

## **The Adivasi Mahasabha, Jaipal Singh and the idea of a separate state**

**Dr. Sanjay Kumar**, *Associate Professor*

PGDAV (E) College, University of Delhi

**Abstract:** The demand of a separate state by the tribes of Bihar, belonging to the region of Chotanagpur and Santal Parganas began in the late 1930s during the British period under the patronage of the Christian missionaries. The main reasons behind this enlightenment were the spread of western education, discovery of tribal scripts, awareness of separate tribal identity from the rest of the population, etc. The period under review is an interesting facet of the history of tribes. Although, their demand remained unfulfilled in 1947 but their dream of a separate state became a reality in 2000.

**Keywords:** proselytisation, land alienation, tribal identity, diku-raj, Adivasistan, etc.

**Introduction:** The cultural contact with the outside world for centuries disturbed the relative isolation of the tribes of Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas in the area of erstwhile Bihar and recently created state of Jharkhand. The term 'Jhar' refers to tree, scrub and underbrush and 'khand' means region or area. This region was habitat of about thirty tribes. The availability of rich natural resources attracted the British towards these inhospitable hilly expanses and inaccessible areas and they soon began exploitation of the vast forest wealth consisting of rich mineral resources, a variety of timber, lac, fruits, wild animals, skins, tusks, horns, bones, silk cocoon, honey, wax, medicinal herbs, etc. Its important to note that the tribes inhabiting these areas, differed widely from one another with respect to their level of socio-economic development at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The colonial penetration in the region was not easy as they encountered firm resistance of the tribes under the leadership of their traditional chiefs, rajas and their subordinates but were eventually subdued by the British.

In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the spread of education by the Christian Missionaries, employment opportunities, changed worldview, the rise of middle-class intelligentsia among the tribes were significant developments. Hence their response to British exploitation also differed widely from armed rebellions, socio-religious reform

movements, revitalization movements with messianic zeal, missionary movements or proselytisation, etc. to the separatist movement in the pre-1947 period.

The western education and learning promoted by European missionaries, led to the establishment of Christian Association (1898), Munda-Oraon Education Conference or Shiksha Sabha (1912), Chotanagpur Charitable association (1912), and Chotanagpur Unnati Samaj (1915), all devoted to the educational and social development of the tribals. A new awareness was in the air. According to K.S. Singh "All adivasis are one, Adivasis of lower category such as Loharas, Panre, Bhuiya and Tamaria should not be looked down upon".<sup>i</sup> However, this pan-tribal sentiment was weak.

In the years following more Christian organisations sprang up with the active support of missionaries and sympathy of British officials. Important among them were Chotanagpur Students Union (1917), Christian College Union (1919), Christian Students Conference (1919), Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha (1928-29), Munda Sabha (1929), etc. Early stirrings of separatist yearnings in Chotanagpur may be noticed in the formation of these associations. "As Christianity spread, it performed many roles; it gave them a history and myth; it accentuated the notion of private rights in land; it promoted education and medical care; it also emphasized a sense of separateness from the rest."<sup>iii</sup> This sense of separateness was a marked development among the western educated Christian tribals who had the patronage of missionaries. But the illiterate or less-educated animist and Hinduised tribals remained antagonistic to British rule and formed the backbone of the nationalist movement.

The British policy of divide and rule was also at work by creating a rigid and permanent mental and psychological divide among the tribes. The tribes were categorized as animist, Hinduised and Christian in the census reports by the British enumerators and supervisors. The western-educated Christian tribals were a privileged lot who remained loyal to their mentors. The prevailing socio-economic situation also widened the gulf between the separatist and nationalist tribes. The exactions of the zamindars, 'amlas' and the oppression of mahajans, land-alienation, erosion of customary land and forest rights, increasing land-rent, chronic indebtedness, exploitation of men, women and their resources by the dikus' made the situation worse in the first quarter of the 20th century. While the

educated Christian tribals had the shield of missionaries who whole-heartedly backed their followers and defended them even in the court of law. The poor hapless animist tribals were defenceless as compared to their Christian brethren. The change in their position took place with the advent of Hindu missions like Brahmo Samaj, Arya Samaj (1899), Ram Krishna Mission (1917). It not only resulted in the hinduisation of tribes in due course but also brought them in Indian mainstream. The tribal communities such as Birsaites Bhagats, Tana Bhagats, Sanatan Adivasis, Kherwars, Sapha Hors, Janeodhari Santals and hinduised Paharias, Hos, Kherias and Bhumijis, who were influenced by Vaishnavism and Kabirpanthi sect did not have the backing of British officials and Christian missionaries.

All early Christian organisations promoted the spread of education among the tribes and granted scholarships to the students, but it was the Chotanagpur Unnatti Samaj under the leadership of Anglican Bishop Rev. Joel Lakra of Ranchi which demanded employment for educated adivasis, reservation in services and legislative bodies, formation of sub-state joined to Bengal or Orissa and wanted to be administered by European officers. The Chotanagpur Unnatti Samaj was revived in 1920 and remained active till 1938. It is significant to note that all these Christian organisations were urban and failed to spread their activities in villages but were successful in drawing the attention of the authorities to the adivasi problem. The Chotanagpur Catholic Sabha was established in 1929 under the presidentship of Boniface Lakra and Ignace Beck as its secretary. The Chotanagpur Kisan Sabha which was set up in 1931 under the presidentship of Laurentius Barla and Theble Oraon<sup>iii</sup> as its secretary, fought for the betterment of peasants and stopped the payment of Survey and Settlement cost during the Civil Disobedience movement. All these adivasi organisations suffered electoral setback in 1937 when the Congress swept the polls. With a few exceptions the adivasi seats went to the Congress. It was this electoral setback which led to the merger of these three adivasi organisations.

The newly formed Adivasi Sabha led by Theodore Surin and Paul Dayal as its president and secretary respectively aimed at the creation of a separate province consisting of Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas in Bihar.<sup>iv</sup> It initiated a new era of a separatist movement adopting new flexible strategies to suit its political ambitions. This separatist movement received moral and material help from the Christian missionaries, the British officials, the Muslim League and a section of domiciled Bengalis. All these elements were

anti-Congress and loyalist in nature and advocated a strong separatist movement. The sense of neglect for centuries and fear of losing identity prompted other adivasis to support separatist tendency in years to come. The slogan 'Chotanagpur for Chotanagpuris' rented the air.<sup>v</sup>

In the beginning, the antipathetic attitude towards the Congress ministry was partly due to the non-representation of adivasis in the ministry and partly the non-fulfilment of their demands and neglect of their problems by the 'diku raj'. The demand for a separate state was discussed in the Legislative Assembly in June 1938 and was rejected.

And then Jaipal Singh (b. 3.1.1903- d. 20.3.1970), a munda of horo clan, brought up in London and educated at St. Augustines' College, Canterbury and St. John's College, Oxford by a British priest Canon Casgrave came on the political horizon of Chotanagpur. He had a chequered career. He had captained the Indian Hockey team to victory in 1928 Olympics at Amsterdam. He was a Colonial Service Officer of the British Empire at Gold Coast in West Africa. After returning to India, he served Burmah Shell as its General Manager until then a preserve of the whites and then as officiating Vice-Principal of Rajkumar College, Raipur, CP. He was the Revenue and Colonisation Minister in the state of Bikaner before he joined the Adivasi politics in Chotanagpur in 1938. He wrote to Rajendra Prasad from Raipur on 11 June 1938:

*"I shall be grateful of your help to get me an appointment in my native province, Bihar ... I feel, I am entitled to your generous consideration, while I am particularly interested in educational work, I shall be willing to take any administrative position... I know he (C.F. Andrews) must have told you about me when you were in charge of the Bihar Earthquake Fund to which I helped to send contributions from Achinota and the Gold Coast Indians ..."*<sup>vi</sup>

Early in 1939, he tried to establish a close but emotional link with the Congress, when he wrote to Rajendra Prasad on 16 January 1939: "Perhaps you know personally the late W.C. Bonnerjee. My wife is his grand daughter."<sup>vii</sup> Even then the Congress ministry did not oblige him.<sup>viii</sup>

The Congress ministry (1937-39) attempted a lot of ameliorative measures<sup>ix</sup> for Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas but failed to implement them in a fruitful way. There was no adivasi representation in it but it was also an inescapable fact that a towering adivasi personality like Jaipal Singh was neither associated with the Congress nor was present at the time of formation of Congress ministry. On 1 February 1939, Jaipal Singh again wrote to Rajendra Prasad: "... The Congress and Bihar ministry are not the same thing. It would be true to say that the ministry is Bihari rather than Bihar."<sup>x</sup>

The ongoing Bihari-Bengali controversy over jobs came to an end with the acceptance of Rajendra Prasad's Report, which observed that there was nothing wrong in giving preference in service to provincials but at the same time the government was advised to make no distinction between the Biharis and domiciled Bengalis, who still continued to support the separatist movements. The second session of Adivasi Sabha, held on 20 January 1939, in his presidential speech, Jaipal Singh denounced the Bihari leaders for terming Chotanagpur as "deficit area" whereas this area was richest in mineral resources. He said, that "A Governor's province was our main objective" .

This separation movement was greatly criticised by A.V. Thakkar also. K.C. Bose, the secretary of Ranchi DCC, wrote in his letter to A.V. Thakkar: "... I have got not a single Bengali supporter, they all are working against us i.e., Bihar Congress."<sup>xi</sup> A.V. Thakkar immediately informed Sri Krishna Sinha, of this development. Jaipal Singh continued his tirade against the Bihar Congress and demanded some sort of "purna swaraj" in his letter to Rajendra Prasad dated 14 June 1939.

Rajendra Prasad challenged Jaipal Singh on 17 June 1939 and sought a clarification in his letter to him wherein he said:

*"... I shall be obliged if you could let me know any particular case in which there has been any discrimination ... A general charge without reference to the particular facts and incidents serve only to exacerbate feelings without in any way helping and removing any such complaints, because the person complained against does not know where he has erred and what he has to do to rectify the mistakes. I would, therefore, request you to let me have specific cases so that I may look into them and if possible secure redress."*

However, Jaipal Singh did not provide any examples or specific incidents to Rajendra Prasad. Instead, he started a tour of Dhalbhum and Tatanagar for campaigning in support of separatism alongwith Professor J.C. Heyward, Igenes Beck, MLA, etc.<sup>xii</sup> Emboldened by the success in the District Board elections in Singhbhum and Ranchi, Julius Tigga wrote two extremely offensive articles entitled 'Nili Rang Bhumi Se' and 'Bihari Bander Nacho' in the *Adivasi* in its issue of 1 July 1939. To counter these separatist tendencies, a Chotanagpur Protection League was formed by the non-advasis to combat the separation movement of Adivasi Mahasabha. The separatist movement was also opposed by the Sanatan Adivasi Mahasabha formed in July 1939 by Theble Draon, a non-Christian adivasi leader. He claimed that the Adivasi Mahasabha was dominated by the Christian advasis who usurped all the government facilities meant for the advasis.<sup>xiii</sup>

With the beginning of the World War II, the British made India a participant in the war between Great Britain and Germany without the consent of the people of India. The Bihar ministry tendered resignation on 31 October 1939 leaving behind the ameliorative measures for advasis of Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas in oblivion.

So far as the World War II was concerned, the stand of the Sanatan Adivasi Sabha did not differ that of the Congress whereas the Adivasi Mahasabha extended its unqualified support to the British government.<sup>xiv</sup> In its newspaper, *Adivasi Sakam* which made its first debut in July 1940, Jaipal Singh whole heartedly supported the British war-efforts. Subsequently, he was appointed member of the Provincial War Committee. As the war progressed, he organised recruitments of literally thousands of adivasi combatants and non-combatants, skilled or unskilled for all arms of forces. When Subhash Chandra Bose visited Jamshedpur on 3 December 1939 to enlist support of labourers against the war-efforts of the British government, an address on behalf of the Advasis was presented to him by Jaipal Singh demanding constitution of Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas into a separate province. In reply to this address, he advised the Advasis not to remain aloof from the Congress.<sup>xv</sup> However, Jaipal Singh expressed the view that British imperialism was far superior to Congress imperialism.

Around December 1939, Sahajanand Saraswati visited Mahuadanr in Palamu and was greeted by a great procession of adivasi kisans, women and children. The Christian

aboriginals were prevented from coming to Mahuadanr meeting by the Roman Catholic mission.

Just before the Congress session at Ramgarh in 1940, Jaipal Singh planned a rally of adivasis at Ranchi during the session of Adivasi Mahasabha to be held from 14 to 16 March 1940 and appealed to Jawaharlal Nehru and Rajendra Prasad to visit his rally or hear a delegation of Adivasi Mahasabha at the Congress session and to assure them that the Congress would consider their claim for separate recognition. The Congress requested Jaipal Singh to send a delegation to Ramgarh to represent the Adivasi case and invited him to join the Anti-Compromise Conference to be held during the Congress session. Hurt at this development Jaipal Singh decided to go with his plan of holding the Adivasi rally at Ranchi as scheduled.<sup>xvi</sup>

During the War period, the Adivasi Mahasabha came closer to the Muslim League, especially after 'Separate Pakistan' resolution was formally adopted by the League at Lahore in 1940. The Muslim League thought of carving out an independent Adivasistan which would form a 1200-mile-long corridor between the east and west wing of the proposed Pakistan.<sup>xvii</sup> The League had no genuine interest in helping the Adivasi Mahasabha; it had its own ulterior designs. It contemplated a separate party organisation for Chotanagpur. The League workers were sent into interiors to be friend the adivasis. There was also a proposal to convert the adivasis to Islam and induce Muslims from elsewhere or displaced Muslims to settle in Chotanagpur. Some local leaders of Jamshedpur had advised the Muslim refugees to settle among the 'friendly' adivasis. It was reported that the Muslim League donated a sum of rupees one lakh to the Adivasi Mahasabha for propaganda work for Adivasistan.<sup>xviii</sup> Later on, the Muslim League in Bihar was reportedly preparing plans to divide Bihar and create a separate homeland for 47 million Bihari Muslims in 1947.<sup>xix</sup>

Similarly, the Bengalis, a sizeable professional and land-owning community wanted to carve out a separate area of Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas as their sphere of influence. That is why they supported Jaipal Singh. On the other hand, Jaipal Singh tried to woo the Bengalis of Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas in the name of Greater Bengal

so that the Jharkhand Provincial Party could win the majority of seat in Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas in the 1946 election.

At the initiative of Rajendra Prasad, the Congress initiated a programme of upliftment of aborigines on missionary line. Narayanji, the private secretary of Rajendra Prasad left for a tour of Chotanagpur for locating centres in 1940. The Congress declared the measures for upliftment of aboriginals as 'ameliorative' and 'non-political'.<sup>xx</sup> Aware of the volatile situation in Adivasi areas, Gandhiji included tribal welfare as the 14 item in his 13-point reconstruction programme in January 1942 at the instance of A.V. Thakkar.

The participation of large number of tribals in the Quit India movement was a remarkable feature of Congress politics in Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas. Thus the years 1942 and 1943 remained full of upheavals, incidents and events not only for the revolutionaries, satyagrahis and political workers but also for the local officials and police. During the Quit India movement, nobody sat idle. The ultimate aim was the attainment of freedom by hook or by crook. Influenced by the mantra of 'Do or die' of Gandhiji, the people tried their level best to end British rule.

The beginning of 1944 witnessed the agrarian problems raising their ugly heads and the aboriginals' insistence on the amendment of the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act of 1908. In 1945 Jaipal Singh expected that after the war there would be a separate province. In November 1945 he started his election campaign and addressed a number of meetings in Ranchi district. In the Jharkhand region, there were 50 constituencies with only 7 reserved for the adivasis.<sup>xxi</sup> The Adivasi Mahasabha decided to fight the election independently without any alliance with the Muslim League, Chotanagpur Separation League, etc.

The situation did not change to his advantage. Small boys of tender age were engaged in propaganda work by the Adivasi Mahasabha, who shouted 'Jharkhand Alag Prant', and even "Pakistan Zindabad".<sup>xxii</sup> The electioneering was marked by violent incidents leading to police firing at Tapkara near Ranchi in which five Adivasi activists were killed on 10 March 1946. The Adivasi Mahasabha and the Muslim League held the Congress responsible for the killing and published the number of those killed as more than a hundred. The charge was promptly refuted by the Congress.<sup>xxiii</sup>



The biggest surprise of the election was the defeat of Jaipal Singh by the veteran Congress nominee Dr P.C. Mitra in Ranchi. In the wake of the electoral setback, Jaipal Singh threatened armed struggle.<sup>xxiv</sup> The Adivasi Mahasabha could win only 3 Assembly seats out of 152 and the Catholic Sabha one that too on the reserved seat for the Indian Christians. On 14 April 1946, the Adivasi Mahasabha sent a delegation to meet the Viceroy, the Cabinet Mission and the Governor for the sake of Jharkhand state and decided to launch 'direct action' in case of failure to achieve it within three months.<sup>xxv</sup>

When the Congress ministry of Bihar was expanded the non-inclusion of adivasis created great discontent among the Adivasis. They were further aggrieved to find that two non-adivasis had been taken from Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas.<sup>xxvi</sup> A new portfolio 'Aboriginal uplift' was created and given to K.B. Sahay, the revenue minister in S.K. Sinha's Ministry. The situation became further complicated when Para 19 of the state paper had allotted 36 seats for Bihar in the Constituent Assembly out of which 32 were for general community and 5 for the Muslim community. The Census Report of 1941 tells us that there were 4,737,150 Muslims who had to elect 5 members but 6,194,620 aboriginals of Bihar were denied the right to send 7 adivasi representatives to the Constituent Assembly. However, Jaipal Singh was elected a member of the Constituent Assembly from Bihar on 23 July 1946 by the intervention of Mahatma Gandhi.

In the Constituent Assembly, Jaipal Singh put forward his 'isolationist' proposal to solve the tribal problems and wanted the Scheduled Tribes to be added along with Scheduled Areas and Tribal Advisory Council for the administration of the Scheduled Areas invested with legislative and executive powers. Thakkar Bapa sharply differed with him. He pleaded for greater protection and for making available safeguard under the Indian Constitution for non-Christian aborigines because there was none to look after them in the Constituent Assembly.<sup>xxvii</sup> A Sub-Committee was formed with Thakkar Bapa and Jaipal Singh, as its member was appointed by the Constituent Assembly to investigate the problems of adivasis and suggest some solutions. Jaipal Singh knew fully well that the Sub-Committee had nothing to do with the creation of a new state of Jharkhand but he gave an impression to his followers that Jharkhand would soon be created by the Government of British India.<sup>xxviii</sup>

During 1946-47, there was a series of communal violence in and around Bihar. Jaipal Singh wanted to avoid this kind of development in Chotanagpur. Although, the Muslim League and the tribal leaders continued to interact and collaborate on such platforms as provided by the Chotanagpur Separation League, which was dominated by the Muslims Leaguers, retired bureaucrats and friends of missionaries, rethinking on the part of tribal leaders had started.<sup>xxix</sup> Jaipal Singh resisted the attempts of the Muslim League leaders to induce adivasis to give support to the Direct Action call of the League. He expressed satisfaction that the people of Chotanagpur did not take part in quarrels such as had occurred in Calcutta.

It is significant to note here that the participation of tribal women in separatist movement increased significantly with the passage of time. The Adivasi Mahasabha had a Mahila Sangh, which was headed by Mrs Hanna Bodra. Mrs Minz and Mrs Bodra stood on either side of Jaipal Singh armed with bows and arrows.<sup>xxx</sup> Minz spoke on poverty and cloth scarcity. There was also a series of tribal gatherings over the question of illiteracy, Korkar land, forest rights, etc. in which tribal women participated enthusiastically.

The Adivasi Mahasabha prepared a 13 point memorandum to be submitted to the members of Excluded and Partially Excluded Areas Sub-Committee which visited Chotanagpur in May 1947, demanding a separate state of Jharkhand. But the tribal population in Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas was reduced to a minority i.e. 44.5 per cent in the Census Report of 1941 and hence it was difficult to sustain any ethnic movement. Meanwhile a new but not unexpected movement for the amalgamation of certain parts of Bihar with the new province of West Bengal was started by the Bengalis. The areas claimed were Manbhum, Dalbhum sub-division of Singhbhum district, certain parts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, the Santal Parganas and Purnea. This Bengali agitation was sponsored mostly by those Bengali Lawyers who had immigrated to these areas. Although they had no permanent stake in this province, still their connections, economic and otherwise, with Bengal continued.<sup>xxxii</sup> The Bengalis claimed these areas on linguistic and cultural grounds, though in fact, the language spoken in the areas in question was usually either an aboriginal dialect or a mixture of Bengali and one dialect or another of Hindi.<sup>xxxiii</sup> The adivasis naturally were opposed to this movement.

With the declaration of Indian Independence, the dreams of a separate adivasi state consisting of Chotanagpur, the Santal parganas and regions adjoining Chotanagpur<sup>xxxiii</sup> was shattered. The attempts of Adivasi Mahasabha to carve out a separate province out of Bihar during 1939 to 1947 proved futile and fruitless. However, with Indian Independence came the concepts of democracy secularism and adult franchise which gave the tribals a new sense of awareness of their rights and equality with others. The Constituent Assembly (1946-49), after long discussions gave safeguards to the tribes of India and made radical provisions for security of the tribal interests in the Fifth and Sixth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

These new developments made the ethnic character of Adivasi Mahasabha superfluous. On 5 March 1949, a meeting of Adivasi Mahasabha at Ranchi passed a resolution, converting the Adivasi Mahasabha into the Jharkhand Party so as to fight for the formation of a separate Jharkhand state.<sup>xxxiv</sup> Jaipal Singh and Julius Tigga were elected its President and Secretary respectively and the membership of this new party was opened to all Chotanagpuri adivasis and non-adivasis alike in principle. On 1<sup>st</sup> January 1950, Jaipal Singh formally launched the Jharkhand Party at Jamshedpur, which was renamed as All India Jharkhand party with the sole aim of creation of a Jharkhand state within the Indian Constitution.

To sum up the separatist movement under the aegis of Adivasi Mahasabha remained unsuccessful at the time of Indian Independence. The non-fulfilment of its dream was a rude shock to a section of Adivasis, Muslims and the Bengalis. The Jharkhand movement had the legitimate demand for a separate province, but it was launched at a wrong time and under a questionable and loyalist leadership. Thus, everything went wrong against the adivasis and they had to satisfy themselves with the radical constitutional safeguards of the Indian Constitution.

## Notes and References

- i K.S. Singh, *Tribal Society in India*, p. 199.
- ii *Ibid.*, p. 197.
- iii Theble Oraon, later on, set up the Sanatan Adivasi Mahasabha owing to his difference of opinions with Jaipal Singh.
- iv *Abua Jharkhand*, Vol. XIV. No. 1, 2 Jan 1961; Cited in L.N. Rana. 'The Adivasi Mahasabha (1938-1949)'. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress* (hereafter PIHC): 53 Session, 1992-93.
- v Victor Das, *Jharkhand: Castles Over the Grave*, p. 94.
- vi Balmiki Chaudhary (ed.), *Dr Rajendra Prasad : Correspondence and Select Documents*, Vol. II. p. 55.
- vii *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 4.
- viii J.C. Jha, 'The tribals of Bihar and the Indian Freedom Movement'. *Indian Historical Review*, Vol. XII, No. 1-2, p. 295.
- ix For detailed Bihar ministry's ameliorative measures for Chotanagpur and the Santal Parganas see Balmiki Chaudhary, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 311-314.
- x *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p. 9.
- xi Balmiki Chaudhary, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 234-5.
- xii *Adibasi*, 15 July 1939, Microfilm No. 1M/39, Roll No. 14, Nehru Memorial Museum and Library.
- xiii Home Poll. File No. 18/8/39.
- xiv Home Poll. File No. 18/11/39. The CS, GOB to the Secretary, GOI.
- xv Home Poll., File No. 18/12/39.
- xvi *Ibid.*
- xvii R.S. Shukla to Sardar V. Patel, 20 Jan. 1948; Durga Das (ed.), *Patel Correspondence* (Ahmedabad, 1973), Vol. III. Letter no. 435, p. 525. For further details see K.S. Singh, 'Tribes, Partition and Independence', S. Settar and Indira B. Gupta (eds.), *Pangs of Partition*, Vol. I, ICHR, Manohar, 2002, pp. 266-267.
- xviii M.S. Niyogi, Report of the Christian missionary activities Enquiry Committee (Madhya Pradesh, 1957), p. 9.
- xix K.S. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 265. Quoted from 'Divide Bihar' pamphlet of the Muslim League in Pyarelal, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-18.
- xx *The Searchlight*, 11 May 1940.
- xxi *The Bihar Herald*, 9 October 1945. *Ibid.*, 6 November 1945.
- xxii Rajendra Prasad, *Atma Katha*, p. 829.
- xxiii *Ibid.*, pp. 829-832.
- xxiv K.L. Sharma, 'Jharkhand Movement in Bihar', *Economic and Political Weekly*, Vol. XI, No. 142, 10 July 1976, p. 42.
- xxv Rajendra Prasad to Srikrishna Sinha, dt. 10 April 1946, Dr Balmiki Chaudhary (ed.), *op. cit.*, Vol. VI, p. 111.
- xxvi *The Bihar Herald*, 28 April 1946.
- xxvii K.S. Singh, *op. cit.*, p. 189.
- xxviii Ignés Kujur, *Jharkhand Dumuhane Par* (Ranchi, 1955), p. 40; cited in L.N. Rana, *op. cit.*, p. 402.
- xxix K.S. Singh, Tribes, Partition and Independence, *op. cit.*, p. 269.
- xxx Home Poll. Spl. File No. 270/1947.
- xxxi Home Poll. File No. 18/7/47, The CS, GOB to the SGOL, Ranchi, 26 July 1947.
- xxxii *Ibid.*
- xxxiii The native states of Chotanagpur i.e. Seraikella, Kharsawan, Surguja, Jashpur, Udaipur, Korea and Changbhakar.
- xxxiv L.N. Rana, *op. cit.*, p. 402.