9.78

the area. Just as in other border districts of Bihar, in Singbhum too, the Hindi speaking population in 1951 soars up by 121396 over the 1931 figure. The rate of increase in Hindi in 1951 is 133.00 P.C. over the figure of 1931, while the total population of the district rises only by 32.64 P.C.

40. Here too, there is the same unusual picture of a rapid and disproportionate growth of Hindi, at a rate unaccountably faster than that of any other linguistic group living in the district under the same physical conditions and there is, in sharp contrast to the unnatural increase in Hindi, the same abnormal and simultaneous decrease in the predominant language group. As Bengali is not the language of the majority of the people in Singbhum, the numerically weak Bengali has been left undisturbed here to be recorded with their natural growth, but the real sufferers in the case are the people speaking Tribal languages who form the largest linguistic group. The percentage of people speaking Tribal languages in the district has fallen from 52.62 P.C. in 1931 to 43.55 P.C. in 1951 and this is the most interesting and curious feature of the linguistic tables of Singbhum.

### **Migration**

41. This large increase of Hindi speaking population in 1951 may be accounted for by large influx of immigrants from Hindi speaking tracts. In Singbhum, total immigrants in 1951 are 192413. This, allowing for immigrants from West Bengal (27253) and displaced persons from East Pakistan (4888) and reduced by emigrants only to the districts within Bihar (12779), leaves a balance of 147493 which constitute the total migrants without taking into account the emigration to places outside Bihar. Unfortunately, the number of emigrants to places outside Bihar is not available. Even a moderately low estimate of 30,000 emigrants going outside Bihar leaves this high rise of Hindi as a demographically unexplained fact.

### **Bilingualism and Mother Tongue**

42. The distribution of population speaking Hindi, Bengali and Oriya as mother tongue and also as subsidiary language to some other mother tongue is presented in Table 3-7.

TABLE 3.6

## Migration in SINGBHUM District and CHOTO NAGPUR STATES (Kharsawan and Saraikela)

YEAR	POPULATION			IMMIGRATION				EMIGRATION				
	Actual	Born & enumerated in the district		Immigrants from Bihar outside the district		Immigrants from Bengal (W. Bengal in 1951)		Emigrants		Emigrants to Bihar & Orissa districts (only Bihar in 1951)		
		Total	Immigrants	Total	P.C. to actual population	Total	P.C. to actual population	Total	P.C. to actual population			
1911	694394	644536	49858	7.18	26026	3.75	11326	1.63	105634	15.21	69512	10.01
1921	759438	682121	77317	10.18	25026	3.30	11992	1.58	100849	13.28	51738	6.81
1931	929802	818744	111058	11.94	24016	2.58	19866	2.14			47494	5.11
* 1951	1480816	1288403	192413	12.99	46892	3.17	27253	1.84			12779	0.86
CHOTO NAGPUR STATES (Kharsawan and Saraikela)												
1911	148646	129908	18738	12.61	17948	12.07	168	0.11	1888	1.27	332	0.22
1921	152497	143287	9210	6.04	8372	5.49	130	0.09	2449	1.61	526	0.34
1931	186622	174492	12130	6.50	9302	4.98	502	0.27			868	0.47

\* Singbhum figures include the figures of Kharsawan and Saraikela

## GROWTH OF POPULATION IN SINGBHM DISTRICT WITH SARAIKELA AND KHARSAWAN 1911 - 1951

NUMBER  
IN LACS

*POPULATION SPEAKING TRIBAL LANGUGAES*



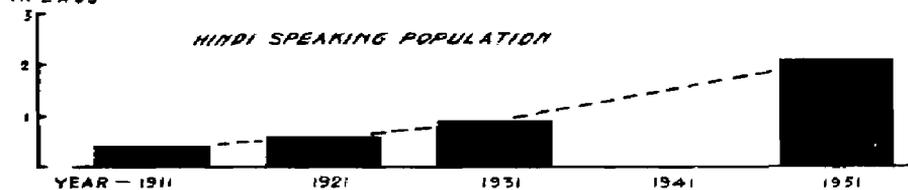
NUMBER  
IN LACS

*BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION*



NUMBER  
IN LACS

*HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION*



NUMBER  
IN LACS

*TOTAL POPULATION*

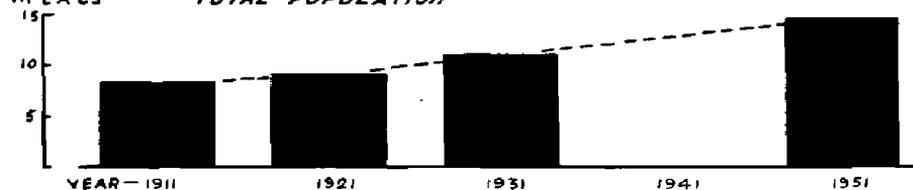


TABLE 3.7

## Bilingualism in SINGBHUM District (with Kharsawan and Saraikela)

AREA	(1)	(2)	Total speaking language in Col. (2) as mother tongue	P.C. of Col. (3) to total population of the area	Total speaking language in Col. (2) as subsidiary other mother tongue	P.C. of Col. (5) to total population x 100	Total speakers of language in Col. (2)	P.C. of Col. (7) to total population Col. (7) x 100
				<b>1931</b>				
Sadr	535207	Bengali Hindi	6412 31423	1.20 5.87	1794 21698	0.34 4.05	8206 53121	1.53 9.93
Dhalbhum (excluding Jamshedpur city)	310857	Oriya Bengali Hindi	127247 123337 12902	23.78 39.68 4.15	82797 3900	26.64 1.25	138675 206134 16802	25.91 66.31 5.40
Jamshedpur city	83738	Oriya Bengali Hindi	35849 17768 36722	11.53 21.22 43.85	10058 1797 18780	3.24 2.15 22.43	45907 19565 55502	14.77 23.36 66.28
Saraikela	143525	Oriya Bengali Hindi	8791 43117 4911	10.50 30.04 3.42	631 4146 672	0.75 2.89 0.47	9422 47263 5583	11.25 32.93 3.89
Kharsawan	43097	Oriya Bengali Hindi	36368 2247 5315	25.34 5.21 12.33	9717 571 554	6.77 1.32 1.29	46085 2818 5869	32.11 6.54 13.62
Singbhum (total)	1116424	Oriya Bengali Hindi	14838 192881 91273 223093	34.43 17.28 8.18 19.98	9004 91105 45604 40838	20.89 8.16 4.08 3.66	23842 283986 136877 263931	55.32 25.44 12.26 23.64
Singbhum (total)	1480816	Bengali Hindi Oriya	268785 212669 297629	18.15 14.36 20.10	91600 197514 86028	6.19 13.34 5.81	360385 410183 383657	24.34 27.70 25.91

43. In 1931, although Bengali is not seen to be the language spoken by the majority in Sadr, still in Dhalbhum, (excluding Jamshedpur city) it is spoken by 39.68 P.C. of the population of the area as mother tongue and is the biggest language group, while Hindi as mother tongue forms only 4.15 P.C. and Oriya 11.53 P.C.

44. In Saraikela, Bengali as a mother tongue forms the major group and in the whole of Singhbhum in 1931, Bengali as a subsidiary language stands ahead of all other languages, claiming 8.16 P.C. of the population who use it as a subsidiary language. This proportion is shown to have dropped down in 1951 to 6.19 P.C. and Hindi, which as a subsidiary language was spoken only by 4.08 P.C. in 1931, has gained a big rise in 1951, having 13.34 P.C. of the population and thus far superseding Bengali and Oriya as a subsidiary language. The total speakers of Bengali both as a mother tongue and as a subsidiary language in 1931 constitute the biggest group in Dhalbhum (excluding Jamshedpur city), Saraikela and whole of Singhbhum.

### **SANTAL PARGANAS**

45. The following Table 3.8 gives the population with its variation, of the district of Santal Parganas, grouped under Hindi, Bengali, Santali and Tribal languages including Santali, which form the major language groups in the district since 1911.

46. From 1911 to 1951 the proportion of Hindi speakers in the district has increased from 44.52 P.C. to 47.55 P.C., but in the same period that of Bengali has fallen from 14.57 P.C. to 9.11 P.C., all other groups having increased their proportion in the meantime.

47. In 1921 the general population of the district underwent a degrowth of 4.48 P.C., but while Hindi lost only by 5.80 P.C., Bengali suffered most deplorably, recording a degrowth of 11.98 P.C. In 1951 the entire population has increased by 270620 persons or 13.19 P.C., out of which Hindi and Santali together claim to have increased by 381944 persons and at the same time Bengali shows a decrease of 40752 persons. So, in Santal Parganas too, one finds the same strange antithesis between the enormous growth of Hindi and Santali on one

TABLE 3.8  
**Growth of population in SANTAL PARGANAS since 1911**

TOTAL POPULATION OF THE DISTRICT		HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION		BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION		SANTALI SPEAKING POPULATION		POPULATION SPEAKING TRIBAL LANGUAGES (with Santali)			
YEAR	Population	Variation		Population		Variation		Population		Variation	
		Number	P.C.	Number	P.C. to total population of the district	Number	P.C. to total population of the district	Number	P.C. to total population of the district	Number	P.C. to total population of the district
1911	1882973	..	..	838261	44.52	..	..	274318	14.57	..	..
1921	1798639	- 84334	- 4.48	789636	43.90	- 48625	- 5.80	241455	13.42	- 32863	- 11.98
1931	2051472	+ 252833	+ 14.06	942777	45.96	+ 153141	+ 19.39	252203	12.29	+ 10748	+ 4.45
1951	2322092	+ 270620	+ 13.19	1104239	47.55	+ 161462	+ 17.13	211451	9.11	- 40752	- 16.16

SANTALI SPEAKING POPULATION		VARIATION		POPULATION		VARIATION	
YEAR	Number	P.C. to total population of the district		Number	P.C.	Number	P.C. to total population of the district
		Number	P.C.				
1911	676895	35.95	..	6000	0.89	767304	40.75
1921	670895	37.30	-	90793	+ 13.53	765190	42.54
1931	761688	37.13	..	+ 220482	+ 28.95	853660	41.61
1951	982170	42.30	..	..	..	1006153	43.33

hand and a big drop in Bengali on the other. The process of steady and persistent degrowth of Bengali in Santal Parganas culminated in 1951 in reducing the percentage of Bengali to the minimum, while Hindi together with Santali mounts up regularly year after year. This can only be explained by the hypothesis that quite a large number of Bengali population has been absorbed in Hindi and Santali with the result that Bengali has undergone a serious degrowth. The concomitant inverse variation between the rise and fall of Hindi and Bengali is a peculiar and characteristic feature of the linguistic tables of the districts of the border area and it defeats all attempts of rational and scientific explanation.

48. It is to be noted that in 1921 Bengali suffers a decrease in the district by 11.98 P.C. while the general degrowth of population is only 4.48 P.C. This is unusual, for, a general degrowth of 4.48 P.C. can not explain the abrupt fall of Bengali by 11.98 P.C. and it is therefore reasonable to assume that in 1921 a large number of Bengali speaking population was not correctly returned. Again, a small group of men, who are either Paharis or Santals, speaking a minor dialect known as Malpahari numbered only 34414 in 1911. Malpahari has been admitted by all as a form of Bengali dialect and was grouped under Bengali. In 1921 the number of Malpahari was shown to be 29841, which means a decrease of 4573 persons or by 13.29 P.C., and this high percentage can not be explained by the general degrowth of population in Santal Parganas.

### **Migration**

49. A careful analysis of the migration figures will show that the unusual growth of Hindi and degrowth of Bengali cannot be explained by the theory of migration.

50. In 1951 the total number of immigrants to Santal Parganas is only 62650 and emigrants from the district to other areas of Bihar amount to only 47602. This gives a gross increase of 15048 by balance of migration without taking into account the emigrants to places outside Bihar, who do not form a small figure. Santal labour is much too well-known for their mobility and they are found to be employed in large numbers in Assam tea gardens and other industrial areas of India outside Bihar. The excess of birth over death during

TABLE 3.9

## Migration in SANTAL PARGANAS

POPULATION		IMMIGRATION						
YEAR	Actual	Born and enumerated in the district	Immigrants		Immigrants from Bihar outside the district	Immigrants from Bengal (W. Bengal in 1951)		
			Total	P. C. to actual population			Total	P. C. to actual population
1911	1882973	1776276	106697	5.67	63939	3.40	34008	1.81
1921	1798639	1718523	80116	4.45	49879	2.77	20578	1.14
1931	2051472	1997665	53807	2.62	27392	1.34	21646	1.06
1951	2322092	2259442	62650	2.70	45168	1.95	11545	0.50

EMIGRATION			
YEAR	Total	Emigrants to Bihar and Orissa districts (only Bihar in 1951)	
		Total	P. C. to actual population
1911	321283	45689	2.43
1921	297913	55172	3.07
1931		54183	2.64
1951		47602	2.05

1931-1941 in Santal Parganas is 165183. Giving proper allowance for under registration etc., this figure cannot have less than doubled itself in the period 1931-1951, while the total increase of population is only 270620 during this period. All these facts go to show that the district of Santal Parganas loses by migration and the increase in the population is mainly due to high birth rate in the district.

51. There is no denial of the fact that Santals, among all the language groups, form the biggest majority of the emigrants. Although emigration is seen to be falling in Santal Parganas, still it is in far excess of immigration. In 1951 Santals are shown to have increased by 28.95 P.C., a rate greater than the rate of general increase. In view of the heavy emigration of Santals, this increase is most surprising and may be attempted to be explained by the immigration theory, but the total immigration is too meagre to off-set this increase. At the same time, in the absence of any figure of emigration to Bengal, the explanation that the fall of Bengali in this district is due to emigration is hardly tenable and verges almost on the preposterous, because it goes not only against the racial habit and characteristics of Bengalis but also against all the long standing traditions and accepted views about Santals and Santal Parganas.

### **Bilingualism and Mother Tongue**

52. Table 3.10 gives the distribution of population speaking Bengali, Hindi and Santali as mother tongues and also as subsidiary languages to some other mother tongue in 1931 by subdivisions and in 1951 by the entire district. In 1931 Bengali is spoken by the majority of the people as mother tongue in Jamtara and Pakur, and as a subsidiary language, it claims the highest proportion in Deoghar, Dumka and Pakur, but in Jamtara Bengali surpasses all other languages both as a mother tongue and as a subsidiary language. In 1951 Bengali as subsidiary language in Santal Parganas is seen to have decreased to 3.17 P.C. from 4.88 P.C. in 1931, but at the same time, persons speaking Hindi and Santali as subsidiary language, have increased by more than double their number.

TABLE 3.10  
Bilingualism in SANTAL PARGANAS

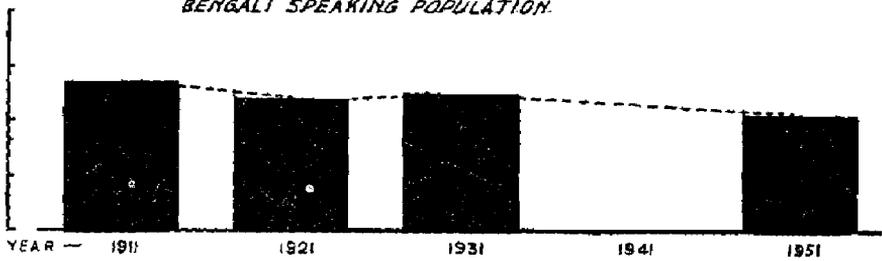
AREA	Population	Mother tongue	Total speaking language in Col. (2) as		P.C. of Col. (3) to total population of the area	Total speaking language in Col. (2) as		P.C. of Col. (5) to total population x 100	Total speakers of language in Col. (2)	P.C. of Col. (7) to total population x 100
			mother tongue	other		mother tongue	other			
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	
<b>1931</b>										
Deoghar	346946	Bengali	13609	3.92	8791	2.53	22400	6.46		
		Hindi	280659	80.89	7389	2.13	288048	83.02		
Dumka	466157	Bengali	46077	9.88	24126	5.18	70203	15.06		
		Hindi	179434	38.49	3211	0.69	187645	39.18		
		Santali	226268	48.54	1081	0.23	227849	48.77		
Godda	387801	Hindi	245266	68.25	1839	0.47	247105	63.72		
Jamtara	243858	Bengali	73091	29.97	50274	20.62	123365	50.59		
Rajmahal	331136	Bengali	42937	12.97	6967	2.10	49904	15.07		
		Hindi	122601	37.02	10160	3.07	7132761	40.09		
		Santali	130644	39.45	2062	0.62	132706	40.08		
Pakur	275574	Bengali	68792	24.96	1713	0.62	70505	25.58		
		Hindi	44455	16.13	1019	0.37	45474	16.50		
Santal Parganas	2051472	Hindi	942777	45.96	23618	1.15	966395	47.11		
(Total)		Bengali	252203	12.29	91871	4.88	344074	16.77		
		Santali	761688	37.13	3143	0.15	764831	37.28		
<b>1951</b>										
Santal Parganas	2322097	Hindi	1104239	47.55	67757	2.92	1171996	50.47		
(Total)		Bengali	211451	9.11	73516	3.17	284967	12.27		
		Santali	982170	42.30	42833	1.84	1025003	44.14		

# GROWTH OF POPULATION IN SANTAL PARGONAS

1911 — 1951

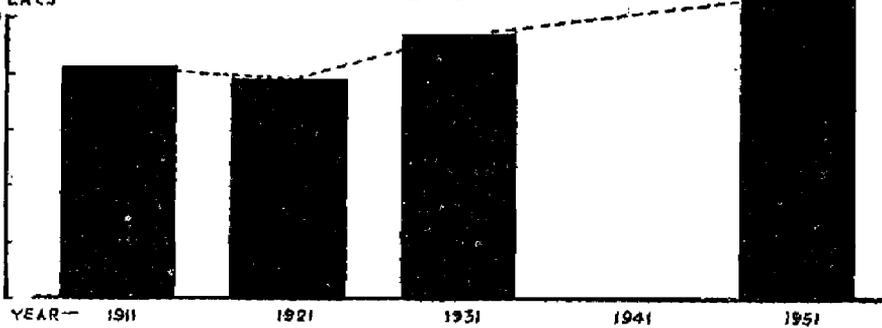
NUMBER  
IN LACS

*BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION.*



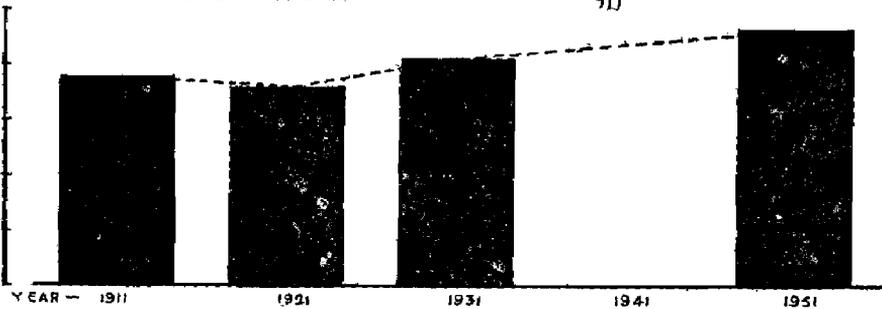
NUMBER  
IN LACS

*HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION*



NUMBER  
IN LACS

*TOTAL POPULATION*



## PURNEA

53. The following Table 3.11 gives the population and its variation under different language heads in Purnea from 1911 to 1951.

54. During the last 40 years, the proportion of Hindi has risen from 60.44 to 92.03 P.C. and Bengali has gone down from 37.65 P.C. to 5.28 P.C., while the total population of the district has maintained a steady increase. In 1951, the total population of the district increases by 338688 persons, but strangely enough, as is common in almost all the districts of the border area, Hindi shows an increase of 343780 persons, a number greater than the increase of the total population. Again, in 1921, Hindi gains an increase of 672403 persons or 55.91 P.C. over the figure of 1911, and this unusually high rate of growth of Hindi in this particular Census year will appear to be all the more peculiar and surprising when it is remembered that the total population of Bihar suffers a general degrowth of 1.09 P.C. in this year, and the population of this district records only a very slight increase of 1.76 P.C. How could Hindi alone march forward with such giant strides when the entire population of the district somehow crawled into a slight increase, and the total population of Bihar took a definite step backward? Is it nothing more than a mere curious coincidence that the number gained by Hindi (672403) in this year is almost the same as the number (647013) lost by Bengali? Such questions cannot be easily answered and these strange facts, which are common features of the Census tables of almost all the districts of the border area, can never be satisfactorily explained by the laws of population growth. It is therefore almost impossible to escape the conclusion that somehow or other quite a large slice of Bengali speaking population has been returned as Hindi speaking in this district, and in this connection, the remarks of the Census Superintendent quoted here are quite illuminating. "In Purnea it (Hindi-Urdu) has greatly increased at the expense of Bengali..... The fluctuations are caused by the varying treatment of the mixed dialect of Hindi and Bengali, commonly referred to as 'Kishanganjia' which is described in the index of languages as equivalent of 'Siripuria' "a form of Northern dialect of Bengali

TABLE 3.11

## Growth of population in PURNEA District since 1911

TOTAL POPULATION OF THE DISTRICT		HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION				
YEAR	Population	Variation		Population		P.C.
		Number	P.C.	Number	P.C. to total population of the district	
1911	1989637			1202568	60.44	
1921	2024608	+ 34971	+ 1.76	1874971	92.61	+55.91
1931	2186543	+ 161935	+ 8.00	1980123	90.56	+ 5.61
1951	2525231	+ 338688	+ 15.49	2323903	92.03	+ 17.36

BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION		POPULATION SPEAKING TRIBAL LANGUAGES				
YEAR	Population	Variation		Population		P.C.
		Number	P.C.	Number	P.C. to total population of the district	
1911	749018			35919	1.81	
1921	102005	- 647013	- 86.38	45592	2.25	+ 26.93
1931	147299	+ 45294	+ 44.40	55792	2.55	+ 22.37
1951	133399	- 13900	- 9.44	67196	2.66	+ 20.44

spoken in Eastern Purnea," the number of speakers there being estimated at 603623. No special instructions were issued as to how this dialect should be returned in the schedule and it was generally entered as Hindi, though 10 years ago it was generally entered as Bengali. The Subdivisional Officer explained that in his opinion a pure Hindi speaker would be more at home in this area than a speaker of pure Bengali and that therefore the record of the dialect as Hindi in his opinion was correct. If the entry had been 'Kishanganjia' it would have been classified as Bengali in accordance with the index of the classification adopted in 1911, but the entry was "Hindi" and could not be simply changed to Bengali" (Census of India, 1921, Vol. VII, part 1, pp. 212).

55. The comment, given above, is a simple confession of the fact that Bengali in 1921 was unwarrantedly deprived of a very large group of men who were unjustly returned as *Hindi speakers*.

56. The Kishanganjia bungle has a strange family likeness with the Kurmali affair of Manbhūm, both being born of a clumsy and obvious attempt to enhance Hindi figures at the cost of Bengali, but in Purnea the irregularity is more openly flagrant. It is difficult to understand how a Subdivisional Officer could be allowed to take upon himself the responsibility of interfering with the recognised index of classification adopted in the census of 1911, and direct Kishanganjia to be entered as Hindi instead of Bengali.

57. From the Census figures of Bengali speaking population since 1921, what is still more surprising is that this serious irregularity has never been rectified. The Census of 1931 contains no explanation as to how the sub-dialects have been grouped. The legacy of the wrongs and irregularities perpetrated in 1921 has, since then, been all along vitiating the Census tables of Bihar with the result that the linguistic tables of these border districts have become absolutely unauthentic and totally unreliable. More than 6 lacs of persons who were Bengalis according to Grierson and other authorities have, since then, ceased to exist as such and the way, in which this fiction has been allowed to pass as a fact in such an important document as the Census is hardly believable.

58. The loss of Kishanganjia is, however, not the only

injury done to Bengali, for, there are reasons to think that some genuine Bengali speaking persons too have been unduly sneaked into the Hindi fold. In 1921 Bengali suffered a de-growth of 647013 persons, and this figure includes Kishanganjia, the numerical strength of which could not be greater than 611470 in 1921. It is, therefore, reasonable to infer that the difference between 647013 and 611470, *i.e.*, at least 35543 is the number of genuine Bengali speakers wrongly shown under Hindi.

59. Basing on Grierson's estimate of the Kishanganjia (603623) and in accordance with the rate of increase of the Hindi-Bengali population, the following Table 3.12 gives the estimated and reconstructed figures of Hindi and Bengali populations in Purnea.

TABLE 3.12

**Reconstructed table showing Hindi and Bengali speaking population in PURNEA District**

YEAR	POPULATION		VARIATION	
	Number	P.C. to total population of the District	Number	P.C.
<b>TOTAL HINDI AND BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION</b> (Census Figures)				
1911	1951586	98.09	..	..
1921	1976976	97.65	+ 25390	+ 1.30
1931	2127422	97.30	+150446	+ 7.61
1951	2457302	97.31	+329880	+15.51
<b>HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION</b>				
1911	1202568	60.44	..	..
*1921	1263501	62.40	+ 60933	+ 5.07
*1931	1359652	62.18	+ 96151	+ 7.61
*1951	1570480	62.19	+210828	+15.51
<b>BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION (with Kishanganjia)</b>				
1911	749018	37.65	..	..
*1921	713475	35.24	± 35543	- 4.75
*1931	767770	35.11	+ 54295	+ 7.61
*1951	886822	35.12	+119052	+15.51

\* Estimated Figures.

TABLE 3.13

## Migration in PURNEA District

YEAR	POPULATION			IMMIGRATION				
	Actual	Born and enumerated in the district	Immigrants		Immigrants from Bihar outside the district		Immigrants from Bengal (W. Bengal in 1951)	
			Total	P.C. to actual population	Total	P.C. to actual population	Total	P.C. to actual population
1911	1989637	1790768	198869	10.00	166439	8.37	20822	1.05
1921	2024608	1820514	204094	10.08	175171	8.65	18637	0.92
1931	2186943	1999139	187404	8.57	147696	6.75	29813	1.36
1951	2525231	2335240	189991	7.52	131359	5.20	30857	1.22

## EMIGRATION

YEAR	Emigrants		Emigrants to Bihar and Orissa districts (only Bihar in 1951)	
	Total	P.C. to actual population	Total	P.C. to actual population
1911	38448	1.93	9468	0.48
1921	27824	1.37	6656	0.33
1931			10421	0.48
1951			17328	0.69

TABLE 3.14

## Bilingualism in PURNEA District

AREA	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
	Population	Mother tongue	Total speaking language in Col. (2) as mother tongue	P.C. of total population of the area Col. (3) to Col. (4)	Total speaking language in Col. (2) as subsidiary to same mother tongue Col. (5) to Col. (1)	P.C. of total population x 100 Col. (5) to Col. (1)	Total speakers of language in Col. (2)	P.C. of total population x 100 Col. (7) to Col. (1)
<b>1931</b>								
Aria	514169	Hindi	511624	99.51	574	0.11	512198	99.62
Kishanganj	560577	Bengali Hindi	59398 494120	10.60 88.14	1588 4546	0.28 0.81	60986 498666	10.88 88.96
Sadr	1111799	Bengali Hindi	86691 974379	7.80 87.64	879 24093	0.08 2.17	87570 998472	7.88 89.81
Purnea (Total)	2186543	Bengali Hindi	147299 1980123	6.74 90.56	2467 29213	0.11 1.34	149766 2009336	6.85 91.90
<b>1951</b>								
Purnea (Total)	2525231	Bengali Hindi	133399 2323903	5.28 92.03	37980 50784	1.50 2.01	171379 2374687	6.79 94.04

# GROWTH OF POPULATION IN PURNEA DISTRICT

1911 - 1951

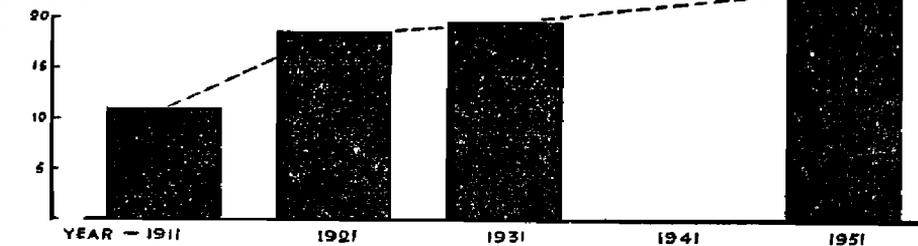
NUMBER  
IN LACS

*BENGALI SPEAKING POPULATION*



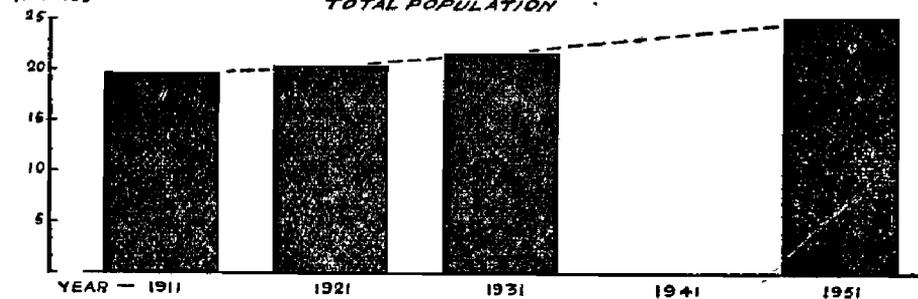
NUMBER  
IN LACS

*HINDI SPEAKING POPULATION*



NUMBER  
IN LACS

*TOTAL POPULATION*



## **Migration**

60. In 1951, the total number of immigrants to the district of Purnea is only 189991. If the immigrants from West Bengal (30857) and the number of the displaced persons from East Pakistan (15333) and also the number of emigrants (17328) going to Bihar out of this district are deducted from the total number of immigrants 189991, the remaining balance comes down to 126473. Even if it be granted that all the immigrants have come from Hindi speaking area, the above figure which is much more than the actual balance of migration can not justify the rise of Hindi in 1951.

## **Bilingualism and Mother tongue**

61. Table 3.14 gives the distribution of population speaking Hindi and Bengali as mother tongues and also as subsidiary languages in 1931 and in 1951. It has already been shown in the previous analysis that Hindi figures were very probably exaggerated in 1921, and this defection has continued to vitiate the records of the Census in the subsequent years, rendering the linguistic tables of 1931 and 1951 absolutely undependable and untrustworthy. The table showing the number of persons speaking Hindi and Bengali in the subdivisions of Purnea in 1931 is, therefore, of very little value.

### **(iii) (a) Grouping of Sub-dialects or Border-line languages Under Hindi and Bengali**

62. It would be of interest here to study the question of grouping of sub-dialects or border-line languages under the two main languages—Hindi and Bengali. In the grouping of sub-dialects under these two main languages, a rather deplorable tendency is almost plainly discernible to enhance Hindi population figures by certain ingenious manipulations, the *modus operandi* of which may be said to usually take the following forms :

63. (a) Those sub-dialects which have a predominant affinity to Hindi and therefore indisputably belong to Hindi tongue are invariably shown to be growing rapidly in numerical strength year after year.

64. It will be seen, for instance, from Table 3.16(a), given on page 46, that in Purnea, Maithili, a sub-dialect of Hindi, numbered 1390 persons in 1921, but in 1951 the figure rises up to 91087, and Bhojpuri, a new sub-dialect introduced in 1951, claims 1898 persons. In Singbhum the sub-dialect Nagpuria was spoken by only 179 persons in 1911, but in 1951 the figure becomes 1444. Further, the table will show that in Santal Parganas, the total number of persons speaking the various sub-dialects of Hindi was only 661 in 1921, but it has increased to 5466 in 1951. In Purnea again, the total number of speakers of sub-dialects was not more than 84 only in 1911, but in 1951 the total number shoots up to 92985. These sub-dialects have succeeded in gaining such large increase only because they are grouped under Hindi.

65. (b) Those controversial sub-dialects, about which there is some genuine philological dispute as to whether they should be grouped under Hindi or Bengali, are made to suffer a continuous and sometimes abrupt degrowth, till at last they are totally eliminated as distinct entities from the Census records, and are completely absorbed in Hindi, without any scope or chance of future dispute.

66. The truth of the above statement will be fully borne out by the history of Kurmali which is a disputed sub-dialect in Manbhum. In 1911 Kurmali had a very large following, but in 1951 not a single soul is recorded to speak this dialect in Manbhum. As the table will show, the total number of people speaking the various sub-dialects in Manbhum in 1911 is 212679, but this number is reduced to 607 only in 1951, and this decrease is due to the total elimination of Kurmali as a distinct sub-dialect. In Singbhum too, Kurmali decreases from 13968 in 1911 to 6120 in 1951. There is hardly any room for doubt that the total elimination of Kurmali in Manbhum and its large reduction in Singbhum have been brought about to help the growth of Hindi, and this will perhaps be very clearly proved by the following apology of the Census Superintendent in 1951. "The small number shown against Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri, Kurmali, Nagpuri, Gawari, Kharwari etc., should not be understood to mean that these dialects or languages have gone out of vogue. In actual fact, the vast majority of the population still use them, but they preferred

TABLE 3.15(a)

## Sub-dialects or Border-line languages of the Border Districts in Bihar grouped under Bengali in Census

Sub-dialects	1911 CENSUS			1921 CENSUS				
	Manbhum	Singbhum (with Khar- sawan and Saraikela)	Santal Parganas	Purnea	Manbhum	Singbhum (with Khar- sawan and Saraikela)	Santal Parganas	Purnea
Malpahari	..	..	34414	6	..	..	29841	..
Khariathar	4315	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pahirathar	537	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	4852	..	34414	6	..	..	29841	..

TABLE 3.16(a)

## Sub-dialects of Border-line languages of the Border Districts of Bihar grouped under Hindi in Census

Sub-dialects	1911 CENSUS		1921 CENSUS		1951 CENSUS	
	Man- bhumi Saraikela and Khar- sawan)	Santal Purnea Par- ganas	Man- bhumi Saraikela and Khar- sawan)	Santal Purnea Par- ganas	Man- bhumi Saraikela and Khar- sawan)	Santal Purnea Par- ganas
1. Kurmali, Khotta- Bangla	211411	13968	74195	7810	..	1744
2. Chatus- garh	884	..	..	702	..	..
3. Nagpuri	..	179	..	..	..	1444
4. Magahi	384	..	..	..	705	2847
5. Bhojपुरी	..	7	..	..	..	..
6. Kalwari	..	..	..	..	..	..
7. Kamari	..	..	..	..	6	..
8. Kamari	..	..	..	..	626	..
9. Maithili	..	..	..	..	29	..
10. Tamaria	..	..	..	..	..	..
11. Gawari	..	..	..	328	1390	875
12. Kharwari	..	..	..	..	1	1488
13. Garhwari	..	..	..	..	..	40
14. Sadri	..	..	..	..	..	25
Total	212679	14154	74195	8840	661	9219
		84			2095	5466
						92985

to return their mother tongue simply as "Hindi." " (Census of India, 1951, Vol. V, Part II.A. Tables pp. 286).

67. (c) Those sub-dialects which are natural off-shoots of Bengali to which they rightly belong are made to decrease very quickly in number till they are totally wiped out of the records in 1951.

This will be quite obvious from Table 3.15(a). In the Census tables no sub-dialect is grouped under Bengali in 1951.

68. It may not be out of place to point out here that the entire question of grouping of sub-dialects has been made so complicated and difficult by occasional changes in principle and procedure that it is not always easy to detect the irregularities working therein, and it is not at all unlikely that issues have thus been clouded and confused to facilitate the operation of the irregularities mentioned above.

69. Tables 3.15(a), 3.16(a) present the grouping of sub-dialects for the Census years 1911, 1921 and 1951. The 1931 Census table gives no detail of sub-dialects grouped under Hindi or Bengali, and in 1951 no sub-dialect is recorded under Bengali.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This Note is an analytical study of the linguistic distribution of the population of Bihar from 1911 to 1951.

For facility of treatment and understanding, the question has been studied under the following three heads :

- (i) The State of Bihar as a whole.
- (ii) The border districts area of Bihar adjoining Bengal, comprising the districts of Manbhum (Purulia and Dhanbad in 1951), Singbhum (with Saraikela and Kharasawan), Santal Parganas and Purnea as one unit and the rest of the districts of Bihar outside this area as the other unit.
- (iii) The border districts individually.

### (i) Growth of Population in the State of Bihar

The proportion of Hindi speakers in Bihar rises from 83.47 P.C. of the total population of Bihar in 1911 to 86.55 P.C.

in 1951. Excepting the year 1931, the rate of increase of Hindi is inconsistently higher than the rise of the total population. The most curious point is the rise of 1.32 P.C. of Hindi in 1921, when the total population suffers a degrowth of 1.09 P.C.

The proportion of the Bengali speaking population in Bihar is seen decreasing continuously from 7.38 P.C. in 1911 to 4.37 P.C. in 1951 of the total population. In 1921, when there is a slight general degrowth in Bihar of only 1.09 P.C., Bengali suffers heavily by 27.53 P.C., and Hindi gains an increase of 1.32 P.C. over the figure of 1911. From 1911 to 1951, Bengali dwindles from 2176584 down to 1759719, a decrease of 19.15 P.C., and Hindi increases from 24629800 to 34817133 or by 41.36 P.C. Such contrast in the simultaneous rise and fall of population under the two language groups can hardly be explained by any demographic law.

**(ii) Growth of Population in the Border Districts area and the Interior Districts area**

In 1921, the year of general degrowth in Bihar, the total population of the border districts area remains almost constant with a slight increase of only 0.33 P.C. over the 1911 figure; but in the same year Hindi shows an increase of 25.05 P.C., and in 1951 it rises by 38.46 P.C., whereas in the interior districts area, it records a rise, in the same period, of 24.57 P.C. only. In sharp contrast to the steep rise of Hindi, the Bengali speaking population goes down by 28.08 P.C. in 1921 over the 1911 figure, and in 1951 it records a fall of 11.59 P.C. in the border districts area. In the interior districts area, where Bengali is in a decisive minority, the number of Bengali speakers in 1951 becomes more than three times the figure of 1931, Hindi maintaining all along the normal rate of increase. During the last four decades the rise in the proportion of Hindi in the border districts area is from 38.52 P.C. in 1911 to 53.66 P.C. in 1951 of the total population of the area, but Bengali shows a fall from 34.21 P.C. in 1911 to 18.64 P.C. in 1951.

**(iii) Growth of Population in the Border Districts**

In Manbhum, during the period 1931-1951, while the general population increases by 468369, Hindi alone gains an

increase of 656356 and simultaneously Bengali loses by 231563. Hindi leaps from 17.76 P.C. in 1931 to 42.91 P.C. in 1951, and the rate of its increase rises from 11.17 P.C. in 1931 to 204.03 P.C. in 1951, while the general population rises by 25.86 P.C. Bengali speaking population on the other hand drops down from 67.52 P.C. in 1931 to 43.48 P.C. in 1951, and its rate of growth goes down by 18.94 P.C. in 1951.

In this connection, particular reference may be made to the bungle of the Kurmali affair in Manbhum. Kurmali, a dialect grouped under Hindi, was unduly inflated at the cost of genuine Bengali to enhance Hindi figures.

In Singhbhum too, there is the same unusual picture of a rapid and disproportionate growth of Hindi, in sharp contrast to the same unusual decrease in the predominant language group. As Bengali is not the majority group in this district, it has been left undisturbed. The real sufferers are the people speaking Tribal languages who form the largest linguistic group. Hindi rises from 5.19 P.C. in 1911 to 14.36 P.C. in 1951, and the tribal people drop down from 58.45 P.C. in 1911 to 43.55 P.C. in 1951. Here an attempt has been made to bring Hindi at par with Bengali at the cost of the tribal people.

From 1911 to 1951, the proportion of Hindi speakers in Santal Parganas has increased from 44.52 P.C. to 47.55 P.C. in 1951, but in the same period, that of Bengali has fallen from 14.57 P.C. in 1911 to 9.11 P.C. in 1951. Again in 1921, Bengali suffers a decrease by 11.98 P.C., while the general decrease of the total population is only 4.48 P.C. In 1951 the increase gained by the entire population is only 270620 out of which Hindi and Santali together claim to have increased by 381944 and Bengali is shown to have gone down by 40752.

In Purnea during the last forty years, Hindi has risen from 60.44 P.C. in 1911 to 92.03 P.C. in 1951, and Bengali has gone down from 37.65 P.C. to 5.28 P.C. of the total population which has all along maintained a steady increase.

In 1921 the number gained by Hindi (672403) is almost the same as (647013) lost by Bengali. In 1951, the total population of the district has increased by 338688, but Hindi shows an increase of 343780 and Bengali decreases simultaneously by 13900. In 1921 'Kishanganjia', a sub-dialect,

grouped under Bengali according to the recognised index of languages, was entered under Hindi. Bengali was thus deprived of more than six lacs of people speaking the dialect, but this serious injury to Bengali has never been remedied.

In each of these border districts, the abnormal rise of Hindi and fall of Bengali cannot be explained by the figures of migration.

In the grouping of sub-dialects under the two main languages Hindi and Bengali, a tendency is plainly discernible to enhance the Hindi population figures in the following manner :

- (a) By increasing the number of speakers of the sub-dialects coming naturally under Hindi.
- (b) By completely absorbing in Hindi of those sub-dialects whose inclusion under Hindi is disputed.
- (c) By completely eliminating from the Census records the sub-dialects previously grouped under Bengali.

The most striking and curious phenomenon which emerges clearly out of the above detailed analysis of the question is the central fact that in all the Census years from 1911 to 1951, Hindi alone, among the various language groups of Bihar, has been regularly increasing with a rapidity which is nothing short of miraculous or abnormal, and that Bengali alone, among the main language groups, has all along been showing a sharp decline, which is as much unaccountable as the growth of Hindi. This strange and unexplainable contrast between the rise and fall of Hindi and Bengali is manifested in the most pronounced form in the border districts where Hindi sometimes records an increase at the rate of 204 P.C. The absurdity of such incredible growth of Hindi becomes apparent however, when it is seen that in the interior districts of Bihar Hindi always records only normal rate of variation. The Census tables and records of Bihar fail to offer any rational explanation for the abnormal growth of one particular language group and the unnatural decrease in the numerical strength of another language existing side by side in the same area and under the same physical conditions, nor can these curious and unaccountable phenomena be explained by the laws of the

growth of population. The conclusion is therefore almost inescapable that there have been serious irregularities in returning the people of Bihar under the various language heads.

Moreover, a clear and unmistakable tendency can be seen to run persistently through the entire record of linguistic tables to somehow neutralise the preponderance of Bengali where it is predominant, by dragging it down to a level lower than Hindi, or by propping up Hindi figures by various means to exceed the numerical strength of Bengali, or by combining both these methods to bring about the desired result. The systematic manner in which Hindi has succeeded in displacing Bengali from its predominant position in the border districts cannot fail to rouse the suspicion that there may be some purpose behind it all.