

Some Socio-Economic Aspects of Growth of Patna City (1900—1930)

**Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
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MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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DECLARATION

This is to certify that the dissertation entitled "Some Socio-Economic Aspects of Growth of Patna City (1900-1930)" submitted by Mr. Sunil Kumar Singh in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.

We recommend that this dissertation should be placed before the examiners for their consideration for the award of the above mentioned degree.

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(SUNIL KUMAR SINGH)

GLOSSARY

Atishbazi - Fireworks

Bagh - garden

Bania - merchant class

Chilam - pot in hukkah containing tobacco

Churi - bangle

Dahi - curd

Dari - carpet made of coarse cotton

Hukkah - smoking pipe

Jhar-Fanus - decorated glassware with space for lighting

Kamdani - embroidery

Karkhana - workshops

Madrassa - secondary school

Maktab - primary school

Moffusil - area away from the town

Motia - coarse cotton cloth

Pan - betel

Panni - metallic foils

Pathsala - primary school (sanskrit)

Pucca - built of brick and mortar and concrete

Purdah - veil, a custom among Indian women not to show themselves in public

Tabaq - gold and silver leaves

Tikuli - small ornament used in women on forehead

Zamindar - landlord

Zardozi - embroidery

Zenana - females

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INTRODUCTION

PATNA, THE CITY

PATNA, the Capital of Bihar and Orissa, and the headquarters town of Patna District, was situated on the South bank of the Ganges at 25 37' N and 85 10' E. Throughout 19th century and upto 1921, the city saw a declining population. While in 1812 Dr. Buchanan estimated the population at 312,000, it dwindled to about 170,000 in 1881. It reached its nadir in 1921 when the population given by the census was only about 134,000.

HISTORY

Patna stood on the site of one of the most ancient cities of the world, but little remains above ground to testify to its early greatness. Various legends exist regarding its origin, of which the most popular ascribes it to Putrak, who named it Pataliputra in honour of his wife Patali. Buddhist accounts place its origin in the reign of Ajatsatru, King of Magadha, describing how the Lord Buddha found the fort in course of building, and halted for a night here on his last journey (circa 487 B.C). A town naturally grew up by the fort, which in the fourth century B.C, became the

capital of the Mauryan empire. About 300 B.C., when Chandra Gupta reigned in Pataliputra, Seleukos Nikator sent hither as his ambassador Megasthenes, who wrote an account of the city, of which fragments, quoted by other writers, yet remain.

Megasthenes describes the municipal government of the city, which was in charge of six boards, each consisting of five members. The first board superintended industries and artisans. The second was concerned with foreign visitors. They found lodging for foreigners who arrived in the city, procured medical attendance for them if they fell sick, buried them if they should die, and forwarded their property to their relatives, and if the foreigner survived the dangers of the city, the board provided an escort for his further journey. The third board was concerned with the registration of births and deaths, not only for revenue purposes, but also in order that Government might be kept informed of fluctuations of population. The fourth board superintended trade and commerce; they had charge of weights and measures; and it was their duty to see that trade was done in public. The fifth board specially supervised the sale of manufactured articles, which also must be done in public. Each trader had to pay for a license for each kind of

commodity in which he dealt. A tenth of the price of articles sold was also exacted, the collection of which was the business of the sixth board. The whole body of thirty councillors was in charge of public buildings and temples, markets and wharves, and the regulation of prices.

Chandra Gupta's grandson Asoka, who became an enthusiastic convert to Buddhism, erected a great palace and many stone buildings at Pataliputra, of which the Chinese traveller Fa Hian wrote that they were made by spirits at Asoka's bidding because no human being could accomplish such beauty and harmony in stone and wood. Part of a great stone building of Asoka's period was discovered by Dr. Spooner when he excavated at Kumharar, which was regarded by him as identical in plan with the Hall of a Thousand Pillars at Persepolis.¹

With the fall of the Mauryan dynasty the importance of Patna as a capital city ceased; but it apparently continued to exist as a great trading town until the Hun invasion of the Sixth Century A.D., which was followed by the invasion of Sasnka, who sacked the city, destroyed its sacred relics, and scattered the

1. Patna District Gazetteer, 1924, pp. 168.

Buddhist monks. When at about 640 A.D. Hiuen tsiang came to India he found Pataliputra in ruins. The deserted city had many ruins of Hindu temples and Buddhist stupas. All that was left of the ancient city was a small town, containing about 1,000 houses bordering on the Ganges. For nearly one thousand years Patna remained an inconsiderable town; but that it was not entirely neglected is apparent from the fact that Allauddin Hossain Shah, Sultan of Gaur, built here a mosque at the end of the fifteenth century A.D., which may be seen on the main city street near the chauk.

MODERN PERIOD

The city appears to have rapidly grown in importance after Sher Shah built the fort in 1541. The town extended for one and half miles from the Eastern to the Western gate, and for three-quarters of a mile from north to south; but it appears from the **Sair-ul-Mutakharin** that in the early eighteenth century the city had spread beyond the wall.²

In mid-18th century the city already extended beyond the walls; great men had their garden houses in

2. Sairul Mutakharin, I, 427, as quoted in Patna District Gazetteer, 1924. The Gazetteer quotes a long passage giving details of how the wall was built and how it protected the people from Marathas.

the suburbs, and along the river bank as far as Bankipore, where the East India Company had a garden (Company Bagh) on the Ganges. The removal of the factory to this 'bagh' and the growth of the 'bazar' which served the needs of the Brigade at Bankipore (Barkarganj), resulted in a great development of the western suburbs. This process of westward extension continued after the Brigade was moved to Dinapore.

RIVERSIDE

The most pleasing aspect of Patna was that which was to be obtained from the Ganges. Even in 19th and early 20th century, the distant prospect of the eastern part of the city was magnificent, though a nearer approach might be a bit disappointing due to too common appearance of neglect and dilapidation.³

In Patna city, the river flowing by the city, augmented by the western branch of the Gandak, was a far livelier stream than the Ganges at Bankipore; and the traffic on it, during the late 19th and early 20th century, was increased considerably by the boats which came to it from the great tributary. Ruined revetment

3. Bishop Heber, Journey in India, I. pp. 312. The Patna District Gazetteer quotes heavily from his account to describe the view of city from the Ganges.

works were to be seen before the front of the city was reached; but henceforth an almost continuous line of 'Poshtas' bore witness to the strength of the stream as it came down in its annual flood. The manner in which the bank as a whole had withstood erosion during the centuries would indeed be remarkable if it merely consisted of alluvial deposit; but one house and revetment after another had here been built on the ruins of its predecessors, so that when the protective masonry which lined the bank was swept away, it was a very solid bank which stood behind it.

THE MAIN STREET

Travellers who have visited Patna have commonly described it as consisting of one long street. The description was not completely accurate; but the most important street of the town, until recently, was that portion of the ancient Ganges road which passes through it. Starting from west, upto Bankipore the road was suburban in character, but from the Bakarganj 'nala' east of the Bankipore Maidan to Jafar Khan's Bagh in east, it was definitely a city street, the main highway of Patna. For half a mile from the 'nala' the road ran by Company Bagh, of which a great part has long ceased to be a garden in anything but name. Here is 'St.

Joseph's Church, built in 1850, alongwith its convent. On the opposite side of the road is the European cemetary of mid-19th century. On the north of the road, after Muradbagh (Muradpur) with the hospital buildings, is the Patna Oriental Library, now Khudabux Oriental Library, known after the name of its founder who founded it in 1890.

Now the road passed in front of Patna College and the tomb of pir Bahor Shah, under a tamarind tree. A mile down the road is the Stone Mosque (Pather Ki Masjid) built by a son of Jahangir, Prince Parvez Shah, in 1626 A.D. About a mile down the road, the northern side is bounded by the long wall of old Opium Factory opposite which was the house known in eighteenth century as Gulzarbagh, owned by a landlord of the area.

The road enters the city proper at 'Pachhim Darwaza'. On the southern side of the road was Mirza Masum's Mosque built in the reign of Jahangir about 1616 A.D., still in a good state of preservation in 1920's. Down the road we come across many old buildings of 18th and 19th century, now in a semi-delapidated state. Here we also find the Patna Cemetary, the scene of Patna massacre in 1763. A quarter of a mile beyond the cemetary, on the north of

the road, is the old Roman Catholic Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary, commonly known as the 'Padari ki Haveli'. A little beyond the church is the mosque of Allauddin Shah, built by the Sultan of Gaur in 1499 A.D. At the Chauk is Shaista Khan's mosque and 'Katra', built at the close of the 17th century and also the Amber mosque, built by Shaista Khan's Nazim, Khwaja Ambar, in 1688-89 A.D. In the Harmandir Lane on the south of the road is the Sikh temple, one of the sacred places of the Sikhs, built at the spot where Guru Govind Singh was born. Here are preserved the Guru's cradle, shoes, swords, and arrows, and a beautifully embroidered copy of the holy book of the Sikhs, said to have been presented to the temple by Guru Govind Singh himself. Near the eastern gate is Sher Shah's mosque, built by Sher Shah between 1540 and 1545. Outside the mosque are several tombs.

The road passes, out of the city by the 'Purab Darwaza', past Jafar Khan's garden, the old military camping ground on the east of the city, to Fatuha, whence it ran by the Ganges, through Barh, Mukameh, Monghyr and Bhagalpur to Bengal.

BANKIPORE

The name Bankipore, which properly describes only the area west of the 'maidan' was applied in the eighteenth century to include Muharrampur and Muradpur, wherein lies the greater part of the area now generally known as Bankipore, between the new capital area on the west and Afzalpur on the east. This is the headquarters station of Patna district and division. The whole appearance of the civil station is rendered picturesque by the great 'maidan', now known as 'Gandhi maidan', the old military camping ground, marking the next stage in the march from Bengal after Jafar Khan's bagh on the east. To the south in Mithapur lies the Bankipore railway station, now known as Patna Junction; whence Patna-Gaya line branches to the south and the Digha line to the north-west. Near the railway station is the district jail and the dak bungalow. As the road leads to the civil station, it skirts Chajju Bagh, now occupied by the chief justice and other High Court officials.

The new capital, the seat of the provincial Government, occupies the area west of the Railway Station and north of the main railway line. This area is officially known as Patna, as distinct from Patna

City which lies far to the east. This area is traversed by Digha Branch line. The area east of this line contains the High Court, and officials quarters, the Post & Telegraph office, the Hardinge Park and the market. The section west of Digha Line and north of main line contains Government House (Governor's House), the Secretariat, ;Council Chambers, and official residences.

The main-feature of the lay-out is the central avenue, nearly a mile long, earlier known as King George's Avenue, which runs east and west between the Secretariat and Government House. The designers of the capital, in laying out the roads, were able to consider the necessities of modern systems of transport; and if the new capital lacks the interest which attaches to ancient cities, its roads have no dangerous turnings caused by old encroachments. At junctions of roads islands have been constructed, which have been fenced and planted with shrubs. This whole area of New Capital, alongwith its buildings, was laid out by the architect J.F. Munnings, and his assistants.

IMPORTANCE OF TOPIC

This gives a general view of the city and its history from the earliest time. In India, the

tradition of urban history writing is not very old. Few works have been undertaken on the history of the growth of individual cities and towns. The purpose of the present work is to study the growth of an ancient town of importance which has been able to maintain its importance through the ages, with the intervention of a few centuries; and its changing pattern of importance. Patna suits the criteria brilliantly. It was a town which remained in limelight in ancient times due to its position as a seat of power. Secondly, being situated at the confluence of three rivers, it served as an excellent centre of trade during ancient and medieval times. However, the influence of modern civilization and its mode of communication was not very favourable to the trade of this old city. This impact on trade and its effect on the growth and prosperity of the city could attractively be a theme of investigation for any student of urban growth. Another factor which makes the study of Patna important is the fact that apart from being a trade centre, Patna had also developed, over the centuries of brisk business, into an important manufacturing centre and as late as mid-19th century about one-third of the population was engaged in industries which were conducted, however, on family level. The coming of modern political power,

and alongwith it, the modern machinery, ruined not only the trade but also the industries of Patna. Thus, Patna came among a large number of towns like Murshidabad and Dacca, who lost their grandeur due to the severe attack of modern civilisation.

The study of Patna also serves as a good example of study in changing patterns of urban nature. Development of an urban place depends on different factors like political power, trade centre, educational centre, industrial centre and tourist centre and the like. Patna has the unique distinction of passing through three distinct phases during its voyage through the ages depending on the determining factor of urbanisation. The ancient Patna was mainly a trading centre, medieval Patna was a trading as well as manufacturing centre. But after mid-19th century the city lost its position both as a manufacturing centre and a trading centre. The result was disastrous. Patna lost its population very rapidly. The third phase started after the creation of province of Bihar & Orissa in 1912, when Patna was made the capital of the new province. At the same time the city rose as a seat of education. Thus, the city once again gradually gained its lost status and the population grew. During

the third decade of 20th century the city gained more than thirty percent of its population.

THE PERIOD, IMPORTANCE

In fact, the early 20th century is important in the history of Patna for more than one reason. This city was passing through a transitional phase during the early years of this century in almost all fields - political, educational, economic or population wise. Firstly, the declining trend in trade and industry, which had started in later years of the last century, reached the culmination point in early years of this century. The home industries were almost wholly destroyed by 1920; the riverborne trade, which had been the main basis of prosperity of the city in early days, ceased to exist for almost all practical purposes. The opium industry, which was one of the most important industries of Patna for centuries, and which was certainly the most important industry during the first decade of 20th century was suddenly discarded in 1911, and with it was gone the name of Patna from the list of cities indulging in any type of significant industry.

Secondly, the declining trend of population, which had also started in later 19th century and was a direct consequence of declining trade and industry, also

culminated in 1921 when the census recorded the lowest population of Patna. This was also partially a result of regular phenomena of epidemics in Patna since 1900. However, after 1921, Patna experienced a bloom in population due to a general improvement in the climate of Patna and growth and development of educational and political institutions in the New Capital of Bihar & Orissa. Thirdly, as we have just noted, many educational institutions grew and developed in Patna. Patna University was established in 1917, Bihar School of Engineering and Temple Medical School were promoted to Bihar College of Engineering and Prince of Wales Medical College respectively in 1920's. Thus, it seemed as if in a flash Patna became a seat of modern higher education. Fourthly, in 1912 Patna became the seat of political power, with the establishment of capital of newly created province of Bihar & Orissa.

Thus, Once again, by the end of the third decade of 20th century, Patna had acquired at least two determinants of an urban centre - it had become a seat of political power as well as that of higher learning. Therefore, by the end of 1930's, we once again see Patna looking for a seat among the growing cities of India, having cornered due importance.

These are the reasons which make the period, 1900-1930, Important in the history of growth of Patna. Hence, the present work endeavours to deal with this period.

LITERATURE REVIEW

As we have already noted, few works are available on the historical growth of individual Indian cities. Fewer works are available on Patna City. In fact, there is only one work in English on Patna City in modern times, and no work has ever been produced on Patna of 20th century. In such circumstances it was not easy to look through substantial works on Patna city proper. However, mention may be made of some books that were written on or about Patna, or which may provide a framework for the study of Patna.

First among such works is Dr. Hamilton Buchanan's **Accounts of Behar and Shahabad**,⁴ written in 1812 under the orders of the Supreme Government of India. Buchanan paid a brisk visit to almost all parts of Bengal and wrote an account of places he visited. Patna had not yet been constituted as a separate district (it became a separate district in 1825). It

4. Dr. Hamilton, Buchanan, Accounts of Bihar and Shahabad, 1812.

formed a part of the district of Behar which also contained the modern district of Gaya. This work is a general description of the land and the people and their life-style, as it existed during the visit of the chronicler. The work gives very detail description of the minutest thing which the author himself saw. It also gives a large number of statistical facts on population, number of villages and houses, manufactures of the district and the people engaged in it, items of trade and the people engaged in it, value of articles imported and exported from the district by different means of communication, number of literate people and pattern of education in interior villages as well as in towns, and many things like these. The book also gives a separate account of Patna City, as it existed then. According to Buchanan, the city was a place of brisk business, both in trade and industry, but the city itself was very crowded and filthy.

On the line of Buchanan, another work came in 1877. It was **A Statistical Account of of Bengal** by W.W. Hunter.⁵ This was also, like that of Buchanan, was a voluminous book, having about fifteen volumes. The volumeXI gives the account of districts of Patna and

5. W. W. Hunter, A Statistical Account of Bengal, 1877. vol. XI

Saran. This work depends heavily on the accounts of Dr. Buchanan and adopts a similar line of presentation. However, the statistical accounts have been given for current years, 1874-76. For other parts like the description of the land and people, it quotes heavily from Buchanan's work. This work also gives a description of social and economic life of Patna city and adds some material to those already provided by Dr. Buchanan.

However, both of these works are pure official works and served the purpose of the government in providing a description of the people they were governing. Though the works provide with a fairly large amount of information, they suffer from the lack of historical insight. For example, while the works give data on current affairs, they don't give any information about the previous years, thus consequently they fail to give any idea of the comparative growth or development of different aspects of life of the people. Secondly different aspects, like education and economic life, have been treated as air-tight boxes, having no co-relation between them. Different aspects of life, in reality, are not unrelated to each other. They influence each other and their mutual interaction finally determines the rate of growth of a place.

History of Patna in comparatively recent days was written by Prof. Surendra Gopal.⁶ This work is a socio-cultural profile of Patna in 19th century. He makes use of a lot of material available in Urdu for the purpose of looking into the life of the city, which was still a seat of Muslim influence in 19th century. The first time use of material available in Urdu enabled the author to have a close view on the literature, festivals and fairs, and painting and calligraphy of Patna in 19th century. The work is full of small pieces of information on Patna.

But the work confines itself to 19th century only and a work continuing his effort to relate the history of Patna to 20th century is much desired. The present work will be a humble endeavour in this direction.

Another work on Patna was attempted by Dr. Qeyamuddin Ahmad⁷ of Patna University. But this edited work has become just an anthology of about a dozen of articles on subjects as varying as 'Pataliputra in History and Legend' to 'the city of Patna-Etymology of Place-Names'. The isolated articles fail to give a

6. Surendra Gopal, Patna in the 19th century: Naya Prokash, Calcutta, 1982.

7. Qeyamuddin Ahmed, (ed)., Patna Through the ages, Janki Prakashan, Patna, 1988.

view of the concerted history of Patna. The editor himself accepts that "...We ourselves have made no attempt to prepare a plain integrated account of the town's history which a general reader may like to utilise. Such a volume presupposes, and can only be based on, specialised studies of the town at different periods."⁸

No separate studies have been undertaken in the population studies of Patna and few have been undertaken even for Bihar. One of them by S.R. Bose⁹ gives an inside look of population pattern of Bihar between the two censuses of 1951 and 1961, and provides a good framework for any studyt on population. The work attempts a thorough analysis of census data and bases its conclusion on them. However, S.R. Bose deals with the period 1951-61 when census data gave very exhaustive information on population. Moreover, he was dealing with the alarmingly growing population of India and hence his conclusions are mainly aimed at population control. Moreover, this study is also an isolated study of only one aspect of the life of the people.

8. Ibid, pp. XII

9. S. R. Bose, Bihar Population Problems: Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1969.

We face similar situation in the field of education also. No separate work on the study of growth of education in Patna exists. The closest book that may be thought to the educational development of Patna is **Education in Bihar** by Dr. Jatashankar Jha.¹⁰ However, this study confines itself during the years 1813-59. Similar is the case with the economic history of Patna for which no separate work exists. However, **The Comprehensive History of Bihar** by Kalikinkar Datta (edited) is a comprehensive book of four volumes dealing with the history of Bihar from earliest times to the independence of India in 1947. Patna being the most important place in Bihar, obviously attracts attention. However, individual city finds seldom mention when dealing with the general social and economic conditions. We largely have to depend on such descriptions to derive inferences for Patna. However, when individual institutions are mentioned, we get a view of the society of Patna city. Anyway, this work cannot be termed as containing the history of Patna, only because Bihar contained Patna. This book was not meant for it.

10. Jatashanker Jha, Education in Bihar: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, Patna. 1979.

Thus, it becomes clear that no work exists on the 20th century history of Patna. However, some work has been done on the history of other cities. Among such works mention may be made of Gillion's work on Ahmedabad¹¹ and Oldenburg's work on Colonial Lucknow.¹² The former work is a general history of urban development in one of the most industrialised cities of India. It covers the period upto 1960 when Ahmedabad became the capital of the new State of Gujarat, starting from 1411 A.D. when the city was founded by Sultan Ahmad Shah. However, the main attraction of the city, the cotton mills, don't fail to attract the attention of the author. He gives due importance to the industrial and business community, their growth and development in mill-owners, the urban problems due to heavy industrialisation and their solution; and makes these the main theme of his work. He also, in the end, describes the role of the city in the freedom movement of India.



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The latter work, by Veena Oldenburg, deals on the other hand, with the short but important period between

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11. Kenneth L. Gillion, Ahmedabad: University of California Press, Berkely and Los Angles,. 1968.
 12. Veena Talwar Oldenburg, The Making of Colonial Lucknow (1856-77); Princeton University Press, New Jersey.

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1856 and 1877. These two terminal years were very important in the history of Lucknow as the first marked the annexation of Oudh into the British Empire and end of the Nawabi culture of Lucknow; and the second saw the amalgamation of the province of Oudh with its larger neighbour, the North-West Provinces, and the removal of the provincial capital from Lucknow. Thus, the year proved to be another important one in the decline of the city of Lucknow. However, the work is an exhaustive description of the affairs of the city and its people during those days and consequently shows the declining status of it compared to earlier days.

These two works give a good presentation of the history of urban growth and its consequences, impact of foreign rule on the different aspects of the life of a city. These can serve as a good model for the history of any city.

THE PLAN OF DISSERTATION (CHAPTERISATION)

The purpose of the present work is to present a concerted history of Patna city in the first three decades of the present century. This is an attempt in urban history writing in the context of 20th century Patna engulfing main Socio-economic aspects of the city life. The work would have been more comprehensive if

all aspects of growth of a city, viz. communications, police, municipality, sanitation, buildings, epidemic control, taxation, education, trade, industry etc. would have been included in study. But due to time-stringency (the work was to be completed within eight months) it was an impossible task. Therefore three main aspects of growth of a city have been selected. The choice is deliberate but the selection is inevitable. These three aspects are population, education and economic condition.

population is the most important and obvious meter to gauge the growth of a city. A rapid growth in population is the indication of overall development of the city, of course with some associated problems. Reciprocally, decline of other factors like trade, industry, lack of sanitation etc. causes the fall in population. In the middle of 19th century the population of Patna started declining. This trend continued in 20th century until the beginning of the second decade. The 1921 census recorded the lowest number of inhabitants for Patna city in its modern history. However, the next decade saw a rapid growth of population and the census of 1931 recorded about 31 percent more people in Patna over the census report of

1921. But right upto 1931, throughout the period, the number of women per thousand men went on decreasing.

The trend in the changing pattern of population of Patna raises several questions. What were the causes of decline of population upto 1921? How was it related to other factors of growth? What were the causes behind the falling ratio of women in the city? Which factors promoted the growth of population during the decade 1921-31? Was the decline a natural phenomena, or was the administration responsible for it to any extent? Had the migration anything to do with the changing pattern of population? Was migration related to other factors of growth like education and trade and industry? This work endeavours to answer these questions.

Among the social factors that influence the development of a man, education undoubtedly comes first. Therefore, the choice of education was also unavoidable. Patna had been the centre of learning in medieval and early modern times. Therefore, in comparison to other towns of Bihar, it had a higher rate of literacy. But still it lagged behind miserably compared to other cities of India in early 20th century. In 1901 only eleven percent of the

population was literate. However, the perusal of this factor also raises many questions. Was literacy really progressing during the period ? Was the administration really anxious about improving the conditions ? Was female education satisfactory ? Were there any considerable discrepancies between Hindu and Muslim literacy ? The following pages of this work will humbly try to answer these questions also.

One of the major causes of the decline of population of Patna city during the first two decades is the deteriorating economic condition of the people of the city. The decline of river-borne trade, decreasing number of industries, falling proportion of the people engaged in manufacturing and economic activities, all these things show that the people of Patna grew poorer during the early years of this century. It was only after the development of capital at Patna that the city showed some signs of recovering. The reshaping of life during these years in Patna raises further questions. What were the causes of decline of traditional industries ? Why modern industries could not grow in this region ? Had the establishment of New Capital anything to do with the Socio-economic life of the people ? Had the administration been responsible for the declining

industries of Patna ? These are some more question that we shall look into.

SOURCES

As we have seen, few books are available on Patna; therefore the main sources were the primary material available in archives and libraries. Materials were seen at Patna and in Delhi. At Patna, the Bihar State Archives forms the main source of materials which include valuable files of different departments like Education, Industry, Commerce, Municipality, Opium, Revenue. Libraries at Patna that provided printed and unprinted material include Patna University Library and Sinha Library. In Delhi, National Archives of India, Nehru Memorial Library and Central Secretariat Library, alongwith the J N U Library, formed major sources of published official works and secondary works. For newspapers etc. N M L provides excellent facilities.

GROWTH OF POPULATION

In this chapter we shall deal with population growth in Patna city during the first three decades of the present century. Census being a new phenomenon at the ^{urn} t. of the century (the 1901 census was only the third regular one), the data collected were not exhaustive enough for the research purposes of a modern researcher. For example, few data were provided for the cities. No data was available for the emigrant from a city. Similarly while giving the population data Thanawise, no distribution was made between rural and urban areas; many thanas having jurisdiction order rural as well as urban areas, it was impossible to calculate the population of a city thanawise or wardwise. It was particularly the case with the 1901 census. Though the later censuses gave the population wardwise for a city, they failed to provide the data on emigration for individual cities which was important from our point of view. Moreover, the census tables of the period (1901-31) don't give any picture of rural urban migration in the same district, which would have been an important factor in our study of socio-economic life of the people of Patna city.

Despite all these shortcomings and limitations, an attempt has been made in the present study to find out how the growth rate of population has varied in different parts of Patna city during the period 1901-1931; to analyse the constituents of the variation; and to isolate, if possible, the ~~census~~ causes which have led to such variations from ward to ward. Moreover, we shall also deal with the population of Patna city as a whole, its different constituents and shall look for causes of varying population of the city.

Generally speaking, the population growth of Patna city did not show the same trend over the period as Patna District or the province of Bihar and Orissa. During the first two decades, 1901-1921, the province recorded a .3.84% increase in population while the Patna district recorded a decrease of 2.92% in population. But Patna city recorded a high decrease of 12.34% during the same period. This was the period which saw a overall decrease in the population of India due to several out breaks of epidemics like cholera, plague and influenza. These natural calamities struck the cities ruthlessly. Due to their congested growth and health hazard produced by unhealthy environment due to accumulation of filth in towns themselves, the towns and cities fell an early prey to the epidemics. Patna

was no exception. It fell like any traditional centre of township. Of course, there were some economic factors also, like the decline of river-borne trade, which we shall discuss later on. However, the decade 1921-31 saw a radical change in Indian population growth. That is why the year 1921 has been described as 'great divide' in Indian census. The decade saw a 11.42% growth in the population of the whole province and 17.10% growth in the population of Patna district. But for Patna city the census recorded an overwhelmingly high growth of 33.10%. This process that gives the favourable circumstances, a city tends to record a higher rate of growth. We shall discuss the 'favourable circumstances' a city tends to record a higher rate of growth. We shall discuss the 'favourable circumstances' that helped the rapid growth of Patna during the third decade in a later part of this chapter.

Thus, for the period of 1901-31, while the province of Bihar and Orissa recorded a 15.81% increase and the Patna district a 13.68% increase, Patna city recorded an overall 18.48% increase.

POPULATION OF PATNA CITY:

Let us now discuss the growth of population of Patna city during our period, i.e. 1901-31; its ingredients and variation in them and the probable causes that effected the variation.

The table 2.1 gives the population data for Patna city from 1891 to 1931. The table also gives the male-female ratio during the period. A diagram has been attached showing the decline and growth of the population (fig.2.1).

In 1881 Patna had 170,654 inhabitants; by 1921 this number had declined to 119,976. During these years its downward career was steady and unchecked, for the slight increase recorded in 1911. Indeed, in 1901 the census was taken at a time when plague was raging and a considerable proportion of the inhabitants had fled from their homes, the result being a decrease of 18.41 percent. At a second census held in July 1901 the population was found to be 153,739, or nearly 19,000 more, but in spite of this addition the population was 7 percent less than in 1891¹. The census of 1911 shows an increase of 1,368 as compared with the

1. The Census of India, 1911, vol. V, Part I, p. 34

Population Of Patna City (1891- 1931)

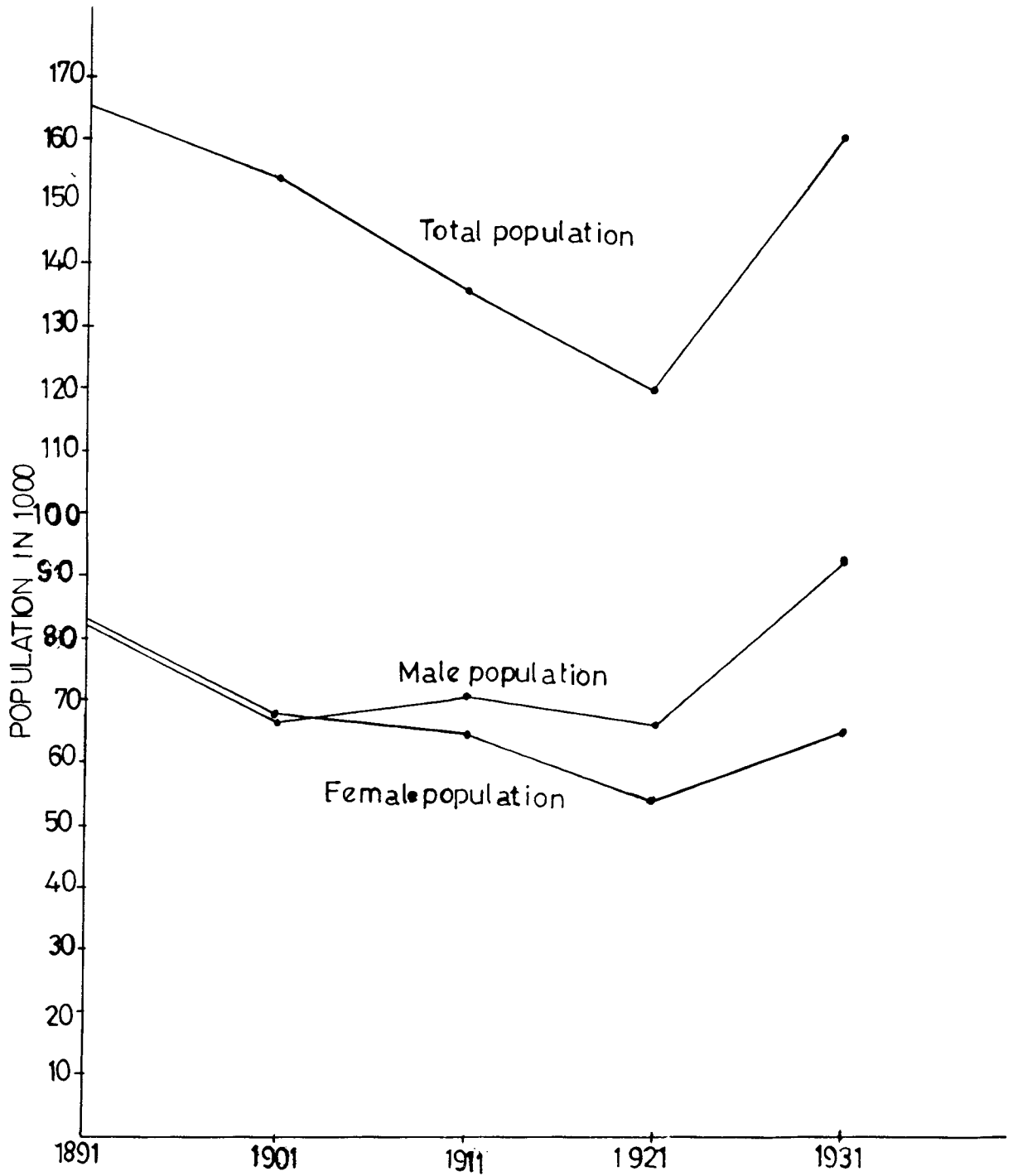


Fig. 2.1

Table 2.1

Variation in Population of Patna City, 1891-1931

Year	Total population	Male	Female	Total variation	% variation	No of females per 1000 males
1881	165,192	82,008	83,184	-	-	1014
1901	134,785	67,038	67,747	-30,407	-18.41	1010
1901 (July)	153,739	-	-	-	-	-
1911	136,153	70,841	65,312	+1,368	+1.01	922
1921	119,976	65,777	54,199	-16,177	-11.88	824
1931	159,690	92,238	67,452	+39,714	+33.10	731

first census of 1901; but if it be compared with second enumeration of 1901, there is a decrease of 17,586 persons or 11.4 percent. The census of 1921 shows a decrease of 16,177 or 11.88 percent (Tab.2.1) . But if the accession of population owing to the creation of the New Capital be neglected, the decrease amounts to 25,630 or 18.8 percent. This decrease is most marked in the khaje kalan, chunk kalan and Malsalami wards in city proper; in Bankipur, which is adjacent to the New Capital, the population was stationary. According to the vital statistics, there was a loss of population in the city of 9,000 in ten years. On the other hand, the proportion of immigrants from outside the district had increased from 10 to 16 percent, but this was owing to the addition of the New Capital. It can be supposed that non-cooperation indirectly affected the accuracy of the enumeration in this town. The census report of 1921 says, "It is impossible to say to what extent this may have been, but experience elsewhere shows that the population calculated on the vital statistics is much in excess of the reality. As the vital statistics have shown a net decrease of 9,000 in the last ten years it is natural to suppose that the actual decrease is considerably greater"².

2. The Census of India, 1921, Bihar and Orissa, Part I, p.86.

CAUSES OF DECLINE OF POPULATION 1901-21

The causes of the decline of population of the city are two fold, viz. persistent unhealthiness, repeated epidemics of plague and cholera and the loss of trade. Formerly Patna city was an important emporium for rail and river-borne trade. Goods from north and South Bihar would come to Patna via three major rivers of the area, Ganga, G^undak and Sone and would be exported to major markets like Calcutta from here. But owing to decline in riparian trade and opening of railways in Bihar diverted the trade to other centres. This tendency has been accentuated by successive improvements in railway communications in adjoining districts, by the development of the Tirhut State Railway in the trans-Gangetic districts the opening of the South Bihar Railway from Kiul to Gaya, the Patna-Gaya line, and the Grand chord line.³ When these local lines were opened, it was no longer economical to send local produce to Patna for distribution, because rates of booking for short distances were not so low as to make it worthwhile to unload at Patna, and consigners discovered that it was best to book through to the ultimate destination.

3. The District Gazetteer of Patna, 1924, p.165.

One more cause for the decline of commercial importance of the city was the abandonment of the opium trade in 1911 which had for centuries flourished in Patna.⁴ Moreover, the trade also decline due to disorganisation caused by plague, which was an almost annual visitor since 1900.

During the ten years following the census of 1901, there had been no less than 17,84 deaths from plague, and the loss of population (17,586) recorded in the 1911 census very nearly corresponds with that figure.⁵ It might have been supposed that the constitution of Bihar and Orissa as a separate province in 1911 and the establishment at Patna of the various offices, institutions and residences conected with the headquarters of a local Government would have brought about some increase in its population. If conditions during the following decade had been normal, this would almost certainly have been the case; but they were not.

INCREASE IN POPULATION 1921-31; CAUSES

According to the census of 1931, the inhabitants of the city numbered 159,690. This represents an

4. Bihar and Orissa Administrative Report, 1911-12, p.XIV.

5. The Census of India, 1911, vol.V, partI, p.34.

increase of 9,714 or 33.10 percent, over the figure recorded in 1921. The expansion during this decade may justly be termed phenomenal, and, may be attributed to the following causes, some of which are, of course, inter-related. The rapid development of the new capital area and the adjacent ward of Bankipore; the extension of the University, with its associated colleges and schools, and the medical college in particular. A large number of immigrants and settlers from the mufassal; and are exceptionally high rate of natural growth among the resident population. With regard to the last of these items, it was only natural that the disasters of 1918-19 should have been succeeded by a period of intensive recuperation, which was further stimulated by favourable economic conditions. Even most conducive to rapid increase was the vast important is the health of the city, and above all the virtual disappearance of the plague and the greatly reduced mortality from cholera.

The census reports show that Patna district as a whole witnessed a remarkable change in the decade 1921-31. There were less than 5,000 deaths reported from plague during this decade, while during the previous decade it was more than 81,000 and during 1901-11, it was more than 140,000. The birth rate steadily rose

Actual no of state and public fund dispensaries
 and the amount contributed to their up keep by
 different agencies (1912-1915)

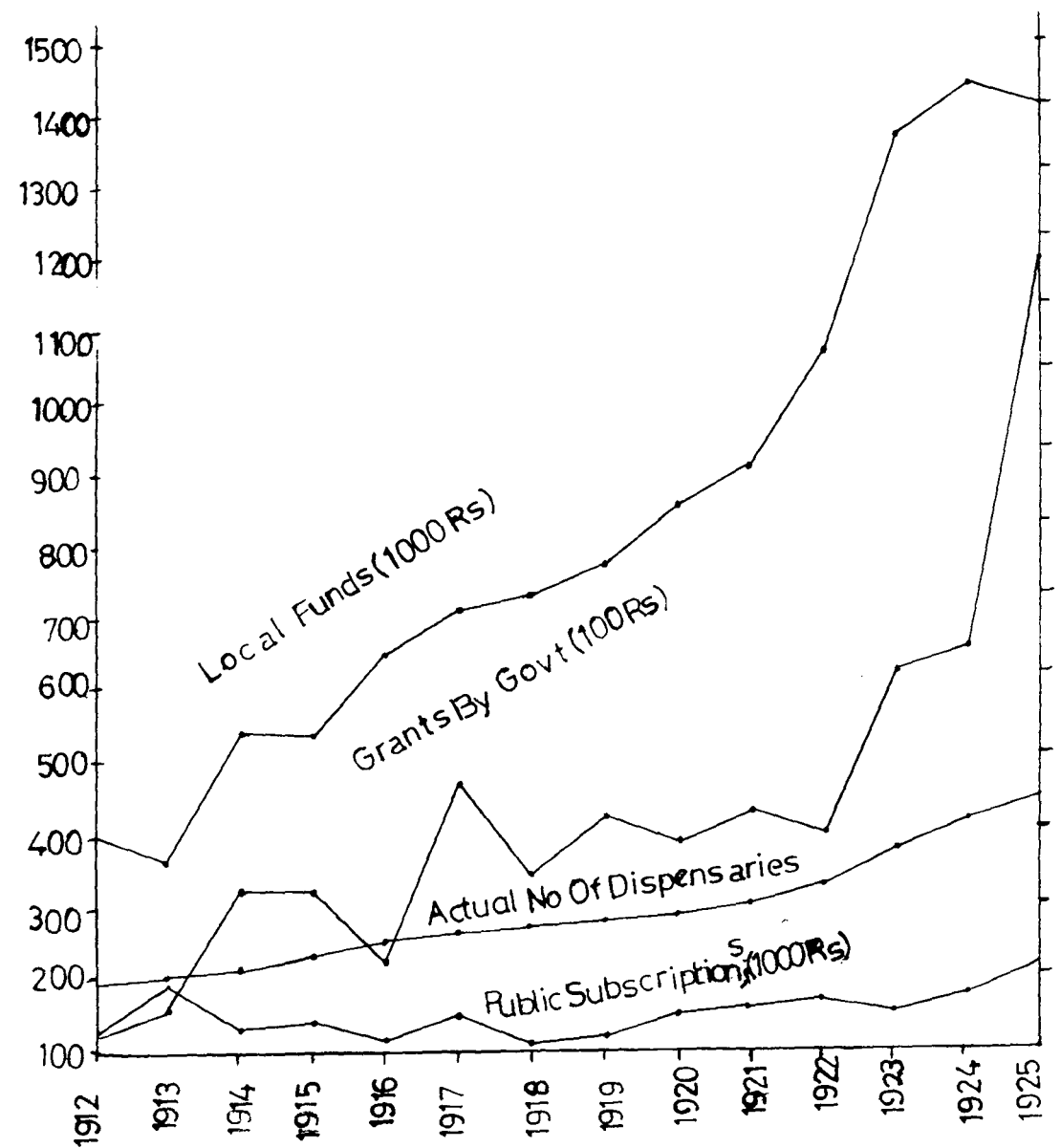


fig.2-2

during the decade and there was not a single year in which the rate of survival was not over 10 percent.⁶

The falling death rate due to epidemics and other diseases was achieved by these measures taken by the administration. Firstly, total expenditure on medical relief work and on maintenance of the dispensaries rose after 1921. As shown in graph, the local funds available for the up keep of state and public fund dispensaries in Bihar rose from Rs. 719,000 in 1917 to 919,000 in 1921, and to Rs. 1,440,000 in 1924. (fig. 2.2) Grants by Government were also overall increasing every year before 1921, though the increase was haphazard. But after 1922, there was a sharp inclination. In 1918 total Government grants towards the up-keeping of dispensaries were Rs.340,000 which rose to Rs.400,000 in 1922. In 1925 it shot up to Rs. 1,200,000. A larger number of State and public fund dispensaries came up during the period 1921-25 than ever before.⁷

Secondaly, in February, 1924, an importrant resolution was passed, dealing with the recommendations of a Committee which had been appointed some time

6. Census of India, 1921, vol. VII, Part I, p.33.

7. Bihar and Orissa in 1925-26, diagram opposite p.68.

earlier to draw up a definite scheme for a public health organisation in the province. Its most important proposal was for the amalgamation of the medical and sanitary staff; making the doctor in charge of a dispensary responsible not only for the administration of medical relief, but also for preventive measures and the control of epidemics. There would be a district health officer alongwith at least four health inspectors and twelve sanitary gangs under him; and when not employed on epidemic duty, they could be carrying out improvements in the sanitation of villages, disinfecting and cleansing wells, and spreading public health propaganda by means of lectures, demonstrations and the distribution of leaflets. The large Municipalities had separate health officers. When faced with particularly violent outbreaks of epidemic disease, the local staff could be reinforced from central reserve of doctors and vaccinators.

Thirdly, the public Health Department also engaged in propaganda work. One leaflet entitled "Simple instructions for the prevention of epidemic diseases" had a large circulation in 1924.⁸ It was issued by the

8. Bihar & Orissa in 1924-26, p. 122-123.

department in vernaculars. Ever Magic lanterns and numerous slides were used to educate the people on this line.⁹ The response was positive. The stoical indifference of the people was disappearing and they were receptive to new ideas and influences.¹⁰

POPULATION ; RELIGION WISE

Now let us consider some constituents of the population of Patna city. If we devide the population of the city religionwise, we see that the overwhelming majority is either Hindu or Muslim. Together they accounted for more than 98 percent of the population over the whole period. However, from 1901 to 1931 a very small change was noticed in the decreasing figures of Hindus and Muslims taken together. Their combined population fell by about 0.8 percent over the three decades. This fall was first noticed in 1921 census which continued in 1931 as well. This can be explained when we see some more European and Anglo-Indian people coming to Patna after the creation of the new province in 1911-12 in connection administrative jobs.

9. Ibid.

10. Bihar and Orissa in, 1929-30, p.59.

One thing that can be inferred from the Table (2.2) is that the Muslims formed a smaller proportion of the population gradually, though the rate of speed of their declining population was very slow. While they formed 25.69 percent of the total population, they were just 23.50 percent in 1921. However, one remarkable thing about the Muslim population in Patna city is that they formed one fourth of the city population while they were never more than 12 percent in Patna district. Their concentration in Patna city can be explained by two factors; firstly, the declining Muslim rule of India in 18th and 19th century had Patna as a seat of political power. Therefore, a large number of Muslim aristocratic families settled in the city. Secondly, due to feudal patronage the local industries thrived. This encouraged a large number of Muslims to indulge in manufacturing sector and thus giving the industrial class mainly a Muslim look.

POPULATION: MALE FEMALE RATIO

A glance on Tables (2.1) & (2.2) evinces that the numbers of women in Patna for every 1000 men declined steadily over the years 1901 to 1931. The period between 1901-1921 marked a decrease of about 1,300 males only, while the same period recorded a remarkable

Table 2.2

Population by Main religions (Hindu and Muslim)

Year	Total population	M	F	F/1000M	M	F	F/1000M	No of females per 1000 males
1901	134,785	49,946	49,435	990	16,810	17,812	1059	1010
		(73.73%)			(25.69%)			
1911	136,153	52,086	47,102	904	18,372	17,664	961	922
		(72.85%)			(26.47%)			
1921	119,976	49,667	40,581	817	15,467	12,733	823	824
		(75.22%)			(23.50%)			
1931	159,690	69,285	50,359	727	22,241	15,997	719	731
		(74.92%)			(23.95%)			

decline of about 13,500 females. The causes are two fold. The data for the district as a whole shows that net migration from district was more for males throughout the period. But in case of Patna city, the emigration data for which are not available, the situation may be otherwise. The immigration data for the city of Patna show an opposite condition from that of district as a whole, as we shall see later on. It can be assumed that the fear of epidemics caused the females to go out with their men who were already working out of the city. The same reason would have stopped the men working in the city from bringing their families to the city. Another cause may be a higher death -rate among the women of the city due to epidemics. Given the low status of women prevailing in those days, and being home bound, with least mobility, they might have been made more prone to the epidemics. But unfortunately we have no data of exact number of women dying in Patna city during these days

The more than double increase of male population in comparison to the female population during the decade 1921-31 was largely due to almost double male immigrants than the female ones during the period. While less than 10,000 women come to Patna city, more

than 20,000 males come to the city. This can be explained by (i) the officials coming to Patna in connection with administrative work at the capital city(ii)growing educational institutions like the University, Engineering collegeand Medical college which employed mainly male employees; and (iii) rapid construction work which became inevitable due to the establishment of capital at Patna- a fair majority of these construction workers were males who had shifted to Patna for their earnings, but without their families.

We have seen a decreasing female-male ratio for the city over the period 1901-31. In fact, it was the continuation of a trend which started in 19th century itself and did not stop till 1931. But this phenomenon was more illustrative among the Muslim population. In 1901,Patna recorded 1010 females per thousand males, of which Hindus had 990 females per 1000 males while muslims had 1059 females per thousand males. This ratio fell rapidly and in 1931 Patna recorded just 731 females per thousand males. However, the decrease among the Muslims was much more rapid. They recorded only 719 females per thousand males, while the Hindus recorded 727 females per thousand males. Thus at the turn of the century the Muslims not only had better

ratio than the Hindus, but they recorded more than the city average. But three decades later the Muslims were not only far below the city average, they were also below the average for the Hindus. The explanation of this important phenomenon is indispensable, but the lack of data on immigration and emigration, community wise, makes the task tough. However, this dismal process can be explained safely on the following two grounds (i) the failing indigenous industries and trade, which were the main economic bases of the Muslim Community, impoverished the community as a whole. The general economic condition of the Muslim people gradually became more miserable than the Hindus. This compelled further Muslims to keep large families in the cities. Many of them were compelled to send their families to villages where cost of living was expected to be less (ii) Secondary, deteriorating economic condition and lack of modern education made the Muslim women more prone to the epidemics than their Hindu counterparts. This eventually led to a higher death-rate amongst the Muslim women. One more possible explanation can be given assuming that during second and third decades the ratio of males to females among the Muslims immigrants was higher than that among the Hindus. These immigrants mainly constituted the work-

force that contributed to construction work of the new capital. However, we have no statistical evidence to prove this point

% OF CHILDREN IN POPULATION

Let us examine some more ingredients of the population. Table (2.3) gives the percentage of children (age group 0-15) among the Hindus and Muslims, the two main constituents of the total city population. Throughout the period 1901-31, the children formed about one third of the total population, which is a fairly high ratio for any industrial township. In 1901 the children formed about 30 percent of the population which had a generally tendency to rise. Finally in 1931, more than 33.3 percent of the population was counted as under 15 years of age. This was a symptom of decreasing work-force engaged in productive work. During first two decades of our study the percentage of children grew very slowly. But during the third decade their percentage grew more rapidly. This may be ascribed to the vastly improved sanitary condition of Patna which saved a large number of children from the mouth of death during the decade under question. The first two census records slightly lower percentage of

Table 2.3

Percentage of Children (0-15) in the Total Population

Year	All religions			Hindus			Muslims		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1901	30.67	30.34	30.50	30.10	29.92	30.02	32.37	31.07	31.70
1911	33.52	32.73	33.14	33.67	32.45	32.78	34.89	33.18	34.05
1921	30.31	32.49	31.29	30.14	32.36	31.20	30.71	32.23	31.40
1931	31.25	35.87	33.20	31.47	35.69	33.25	30.68	36.06	32.93

female children than the male children. But the censuses of 1921 and 1931 record a larger percentage for the former. This can be explained by the growing consciousness among the people for the female children who were hitherto not liked and therefore got not probably cared for. This also shows that female infanticide, which prevailed among a few sections of the Hindu Society was gradually being abandoned. This was the result of growing influence of modern education and western culture.

% OF WORKING AGE PEOPLE IN POPULATION

The growing percentage of children however, did not affect adversely the percentage of people in the age-group 15-60 which can be taken as the working-age group. The overall tendency throughout the period was of rising percentage. Thus while in 1901 the people of this age-group accounted for 60.81 percent of the population in 1931 their ratio rose to about 62 percent (Tab.2.4). In fact, the rise in percentage of children group as well as the working-age group was at the cost of the older people, who aged more than 60. It has been the practice among the old people in rural areas and less educated classes to add some imaginary years to their age. This practice was more prevalent among

Table 2.4

Percentage of People in Working Age Group (15-60), Religionwise

Year	All religions			Hindus			Muslims		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1901	61.50	60.14	60.81	62.14	60.55	61.35	69.57	59.16	59.42
1911	59.81	58.88	59.39	60.45	58.66	59.78	57.88	58.76	58.31
1921	63.40	59.73	61.74	63.71	59.68	61.90	62.44	60.24	61.45
1931	64.57	58.44	61.98	64.56	58.49	62.01	64.45	58.44	61.94

the people in old days. This practice gradually subsided. This increase among the males was more marked. Among the females the percentage had a falling tendency. It fell from 60.14 percent to 58.44 percent; while among the males it rose from 61.50 percent to 64.57 percent (tab. 2.4) This explains, to great extent the declining female-male ratio for Patna city. However, the growing number of people in the working-age group does not mean that a larger section of population was involved in productive works. Other facts, like the occupation division of the population do not suggest it.

CHILD: MARRIAGE

Child marriage was a widely prevalent evil in the 19th century India, Patna being no exception. This custom mainly affected the Hindu community, though Muslims were not altogether free from it. However, during the first two decades of the present century we see the enlightenment alighting on the people, if we believe the data given in census tables about the married children of Patna. Table (2.5) has been computed from the census tables giving the percentage of married children in the age group (0-10) among the Hindus and Muslims. In 1901 3.47% children (0-10

Table 2.5

Percentage of Married Children to the Total Children in the Age Group
(0-10 years)

Year	All religions			Hindus			Muslims		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1901	1.60	5.28	3.47	1.88	6.40	4.16	0.84	2.28	1.56
1911	1.64	4.95	3.26	2.03	6.11	4.05	0.58	1.89	1.24
1921	1.77	4.08	2.91	2.02	4.55	3.64	0.98	2.73	1.84
1931	7.51	9.22	8.31	9.03	11.17	10.03	2.88	3.65	3.24

years) were reported married in 1921 this percentage came down to 2.9% among Hindus it came down from 4.16 to 3.64 percent over the same period while among Muslims it came down from 1.56 to 1.24 in 1911. Child marriage was more prevalent among females. It was 5.28% in 1901 which came down to 4.08%. Female marriage was prevalent among .47 children (0-10) years were reported married in 1921 this percentage carry down to 2.9 percent. Among the Hindus it came down from 4.16 to 0.64 percent over the same period , while among the Muslims it came down from 1.56 to 1.24 in 1911. Child marriage was more prevalent among the females. It was 5.28 percent in 1901 which came down to 4.08 percent. Female child marriage was prevalent even among the Muslims, though they were no match for the Hindus.

However, the decade 1921-31 showed a strange change in trend. All of a sudden the 1931 census records a all time high percentage of 8.31 for the married children. It went up from about 4 percent in 1921 to more than 9.2 percent in 1931.(tab. 2.5) The rise was spectacular in both communities and both sexes. Among the Hindu females it was recorded at a high percentage of 11.17 percent. Even among the Muslim females it rose to 3.65 percent. This

phenomenon in 1931 census crushes all notions of growing consciousness against the child marriage among the populace of Patna. In fact, the gradual decline in child marriage during the first two decades was the general result of high mortality among ~~among~~ the people, particularly the children, due to frequent outbreak of epidemics. The life expectancy of the children in the age group (0-10) was very low which made the parents hesitant of finding their children in wedlock at an early age. However, the improved health conditions in the decade that followed 1921 census raised the average life expectancy of the children which in turn aroused the feeling of their parents to get them married early in life. Therefore, it is wrong to say that modern education and western influence was affecting the social life of the people in toto. While education and Western influence was affecting their life in a more influential way, they failed to affect the more conservative factors of social life, like the child marriage. This fact is also substantiated by the data on widowed children in the age group (0-10).

WIDOWED CHILDREN

Table (2.6) gives the percentage of widowed children among Hindus and Muslims of Patna city. The percentage of widowed children varied from 0.25 to 0.4 percent during the period, 1901 to 1921. It was natural that percentage of widowed children among the Hindus was higher than among Muslims, as child marriage was more popular among the Hindus, as we have already seen. The females were particularly affected by it. 0.43 percent to 0.55 percent Hindu females were reported as widowed children in age group (0-10). But the census of 1931 shows a remarkable decline in the percentage of widowed children. It came down from 0.34 percent in 1921 to 0.14 percent in 1931. Amongst the Muslims it was very low at 0.08 percent. This again can be explained by the growing healthiness of the city as a whole and dropping rate of mortality. The chances of survival for the children rose considerably during the decade. That is why, fewer widowed children were reported, though the child marriage cases grew rapidly. In fact, rising percentage of married children and dropping percentage of widowed children, both were influenced by the same factor, the improving health conditions of Patna during the decade 1921-31.

Table 2.6

Percentage of Widowed Children in the Age Group (0-10 years)

Year	All religions			Hindus			Muslims		
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total
1901	0.16	0.39	0.28	0.19	0.48	0.34	0.08	0.16	0.12
1911	0.10	0.47	0.29	0.11	0.55	0.33	0.07	0.27	0.17
1921	0.25	0.43	0.34	0.22	0.43	0.36	0.37	0.50	0.43
1931	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.14	0.19	0.16	0.16	0.00	0.08

AREAWISE GROWTH IN PATNA

Now let us examine the pattern of population growth in different thanas or wards of Patna city. During the period 1901-31 little change took place in the total area of Patna city, except after the creation of New capital in the Western part of city. In 1911, the total area of Patna city was stated to be 9 sq. miles to which about six sq. miles was added after the establishment of Capital at Patna.¹¹ The 1901 census includes six revenue thanas, viz. Pirbahor, Sultanganj, Alamganj, Khwaja Kalan, Chowk kalan and Malsalami, as Patna city thanas. These thanas however, included a fairly large number of villages also. For example, Alamganj thana included 154 villages, while Malsabami thana included 53 villages. Therefore the population quoted against these thanas also included the population of concerned villages. In 1911, however, the population was given wardwise, excluding the rural areas. A new ward, Bakarganj, was added to Patna city Municipality. This ward was in the Western side of the city near the New capital. In 1921, Bankipur ward included Bakarganj and New capital found place in census records for the first time. Some time later on

11. Census of India, 1931, vol. VII, Part II, Provincial tab. I.

Khaje kalan ward was devided in two parts, North Khaje kalan and South Khaje Kalan. Bakarganj was separated from Bankipur. Thus in 1931, there were ten wards, including the New capital.

POPULATION OF WARDS

Let us now follow the growth of population in separate wards. During the first decade of 20th century, the city showed a slight increase of 1.01 percent in population. This increase, as we have already seen was superflous because the census data in 1901 was defective. However, Pirbahor thana was the only ward to record a significant increase of 21.21 percent. (Tab. 2.7) It may be noted that the Pirbahor thana was the Western most ward of the city. The eastern most wards were the worst sufferers of the epidemics that reged the city of Patna. The two eastern most wards chawk kalan and Malsalami were the wost sufferers. In fact, the three eastern most wards, including khawaja kalaan, were the highest sufferers during the first two decades. These wards were the business centres of Patna during those days, most of the houses serving as shops or godowns. These congested areas were also the abode of the poor people of the town (this area is still poor in look as well as

Table 2.7

Population Variation in Different Thanas/Wards of Patna City, 1901-1931

Thana/Ward	Total	1901		Total	1911		Total	1921		Total	1931		Variation (I) 1901-11			Variation (II) 1911-21			Variation (III) 1921-31		
		Male	Female		M	F		M	F		M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
Patna City	134,785	67,838	67,747	136,153	70,841	65,312	119,976	65,777	54,199	159,690	92,238	67,492	+1.01	+5.67	-3.59	-11.00	-7.15	-17.02	+33.10	+40.23	+24.45
Pirbahar	27,585	13,837	13,728	33,435	18,228	15,207	21,335	12,400	8,935	30,050	18,774	11,276	+21.21	+31.73	+10.77	-36.19	-31.97	-41.24	+40.05	+51.40	+26.20
Sultanganj	1,746	838	908	-	-	-	8,041	4,487	4,368	11,144	5,854	5,290	-	-	-	-	-	-	+26.05	+30.47	+21.33
Alaiganj	25,222	12,145	13,077	20,334	10,007	10,327	17,130	8,050	8,200	19,090	10,527	9,363	-19.30	-16.94	-21.64	-15.72	-12.26	-19.12	+16.06	+18.95	+12.97
N. Khaje Kalan	35,093	16,866	18,237	33,300	16,503	16,725	23,515	12,070	11,445	0,100	4,423	3,685	-5.09	-1.60	-0.29	-29.40	-27.21	-31.57	+19.17	+25.09	+12.00
S. Khaje Kalan										19,915	10,772	9,143									
Chauk Kalan	23,619	11,593	12,026	19,000	10,304	9,576	13,717	7,136	6,501	17,254	9,255	7,999	-15.83	-11.12	-20.37	-31.00	-30.75	-31.28	+25.79	+29.69	+21.55
Malsalami	27,742	13,602	14,140	14,604	7,552	7,132	11,423	6,000	5,343	16,562	9,046	6,716	-47.07	-44.48	-49.70	-22.21	-19.06	-25.00	+44.99	+61.94	+25.70
Bakerganj				14,512	8,007	6,425	(6,009)	-	-	10,535	6,360	4,167	-	-	-	-	-	-	+54.72	-	-
Bankipur							14,540	8,000	5,660	11,974	7,710	4,256	-	-	-	-	-	-	+54.72	-	-
New Capital							(7,739)			9,453	5,074	3,579							+50.03	+40.13	+55.27

in income). Therefore, the epidemics easily claimed a large number of victims in absence of proper sanitary conditions. We may assume that a substantial number of people from these areas shifted to the western wards during the first decade. This might have helped in recording a high percentage of increase for Pirbahor thana. However, next few years were not so good for that ward and in 1921 Pirbahor was one of the principal loser of population.

However the third decade saw a population bloom and the city recorded a remarkable 33 .10 percent increase in population. Five of the ten wards recorded a percentage higher than the city average. Of these five, three were closely related with the development of capital at Patna. All of these three, Bakarganj, Bankipur and new capital, recorded percentage higher than 50 percent. The other two wards that recorded higher average were Pirbahor and Malsalami. Pirbahor was the adjoining ward of Bakarganj and recorded about 41 percent increase. But Malsalami was the eastern most part which had petty business establishment. The ward revived the business and trade activities and thus attracted the attention of settlers. Moreover, the poor immigrants, who came in connection with

construction work at New capital, generally stayed in eastern parts of the city. It is remarkable that though the city was expanding westward, the builders of new capital chose the poorest part, which was not adjacent to the construction site, to live in. The rise in population of the western patna was mainly due to the official class who were coming to handle administrative jobs. Thus, the western Patna gradually developed as a 'Sahib's colony'. In later years this part of Patna became a place of attraction for the upper class of government servants, and affluent businessman. New capital was the only area where female population showed more than 50 percent increase. It can be explained by the fact that the official class that was settling there was not hesitant of bringing its women folk. Moreover, expansion of educational institutions in this area brought many female Anglo-Indian and Europeans to New capital. Almost all of them resided in this area only.

MIGRATION

As we saw while explaining population change in Patna city, migration has an important role to play in the population pattern of a city. One flaw with the census reports on migration is that they don't give any

data for emigration from the cities, while they give account of immigrants. Therefore, while discussing the migration of Patna city we have to depend to a large extent on district data which are given for both to and from for migration. The first table shows the number of immigrants for Patna city, while the second table shows immigration as well as emigration for Patna District.

Two corresponding diagrams give a quick view of migration pattern in Patna.

Does this migration pattern influence the growth or otherwise of Patna city? Has it anything to do with the changing ratio of male and female in the city? From 1901 to 1921 there was a steady increase of immigrants, particularly the decade preceding census of 1921 recorded an increase of about 6,000. This was in spite of the fact that overall migration in the district was on decline. The fact is owing to the addition of New capital.

It can be seen from the above Table VIII that the number of immigrants in 1931 is 11,500 more than it was in 1921. To this figure we may add at least 3,500 to cover the casualties that must have occurred among the

Table 2.8

Number of Immigrants in Patna City and Their Percentage in Total Population, 1901-31.

Year	Immigrants			% of Total Population
	Males	Females	Total	
1901	6,966	4,428	11,394	8.45
1911	7,879	5,416	13,295	9.76
1921	12,433	6,836	19,269	16.06
1931	20,039	10,732	30,771	19.27

NUMBER OF IMMIGRANTS IN PATNA CITY
(1901-1931)

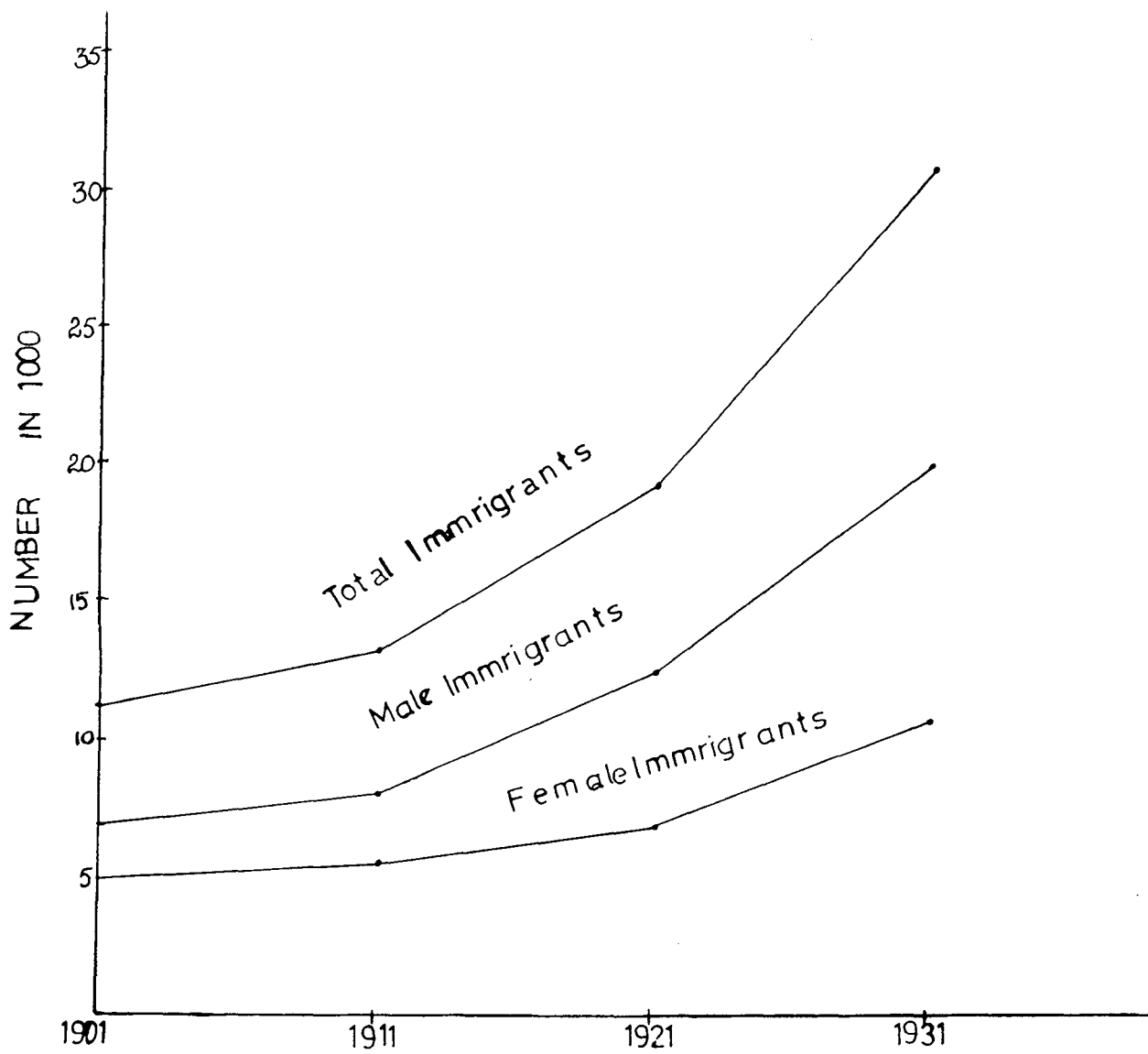


fig-2-3

Table 2.9

Number of Immigrants and Emigrants in Patna District, 1901-31

Year	Immigrants			Emigrants			Net Migration
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	
1901	32,262	50,178	82,440	73,982	68,334	142,316	-59,876
1911	38,241	53,865	92,106	95,459	78,456	173,915	-81,809
1921	36,524	40,488	77,012	68,965	63,949	132,914	-55,902
1931	56,702	66,833	123,523	27,000	40,000	67,000	+56,535

IMMIGRATION AND EMIGRATION IN PATNA DISTRICT
(1901-1931)

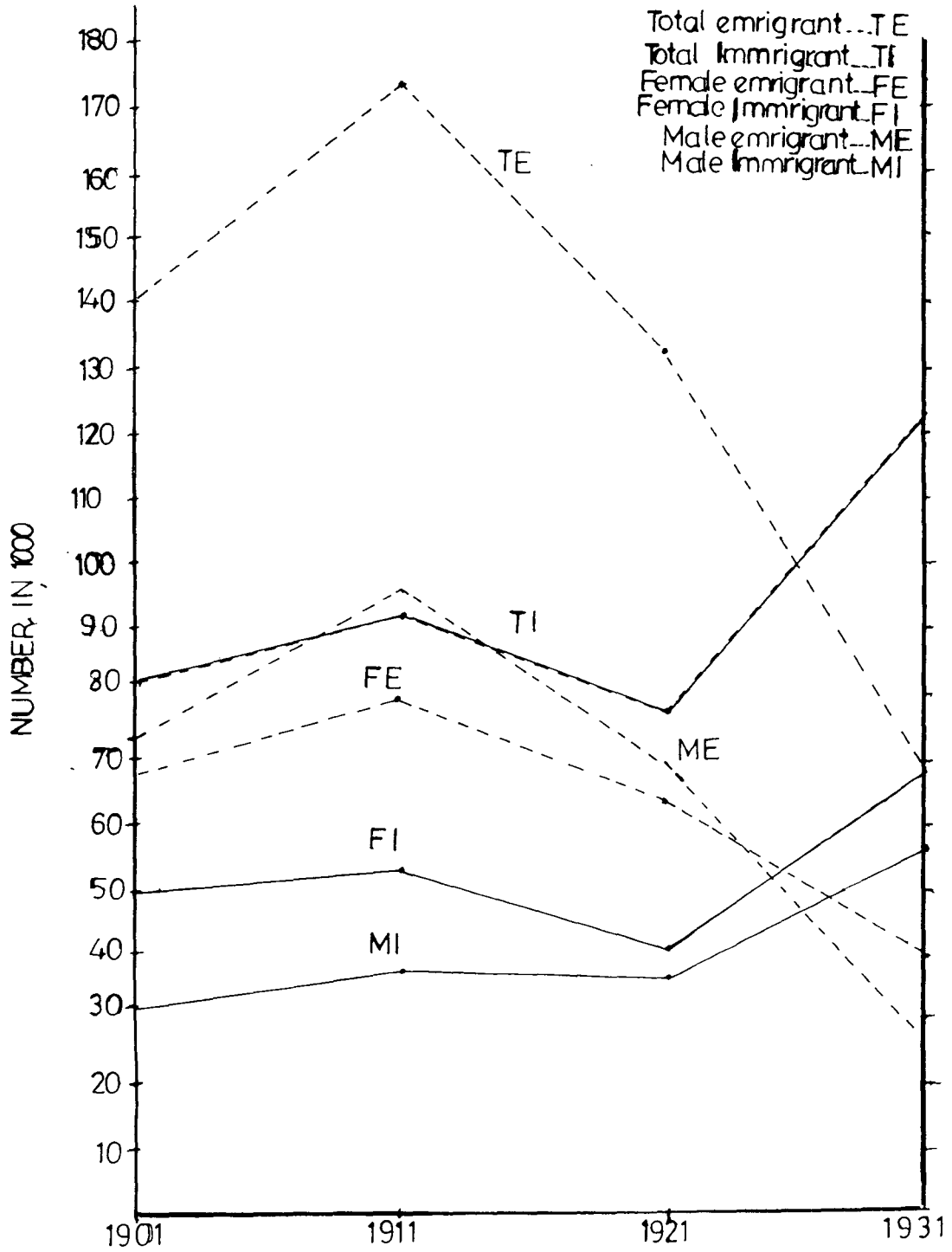


fig-2.4

former immigrants, assuming a moderate rate of mortality in their ranks. This, however, does not take into account movements into the city from other parts of the district, which must have been on a considerable scale. Nor does it allow for the return to the city of persons who had emigrated in the previous decade or earlier. Statistics of emigration are not available but it may be confidently surmised that the number of fresh emigrants during this period was less than the number of those who were attracted back to their native city by its improved healthiness and restored prosperity. It is noticeable that males contribute just twice as much as females to the increase in the actual population since 1921.

Besides immigrants, the return of former emigrants and the influx of settlers (among whom males would naturally predominate) from the mufassal formed the major contributors. To assume that these two factors between them were responsible for a net increase of 7,500 in the city population is probably to underestimate their effect rather than the reverse. If we suppose that the rate of natural growth in the city was equivalent to that recorded in other parts of the district, the excess of births over deaths in the

decade as a whole was in the neighbourhood of 14,500.¹²

The conclusion at which we have arrived may be briefly summarised thus- Towards the increase of just under 40,000 in the actual population of the city since 1921 the following factors are likely to have contributed:

Immigration from outside the district	15,000
Return of former emigrant and influx from rural areas	7,500
Natural growth of resident population	14,500

	37,000

This leaves only about 3,000 to be accounted for and it would not be unreasonable to ascribe this balance to defective enumeration at the previous census, caused by the non-co-operation.

12. Census of India, 1931, vol. VII, Part I, p.90.

PROGRESS OF EDUCATION AND OTHER LITERARY ACTIVITIES

Certain features of the indigenous educational system, coming down from the hoary past, continued throughout the British rule in our country. The most important factor that helped to keep the system alive was the social philosophy regarding Education. Education was very much a part and parcel of religion. Well after the introduction of state enterprise in the field of education after 1854, the Hindus had their own 'pathsalas' where mainly Sanskrit literature was taught. Similarly, the Muslims had their own 'Maktabs' and 'Madarsahas' where Quran and Persian literature was taught. While Mithila, in North Bihar, was the centre of Sanskrit learning, Patna formed the nucleus of Arabic and Persian education, alongwith Shahabad.

According to the reports there were two very old 'madrasas' in Bihar one at Patna and other at Bhagalpur. The Patna 'Madarasas' was founded by Saif Khan, the governor of Bihar, in 1628¹ Saif Khan had appointed some of the most learned professors of his time and supported a considerable number of students. This was not the only institution of Muhammadan

1. K.K. Dutta, The Comprehensive History of Bihar vol. III (part-II), p. 388.

learning. The mid-15th century Bihar historian Ghulam Husain writes: "There were in these times at Azimabad number of persons who loved science and learning and employed themselves in teaching and in being taught. I remember to have seen in the city and its environs nine or ten professors of repute and three or four hundred students and disciples".² Francis Buchanan also refers to a number of other Persian and Arabic institutions. At the time of his survey in 1860 Adam found 291 school of Muhamadan learning in South Bihar, each with one teacher. The number of students was 1486, of which 867 were Hindus³. This shows that a large number of Hindus, besides Muslims, were interested in Persian and Arabic education. Adam attributed the popularity of Persian schools to the fact that Persian had been, till very recently the language of the court and business. But even after the abolition of Persian as the court language, the popularity of Persian in Bihar seems to have continued undiminished for a long time. The great orientalist Dr. Ganganath Jha has also referred to his early instruction in Persian. And as late as in 1926 the Inspector of Schools, B. Sahay, highly praised the efficiency of persian instruction imparted in

2. R. R. Diwakar, Bihar Through the Ages, p. 715

3. K.K. Dutta, op. Ut. p. 389

maktabas'. He writes." I read in maktabas for about six years and I learnt as much of Persian there as made it unnecessary for me to receive any help from the head Maulavi of the Bhagalpur Zila School even upto the Entrance Standard and so proficient was I in Persian that with very high marks that I secured in this subject I passed in the first division and stood first in the Bhagalpur division...though I was a variable dunce in mathematics..."⁴

However, the Madrasa education in Patna started declining with growing interest in English education. As in Bengal there gradually came a change in the attitude of Muhammadans in Bihar also towards English education, with the result that the importance of Madarasas' began to decline. As a matter of fact the Muhammadans of Bihar were higher in Social scale and more enlightend in comparison with the Hindus than those of Bengal.⁵

On 3rd March, 1914, the Government of Bihar and Orissa appointed a committee to advise it regarding Muhammadan education. In the opinion of the committee "boys go to Madrasas' more from necessity than from

4. B. Sahay; History of Education in Bihar, p. 301

5. K.K. Dutta, op.cit., p. 393

choice. Those who can afford to pay for English education generally go to high schools and it is only the poorer students who go to Madrasas".⁶ In the same year Shams-ul-ulma Abu Nasr Wahed, an officer in the department of education of Government of Bihar and Orissa, inspected 13 senior and 14 junior 'Madarasas' in the province and submitted a report on it.⁷ Of these three senior Madarasas were at Patna. The first was the Madarasa Islamiah Shamsul Huda, situated at Bankipur. It was maintained by Mr. Nurul Huda, a retired District Judge. The total monthly expenditure of the 'Madarasa' on establishment and boarding exceeded Rs. 500. It was accommodated in a tiled house not originally intended for the purpose. 36 boarders, of whom 29 were free, resided in rented quarters. The 'Madarasa' had 7 teachers, including one for English on its staff and 109 students on its roll.

Second was the Sulaimanⁱiah Madrasa, Patna. It was meant only for students of the Shia community and was maintained mainly from a wakf made by Nawab Sulaiman Mirza Rizvi and his Begum. Its monthly income was about Rs. 164 per month. It was accommodated in a pucca two

6. B. Sahay, op. cit. p. 307

7. General Department, Education Branch, File no. IE. of 1914, Proceeding no. -(20-43) (A), Govt. of B. & O. 40-35.

storied building. Its staff included 8 teachers of whom two were for English, and it had 83 pupils on roll, of whom 27 were free boarders.

Third was the Bibi Sahiba Madrasa, Patna which was maintained by an annual grant of Rs. 3000 from the wakf. It was attached to a mosque and its annual expenditure was Rs.2460. It had 4 teacher and 50 students, of whom 30 free boarders. All the three Madarasas' followed the Nizamiah course, the first two also imparting English education in addition. None of them charged any fees from the students.

Abu Nasr Wahed was a staunch supporter of Madarasa' education among the orthodox Muslims. He believed that the progress of Muslim depended on traditional Islamic institutions. However, he argued that the curricula of the Madrasas should be changed to accomodate new subjects. A few passages from his report may be cited noteworthyly.

"It is idle to wait for a system, which is so closly bound up with the national life of a community, to die out. The number of private institutions shows no signs of decrease. Indeed the number of Public institutions, with all the encouragement and aid which they receive from public funds, only increases at a

slightly more rapid rate. It is difficult to estimate what has been the rate of progress in institutions of the traditional type if they had received the same attention and financial support as the others. It is, I think, clear that the only class of institutions to which orthodox Muhammadans will go, and which will play a really important part in their education is one of a predominantly Islamic type".

"For this reason progress among orthodox Muhammadans must be by means of institutions of the traditional Islamic type, and if we wish to give a sufficiently sound and modern education to the orthodox Muhammadans so as to enable them to take their share in public life, we must improve the curricula of the traditional institutions".

.....

"There is a general feeling that if the truly Islamic side of studies is really placed on an efficient footing, Logic, Philosophy, and Persian, the latter at least up to the same standard as is followed now, need not be insisted upon. These are subjects foreign to the truly Islamic side....

The excessive pursuit of these branches of learning has been condemned from time to time, and in the Islamic countries these physical and celestial sciences have been brought up to date, while logic is kept strictly within its legitimate bounds. Similarly persian is not a truly Islamic branch of study....."

He was in favour of government control of 'Madarasas' and introduction of English as a subject in their curriculum.⁸

In 1919 the state government took over the management of the Madrasa Islamia Samsul Huda (established in 1910) and in 1921 a superintendent of Islamic studies was appointed to improve the 'Madarasas' in Bihar. An Examination Board was also established. In 1925 the government recognised the 'Maulavi' 'Alim' and 'Fazil' examinations as equivalent to the Matriculation, Intermediate and Degree examinations respectively for the purpose of educational appointments. Further the students who had passed the Maulavi and Alim examinations were declared to be eligible for recruitment for lower division clerkship and typists in the secretariat. In 1928-29 the number of recognised Madrasas was 57 with 3640

8. Ibid.

students which fell to 37 'Madrasas' with 3109 students in 1938 in all Bihar.⁹ In the meanwhile, English was included as compulsory subject in Madrasa education.

LITERACY : Patna had been a centre for literary activities. Moreover, being the largest city of Bihar, it was also an attractive place for the intellectual class. These factors were the cause of Patna recording the highest rate of literacy in Bihar. During the period 1901-1931, Patna city saw a continuous rise in percentage literacy. The table given below gives the percentage literacy of Patna city alongwith the population, over the period 1901-31.

In 1901, 10.86 percent of the total population was literate of which males were 20.0 percent of their share in population, while 1.82 percent females were literate. Only 1.90 percent of population was literate in English. In 1911 14.73 percent people were literate; 25.18 percent males and 3.36 percent females were returned as literate. Percentage of literates in English grew to 3.5 percent. In 1921 literacy increased to 21.22 percent. Literate males and females were returned at 32.72 and 7.26 percent respectively.

9. K.K.Dutta op.cit., p. 394

English literacy went up to 7.18 percent. In 1931, 21.24 percent people were returned as literates. 30.50 percent males and 8.27 percent females were recorded literates. Literacy in English further advanced to 8.28 percent.

The period from 1901 to 1921, as shown in the table (3.1), saw a continuous rise in the percentage literacy in the Patna city. However, during the decade 1921-31 the growth was almost negligible. The male literacy even came down to 30.5 percent from 32.72 percent. This is mainly due to a very large number of immigrants, most of whom were the poor labourers consisting mainly of males. A large natural growth rate during the period was also responsible for stagnant literacy. This happened despite a steep hike in expenditure by the municipality on education.¹⁰ Even then expenditure on education was lowest in Bihar in comparison to any other parovinee.¹¹ Even this rise was lamented by the administration.¹²

The hike in expenditure was mainly due to new buildings for schools and like in emoluments of the

10. Bihar & Orissa Administrative Reports, 1912 to 1928-29

11. Bihar & Orissa in 1929-30, p.76

12. Ibid.

Percent Literacy In PATNA City

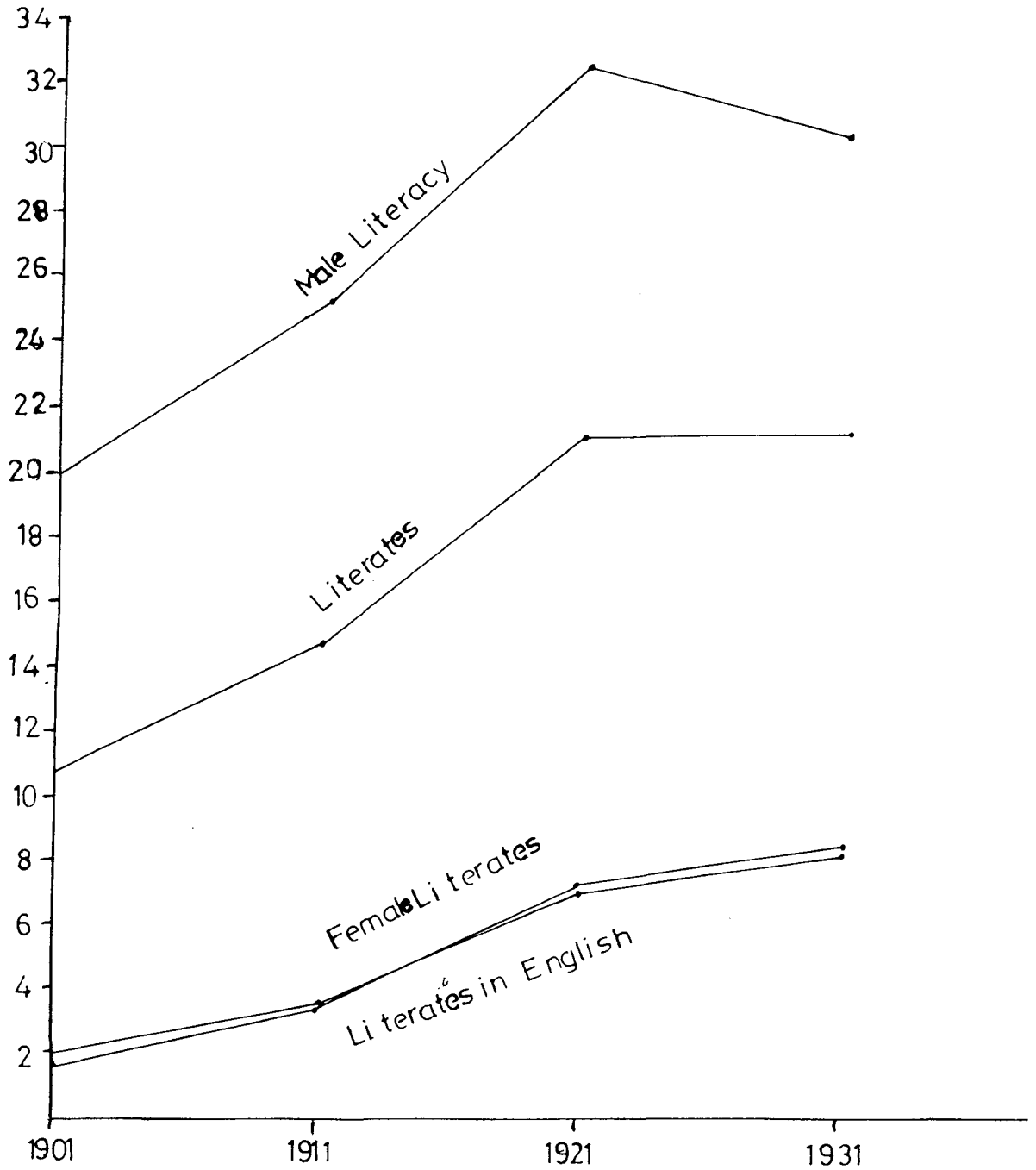


fig. 3-1

Table 3.1

Literacy in Patna City, 1901-1931

Year	Total Population			Literates		Literates in English			
	Males	Females	Total	Males (% of total male popula- tion)	Females (% of total female popula- tion)	Total (% of total popula- tion)	Males (% of male popula- tion)	Females (% of female popula- tion)	Total (% of total popula- tion)
1901	67,038	67,747	134,785	13,406 (20.0)	1,234 (1.82)	14,640 (10.86)	2,232 (3.3)	333 (0.49)	2,565 (1.90)
1911	70,841	65,312	136,153	17,838 (25.18)	2,211 (3.36)	20,049 (14.73)	4,293 (6.06)	477 (0.73)	4,770 (3.50)
1921	65,777	54,199	119,976	21,522 (32.72)	3,937 (7.26)	25,459 (21.22)	7,702 (11.71)	912 (1.68)	8,614 (7.18)
1931	92,238	67,452	159,690	28,138 (30.50)	5,783 (8.57)	33,921 (21.24)	11,285 (12.23)	1,945 (2.88)	13,230 (8.28)

staff¹³. The number of school going children. however, did not rise in proportion to the expenditure.

One more thing is worth noting. The Muslims were always in a better position than their Hindu brethren in respect of education, as can be inferred from the table (3.2) given below.

• While the corresponding figure for Muslims was 11.30 percent .In the same year English literacy in Hindus and Muslims was 1.35 and 2.13 percent respectively. In 1911, 13.75 percent Hindus were returned as literates while 2.73 percent of them were literate in English corresponding figures for Muslim were 15.80 and 4.16 percent. In 1921, Literates among Hindus rose to 20.16 percent while among Muslims it rose to 21.80 percent. Hindu literacy in English rose to 6.24 percent and Muslim literacy in English rose to 7.32 percent. In 1931, literacy among Hindus was recorded at 20.32 percent. In the case of Muslims it was 21.57 percent. English literacy was recorded at 7.48 percent and 7.93 percent respectively.

Thus we can see that the Muslims were always ahead of their Hindu bretheren in terms of literacy. However,

13. Administrative Report of Bihar & Orissa 1915-16.
p. vii

PERCENTAGE LITERACY AMONG HINDUS & MUSLIMS
OF PATNA CITY (1901-1931)

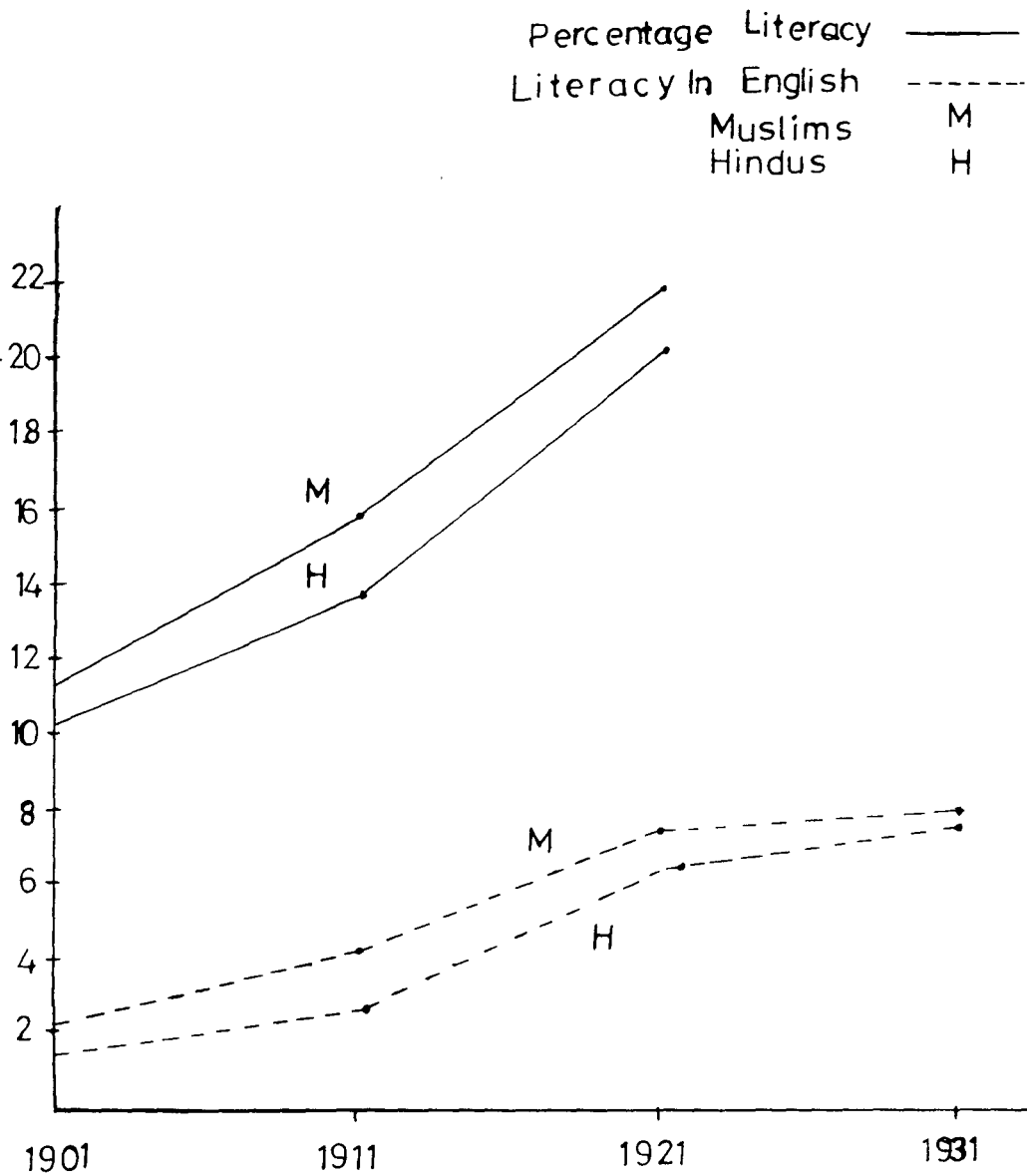


fig. 3-2

Table 3.2

Literacy in Patna City by Religion, 1901-1931

Year	Total Hindus	Literates (%)	Total Muslims	Literates (%)	Hindu Literates in Eng. (%)	Muslim Literates in English (%)
1901	99,381	10,194 (10.26)	34,622	3,913 (11.30)	1,340 (1.35)	734 (2.12)
1911	99,188	13,135 (13.75)	36,036	5,693 (15.80)	2,706 (2.73)	1,498 (4.16)
1921	90,248	18,105 (20.06)	28,200	6,149 (21.80)	5,629 (6.24)	2,065 (7.32)
1931	119,644	24,320 (20.32)	38,238	8,248 (21.57)	8,951 (7.48)	3,034 (7.93)

EXPENCES INCURRED BY ALL MUNICIPALITIES IN
BIHAR & ORISSA ON EDUCATION

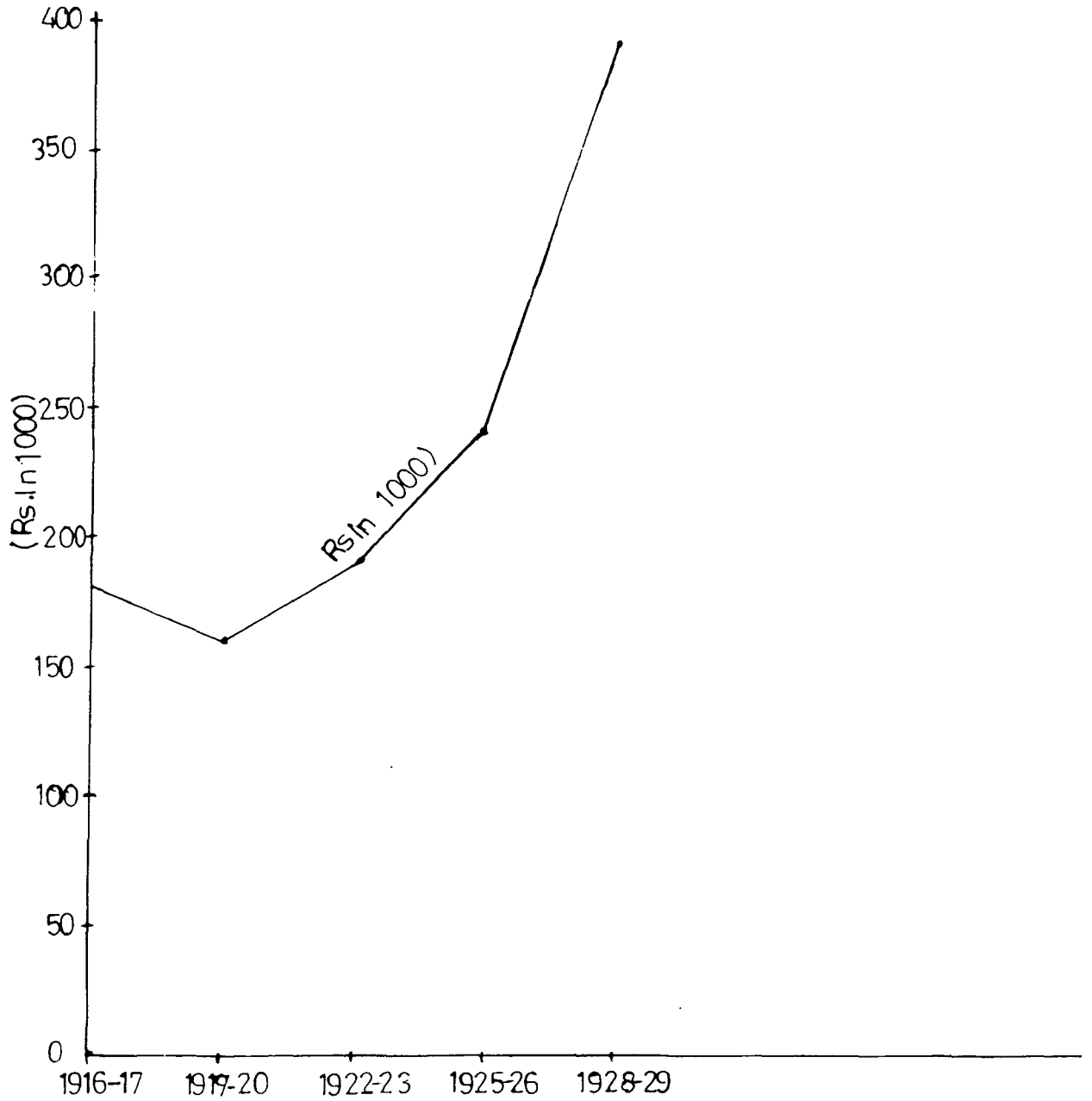


fig. 3.3

during the decade 1921-31, literacy among Muslims slightly decreased while among the Hindus it slightly rose. Even then the former was higher than the latter. In fact, Muslims were concentrated in Patna city due to royal patronage in previous centuries. They were engaged in literary activities and formed the upper strata of the society. They were never less than 23 percent in Patna city while they were about 10 to 15 percent in Patna district. Their higher rate of engagement in trade, industry and services also became a cause of higher rate of literacy among them. However, the first decades of the present century saw greater involvement of Hindus in literary activities and thus a higher rate of literacy among them. They were quicker to pick up the western education. Muslims still stuck to their old 'Madarasas' which was losing their status due to lack of proper patronage.

UNIVERSITY AND COLLEGIATE EDUCATION

The progress of higher education in Patna continued through Calcutta University up to 1917, when a University in Patna was established. The main organ of higher education in Patna in early years of this century remained the Patna college with B.N.College in supporting role.

Patna college was founded as the premier and pioneer institution of higher education in the year 1863. This college played a significant role in the new awakening of the nineteenth century and later gave birth to many other colleges in the city of Patna: the Law college, the Engineering college, the Science college and the Medical college.

At the turn of the century the Patna College could not compete with the Presidency college of Calcutta in terms of the number of students: while the former had 216 students in March 1898, the latter had 561. One of the reasons for the reduction of the number was the opening of several colleges in Bihar: The B.N. College, Patna and T.N.J college, Bhagalpur (1889), the St. Columba's College, Hazaribagh and D.J. College, Monghyr (1898).¹⁴

The period 1902 -09 was marked by the good administration of the principals like A. Macdonell, H.R. James, Charles Russell, and V.H. Jackson. However, the pressure on the teaching staff of the college was great. As late as 1904 the government desired that the

14. Qeyamuddin Ahmed (ed.), Patna Through The Ages, p. 98

students of the local Temple Medical School should attend the chemistry classes in Patna college.¹⁵

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed greater educational and administrative activities in India. Lord Curzon appointed a commission in 1902 with T. Raleigh as its president, to report on the working of the universities and to suggest measures for the advancement of learning. The University Act of 1904 was accordingly, passed after acute controversy. It effected considerable changes in the constitution of the senates and syndicates of the universities. The senates were to tighten up condition for affiliation of colleges. They were to propose to the government regulations for the recognition of high schools. Vice-chancellors were to be appointed by the government. The Director of Public Instruction was made a permanent member of the syndicate of the Calcutta University. Thus all affiliations and disaffiliations were actually in the hands of government. Hence onwards all activities in the fields of higher education were associated with government authorities. This had its own effect on the growth of Patna college, and later on, on the Patna University.

15. Government of Bengal, 1908, Education, file 4c/62, letter no. 2835, Calcutta, 11 May 1904

Patna college was the only Government College in Bihar. This college improved considerably during this period: a large area of land in the neighbourhood of the college was acquired in order to make the college premises more compact and to provide rooms for additional buildings. In 1906-7 arrangements were made for the construction of 'Minto Hindu -Hostel' and 'Minto Muslim Hostel' which were completed by 1909. These hostels are now known as 'Jackson Hostel'. Moreover, the principal's¹⁶ and a professors' quarters were completed on the premises.

The attendance at Patna college decreased during the years 1902-07 due to outbreak of plague. In 1904 the number of students was 144, but the average of the last five years was 192, while the number in 1906 was 201.¹⁷ Jackson while commenting on the 'Future Working of the Patna College', remarked: - "Arrangements are being made for the removal of the collegiate school from the college premises in accordance with the views expressed on the subject by the Universities Commission and for the construction of new physical and chemical laboratories. Hence there will be no difficulty in

16. This is one of the few attractive residential houses of Patna

17. Educational Proceedings (Govt. of Bengal), 1907, nos. 140-53

providing accommodation for the number proposed."¹⁸

Charles Russell, the Principal of the Patna College, had the following comment on the progress of the Patna College during this period: "It may be claimed for the Patna College that during the past five years it has made some appreciable advance in the direction of what is now universally recognised as the ideal at which one college should aim. It has done much to free itself from the reproach frequently levelled against Indian Colleges that they are merely places where lectures are delivered and certificate of attendance issued. Lectures have now been supplemented by a system of monthly examinations which has become a very important factor in the work of the college."¹⁹

Naturally enough, there was an attempt to develop the Patna College by the Government during this period. In a note on the Future Working of the Patna college at the beginning of this period (1907-08) Jackson reviewed its prospects as follows :

"When the improvements in the Patna College, which are now being carried out by Government, are completed,

18. A. Earl to the Govt. of Bengal 19 June 1907

19. Quoted in the Proceeding of Education, Govt. of Bengal, 1907

this college will be the first Government Arts College in Bengal to possess in anything like a complete form, the essential elements of a residential college buildings, houses for professors and students, playing fields, gymnasium, common rooms and library, atheletic and social organisation. For various reasons it does not appear that any other college will be able to develop, for several years at any rate, these essential, features as fully and completely as the Patna College. This college starts therefore with a great advantage over the others.²⁰

A Scheme for the improvement of Patna College was at last initiated by the Government authorities. This scheme proposed the construction of a Mohammadan hostel (later Jackson Hostel), a principal's residence, and a house for Professors (referred above), a Gymnasium and a Laboratory including fittings. The Government of Bengal provided a sum of Rs.1,00,000 in the budget of 1906-07 for the improvement of the Patna College. By 1908-09 all these were prepared. The Collegiate School was removed to some other place so that the Arts classes of the college got more accommodation. The report on public instruction in Bengal mentioned in

20. Educational Proceedings (Govt. of Bengal), Dec. 1907, no. 140

1909 that the Patna College, first of the larger Government college was quite single and Self-contained. With the severance of Engineering School, the Patna College became a single homogeneous institution. It was an arts college - an organic unity and nothing more.²¹

The only other college at Patna was Bihar National College (1889) at Bankipore. It was the only college alongwith Tej Narain Jubilee College (1887) at Bhagalpur to be established by private enterprise. However, the total number of students in these colleges was not very significant in early years of the 20th century. Only 339 students were registered in five private colleges of Bihar, including Bihar National College. In 1907 out of a total of Rs.60,000 distributed as grants-in-aid by the Govt. of Bengal, only Rs.2,000 went to only one college in Bihar, the Bihar National College, Bankipore. Because the grants-in-aid was a nascent innovation in 1907, it was confined to very few colleges. Bihar National College had applied for grant of Rs.300 p.m.²² There was a crisis in 1908 when according to the new regulations of -----

21. Report on Public Instruction in Bengal, 1908-09, p. 9

22. H.R. James, offg, D.P.I. to the Govt. of Bengal to the Govt., 18 Aug, 1909

the Calcutta University the college required a separate building with spacious accommodations for tutorial classes and library and science laboratory for affiliation to the University. The College was shorn of its Honours classes and made over to a registered association. At this juncture the public and high Government officials saved the situation by making suitable arrangements for meeting the requirements of new regulations of the University.²³

Meanwhile since Bihar was being neglected in the matters of higher education by the Bengal Government, and an agitation was on for the separation of this province, the Patna College Guardians' Association in its memorandum to the Government expressed its concern over the examinations being given to the non-Biharis only. The Government now assured the association that if eligible, the Biharis would be given such assignments.²⁴ The Guardians' Association also demanded that a maulavi in Arabic under the old system of Arabic teaching should be appointed to the post of a lecturer in Arabic. The Govt. of Bengal had sanctioned the posts of lecturers in Sanskrit and Arabic & Persian

23. Bihar National College Handbook, 1964-65, p. 1

24. Education, General Deptt. Govt. of Bengal File no. 4c/22, no. 56, 1909

upto 28th Feb. 1909 only.²⁵ The Calcutta University had disaffiliated the Patna College in History in 1908.²⁶ The Public opinion was strongly aroused against it. Gajadhar Prasad, a prominent public man and legislator, regretted in the Bengal Legislative Council on 26 March 1909 that the only Government College in Bihar, which was expected to be a model college, had been disaffiliated in History, when in the first year class 34 out of 75 students, in the third year 17 out of 23 and in the fourth year 20 out of 30 had offered this subject.²⁷

Therefore, in late 1909, when Jadunath Sarkar returned from home after vacation, he was asked to teach History only.

During the period 1911-1917, after the creation of new province of Bihar and Orissa, Patna College and Bihar National College, both improved a good deal. In Patna College new residential and hostel buildings were constructed. two plots of land on the west of College were required, a new chemical laboratory and class

25. Education General Deptt. Govt. of Bengal, File no. 4c/15, no. 211-216, letter no. 2845 of 19th July, 1908

26. Edn. Gen., Govt. of Bengal, File no. 46a/43, no. 280-81, 1908

27. Ibid, File 4c/22, no.56 of 1909

rooms were built. The College received special grants amounting to Rs.22,795. The number of staff was revised and the college became capable of teaching 510 students during this period. However, the maximum number enrolled was 455 in 1915-16.²⁸ The number of students in the Bihar National College grew at a faster speed. During the period 1911-17, the number of students rose from 347 to 588, which was higher than even Patna College.

CREATION OF PATNA UNIVERSITY :

Among the enlightened people of Bihar the educational development created social and political consciousness with a growing awareness of the government's discriminatory policy against Biharis. The problem of the employment of the educated Biharis in the Public Service became more acute, and they became more and more organised as well as dedicated to the cause of separation of Bihar from Bengal. They began to question the motive behind every move of the Calcutta authorities directed towards Bihar.

The first consciousness of this state of affairs came with the spread of education. The few persons who received education felt the sting of discrimination in

28. The first quinquennial Review on the Progress of Education in Bihar & Orissa, 1912-17, p. 48-49

the matters of services, and it made them think over the whole process. The prominent among the educated men of Bihar were Sachchidanand Sinha and Mahesh Narayan. They jointly wrote a book in 1906 'The Partition of Bengal or the Separation of Bihar.' In this book they advanced their argument in favour of the creation of Bihar as a separate province. They justified that on cultural, historical, geographical, sociological and ethnological grounds Bihar had been separated and distinct. It was suggested that if Bihar was separated from Bengal, it would have numerous advantages both of local and imperial nature. In any case, a separate and local Government of Bihar would be more solicitous of the welfare of the Biharis than any administrator in Calcutta.

The grievances of educated Biharis were usually expressed in the newspaper 'the Biharee'. In the issue of 27 January, 1911, it wrote, "Unfortunately, for Bihar and her students the M.A. classes have been abolished even from the Patna College, the only State college in our province and the university has also not thought fit to appoint university lecturers for reasons best known to Government and the Senate."²⁹

29. Quoted in Dr. Sreedhar Narayan pandy, Education and Social Change in Bihar. p.100.

The Government of India later realised the urgency of creating a separate province in Bihar and wrote to the Secretary of State. "The cry of Bihar for the Biharis has frequently been raised in connection with the conferment of appointments, an excessive number of offices in Bihar having been held by Bengalis. The Biharis are a sturdy, loyal people and it is matter of common knowledge that, although they have long desired separation from Bengal, they refrained at the time of partition from asking, for it, because they did not wish to join the Bengalis in opposition to Government. There has been a very marked awakening in Bihar in recent years, and a strong belief has grown up among Biharis that Bihar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal. The belief will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future, and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out on our own initiative, a thoroughly sound and much desired change."³⁰

The Secretary of State supported the proposal and informed the Government of India that at the time of His Imperial Majesty's visit the announcement for the creation of Bihar would be made. Consequently at Delhi

30. Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, op.cit. p. 104

Durbar on 12 December 1911 the Emperor announced a series of far reaching administrative changes, which included the creation of Bihar as a separate province under a Lieutenant Governor in Council. The new province came into existence on 1 April 1912 and Sir Charles Bayley was appointed the first Lieutenant Governor of Bihar and Orissa. This date was a landmark in the history of Bihar, to bring as it did Bihar on the map of India. New hopes were entertained about the cause of education getting new dimensions and larger funds being arranged for its expansion. A separate province for Biharis necessitated the need for establishing a new university for Bihar.

The educated Biharees pleaded that their dependence on a university outside the province did not cater to their educational needs. The Chief Organ of educated men of Bihar, 'the Biharee' which had worked strenuously for the creation of a separate province, carried a similar campaign for the establishment of a university in Bihar. In a series of editorial comments and articles by many prominent public figures it emphasised the need of establishing a university in Bihar. It put very convincing arguments in favour of a university! "We have materials for our University at hand. We have 84 High Schools and 6 Colleges already at

work. We have 811 Students actually passing through them with university certificates and degrees each year. What we want is to incorporate them into a body distinct from the Calcutta University in which they are swamped and merged beyond all recognition."³¹ In the new province of Bihar and Orissa, 1989 candidates appeared for the Matriculation examination, 98 for the Intermediate and 68 for B.A. examination in 1912. These numbers at different stages of examination were sufficient feeders for a new university.

A large and representative meeting of the citizens of Patna was held on February 9, 1912. In this meeting, Mazharul Haque proposed that the new province of Bihar and Orissa should have a separate university of its own as soon as practicable and that in the meantime there should be a proportionately adequate representation of the people of Bihar in the Senate and Syndicate of the Calcutta University.³²

The agitation for the establishment of a University spread throughout Bihar. The practical advantage of having a university in Bihar could not be

31. The Biharee, 25 April, 1912, as quoted in Sreedhar Narayan Pandey, op. cit., p. 105.

32. The Biharee, 9 Feb. 1912, quoted in S.N. Pandey, op. cit., 105-106.

doubted. Such a university would develop Bihar's education a great deal more than a university situated at a considerable distance from the province and subject to influence which did not respond to Bihar's Wants and Wish. According to 'The Biharee' a University, specially adapted to the requirements of Bihar would usher in a new era in the history of education, helping the recruitment of the public service "from the sons of the soil and the dissimination of knowledge among the masses." The creation of a university at Bankipore was not an intellectual but a social and moral lever for the people."³³ This newspaper pointed out to the public as well as to the Government the absolute necessity of expediting the establishment of the Patna University. Besides the Press, other forums were also utilised for putting weight to the demand. In 1912 Sachchidanand Sinha raised the issue of establishing a university at Patna in the Imperial Legislative Council. With the growing demand for a separate university, the local Government proposed to constitute a representative committee with a view to formulate a definite scheme. Consequently, the Patna University Committee, or the Nathan Committee, as it was known after the name of its

33. Ibid. 16 Feb. 1912.

President, was constituted on 12 Feb. 1913 with 9 Europeans and 8 Indians.

The Lt. Governor desired to leave the committee unfettered in the execution of the important task entrusted to it. But he made a few observations for general guidance, which fixed the nature of the scheme. The following conditions were laid down.³⁴

1. 'The University being intended for the benefit of the whole province, the needs of all parts of the country and of all sections of the people should receive careful attention.

2. Provision should be made for a University at Patna or at some convenient place in its neighbourhood, of the teaching and residential type, and for the affiliation to this central institution of colleges situated in other places.

3. The scheme should not involve any such additional cost to the students as would discourage them from taking full advantage of the facilities to be offered.

It was decided that the report should be published and circulated for comment and advice before any definite action was taken.

34. Edn. Govt. of B. 20, proceeding no. 28, 19 May, 1913

The Committee submitted its report in March 1914. The Committee's scheme envisaged a central institution at Patna which would undertake the higher branches of instruction, conduct the examinations, supervise the general life and training of the students, and regulate the teaching and organization of a number of incorporated colleges. Some of these colleges would be in the university area, and others would be situated in different parts of the province. In the central university laboratories, lecture halls, and seminars, a library and a museum, and other similar facilities would be provided for the common use, while ample accommodation and opportunities would be afforded to for all kinds of games, and for the various associations and social amenities which a University should encourage.³⁵

According to the scheme the proposed University was to include the following colleges as Central

35. Report of the Patna University Committee, p.13.

Institutions :

Name of Institution	No. of students
1. Patna College	450
2. Bihar National College	300
3. King's College	300
4. Mission's College	200
5. Non-Collegiate Department	300
6. Sanskrit College	200
7. Training College for Teachers	32

Total	1782

The students of the first five institutions were divided between the departments of Arts, Science and Law; in Arts 950, in Science 410 and in Law 190; total 1550 students in these departments.

The following colleges were proposed as the external colleges of the new University:³⁶

	No. of students
1. G.B.B. College, Muzaffarpur	400
2. Tej Narayan Jubilee College, Bhagalpur	500
3. St. Columba's College, Hazaribagh	170
4. Ravenshaw College, Cuttack	650

36. Ibid, p.24.

The Committee suggested ordinarily to accommodate 400 students in colleges, but made provision of the 50 extras in Patna College for the members of a proposed special residential hall. Two of the external colleges also exceeded the limit of students recommended. This was unavoidable, because none of the divisions, except that of Patna could support more than one college. It was laid down as a general principle that no college of the university right to accommodate more than 600 students. In case of further accommodation a new college should be established.³⁷

A site was selected west of the new capital and it was proposed to transfer to it the existing colleges at Bankipore, namely the Patna College and the B.N. College. The Law college was to cease to exist, students of Law being accommodated in the ordinary colleges and being given a special course after passing the Intermediate standard. The management of the university was to rest with a Chancellor, a paid whole-time Vice-chancellor, a convocation of 160 members and a Council of not less than 24. The Chancellor, who was to be the Lt. Governor of the Province, was to nominate 50 college or university teachers and 31 other members

37. Ibid, p.30.

of the convocation and 6 of the Council and the election of other members was to be subject to his confirmation. He was to appoint the external member of the governing bodies of the colleges to select professors and assistant professors from amongst the members of the staff and to confirm proposals for the grant of honorary degrees. The Vice-Chancellor, as the Deputy of the Chancellor and the Head of the Executive, would preside over the Council and more important Boards and Committees and be the Principal visiting and inspecting officer of the university for both external and internal Colleges.³⁸

The report of the Committee was published in the local Government Gazette followed by criticisms which centered mainly on the following points.³⁹

1. The amount of Government control
2. The proposed position and duties of the Vice-Chancellor
3. The constitution and relative functions of the Convocation and Council
4. The omission of courses in medicine and engineering and other professional subjects.

38. Ibid, p. 103.

39. The first quinquennial Review on the progress of Education in B.A.O. (1912-17),p.43.

5. The omission of a department of Islamic Studies.
6. The proposed Mission College.
7. The proposal to move the University out of Bankipore to the new capital.
8. The limitation of the courses of study in external colleges.
9. The absence of any provision for the opening of external colleges other than the four already in existence.
10. The insistence on residence in the case of so large a proportion of students.

After considering the criticisms, the Patna University Bill was introduced in the Imperial Legislative Council on the 27th Sept. 1916. In the Bill the Chancellor was empowered to nominate 4 out of 16 members of the Syndicate. Of the Ordinary Fellows 12 were to be elected and the remainder (40 to 60) were to be nominated by the Chancellor. The Vice-chancellor was to be the principal executive officer of the University. The Council was replaced by a Syndicate of 16 members of whom 3 were to be appointed 'ex-officio', 9 were to be elected by the Senate and 4 were to be nominated by the Chancellor. The Syndicate was to have the entire management of superintendence over the

affairs and property of the university. The convocation was replaced by a smaller Senate.

Many members participated in the debate on the Patna University Bill in the Imperial Legislative Council. Sri Krishna Sahay, a member from Bihar expressed his sincere gratitude on behalf of the people of Bihar. He refrained from making any observations on the Bill. Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya speaking on the Bill welcomed the creation of this university. But he considered the proposal to make the Syndicate practically independent of Senate, retrograde and objectionable. C.H. Setalvad also pinpointed the retrograde character of the Bill, which would turn the university into a department of the Government. Tej Bahadur Sapru also criticised it for being backward. Mazharul Haque, Bihar's representative however, expressed satisfaction at the fulfilment of Bihar's demand! "It was the long cherished desire of the people of Bihar to have a University of their own, and that desire is on the point of fulfilment now." He did not like some of the provisions of the Bill which were elucidated by the education member in the council. However, he observed that the time for a detailed criticism would come after sometime at Delhi. He was

not prepared to call it a retrograde measure, and reserved his criticism for a future occasion.⁴⁰

The Patna University Act came into force on 1 Oct. 1917, and J.G. Jennings was appointed the first Vice-Chancellor. After 1917, the Patna College and the B.N. College, both underwent considerable development. The strength of students as well as the teaching staff, both went up. But hitherto there was no provision for post-graduate work. A scheme for starting M.A. and M.Sc. classes at Patna College in English, History, Economics, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry was approved by the Senate in March 1919.⁴¹ After the establishment of the University in the Province the number of students went on increasing. But no new college was opened in Patna till 1941. However, Patna college first became co-educational in 1931. In 1918, the Patna University was allowed to participate in the benefits of the Government of India University Scholarships tenable in England and the two scholarships to be awarded in 1920 were placed at the disposal of the Punjab and Patna Universities. The following sequence was adopted for this purpose:

40. Sreedhar Narayan Pandey, op. cit., p.116.

41. K.K.Dutta, op. cit., p.418.

Punjab and Patna - 1920, Calcutta and Bombay - 1921, Allahabad and Madras - 1922, Punjab and Patna - 1923 and so on.⁴² During the period 1920-30, many post-graduate departments were opened at Patna University, some of them with the help of private donations. Mentioned may be made of Mithilesh Rameshwar Singh Maithili Chair in the Patna University which was established by the wish of Maharaja of Darbhanga, Kameshwar Singh, in 1930. The Maharaja donated a sum of Rs. One lakh and 20 thousand for this purpose.

With the coming into force of the Government of India Act (1919), the Patna University became a federal topic, subject to federal legislation. In March 1932 the Patna University Act was amended. It made the University purely federal, but established a central board to coordinate the work of the college at Patna, provided for larger representation of the registered graduates on the Senate and fixed the number of teachers and non-teachers on the Syndicate at 10 and 7 respectively, in addition to the Vice-Chancellor.

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION:

Bihar remained backward in the field of professional education until quite recently. The first

42. Edn. Govt. of B. & O. , file no. IV E-14 of 1920, no. 87

Medical and Engineering colleges were established as late as later years of 1920's at Patna. Though Law College was founded in 1909, its functions were far from satisfactory. The only Teachers Training College at Patna just managed to live on. Of course, the creation of province of Bihar, like in other fields, had remarkable effects on the progress of professional education in Bihar.

The Patna Training College was started in 1908 on an experimental basis. In 1911-12 it had only 6 students. It had no building of its own. However, in 1912, the formation of new province made its permanent retention necessary and the same year Patna Collegiate and the Patna Training Schools were brought under the control of the Principal of Patna Training College. In 1915-16 the number of students rose to 40. After the establishment of Patna University its development was entrusted to the University.

Law classes continued to be popular in Patna. Law teaching was a part of the Patna College until 1909 when Patna Law College was established with the object of imparting legal knowledge to the students and affiliated to Calcutta University. The college was under the control of DPI. In 1917 it was transferred to

the Patna University. The number of students grew at great speed during the period 1911-17. It rose to 202 in B.L. Classes in 1916-17 from 41 in 1911-12.

It was ironical that Engineering and Medicine did not attract the attention of the local people while the education of Law flourished. The attraction for law can be explained in terms of local factors. First, among Hindus, the digmas of caste enjoined a strong code of purity and pollution and therefore, any technical education was taboo, because it involved manual work. Study of allopathic system of medicine necessitated dissection of corpses and coming into physical contact with people belonging to different religions and castes and hence, militate against the caste-based notion of purity and pollution. Consequently, scientific and technical education in its early phase did not become popular amongst Bihari Hindus. The lack of enthusiasm for scientific and technical education persisted till the first two decades of the century; only the establishment of the first steel-mill of the country in Jamshedpur in South Bihar in 1907 and the out-break of the first world-war forced upon them the realisation of the importance of technical education. The neglect of Scientific and technical education, on the one hand,

perpetuated traditional norms, and, on the other hand, inflated the importance of law as a profession.

No manual work was involved in the profession of Law and therefore, according to prevalent norms, not 'infra dig'. Secondly, physical contacts with clients were not required and hence there was no fear of pollution for the caste-conscious Hindus. Besides, certain other factors enhanced the attraction for the profession of law. Bihar had a predominantly agrarian economy despite the development of mining industries in the South Bihar. The agrarian structure was highly complex; it gave rise to conflicting claims which had to be resolved in law courts. The Zamindari System established by the Permanent Settlement of 1793 had become encumbered with overlapping rights. This gave rise to lots of legal complications and matters had to be taken to law courts. Thus, financially, a lawyer's profession was the most lucrative and attractive for the newly English-educated Biharis.

Apathy of Biharis towards technical education was lamented from inside also. 'The Biharee' of 26th May, 1912 commented: "Educated young men are very loath to take technical and industrial education. The bar is already overcrowded and our youngmen should turn their

attention to adopt technical and commercial pursuits. But we have to regretfully admit that the facilities offered to the Biharee students to take education other than purely literary, are not attractive enough."

Even after 30 years of the establishment in 1874 the Temple Medical School was struggling for survival and was helped by liberal grant from the Government.⁴³ In 1912 it had only 118 students. With the creation of the State of Bihar and Orissa in 1912 the need for the establishment of medical college was felt, but as it was not possible to start a medical college immediately, the State Government arranged with the Government of Bengal to reserve 18 seats in the Calcutta Medical College for the students of this province and agreed to pay the proportionate cost. But this arrangement was quite inadequate, and, to meet the growing demand of the province, the Maharaja of Darbhanga in 1920 gave a donation of Rs.5 lakhs towards the establishment of a medical college at Patna and in 1921 on the occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales its foundation was laid and the college was named Prince of Wales Medical College. An appeal was made for donations and a sum of Rs.9 lakhs

43. District Gazetteer of Patna, 1970. p. 496.

and 25 thousand in addition to aforesaid sum of Rs.5 lakhs already given by the Hon'ble Maharaja of Darbhanga was donated. The medical college started functioning in July, 1925 with 30 students in the 1st year class for the study of Biology. All the other classes were opened in July, 1926 and the students of the province studying at the Calcutta Medical College were recalled and admitted to these classes. The buildings of the former medical school were altered to suit the enhanced need of the college. The formal opening ceremony of the college was performed on the 25th Feb., 1927 by Sir Henry Wheeler, the then Governor of Bihar.⁴⁴ The Patna Medical Association was established in 1922.

Bihar School of Engineering at Patna was the only institution of its kind in 1912 when the new province was created. It had always played a subordinate role to the Engineering college at Sibpur in Bengal. After the creation of the new province it was natural that voices should be raised for raising its position as the only Engineering College of the new province. 'The Beharee' regretted "that the facilities offered to the Biharee students to take education other than purely literary,

44. Ibid.

are not attractive enough."⁴⁵ In his letter to the Govt. of India, the Chief Secretary of Bihar and Orissa admitted that "its reorganisation and development in a manner calculated to enable it to satisfy the requirements of the new province were recognised at once as matters of urgency and importance."⁴⁶ The Lieutenant-Governor in Council decided to appoint a committee headed by Mr. Nathan, comprising a large number of employers of labour, "to consider the requirements of the Bihar School and to frame a scheme for its improvement and for bringing it into closer touch with the employers of labour in the province."⁴⁷

The committee recommended that "while no attempt should be made at present to raise the school to the status of a college it should be so developed as to enable young men of the Province to fit themselves for those branches of engineering in which a demand for their Services either exists or may be created." The authorities rejected the demand of raising the status of Engineering school on three grounds: firstly, it

45. The Biharee, 25 May 1912.

46. Edn. Govt. of B. & O. letter from Chief Secretary to the Joint Sectty. Govt. of India, Deptt. of Edn., dated, 17th Sept, 1914 no. 2000E

47. Ibid, File no-IIE/25 of 1914, no. 4-23.

will involve a huge cost; secondly, it was presumed that enough students will not be available for the college, as few Bihari students enrolled against the seats reserved for them at the Sibpur Engineering College; and thirdly, that enough employment opportunities for the future Engineering graduates in Bihar do not exist.⁴⁸ This attitude of the Government disappointed the people of Bihar. However, the demand for an engineering college did not cease to exist. After the establishment of Patna University, once again the voices were raised for the case of an Engineering College. In 1919, Babu Dwarikanath, a prominent lawyer and member of the Senate of Patna University wanted to move a resolution in the Senate to establish "well-equipped colleges for Medicine, Engineering and Technology as component parts of the Patna University, with a further request that the chancellor be graciously pleased to take steps for early organisation of the same."⁴⁹ However, the Chief Secretary of the Govt. of Bihar and Orissa opposed the resolution. But at last the public opinion won and in 1923 the school was affiliated to the Patna University and degree students

48. Ibid.

49. Edn. Govt. of B. & O., file no. XVI E-17 of 1919, no. 15. letter from Batru Diwakernath to The Registrar, Patna University.

were first admitted in 1924 and it was named as Bihar Engineering College. The Mechanical Apprentice course was also started in the same year. The degree course was recognised by the Government of India in 1932.

SECONDARY EDUCATION:

The later years of the 19th century saw a great expansion of Secondary Education in Patna in particular and in Bihar in general. However, certain defects were discovered in the system of secondary education in vogue. Therefore, in 1882, an Education Commission, known as the Hunter Commission, was appointed by the Government to enquire into and report on the entire question of education in the country. The Commission was directed to look into the quality and character of the instruction imparted in schools. Since it was very costly for the Government to maintain the Secondary Schools, it was thought that the entire responsibility of the primary education should be taken over by the Government and that of the Secondary education should be left to the private enterprise. The Commission recommended that the Secondary education should be provided on the grant-in-aid basis and that the Government should withdraw as early as possible from

the direct management of the Secondary Schools.⁵⁰ However, these recommendations were not implemented and the old system of Government schools, aided schools and unaided schools continued.

At the beginning of the 20th century there were two government managed schools in Patna, viz. the Patna Collegiate School and the Patna City School. The only aided school (boys) was Rammohan Roy Seminary. The only Girls' High School in Bihar, at Bankipore was also an aided school. Five unaided Secondary schools were within the Municipal limits of Patna; viz. the Bihar National Collegiate School, T.K. Ghosh's Academy, the Anglo-Arabic School; Anglo-Sanskrit School and the Diamond Jubilee School.

The Patna Collegiate School was founded in 1835 with the name 'Patna High School'. It became the mother of the first college of Bihar, Patna College, in 1863. The Collegiate School remained under the control of the principal, Patna College, in the old historic building, called Patna College, Old Block. In 1909 it was housed in a separate rented house and was placed under the Divisional Inspector of Schools. In 1912 the

50. Patna District Gazetteer, 1970, p.484

supervision of the school vested in the Principal, Patna Training College and remained under him till 1919 when it was converted into an Intermediate College called New College. The four lower classes of the school were transferred to the Middle English School attached to the Patna Training School. The Institution, therefore, assumed a new position as the new college on the 14th July 1919. In 1927, however, the Intermediate Arts Classes were re-transferred to the Patna College and the old Patna Collegiate School was restored to its former status.⁵¹

The only Girls' High School of Bihar at Bankipore received a departmental grant-in-aid of Rs.110/- per month for a long time. In 1905 the Director of Public Instruction reported that the Bankipore Girls School had entirely failed to attract Bihari girls. It was reported that the financial condition of the school was very unsatisfactory and the staff was inadequate.⁵² In 1906 in Bankipore High School for girls, out of 54 girls, 40 were Bengalis and only 12 Biharis and 2 were inhabitants of other province, 'Purdah' was a great hindrance in the expansion of female education in

51. Ibid, p.487.

52. A.Earle, DPI, to Bengal Govt. Edn., Gen.Deptt. 28 Oct. 1906.

Bihar. The Director of Public Instruction therefore recommended that a separate school solely for the education of such Bihari girls, who did not wish to associate with Bengali girls might be started. It was decided to withdraw the grant from the High School and replace it by a Middle English School by the Government. It was proposed to conduct the new school strictly on 'zenana' lines. But for want of suitable teachers it was found impossible to open the new school soon.

In 1906 a new Director of Public Instruction took up the course of female education in Bihar. He did realise the necessity of establishing a separate school for Bihari girls on strictly 'zenana' lines but he did not approve of his predecessor's decision to close the existing High School at Bankipur. He agreed with the view of the Inspector of Schools, Patna Division, that if this school was closed female education in Bihar would lose ground not to be regained for years. The Commissioner of the Patna Division, Maude, wrote in a similar vein, "I look on this school as an object-lesson to the people of Bihar planted in their chief city in order to show them that girls can be educated without even a strict 'purdah' system... and it would be a very great pity if it were removed by the

closure."⁵³ Thus the Bankipore High School was allowed to continue and the grant which the Director of Public Instruction got was not sufficient in order to keep the school in a state of efficiency. The Government therefore sanctioned the restoration of the old grant, and increase was assured on condition of financial and teaching improvement.⁵⁴ The Govt. further sanctioned the opening of a new Middle English School for Bihari girls. But this Scheme was blocked due to non-availability of qualified teachers.

This led to the formulation of establishing training colleges for women teachers on strictly 'Purdah' lines. Sayyad Badshah Nawab Rizvi of Patna had offered a permanent endowment for the promotion of female education. This donation brought an income of Rs.7,500/- a year which provided a great impetus to the scheme. This followed subscriptions from other enlightened and educated men of Bihar. The Maharani of Bettiah placed a large house alongwith a big compound for the accomodation of the college and the practising school.⁵⁵ Thus was established the Badshah Rizvi

53. Ibid.

54. Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, Edn. Deptt., to the DPI, 28 Nov. 1906.
While replying to the Government of India letter

55. A.Earle,DPI,to the Govt.of Bengal,13, May,1906.

Training College for Women. asking to submit a ten-year scheme for the education of girls, the Director of Public Instruction, Govt. of Bihar and Orissa, stated that "the aim of the Training College for Women, Bankipore, is to train teachers for the teaching of girls to the end of the Vernacular course, but at the outset only for Primary Schools."⁵⁶ In the same letter the D.P.I. quotes from the report of Mr. Kuchler, dated 19th Feb. 1912: "The Bankipore College is already fairly established and may be said to have passed beyond the experimental stage; and though it must for sometime to come to continue to train only vernacular mistresses, it may, hereafter, as soon as Bihari ladies with higher qualifications are available, aim at affording a higher grade of training, and that with little or no addition to the cost, as the present will probably be sufficient."

However, the Director of Public Instruction admitted that no High School for girls was contemplated as the number of trained teachers from the Bankipore training college was very low: only four every other year.⁵⁷

56. DPI, Govt. of B. & O. to the Under Secretary to the Govt. of India, letter, no. 4264, 2nd Oct. 1912. File no.IE/245. of 1914. no.12-14.

57. Ibid.

PRIMARY EDUCATION:

In 1885 Lord Ripon inaugurated the scheme of Local Self-government. Accordingly the control of primary education passed from the District Magistrate to the District Board and Municipalities. The paucity of funds for primary education however continued, and it caused a conflict of opinions among the departmental officers regarding the application of whatever fund was available at their disposal. With the commencement of the 20th century, new era in mass education began. The payment-by-result System was abolished in 1902-3. The new system that came into vogue was that of 'maintained schools.' There must be a maintained school in every police station. District Boards were directed to spend three to five per cent of their income on education.⁵⁸

On 12th December, 1911, at the Coronation Durbar, it was announced that the Govt. of India would devote at once 50 lakhs to the promotion of truly popular education.⁵⁹ The sum allotted to Bihar and Orissa was :

58. K.K. Dutta, op. cit., p. 437.

59. Education, General, Govt. Of B. & O. File no. IE/135 no. 1-3

(a) Elementary Education for boys	Rs.2,93,000
(b) Education of girls	Rs. 55,000
(c) Hostels	Rs. 51,000
(d) Technical and Industrial education	Rs. 26,000
(e) Education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians	Rs. 25,000

	Rs.4,50,000

The Grant was mainly for the progress of elementary education. The Joint Secretary to the Govt. of India wrote to the Secretary to the Govt. of Bihar and Orissa, Deptt. of Education, "The Government of India desire that the grants now made should be given largely to extension of elementary education and the extension of the principle of free elementary education for those that cannot afford to pay fees."⁶⁰ Thus, first steps towards free elementary education were taken, though it was merely in the form of a suggestion.

After the creation of the new province of Bihar & Orissa the need was felt to tackle the problem of primary education on local level. Therefore the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council, by a resolution, on the 26th Feb. 1914, appointed a representative committee to

60. Ibid.

advise on the subject of primary education.⁶¹" The Committee had 21 members including 10 Indians.

During the deliberations of the Committee, one member, Khwaja Muhammad Nur moved that "the control, cost and management of primary education in municipalities should be provincialised."⁶² He observed that municipalities had little or no funds for primary education, the control of which was not, as was the case with District Boards, one of their Chief functions. He drew the attention of the committee to the marked difference in this respect between the wording of the Municipal Act. His proposal was strongly opposed by the President and other official members, though he was equally strongly supported by Indian members. However, it was agreed that the education committees in Municipalities should be insisted upon to further the cause of education in municipality area.⁶³

The expenditure by Patna Municipality on education in 1913-14 was only 1.9 per cent of total expenditure, which grew to 2.04 per cent in 1918-19 but again fell

61. Edn. General Deptt. Govt. of B. & O., File no. IE/145 of 1914, no. 111-114

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

to 1.8 per cent in 1919-20.⁶⁴ In earlier years the main items of expenditure were conservancy and Medical Works. However, in 1919-20 main expenditure was on conservancy and Water supply.

OTHER LITERARY ACTIVITIES

The dawn of the 20th century saw a remarkable growth in literary activities of the biggest city and would be capital of Bihar. The popularity of western education in upper-middle class produced men like Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, Khuda Baksh, Bisheswar Singh and Saligram Singh, Mahesh Narayan, Mazharul Haque and Ali Imam and Hasan Imam who worked enthusiastically, for the advancement of learning in Patna. They treated public opinion in favour of modern education and even spent their whole earnings for its progress.

One of the most remarkable of them was Khuda Baksh who was the man behind Patna Oriental Public Library, - popularly known as Khuda Baksh Library, one of the most important institutions in the world for the study of medieval Indian history and the Islamic Culture. Khuda Baksh spent the earnings of his whole life in collecting rare manuscripts and books, and buying land

64. Resoution on Working of Municipalities, File no. M/72, of 1915 and M-245 of 1921

and constructing building on it for the Oriental Library. He made over to the public the Library in 1891. Thereafter the Library received regular grants from the government for its upkeep. Lord Curzon visited this Library in 1903 and bestowed a companionship of the Order of the Indian Empire on Khuda Baksh. Mr. V.C. Scott O' Connor wrote in his work 'An Eastern Library' about the Khuda Baksh Library "It embalms, at their best, for those who care to know about them, the ideals of the old Muslim World."⁶⁵

In 1907, the government sanctioned two scholarships in the Oriental Library for the compilation of a catalogue of Arabic and Persian manuscripts under the supervision of Dr. Ross. These Scholarships were initially for one period, subject to subsequent continuance. Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir and Maulavi Azimuddin Ahmad were appointed against these scholarships.⁶⁶

After the formation of the province of Bihar and Orissa in 1912, it was proposed to open a museum at Patna for housing and displaying the antiquities of

65. Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, Some Bihar Contemporaries, p.1

66. Letter from A. Earle the Secty. to the Govt. of Bengal, dated 9 June, 1908. File no. 5L/5, no. 111-116 of Aug. 1908, Edn. General Deptt.

Bihar. The excavations of the multi-pillard hall at Kumhrar in 1913 gave a further impetus to this idea. Under the inspiration of Sir Edward A. Gait, Lt. Governor of Bihar and Orissa (1915-20) this idea took a definite shape and a resolution to this effect was adopted at the first meeting of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, in July 1915, and led to the collection of objects of archaeligical interest, which were housed initially at the commissioner's bungalow. The Museum moved to its present building in 1928, constructed in Indo-Saracenic style; this is one of the most elegant buildings of Patna.

The antiquities of Basarh (ancient Vaishali) excavated by Dr. Spooner in 1911-12 were presented to this museum during 1919 by the Department of Archeology, Government of India. In 1920, most of the antiquities excavated at Kumharar during 1912-1 were also presented to this museum. In 1922-23 the museum itself undertook an excavation at Bulandibagh (Patna) which brought many interesting objects to it. A number of antiquities were also presented by individuals interest in antiquity-collection. Thus Patna Museum became one of the Selected museums of India and a thing of pride for the city.

A direct result of growing interest in education and advancing literacy is the growth of journalistic activities. The last quarter of the 19th century saw the blooming of the art of journalism in India. Bihar was no exception. However, the closing years of the last century and the opening years of the present century were particularly blessed in this sense. While growing education catalysed the development of journalistic activities, the vice-versa is also true. Journals became a tool in the hands of the nationalist elements to foster the cause of nationalism as well as education. The media also became a stage for discussing government policies.

Journalism in Patna started with the Urdu government weekly **Akbar-i-Bihar** in 1856. But it was really with the establishment of Bihar Herald in 1872 that journalism really took off in Patna. It was established by Babu Guru Prasad Sen in collaboration with Babu Saligram Singh and some other prominent Biharis. However, it became an organ of the domiciled Bengali community in Bihar and started opposing the demand for creation of separate province of Bihar.

Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha returned from England in 1893 and settled in Patna to practise law. He threw his

entire energy and talent into organising a paper to be run and controlled entirely By Biharis. He found in Babu Mahesh Narayan a capable journalist and valuable collaborator. With the active help of some other enlightened Biharis the Bihar Times started publication from Patna in 1894 with the avowed object of furthering the cause of the children of the soil. In 1906 the paper was reorganised as the Beharee. It was through 'the Bihar Times' and the Beharee that the agitation for the creation of province of Bihar was carried on by Sachchidanand Sinha and his friends. On 13th April, 1912, the Beharee came out as a full-fledged English daily. However, the independent and anti-government attitude of the paper proved detrimental to the health of the paper. The Government had been watching the activities of the Biharee and many adverse reports were sent against this paper by the officials. The Government came heavy on this independent paper and the patrons were compelled to remove the bold editors from the organisation. Since 1913 the paper became practically an official organ with cunningham as the editor. Finally, in 1917, the paper closed publication for ever.⁶⁷

67. N. Kumar, Journalism in Bihar, p. 54

The urgent necessity of a truly representative organ of enlightened public opinion began to be felt by the people of Bihar ever since the Biharee was subdued in 1931. Besides, political consciousness in the State enlivened by the gospel of Home Rule preached by Dr. Annie Besant, the visit of Mahatma Gandhi to Champaran in April, 1917, and the historic August (1917) Declaration of Montague, then Secretary of State for India, promising gradual extension of responsible Government to India, added impetus to the popular demand for an independent journal. However, no effort in this direction was made until the Beharee actually ceased publication, leaving Bihar without a newspaper of its own for several months.

However, in 1918, a limited liability company was registered under the name of The Bihar Journals Limited by Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha, Rajendra Prasad and some others. The company brought out the newspaper the Searchlight the same year. The broad outlines of the policy of the Searchlight, as declared by its directors, were to advocate and work for the attainment of responsible government of India. When the Indian National Congress adopted the non-co-operation resolution at its special session held in Calcutta in 1920, it became difficult for the Searchlight to decide

whether there should be any change in the policy of the paper in favour of supporting the non-cooperation movement. It was, however, decided that the paper should follow an independent nationalism rather than identifying itself with the non-cooperation policy of the Congress. In 1921 Dr. Sachchidanand Sinha severed his connection with the paper to join the Bihar and Orissa Executive Council. This facilitated the paper identify itself again with the Congress policy of non-cooperation.

A bitter and outspoken critic of the British Government, the Searchlight fearlessly exposed what it considered to be Government's misdeeds and designs to thwart India's demand for independence and consequently it had to incur displeasure of government and suffer persecutions quite a number of times for unearthing and publishing important confidential documents, which proved embarassing for the authorities.⁶⁸

The first Hindi journal to be published from Patna was the Bihar Bandhu in 1874. This weekly soon became one of the leading journals not only of Bihar, but of

68. Ibid. One interesting episode has ben given in this book which raised a hue and cry in the media and the case was brought to the High Court where the editor was fined Rs. 500

the whole of North India. it helped create many contemporary Hindi Literatures.⁶⁹ It contributed much to the popularisation of Hindi among the masses and promotion of Hindu-Muslim accord. From its very inception it also carried on successfully a campaign for the introduction of Hindi in law courts. It ceased to be published in 1915.

Hindi journals, weeklies and monthlies, made their appearance. Motichur, Hindi Gazette, Vidya Vinod, Bhasha Prakash, Harishchandra Kala, Udyog, Chaitanya Chandrika, and Shiksha, were among them. Most of them, however, were short-lined due to financial burdens. Only the last one lasted for about four decades and ceased to publish in 1940.⁷⁰



69. Ibid, p. 64.

70. Ibid, The book gives a detail story of the growth of Hindi journalism in Bihar.

ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE CITY

The middle of the 18th century witnessed a remarkable change in the economic field in the West. Change in this field became visible in India hundred years later. The latest phase of economic transition in the world's history had been marked by one remarkable fact that this change, which was originally brought about in one part of the world, has radically affected the structure of economic Society in almost all others. India has been no exception to this rule. She began to feel the impact of these forces quite early, and change of some magnitude has been going on in her economic structure during the last century.

One of the first causes operating towards an economic transition was perhaps the establishment of British rule in India and this also synchronised with the beginning of the competition of British manufactures with Indian industry. Another important factor was the introduction of a new revenue system by the British and also the introduction of a new system of judicial administration. These changes were slowly

operating on the economic structure but their total effect was by no means large. The main and really important factor, which brought about this economic transition was the opening up of India by means of roads, railways and the new steamship routes. It is this which brought the Indian markets and the Indian supplies of raw materials closer to the West, and thus caused a direct impact of western methods of production and exchange on the industry and trade, and that really affected the organisation of Indian industrial society¹

In this chapter we shall look into the economic condition of the people of Patna city during the early years of the present century in the light of the above description of Indian economy. Patna was a very important trade centre during the late medieval period. As late as in 1870's it was the most important trade centre in whole Bengal and therefore was called the 'chiefest mart of Bengal' by W. W. Hunter². But the flourishing economic life of the people of Patna was not to last long. The trade and commerce of the city was continuously declining after the mid - 19th

1. K.K. Datta, ed., The Comprehensive History of Bihar, Vol. III, Part I P. 488.

2. The District Gazetteer of Patna, 1924, P 165

century. A glance on some paragraphs of the special memorandum prepared in Bengal Secretariat gives a picture of thriving trade and commerce at Patna in 1870's:

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN LATE 19TH CENTURY

"In the District of Patna, the principle mart is Patna City, a place of considerable importance as a commercial depot. Its central position at the junction of the ^{the} three great rivers, the Son, the Gandak, and the Ganges, where the traffic of the North - Western Provinces meets that of Bengal, and where the traffic branches off to Nepal, gives it in this respect great advantages. It is conveniently situated for the purpose of transport either by river or a railway, having a river frontage during the rains of from seven to eight miles, and in the dry months of four miles.

"The city proper comprises the large business quarters of (1) Marufganj, (2) Mansurganj (3) the Kila, (4) the Chauk, with Mirchaiganj, (5) Maharajgunj, (6) Sadikpur, (7) Alabakshpur, (8) Gulzarbagh, (9) Colonelganj, and other petty bazaars' too numerous to mention, extending westward as far as the civil station of Bankipur. The mercantile portion of the city may be said to commence from Colonelganj, which is situated a

short distance west of Gulzarbagh, and is the centre of a large trade in oil-seeds and food-grains. From here the other marts run eastward as far as the Patna branch line of railway, immediately adjoining which is Marufganj, by far the most important of any of the marts in the city.

"The influx of goods into Marufganj, Colonelganj, Gulzarbagh, and the Kila (in respect to Cotton), is from north Behar, the North-Western Provinces and Bengal, with which these marts possess direct and easy water communication, and thus command a far larger supply than the inland marts of Mansurganj, Sadikpur and Alabakshpur, or any of the other numerous petty 'bazaars' remote from the river bank. The trade of these latter places is more intimately concerned with the produce of the Districts of Patna, Gaya, and Shahabad which transmit large supplies of oil-seed and food-grains by means of carts and pack-bullocks. Oil-seeds are disposed of wholesale to the few large export merchants of Marufganj, the supply of food-grain, which consists principally of rice, is sold retail in the 'bazaars' for local consumption"³

3. Quoted in W.W. Hunter, Statistical Account of Patna District. P 154-155.

TRADE AND COMMERCE IN EARLY 20TH CENTURY

But the wealth of the city and the trade and commerce of the city gradually declined in the last decades of the 19th century. Patna was no longer "the chiefest mart" of Bengal. It became a town of petty traders and vendors in 1921. The statement given in the Census Report of 1931, when read against the account of W. W. Hunter, gives a clear picture of dwindling economic condition of the people of Patna city. It reads:

"Patna City, the capital of Bihar and Orissa, has a great past, but its glory is long since departed. Once upon a time the premier city of India, it was still in the early seventeenth century the "chiefest mart town of all Bengals"

It owned its pre-eminence in those days - and earlier - to its commanding position on the Ganges, within a few miles of the confluence with this river of the Son, the Gogra (Ghaghra) and the Gandak. Its decline dates from the time when trade began to forsake the river. The last census report of this province contains an interesting account of an economic census of the Patna 'bazaar', which reveals strikingly the extent to which this city has become the home of the

petty trader and artificer. Among 1,443 units investigated only nine wholesale dealers were found, though some of the retail vendors supplied goods to smaller shops in the same line of business. Many of the shops were little more adjuncts to the workshops of small artisans and mechanics, the proprietor being a manufacturer first and trader second. The trade of the bazaar appeared to be almost wholly local, very few cases coming to light in which Patna shops supplied customers at any distance. In not one case did the vendor any part of his stock direct from abroad. Shops selling tobacco, betel and aerated water were more numerous than any other type. The industries of Patna were found to be conducted for the most part on the same primitive lines as were in vogue a hundred years ago. In the whole city there were only fifteen industrial establishments having ten or more employees, and the total number of persons employed in them was less than a thousand. Detailed information is not available regarding developments in the and industry of the city during the last ten years, but there has been no radical changes."⁴

4. Census Report of 1931, Vol. VII Part I. P. 89.

And the census report of 1921 adds: "so the industries of Patna, conducted today for the most part on the same primitive lines as they were conducted a hundred years ago, at present show signs of failing as their product comes into competition with the output of other places."⁵

IMPORT AND EXPORT IN LATE 19TH CENTURY

Principal imports into Patna during the later half of the 19th century were oil-seeds, salt, saline substances, refined sugar, wheat, pulses, and rice. Of the metals iron and copper and brass formed major items of imports, while oil-seeds amounted to more than a million 'maunds' in 1876, there were many items that crossed one lakh maunds mark. Imported iron and its manufactures amounted to more than seventeen thousand maunds in the same year. European cotton manufactures were one of the largest items to be imported. Marufganj was the largest importing mart of the city. It controlled more than 70 per cent of the trade of city. Principal exports from the city included oil-seeds, European cotton manufactures and manufactures of fibres.⁶

5. Census Report of India, 1921. VOL. VII Part I.P.85

6. W.W. Hunter, op.cit, P. 159.

Irrespective of the imports and exports detailed above, large quantities of salt, indigo-seed and various other kinds of merchandise were imported by rail, by merchants who had no agents or business connection in the city, and were residents of some other District. These articles were loaded into boats direct from the goods-sheds, and could not be considered as forming a part of the regular import trade of the City. In a similar manner, there were considerable exports of goods which had no connection with any of the business houses in the city, but were landed into waggons direct from boats. Such types of import and export, though did not form a regular part of city trade, were an important part of the economic life of Patna city. The local people, involved in handling these transactions earned a lot of money which inevitably added to the economic prosperity of the city folk.

The river traffic was very important in those days. This made Patna the greatest mart after Calcutta. It became the chief distributor of imports in the Districts of south Bihar. The river based trade was so important that a system of registration was established in later years of 19th century at Sahibganj and Patna. All articles being traded were registered at these

centres and published monthly in the Statistical Reporter. The two great articles of produce, rice and oil-seeds, which together made up more than one half of the whole Ganges traffic, determined the condition of the river trade. Rice came into the Bengal markets in December and January, and was despatched up country for consumption in Bihar and Benaras during the dry season. Oil-seeds came into the Bihar market in April and May, and were despatched to Calcutta for export during July and the rainy season, where the streams were strong and the downstream traffic was largest. Patna was the great centre for the collection and distribution of all the trade of south Bihar. oil-seeds, sugar, tobacco, wheat and pulses were the chief items of downstream traffic from Patna. Saltpetre and hides formed other major articles, though most part of these items were traded by rail. Some of these articles were collected from the north Bihar markets at Patna and were sent from there to Calcutta. Rice, including peddy, salt and pulses were the chief articles of import from the Calcutta market and other adjoining markets of Bengal. A major part of this import was re-assinged to the districts of north Bihar and other parts of Patna Division.⁷

7. Ibid. pp. 25-26.

CAUSES OF DECLINE IN TRADE AND COMMERCE

But gradually the city lost its importance as a major trading centre of Bengal. The changing pattern of conveyance during the later half of the 19th century rose many small towns to a higher status. But it also caused the decline of many other towns and cities. Patna was one of the major preys of the biggest scientific inventions of 19th century in the field of communication. The opening of railways caused a major setback to the river-borne trade of Patna, thus marking the decline of the city as a major trade centre. New railway lines were opened in early 20th century in northern districts of Bihar, almost parallel to the Ganges. South of Ganges also a few lines were opened joining different centres like Bakhtiarpur and Bihar (a place in the Patna district) without touching Patna. With the opening of these railway lines trade passed into other channels. The importers of the neighbouring districts found that to send a written order by post to Calcutta or elsewhere was cheaper than to send a 'beopari' (a merchant) half way to make purchase at Patna, and with the cheapening of railway freights Patna lost her connection with the exporting trade also, for the practice of transshipping goods destined for Calcutta from rail to river at Patna fell in

disuse⁸. The British colonial system required an efficient and quick system to exploit the raw material sources of the interior India as well as to penetrate the vast Indian market. Places like Patna had little value for such a system.

As we saw above, the importance of Patna City lay in being an important trade centre in 19th century and earlier. It was never a home for big industries. However, small industries flourished on a fairly large scale. According to Dr. Buchanan Hamilton about one third of the population was engaged in industrial and manufacturing activities in early 19th century. When W. W. Hunter wrote his statistical accounts of the Districts of Bihar in 1877 almost the same industries flourished, though on a smaller scale. Description of a large number of industries was given for the industries that flourished at Patna.⁹

Soap was manufactured to a considerable extent and exported to all parts of Bengal. The number of families

8. Census of India, 1921, VOI.VII. Part I. P.85

9. A Statistical Account of District of Patna by W.W. Hunter, gives a very detailed description of industries of Patna city and Patna district. Most of these industries also existed during Dr. Buchanan Hamilton's time who provided a detail description of them.

engaged in the industry was estimated at more than 50. The average amount of soap annually manufactured was not less than 60,000 seers or about 53 tons valued at about 800 pounds. Dr. Hamilton estimates were much higher - 383,000 pounds per year, worth more than 2500 pounds. Patna soap was used all over Bengal.

Wax candles were manufactured by 7 houses in Patna. The material usually came from Nepal and Gaya. Many kinds of candles were made depending on the purity of wax some of which were exported to Mu^rshidabad. Gradually the European candles supplanted the local ones. But still in 1875 candles worth 3000 pounds were manufactured at Patna.

There were many classes of glass workers. The "Churisaz" who made bangles and things like that, the 'Chikulisaz', the minammarsa', who made false stones for rings and print on glass, the 'Chishahagar' who blow glass. More than 200 families were engaged in all kinds of glass industry. Their produce was valued at 1000 pounds per year on an average in 1876 .

Patna was also famous for perfumes. Eight shops in Patna distilled perfumes which sold at quite high price as high as Rs. 50, for a rupee weight (about 11 grams) in 1876.

In early 19th century Patna was a very important centre for Cotton manufactures. There was a central factory at Patna, belonging to the East India Company with dependent houses at Jahanabad, Daudnagar; but the company's manufacture was abandoned in 1835, and thereafter English clothes started supplanting the local manufactures. Cotton Weavers wove fine clothes in early years of 19th century, but in later years they were employed in making coarse clothes for country use, though some finer goods were made for exportation. Chintz was manufactured both for local consumption and for exportation; but the Chintz was coarse and not equal to that made at Lucknow or Calucutta. Weav^eres of carpets were confined to Patna city. They made three kinds, of which one was formed entirely of cotton, the second of cotton and wool, and the third consisting of a woollen pile wrought into cotton warp and and woof. The Patna carpets were not equal to those³⁴ manufactured at Daudnagar in Gaya District. Blankets were also manufactured in Patna, and made from silk and flattened wire (badla). Lace and thread also were manufactured from this 'badla' and exported to Murshidabad, Calcutta and Dacca, where they were used by the embroiders.

Besides these important industries, there were many industries that employed hundreds of families. Mention may be made of Ink makers, Umbrella makers, Kite makers, makers of Fireworks (atisbaz) Tobacconists, spirit distillers and workers of metal Patna District as a whole. It was manufactured even in countryside.

OPIUM

Another very important industry of Patna was that of opium. Patna was one of the two places in British India where opium was manufactured. The cultivation of the poppy was confined to the large central Gangetic tract, about six hundred miles in length and hundred miles in breadth, which was bound on the north by Gorakhpur, on the south by Hazaribagh. on the east by Dinapur, and on the west by Agra. This extent was divided into the two Agencies of Bihar and Benaras, the former being presided over by an agent stationed at Bankipur, and the latter by an Agent at Ghazipur. Both Agencies were under the control of the Board of Customs, Salt and Opium, located in Calcutta. The Bihar Agency was the larger and more important of the two in 19th century, sending into the market about treble the quantity of the drug turned out at Benares.

Opium, being cheaper in British India, had become a major subject of smuggling. Many cases of smuggling of duty-paid opium were detected. The smuggled opium reached Burma through Chittagong. The rising licit consumption of opium, also suggested the mass - smuggling of opium. Patna became particularly notorious for it. It was the only district to record cases of smuggling of opium, where large amounts of opium were found being despatched to Chittagong. Also, the consumption of licit opium rose rapidly in Patna. It rose from 44 mounds 30 seers in 1894-95 to 63 mounds 20 seers in 1898-99. Over the same period the next district to mark a rapid rise in consumption was Bhagalpur where it rose from 25 mounds 16 seers to 33 mounds 10 seers¹⁰.

The trade in opium, however, was restricted in 20th Century. Fewer Parties were available to buy opium for general consumption among the people. A convention between the French and Indian governments was signed on 10th December, 1906 for six years beginning on the 1st January 1907, regarding the conversion into an annual payment of three thousand rupees of the rights in connection with the opium trade reserved to the French

10. File no. O.¹⁻⁰ of 1899, Aug. (6-8). Opium, Finance Department, 1899. Government of Bengal.

Govt. by Art. 6 of the Convention of contraband opium in Chandernagar. The French Government renounced "their privilege reserved by Art 6 of the Convention of the 7th March 1815, entitling them to purchase annually at Calcutta three hundred chests of opium at the average price obtained at the periodical sales of this article". The Government of India, in exchange for this renunciation agreed "to pay to the French Administration at Chandernagar a sum of three thousand rupees per annum."¹¹

China was by far the largest importer of Bihar opium. The British East India Company sold opium to China 'with a view to revenue, not trade'. The total supply of opium from Bihar during the year 1808-9 exceeded 8,000 mounds. During the next quarter century the supply increased still further, thus swelling the company's revenue. But as in the case of other primary producers in Bihar the position of the poor poppy - growers was far from enviable.¹² The opium industry retained its sound position during 1833-1858 in spite of occasional disturbances caused by the Anglo-Chinese wars. But in 1907 an agreement was signed with China

11. File no. O 5-T of 1907, Feb. (16-20). Opium, Deptt. of Finance, 1907. Government of Bengal.

12. R.R. Diwakar, Bihar through the Ages, (1958). P. 771

whereby the British Government undertook not to export opium to that country from India.¹³ Due to closure of trade in opium with China the Government decided to curtail the cultivation of opium in India. Firstly districts of north and east Bihar, Muzaffarpur and Monghyr were chosen where the poppy- cultivation was to be dropped. But later whole Bihar was relieved from the compulsion of poppy - cultivation. By an order passed in July, 1911, poppy -cultivation in Bihar was abolished.¹⁴ Two reasons here forwarded by the government officials for the abolition of poppy-cultivation in Bihar; firstly, the average poppy-grower in Bihar was more reluctant to cultivate it due to low remuneration paid to them, and secondly, it was suggested that the average produce of poppy per acre cultivated land was lower in Bihar than in the United Provinces. Thus after 1911 while United Provinces continued to grow poppy, Bihar ceased to do it. Consequently, the opium Deptt. was transferred in the hands of the Board of Revenue of the United Provinces and the Patna Factory was closed with effect from 31st December, 1911.¹⁵ However, the large number of opium

13. Ibid. p. 775

14. File No. O 1-P of 1911. July (23-28) opium, dept. of Finance, Govt. of Bengal. 1911.

15. Ibid.

buildings in Patna and elsewhere in Bihar did not pass into the hands of the opium department. Hence onwards these large buildings were used by the local Government for the purpose of local needs.

FALL OF INDUSTRIES IN 20TH CENTURY

The early years of 20th century saw not only the closure of the most important industry of Patna, the opium industry, but also saw a general fall in industrial activities. The accounts of Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, supported by W.W. Hunter in 1876, state that about one - third of the population of Patna was supported by industries. Of course, the nature of industries was not like the modern heavy industries. However, a greater number of people were fed by their home - industries. During the first two decades of 20th century the industrial life of Patna was shattered. In 1907 industries supported only 17.1 per cent population of Patna district, which was still higher than any other district except Shahabad. This was attributed to the urban and industrial population of Patna City.¹⁶ But in 1911, the Patna Division was reported to be second last after Orissa Division in terms of population - employed in modern industries¹⁷. In 1924

16. District Gazetteer of Patna, 1907, P. 138.

17. Bihar & Orissa Administration Report, 1911-12.

only less than ten per cent population was supported by industries.¹⁸ In 1911 there were only 9 (nine) industrial concerns employing more than 20 persons, returned as factories in Patna District. The total number of person employed was just 1,098¹⁹.

In 1921 the industrial situation in terms of factories and persons employed in them grew bleaker. An economic census of the main market of Patna was made by prof. Hamilton of Patna College and his students. This has been included as an appendix in the present work. The strongest impression produced by the note is of the petty scale of the economic enterprises of the city.

Out of the 1443 units investigated nine only were wholesale dealers pure and simple but a certain proportion of the retail vendors were wholesale dealers on a small scale in so far as they sold also to other shops. A large proportion of the shops (586), particularly in the case of sweetmeats makers and tailors, were found to be owned by small independent producers who were workmen first and shopkeepers afterwards, and it was also found that surprisingly high percentage of the shops were of very recent origin

18. District Gazetteer of Patna, 1924, P.16.

19. Census of India, 1911, VOI. V, Part III. P. 232

(28.5% were 1 to 4 years old). This suggests a very high degree of instability in the trade of the smaller shopkeepers. In the majority of cases the business was said to be declining and this was usually attributed to the effect of the war in making raw materials difficult to obtain or in rising prices and decreasing sales. Regarding the source of supply of the stock in trade, it may be noted that in not a few cases the source of supply was stated to be Dinapore, suggesting that in some respects Dinapore was a more important trading centre than Patna²⁰. Very few cases occurred in which Patna shops supplied customers at any distance. The trade of the Patna Bazar was almost wholly local²¹.

In 1921, in the whole of the city there were only 15 industrial establishments of a sufficient size (i.e. employing 10 persons or more) to be treated as such for the purposes of the census and the number of persons employed in all of them together was less than a thousand.²² The other persons engaged in industries in the town were engaged in hand industries, many of them did piece work for money lending traders who thus had controlling interest. So "the industries of Patna,

20. Census of India, 1921, VOI. on B. & O., Part I, P. 97

21. Ibid.

22. Ibid.

conducted today for the most part on the same primitive lines as they were conducted a hundred years ago, at present show signs of failing as their product comes into competition with the output of other places. So also with the trade of the town.....(It) depends more and more upon the local industries and unless they revive is likely to dwindle further,"says the census of India 1921 report²³. It casts a very pessimistic view on the declining population also due to loss of industries. "The occupation of Patna as a manufacturing and trading centre is in fact gone or at least according to present appearances going, and the substitution of the new occupation of being capital of a province is not going to restore the lost population²⁴".

INDUSTRIES IN 20TH CENTURY

The declining state of industries of Patna is further revealed when we compare its existing industries in 1920's with those that flourished in late 19th century. The most important industry of Patna, the opium industry, was abandoned in 1911, as we have already seen. This industry alone employed more than

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

four hundred workers out of the total industrial force of about eleven hundred workers in 1911. Similarly, no distilleries existed in Patna in 1920's and the spirit for local consumption was imported. In this period the most important industry was the oil and flour mills of Patna. Oil mills were fairly common but as a rule they were on a very small scale²⁵.

The official list of factories in 1924 included (1) the Government Draming office and press Gulzarbagh; (2) The workshops of the Bihar School of Engineering; (3) Four private Printing presses at Bankipur; (4) Sri Bihariji Oil and flour mills, Patna city; (5) Patna oil mill, Begumpur; (6) Patna iron foundary, Begumpur; (6) Bankipur iron works, Mithapur; and (7) Patna ice factory, Gulzarbagh.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

Nowhere was the decline of Patna as a manufacturing centre more noticeable than in the matter of hand industries. Practically most of the industries of earlier times were carried on, but none of them was of special importance or extent, and few of the local products were exported. Carpets, brocades, embroidery,

25 District Gazetteer of Patna, 1924, P. 122.

pottery, brasswork, toys, fireworks, lac ornaments, gold and silver wire and leaf, glass-were, books and shoes and cabinets were still made in Patna city, carpets in Sultanganj Pirbahor and Chawk, and embroidery and brocade work in the Chowk and Khweja Kalan thanas.

The great industry of Patna, Weaving, was fast declining owing to the competitions of comparatively cheap machine-made piece - goods . Cotton weaving, however, carried on to a small scale in the city of Patna. The chief article manufactured was a coarse cotton cloth called 'motia' or 'gazi' was used for making 'dhotis', 'sarees' 'guilts, wrappers etc. for the poor people. Blankets, towles muslins etc. were no longer produced at Patna, though some other towns of Patna district continued to produce them.²⁶ Carpet making, however, was practically confined to Patna city and the place was therefore called "the great seat of 'dari' manufacture in Bihar"

The glass industry survived but the embroidery and brocade work was no longer of high standard. Better glassware and copper and brass utensils were made in the Punjab and the United Provinces. Local embroidery

26. Ibid. P-123.

was considered no match for that of Lucknow and Benaras²⁷. Stone-cutting was carried on in Marufganj in Patna city where stones brought from Bhagalpur and Monghyr were cut and shapped. - Some stone cutters also worked on semi-precious stone. But in every case these men had some other trade to supplement their work in stone, as alone it was not sufficiently remunerative to support them.

FACTORS IN DECLINE OF INDUSTRIES

Throughout the above pages we witnessed a continuons and sharp decline of the industries of Patna. It, as we have seen, excelled as a trade and industrial centre because it served as an excellent inland distributing centre as well as centre for exchange of commodities brought from different parts of the province. But the British interests demanded the development of such places as might become the centres of drain of wealth from this country. Therefore port cities like Bombay, Madras and Calcutta became prominent places while Patna, being interiorly located, was comparatinely neglected, Secondly, Patna was a true example of Indian style of industrialisation i.e. industrialisation on home-level. A large number of

27. Ibid. P.125

people engaged in same or similar industry, making a family independent industrial unit was the chief feature of Patna industries. This made the distribution of wealth less problematic and more equal. But the British interests, on the other hand, asked for support to centralised big industries, which could give higher profit returns. Patna saw its direct impact. The local glass-industry, textile (cotton) industry, small scale iron and steel industry, all gave way to bigger industries concentrated in port cities. The obvious result was the diminishing percentage of people engaged in industries even in Patna City.

Moreover, the British had to sell their finished cheap goods in India. This also destroyed the local industries of Patna which could not compete with the cheap, imported articles, especially the cotton and glass industries fell prey to this. The latter was reduced to just melting the broken foreign glasses and reshaping them. When modern industries were introduced in India in late 19th and early 20th century, they were manoeuvred in such a way as to benefit either the port cities or the places where ample raw material was available.

The development of modern industries at Bombay and Calcutta thus can be explained. Second preference was given to such places as supplied plenty of raw material, such industries generally met the demand of local Indian market and products were primarily not to be exported. The growth of industrial towns of Ahmedabad as textile city and Jamshedpur as steel city can be thus explained. While Ahmedabad had the rich cotton - growing area in vicinity, Jamshedpur was in the middle of area supplying raw material for the development of iron and steel industry. Places like Patna were again left out of favour. While the local cotton industry was thrashed by European as well as by Bombay and Ahmedabad cloth, the local iron and steel industry, that supplied simple machines like sugar cane crusher to northern sugarcane producing districts of Bihar, was beat down by the modern iron industries like that of Jamshedpur.

CHANGING PATTERN OF INDUSTRIES

The total extinction of some industries and declining trend in others compel us to examine the changing pattern of industrial face of Patna and the logic behind it in the light of over all growth and

development of Indian Industrial situation and the economic condition of the people.

The most important change in industrial life of Patna came with the sudden closure of opium factory, and ceasure we of distillation of spirit. The opium industry was the largest of Patna city and employed about 40 percent of the total industrial workers in factories in the city in 1911. This closure was not in accordance with the British economic policy of exploitation and had it not been due to the international circumstances, the English would never have closed it. The British policy was to discourage the small home industries and promote the big ones. The opium factory was in keeping with it. However, it had to be closed.

The logic behind the changing industrial face of Patna was the pettiness of industrial concerns while overall home industries were being gradually destroyed, the pettiness of industrial concerns came to surface. They were surviving on such a small level that they seldom fulfilled the local demands, not to speak of exporting to other districts. The biggest industry, after the fall of opium, was the oil and flour industry. Even this industry was carried on generally

on a very small scale, except two or three big oil mills all over the city.

GOVERNMENT'S RESPONSIBILITY

The declining industries of Patna could be revived if the local government was interested in doing so. But the government had no interest in helping the poor province rise in the field of industrial growth. Evidences of unwillingness of the local govt. to help the industries of the Province are numerous. In 1924 the Ministry of Education of Government of Bihar & Orissa appointed a Committee on Vocational Education in Bihar & Orissa to report on required reforms in technical education. The Committee comprised of English officials as well as the members of Legislative Council. The Committee, due to the majority of Indian members recommended an overall change in technical education system, establishment of new technical institutions and increase of number of scholarships from the province of Bihar & Orissa to renowned technical institutes of India.²⁸ The Committee also recommended the establishment of a Cottage Industries Institute at Gulzarbagh. But the official members of the committee did not agree with some of the

28. File no 2I-49 of 1924, Industries Branch, Deptt. of Edn. & Development. 1925, July (1-2).

recommendations, particularly those involving the expansion of technical institutions and increase of number of scholarships.

They attached their own note of dissent to the Committee Report. The note read: "We agree that facilities for training apprentices in mechanical engineering should be provided in each division, but we do not consider it feasible or necessary that these and other subjects such as dyeing should be taught scientifically up to an advanced standard inferior only to that of a university college of technology.

...The suggestion that boys in high schools should be taught fitter's work, machine shop practice, foundry work and the like is wholly impracticable. The equipment required is very expensive and would be wasted unless the boys gave up very much more time to these subjects than is proposed..."²⁹

In the same year, 1924, the Government of India asked the opinion of the local government on ventilation and humidification in factories, particularly The Cotton mills. It proposed to bring a bill entrusting the Factory Inspectors with the job of checking the proper ventilation and humidification in

29. Ibid.

factories. No cotton mill existed in the province therefore the local government expressed its helplessness on opining on the subject. However, the general bad condition existng in Bihar factories were highlighted. But at the same time the local government refused to accept the responsibility of checking proper ventilation etc. in factories on the pretext that its officials were already heavily burdened This was another example of government shrugging off the responsibility of maintaining healthy conditions in industrial establishments³⁰.

The government was always against the progress of cottage industries of India. Every step taken for the promotion of indigenou industries was discouraged. One blatant example came in 1929 when Maulau Abdul Bari moved a resolution on the govt. help on manufacture of khadi in Bihar and orissa legislative council on 5th February, 1929. The Industries secretary, E.C. Ansorge, opposed the resolution on following grounds :-

1. The khadi cannot compete with mill yarn on providing wages to the people. A days's work on khandi will produce only one anna while mill-spun cloth will give two annas, it was argued.

30. File no. IF- 37 of 1924. Dec. (4-8) Industries Branch. Deptt.of Revenue. 1924.

2. He asserted that the cause of khaddar had been advocated on other grounds than the economic one.

3. Khaddar will be more costly than the mill-cloth.

4. The Govt. assured to look for alternative employment for the people through Cottage Industries Institute and other organisations.

However, Indian members gave full support to the resolution. For example, Babu Krishna Ballabh Sahay stated that the govt. was not willing to provide any alternative for the agricultural labour the supported khadi because it would supplement the income of the people. He argued that the average income of an Indian was one anna and seven pies only, hence the additional income of one anna was a significant increase for him. It was a panacea for every evil the country was suffering from. According to him khadi lasted longer than mill-clothes. Despite the Indian support the resolution was defeated with the aid of the official element in the House. Though the question of khadi was, to some extent political, as claimed by the Industries Secretary, it was wrong to argue that it was against the economic interests of the people. In fact the govt. effort to defeat the resolution was more inspired by politics than its introduction by Indian nationalist

elements.³¹

In the same month, on 11th February, 1929, the budget for the year 1929-30 was presented in the legislative council. The comment by Hon'ble member Amrit Lal Ojha on the nature of the Budget and the lukewarm attitude of government towards the industrial growth of the province was remarkable. He said, "From my experience I can say that there is a vast field for expansion of trade and industry in this province. But serious efforts have not yet been made to tap these sources, and I do not know how much more time government will take in doing so. In this connection my attention is naturally drawn to the item under head "industry". Turning to the budget of the Industries Deptt. for the current year, what do you find. - a steady increase in expenditure..... with this increase in expenditure one may be let to believe that in industry, there is a prosperity, efficiency and development on every side, but the disillusion is removed when we get to the key of the situation. I refer to page 230 of the budget estimate under the major head "Loans and Advances by provincial Govt. " and under the sub-head " loans under the state Aid to

31 Bihar & Orissa Legislative Council Debates vol. IX. Part -1. Debate on 5th Feb. 1929

Industries Act. 1923." What do we find there? We find a shocking revelation. In the year 1926-27, the budget under this head was rupees two lakhs and was reduced to rupees one and half lakhs in the estimated budget for 1927-28. This was again further reduced to one and a quarter lakhs on revision. In the same year while the actual amount spent was only Rs. 93,906. In the current year, the budget estimate was reduced to Rs. 1,00,000 while the actual amount already spent happens to be Rs. 69,000 only. If the Pruning knife gets on busy at this rate, I think in a couple of years more the item itself would be totally erased from the budget estimate...."³²

Again, When in 1932 Rai Bahadur Lachhmi Prasad Sinha, MLC, wanted to move a resolution to appoint a committee to report on the causes of unemployment among the educated youngmen of this province and suggest ways and means wherby to remedy this state of affairs, he was persuaded to withdraw the resolution by the government.³³

All these evidences suggest that the government of Bihar & Orissa was very little interested in the well-being of the people. It used the official power to

32. Ibid. Debate on 11th Feb. 1929

33. File no. XL -22 OF 1932. Aug. (74-76). Industries, Revenue Deptt., 1932.

drive the economy in its own way; later on, when Councils came into vogue, it used the same force, the officials to get through its own proposals and to beat down the progressive, pro-people resolutions of the nationalist elements in the Council.

WAGES AND PRICES

A glance on the wage and price relationship and the occupational division of the population also give an insight into the economic condition of the people. The following pages deal with this theme

Wage and price relationship is an indication of the prosperity or otherwise of a people. It will show in the case of Patna, that the life of an average worker was becoming more miserable during the early years of 20th century. The District Gazetteer of Patna, 1924, says that there had been a great advance in the wages of labour since 1907. In 1907, the rates were in the case of unskilled labour 3 and half to 4 annas per day for a male adult, three grinas for a woman and 2 and half annas for boy. In the case of skilled labour, five to six annas for a carpenter or mason, and six to eight annas for a blacksmith. In 1921 the rates in urban areas were for unskilled labour six to eight annas a day, ten to twelve annas for carpenters and

mason. and twelve annas to a rupee for blacksmiths. Thus, on an average the wages advanced twofold.³⁴

The district Gazetteer of Patna 1924, supplies a list of Prices from 1901 to 1922 for different subdivisions of Patna for two staple food crops - Makai (maize) and Rice. In Goldan Sub-division, within which Patna city came, in 1904 a rupee could buy 27 seers 6 and half chantaks of Makai or 15 seers 15 and half ch. Rice.³⁵ In 1921 the rates were 9 seers 3 ch. for Makai and 6 seers 9 ch. for Rice. Thus, while the wages went up by about 100 per cent, the prices went up by more than 150 per cent. The prices of other articles have not been mentioned, but most probably they would have risen by a greater per cent due to the Great war and other allied causes. This suggests that the general living standard of the common people had fallen during the first three decades of the present century.

OCCUPATIONAL DIVISION OF POPULATION

Another criteria to give the picture of the economic life of Patna is to examine the occupational division of the population of the city over the period the change in the number of workers of different

34. District Gazetteer of Patna, 1924, P. 117.

35. Ibid. P. 118.

occupations shows the varying condition of the people. The following table endeavors to split the population of Patna district and Patna city into different occupations. The nature of inquiry into occupation varied from census to census. In 1901 workers were distinguished from dependents. This practice was maintained in 1911 and 1921. But in 1931 number of workers only was recorded. The table (4.1) given below is based on the census reports of 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931. The corresponding figures in percentage have been computed.

The census Report of 1901 does not give any occupational data for the cities. Therefore the data given for district as a whole have been cited. In 1911 and 1921 data for all cities of Bihar (Patna, Gaya, Bhagalpur and Jamshelpur) are available, but no data is given for separate cities. It was only in 1931 that separate data were made available for individual cities.

In 1901 about 11.9 per cent of the district population was engaged in industries including trade and transport. The proportion for Patna city must be much higher than it. In the latter part of the 19th century almost 33% of the population of Patna city was stated to be engaged in industries and trade and

Table 4.1

Occupational Break-up of the Population 1901 - 31

Class	1901		1911		1921		1931	
	Workers (Patna Distt.)	% of total popula- tion	Workers (All Cities)	% of total popula- tion	Workers (All Cities)	% of total popula- tion	Workers All Cities	(% of Population) Patna City
Class A (Production of Raw Materials)	410,313	25.26	27,885	10.70	23,592	7.54	29,051 (6.99%)	9,641 (6.04)
Class B (Preparation & Supply of Mater- ial Substances)	110,000	6.77	63,513	24.39	63,616	20.33	80,030 (19.27)	23,414 (14.66)
Class C (Public Adm. & Liberal Arts)	6,885	0.42	12,511	4.80	14,213	4.54	12,857 (3.10)	7,122 (4.46)
Class D (Miscellaneous)	3,970	0.24	32,992	12.67	60,197	19.24	62,740 (15.11)	26,874 (16.83)
Personal Services	41,229	2.54						
Commerce & Transport	22,834	1.41						
Unskilled labour not agricultural	60,538	3.73						

transport. In 1911, 24.39% combined population of all four cities of Bihar were returned as industrial workers. Patna was still more industrialised than others. Therefore the proportions of industrial workers in Patna city may be taken slightly higher than 24.39%. In 1921, 20.33% of the total population of all four cities were returned as industrial workers. The period 1911-21 however is remarkable for an exceptional increase in the population of Jamshedpur. The decade recorded an increase of about 51,600 persons³⁶. As Jamshedpur was a highly industrialised city, it can be safely stated that about 30 per cent of the increased population was industrial workers. Taking this into account the average for other cities declines to about 16.64%. For a rough calculation the industrial workers, including those engaged in trade and transport can be computed at about 16.5% for Patna city. This was a significant decline from about 25% in 1911. In 1931, the census report gives a figures of 23,414 industrial workers in Patna city alone . which is about 14.66% of the population. Corresponding figure for all cities is 80,030 (19.27%). This shows a trend of de-industrialisation of Patna city. Therefore the decade 1921-31 that saw a remarkable growth of about 40,000 in

36. Census of India, 1941 , vol. VII tables. P 20.

population, cannot boast of even corresponding, not to speak of higher growth rate in the industrial field.

Further analysis of the figures shows the proportion of the actual workers (in all classes) to the total population was continuously decreasing. In 1911, 52.56% of total population constituted the work-force of all the cities in Bihar. Corresponding figures for 1921 and 1931 are computed at 51.65% and 44.47% respectively. In 1931, the work-force of Patna city constituted a mere 41.99% of total Population. This suggests a larger number of dependents per earning member of a family. This may be explained by a larger number of unemployed people thronging the streets of Patna and a higher proportion of non - earning children.

One thing more is obvious. Class C is the only class which increasingly forms the part of the working force. In 1921 there were about 3600 actual workers in this class.³⁷ Their number rose to more than 7000 in 1931. In 1931, about 11% of actual workers were in this category in 1921 and 1911 were 8.79% and 6.96% respectively (Tab 4.1). This shows that the

37. Census of India, 1921, Bihar & Orissa, Part I, P 85,

professional class was on increase in Patna. This was meannly facilitated by the development of capital at Patna and growth of institutions like the High court, the Medical collage and the University.

Thus, we see that the overall economic condition of the people of Patna was deteriorating throughtout the first three decades of the present century. In fact, this process of deterioration had already started by the mid-19th century. The prosperity of Patna depended on the flourishing trade of the city and cottage industries. But the coming of railways and modern machine - based industries established in bigger port-cities, saw the city's trade and industries being ruined. While in 1870's about one-third of the population was engaged in manufacturing and trade industries, in 1931 less than fifteen percent population indulged in such things. With the going prosperity population also dwindled. Even after the creation of province of Bihar and Orissa and establishment of its Capital at Patna, the industrial and trade sector remained neglected, though the population gained due to rising natural growth rate rule and influx of immigrants in connection with the construction work at the New Capital. The marked fall in trade and industrial activities as we have seen was

mainly due to government policies and its indifference towards local industries. The government generally discouraged local industries and seldom came out with favourable loans etc, to encourage the local entrepreneurs.

CONCLUSION

The Present study of growth and development of population, education and economy of Patna shows that the city was declining in almost all respects during the first two decades of 20th century due to the colonial policies of the British who were little interested in the welfare of the native people. In fact, the coming and settling of the British in India had influenced the Indian society and economy from the very beginning. But the industrial revolution in the West went against the interests of the East due to the only reason that the East had been subjugated by them and could not resist the political manoeuvres of the powerful aliens to destroy their social integrity and economy.

The case of Patna city is a glittering example of Colonial interests being served on the cost of a well-flourishing City. Patna was a very flourishing trade centre during the medieval and early modern period due to its unique position at the confluence of three rivers which were traffic-routes for trade during those days. However with the introduction of railways in such a way as to connect the raw-material producing areas directly to port cities, the trade of Patna centre

mason. and twelve annas to a rupee for blacksmiths. Thus, on an average the wages advanced twofold.³⁴

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34. District Gazetteer of Patna, 1924, P. 117.

35. Ibid. P. 118.

gradually became localised; the river-borne traffic gradually leaving the scene. This had a very important and deteriorating effect on the population of the city. In 1881 the city had more than 170,000 inhabitants. In 1921 this number came down to less than 120,000. Besides the declining trade of Patna, the general unhealthiness of the area was also a major reason for this decline. Epidemics like cholera, plague and malaria were regular visitors. The authorities were highly negligent in treating this issue in the name of non-interference in the social and personal life of the people. Public expenditure on sanitation and medication was very low. The obvious result was a very high death rate among the inhabitants. This was more in the case of the woman, with the result that the number of woman per thousand men fell rapidly. Of course, this was facilitated by larger number of male immigrants, particularly in later years, after 1912, in connection with the building of the new capital.

One of the major causes of decreasing population was the deteriorating economic condition of the people. As we have already seen, trade of Patna ceased to be of any importance by the first decade of the 20th century. Similar fate was waiting for the local industries also. The opium industry, largest of Patna industries, was

closed in 1911, the local home -industries were destroyed by the pouring in of European goods, and the population engaged in industries, consequently, declined rapidly. All these factors contributed to de-industrialisation of the city. Only after 1921, when the establishment of new capital and growth of educational institutions had started showing their effect, the population started recording growth. However, the nature of the city had changed. It had become a seat of political power and educational excellence and its importance lay in it.

However, the progress of education had a bit different tale to tell. Patna had been a seat of education, being political centre, for a long time. Therefore the literacy of Patna was higher than other places in Bihar. The period from 1901 to 1921 saw a continuous rise in the percentage, literacy in Patna city (10.86% to 21.22%). However, during the decade 1921-31, growth in literacy was not considerable . The male literacy even came down to 30.5% from 32.72% over the decade. This happened despite a steep hike in expenditure on education by municipalities. Even then expenditure on education was lowest in Bihar and Orissa in comparison to any other province. Even this rise was

lamented by the administration. The hike in expenditure was mainly due to new buildings for schools, and hike in emoluments of the staff. The number of school going children, however, did not rise in proportion to the expenditure. One more thing is worth noticing. The Muslims were always in a better position than their Hindu brethren in respect of education. This is true even for literacy in English. Muslims were in higher proportion in Patna City than in Patna District. They formed 10 to 15 per cent of the district population, whereas in Patna city, they were never less than 23 per cent. This, to some extent, explains their greater involvement in trade, industry and services.

In conclusion, on the basis of above study, we can say that

1. Patna was overall declining rapidly throughout the first two decades of the present century. The decline was most obvious in the field of population and economy.
2. The decline in population was very sharp. During first two decades the city actually lost about thirty four thousand people. The main reason of this decline was the regular phenomena of epidemics which visited the town every year after 1900 till 1920. The heavy death toll was partly due to the people's negligence of their

neighbourhood and partly due to the lack of enthusiasm on the part of Government to counter the epidemics.

3. Throughout the period (1900-1930) the proportion of women in the population of the city fell very rapidly. This was due to two important factors- Firstly, the epidemics took a greater toll of the women, as being confined to houses they were much more prone to diseases. Secondly, in later years, a large number of immigrants came to Patna in connection with construction work at Patna. Most of these immigrants were men.

4. The second major cause of the decline of population was gradually extinguishing trade and industrial activities at Patna. In early 19th century Patna used to be the most important trade centre in whole Bengal. But in 1920's it was hardly recognisable as a provincial trade centre. Its trade was wholly localised, river-borne traffic being out of fashion.

5. Similarly the industries were also declining due to coming of modern industries which were machine based and were concentrated mainly in or around port cities. Moreover, the cheap imported articles killed the cottage industry products, throwing many industrial workers out of job. This resulted in gradually

declining proportion of industrial workers in total work-force.

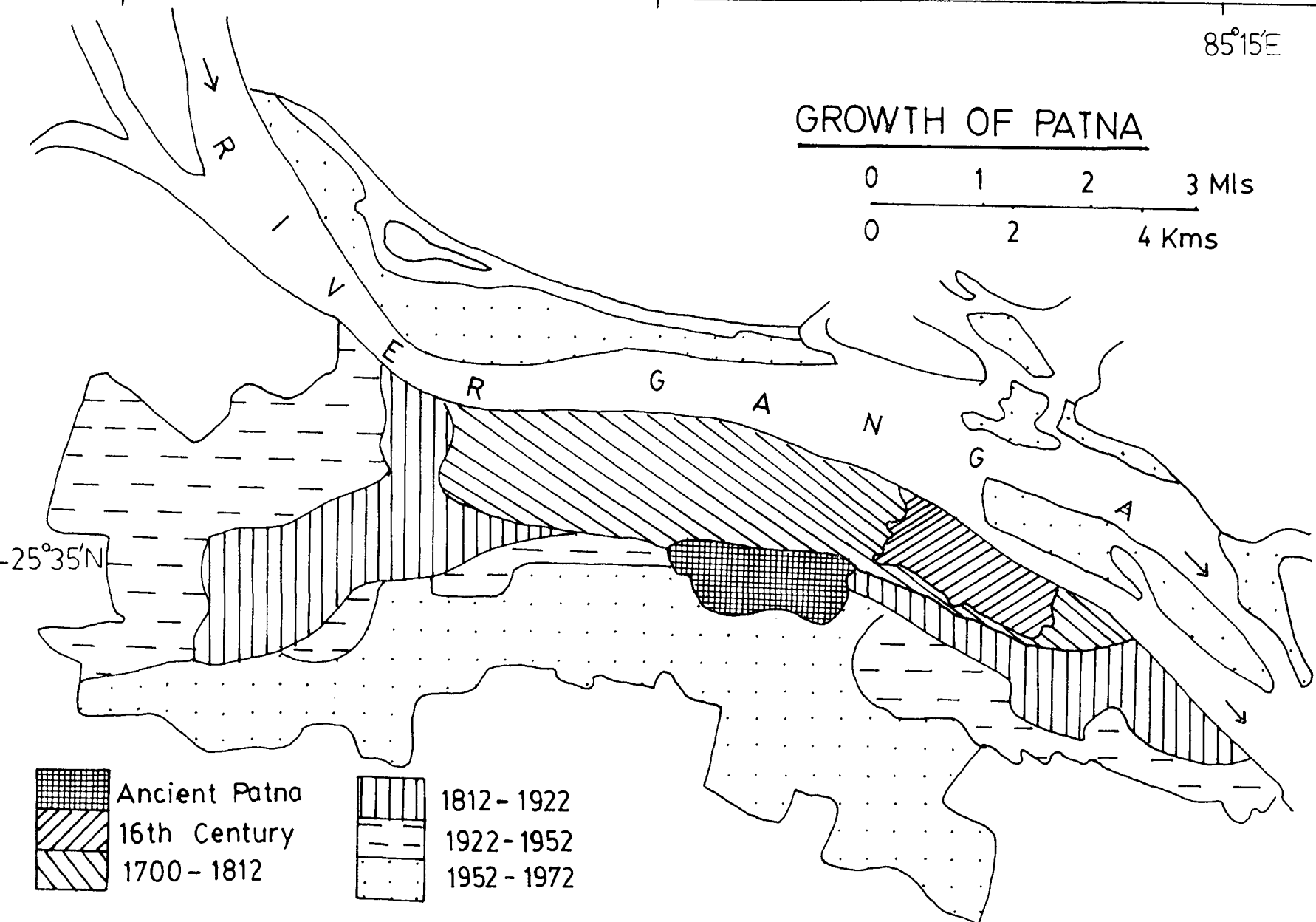
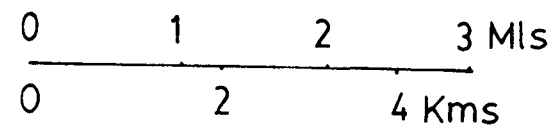
6. Only change of mode of communication and modern industries were not responsible for the decline of industries of Patna. The main culprit was the Government which never bothered to help the indigenous industries by adopting favourable policies. In later years, the government used to come under heavy fire from the nationalist leaders for this drawback.

7. However, in the field of literacy the city saw gradual advancement during the first two decades. But during the third decade, literacy was almost stagnant, the male-literacy even dropping. This check was effected mainly due to large number of illiterate immigrant labourers who came to Patna in search of work.

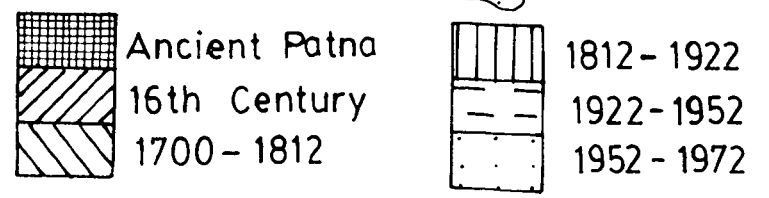
This study, however, has its own limitations. Growth of a city cannot be really adjudged by merely looking into three aspects, however important they may be. A fullsize study, taking all aspects of life into consideration, is necessary to see the real growth and development of Patna. Moreover, a first hand knowledge of the people and their life, their experiences is also necessary to depict the story of the growth of the city.

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GROWTH OF PATNA

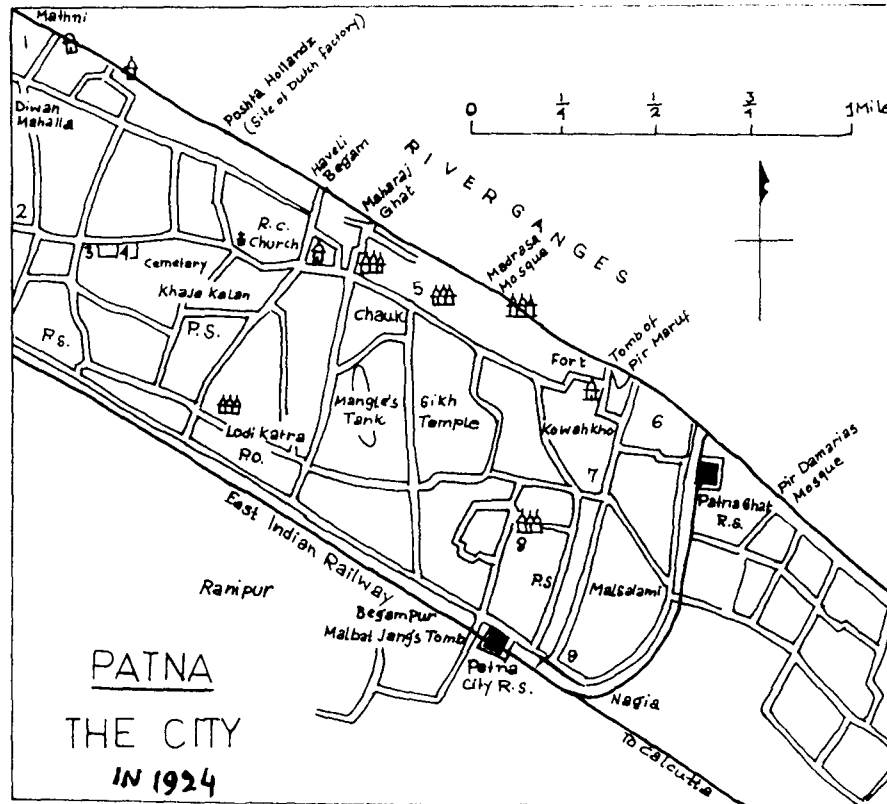


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


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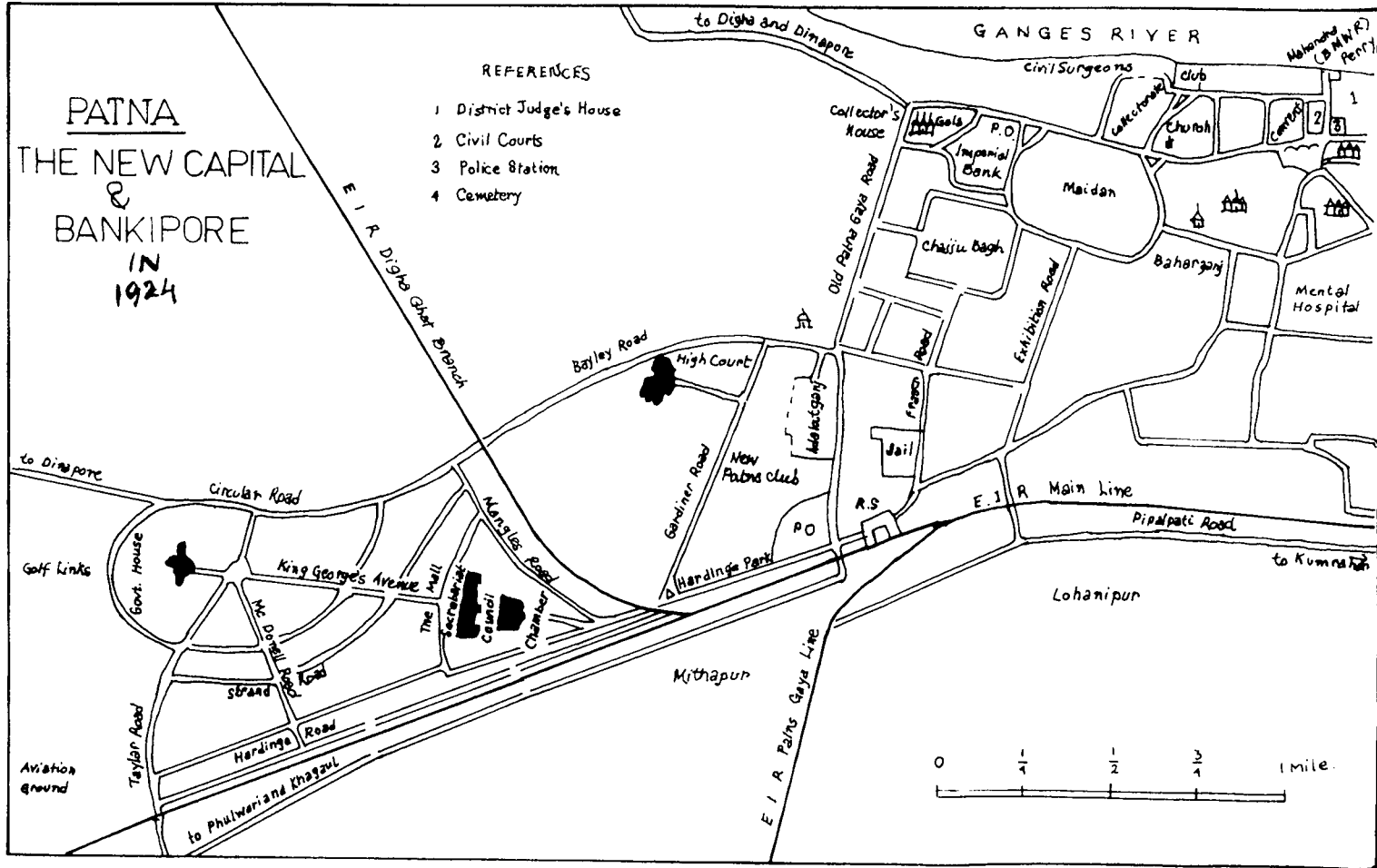
- 1 Nawzar Katra
- 2 Pechhim Darwaza
- 3 Hospital
- 4 Obelisk
- 5 Fakhruddul's Mosque
- 6 Marufgang
- 7 Purab Darwaza
- 8 Sher Shah's Mosque
- 9 Tomb of Mansur Shah

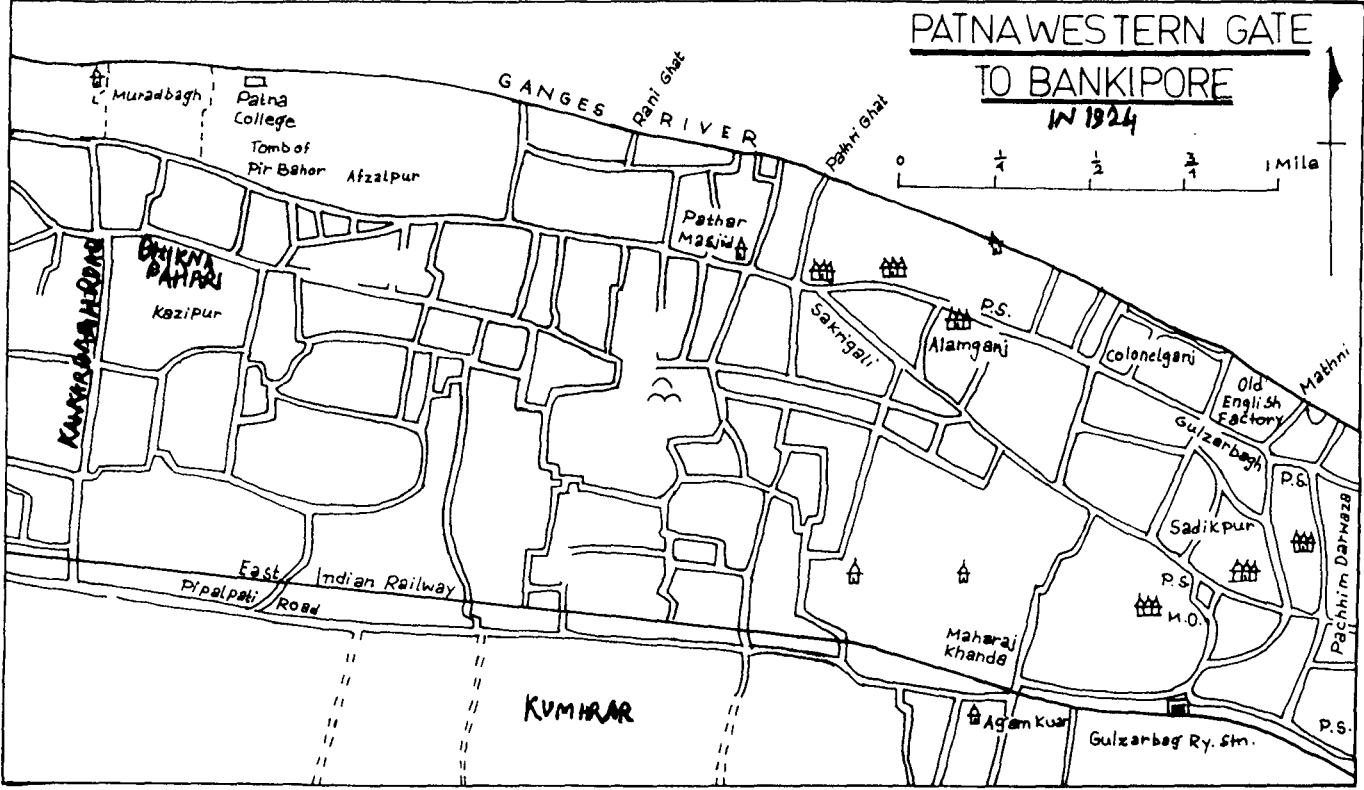
- Mosque 
 Temple 
 Church 
 Graveyard 

PATNA
THE NEW CAPITAL
&
BANKIPORE
IN
1924

REFERENCES

- 1 District Judge's House
- 2 Civil Courts
- 3 Police Station
- 4 Cemetery





APPENDIX I

Excerpts from the letter from the Joint Secretary to the Government of India to the Secretary to the Govt. of Bihar and Orissa, Education Department, dated 14th March, 1912 .*

On December the 12th, 1911, at the Coronation Durbar, it was announced that the Governemnt of India would devote at once Rs. 50 lakhs to the promotion of truly popular education. The grant will take effect from 1st April, 1912. It will form an addition to provincial budgets over and above previous expenditure on education; and it will be recurring.

I am directed to say that it has been decided that the grant shall be devoted to the five objects specified below. In the first instance a grant of 45 lakhs will be distributed. This distribution will not include Coorg, the North-West Front'ier Province or the areas under the administration of political officers. For these a lump sum of Rs. 75,000 is set apart. The residue of 4.5 lakhs will be held as a reserve and will be distributed later in the year in such proportion to

*The Province of Bihar and Orissa was granted a sum of Rs. 4.5 lakhs mainly for primary education.

provinces and to the objects, presently to be announced as may appear desirable.

The five objects to which it has been decided to devote the grant and the proportion of the 45 lakhs to be allotted to each of those objects are follows :

- (a) The extension and improvement of Elementary education for boys, including the extension of free education Rs. 30 lakhs.
- (b) Education (mainly elementary) of girls ... Rs. 5 lakhs
- (c) Hostels Rs. 5 lakhs
- (d) Technical and industrial education ... Rs. 2 lakhs.
- (e) Education of Europeans and Anglo-Indians .. Rs. 3 lakhs

- (a) Elementary education of boys :

Attention is invited to Education Department letters No. 940-949 dated the 6th July 1911, and No. 952-961, dated the 6th July 1911. As regards the former, it is not intended to make elementary education of boys generally free. In some provinces such education is already free and in the majority of provinces considerable provision is already made for giving free elementary instruction to those boys whose

parents are likely to be in any way inconvenienced by the payment of fees. But it is desirable that local governments should carefully consider those provisions and should extend them by reasonable concessions to cultivators and others of small income whose children are reading elementary courses in existing schools. As facilities for education are increased among the poor and more backward sections of the population, it is probable that still larger exemptions from the payment of fees will be found requisite in the new schools established for this purpose. As regards the second letter, the grant is intended to facilitate the establishment of new schools of the elementary type therein described and to provide, according to the needs of each province, for the training of elementary teachers and the erection of schools building. The Government of India desire that the grants now made should be given largely to extension of elementary education and the extension of the principle of free elementary education for those that cannot afford to pay fees. There are two further objects regarding which the Government of India have at various times called for information and the replies concerning which show that they are deserving of very special consideration. There are the improvement of the

facilities for elementary education in Municipal areas, and the establishment of special half-time schools for children employed on plantations or in factories.

(b) It is considered that the bulk of the allotment under this head will most fitly be expended upon elementary education and training; but it is not intended to fetter local Governemnts in this matter.

(c) It is presumed that in the first instance the grant now made will mainly be expended upon the erection of building for the reception of pubils in colleges and high schools. The Government of India however, are deeply impressed with the importance of making proper provision for superintendence in hostels. The growth of these institutions will throw upon budgets an ever increasing recurrent charge. And I am to say that local Governments will be responsible for meeting this charge.

(d) It is understood that much is needed in the way of workshops and equipment; and in cases where schemes for industrial education have been submitted but not yet sanctioned, it is thought that money may usefully be expended upon these and kindred objects.

(e) It is requested that some portion of the sum for this object may be devoted to increasing the number of free pupils or reducing fees in the elementary classes.

The approximate distribution of the present grant to the objects named will be preserved not only in the financial year 1912-13, but also in subsequent years; and the grants in these proportions may be regarded as recurrent and hence can safely be utilised either on capital or recurrent objects.

The immediate grant of 45 lakhs has been distributed between provinces in regard to the population, the number of pupils in different kinds of institutions and the expenditure from public funds on such institutions; and the totals have been rounded off to lakhs and half lakhs of rupees. The sum allotted to Bihar and Orissa is -

(a) Elementary education for boys -	Rs. 2,93,000
(b) Education of girls -	Rs. 55,000
(c) Hostels -	Rs. 51,000
(d) Technical and industrial education	Rs. 26,000
(e) Education of Europeans & Anglo-Indians	Rs. 25,000
Total	----- Rs. 4,50,000 -----

APPENDIX II

Excerpts from the Report of Committee on Primary Education, accepted by the Government of Bihar and Orissa in 1914.

The Director of the Public Instructions had suggested that the subject of Primary Education should be discussed under the following heads : -

- (1) The management and control of primary schools
- (2) The expansion of primary education
- (3) The improvement of primary education
- (4) The training of teachers
- (5) Buildings
- (6) Scholarships
- (7) The desirability of instituting a Vernacular Final Examination
- (8) Curriculum

.....

Para 10. The expansion of primary education : The Committee while desiring to see as wide as possible a diffusion of Infant schools, recognised that a certain amount of concentration was desirable in Lower Primary schools, and a still higher degree of concentration in

the Upper Primary schools. No attempt should be made to restrict the size of any primary school, but as far practicable no single teacher should be allowed to teach more than two classes, or 30 boys. The Hon'ble Babu Bishan Prasad drew attention to the dangers of concentration as exemplified in the case of Eastern Bengal and Assam, already referred to, and suggested that the resolution should specifically recommend that the policy of concentration should not be so applied as to cause the closing of any school at present established. On the other hand, it was objected that many schools already in existence are undoubtedly inefficient and useless, while in some instances there are two competing schools in localities which could be perfectly well served by a single school. The discretion of District Boards in this matter should not be fettered in any way. The Committee generally accepted this view and it was decided that it would suffice to recommend that the existing schools should not be closed merely in the exercise of the principle of concentration.

.....

Para 15. The Hon'ble Babu Dwarkanath argued that gurus who are working in their own villages usually perform a number of duties in addition to their duties as

teachers with the result frequently that the school is held at irregular hours. The Committee noted that on the information before them it appeared that primary schools were not frequently kept open for very much longer hours than is either necessary or desirable, the proper limit being 4 hours for the Lower Primary and 3 1/2 hours for the Infant classes. If these limits were strictly observed, teachers would have plenty of leisure in which to attend to other works, and the committee were not prepared to recommend that they should be debarred from doing so, at any rate so long as their pay remains at the present low figure. If strangers are employed as teachers it will be necessary to pay them larger salaries and to provide them with houses. Some members of the Committee went further and considered that it was a real advantage to employ as teachers a man from the village itself. Such a man has sometimes more influence and can induce the parents to send their boys to schools.

.....

Para 23. Education in Municipalities : - The Hon'ble Khwaja Muhammad Nur moved that the control, cost, and management of primary education in municipalities should be provincialised. He observed that

municipalities have little or no funds for primary education, the control of which is not, as is the case with District Boards, one of their chief functions. He drew the attention of the Committee to the marked difference in this respect between the wording of the Municipal Act and that of the Local Self - Government Act. Municipalities have no Education Committees, no expert advisers among their number, such as the Deputy Inspectors of Schools, and their time is so fully occupied with problems of sanitation and road - making, that they cannot give due attention to the claims of education. This proposal was strongly supported by the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Sheo Shankar Sahay, CIE, and other members. On the other hand, it was argued by the President and by the Bishop of Chotanagpur that it was most undesirable that municipalities should cease to interest themselves in education, and confess their impotence in a matter of such vital importance. The mover replied that this attitude was, doubtless, regrettable, but that we were faced with actual facts, and that in his experience Municipal Commissioners certainly do not take interest in Primary education within their area. Municipal expenditure on education is very small, and most of the primary education in municipalities is at present given in secondary

schools. On the motion being put to the vote it was lost by ten votes to nine. There was on all sides, however, a feeling that the state of education in municipalities is at present very far from satisfactory, and many members considered that it might be well to restore the rule requiring municipalities to spend 3.2 percent of their income on primary education, and to require each municipality to appoint an Education Committee.

Para 24. Subsequently the Hon'ble Khwaja Muhammad Nur asked permission to revert to the subject of education in municipalities and moved that if Government were not prepared to accept his proposal that the control of education in municipal areas should be provincialised, the formation of Education Committees should be insisted on in each municipality. He considered that their appointment must result in increased attention being paid to education in municipal areas, especially if they were given power to co-opt members other than Municipal Commissioners. Thus at divisional headquarters the Inspector of schools might be co-opted, and in other cases the Deputy Inspector or Sub Inspector concerned. The President pointed out that in some cases the number of Municipal Commissioners is so

small that it might not be advisable to appoint sub-
committees from among their number, but subject to this
suggestion the motion was accepted.

APPENDIX III

Memorandum by some landlords of Bihar against the Primary Education Bill.

Communique of 3rd July, 1918

The local Government have received a memorial signed by 10,986 persons, protesting against the provisions of the Primary Education Bill introduced by the Hon'ble Mr. S.K. Sahay in the last Session of the legislative Council, and praying for its rejection. The signatories include Sir Rameshwar Singh, Guru Mahadevasram Prasad Sahi, Maharaja Bahadur of Hathwa and other influential Landowners.

The Memorial

To - His Honour the Lieutenant - Governor of Bihar and Orissa in Council

This humble Memorial of the undersigned zamindars. Landholders, Raiyats and Residents of the District of having been alarmed at the introduction of a Bill for compulsory primary education in your Honour's Council by the Hon'ble Mr. S.K. Sahay, beg humbly to enter a

strong protest against the same on the following among other grounds :-

1. That the conditions of Bihar do not call for compulsory primary education which on the contrary is opposed to the sentiments of the people. Both landlords and tenants do not like compulsion in education, not because they do not appreciate the advantages of education but because in the conservative state of Bihar, universal compulsion would be resented by the people and regarded as an interference with their social and religious life.
2. That as it will be impracticable to provide a separate school in every area for the untouchable classes, children of all castes will have to sit together which is repugnant to the social customs and religious scruples of the people.
3. That in Bihar strict purdah prevails and girls of higher castes of many families, both rich and poor, are not allowed to go out of their houses after they attain the age of seven years and they cannot therefore attend purdah schools even if established in the same village in which they reside; further it will be quite impossible to arrange for the compulsory education of such girls

at home. Thus any compulsory provisions will be considered a violation of the purdah system.

4. That from time immemorial it has been the custom for agriculturists to employ their children in some cases of both sexes, to perform such necessary work as tending cattle, watching crops and fruits and that now, owing to the large emigration from Bihar of adults into Bengal, Assam, and other places, the performance of such duties by children has been rendered indispensable. Compulsory primary education would thus seriously affect the economic conditions of the people.

5. That your Memorialists understand that the Bill contains provisions for the impositions of a cess which in the humble opinion of the Memorialists will be seriously felt by all and would prove a ruinous burden to many.

Under the circumstances set forth afore, your memorialists most earnestly pray that your Honour in Council will be pleased to reject the Bill.

And your Memorialists as in duty bound shall ever pray.

APPENDIX IV

*Speech of the Chief Secretary of Bihar and Orissa
in Patna University Senate in 1919.**

I regret very much that for unavoidable reasons Mr. Le Mesurier to whom the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur has justly paid the highest of tributes, is not present at this meeting to explain the attitude of Government, towards the proposal now under consideration. He explained his views, however, to me before he left Patna and asked me to speak on his behalf and although I am doubtful of my capacity to do justice to the subject, I will endeavour, without of course, committing Government to any definite conclusion to explain as briefly as possible what view Government are likely to take if they are approached on the subject.

Government of course, have every sympathy with the ambition of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur that the province should be self contained in its medical and Engineering institutions. It is only natural that a community of forty million people should desire to have within their

*Babu Dwarikanath, member of Senate had moved a resolution recommending the urgent establishment of well - equipped colleges of Medicine, Engineering and Technology as component part of the Patna University. This speech negated the spirit of the Resolution. If was the view of the Government towards Higher technical education.

own borders facilities for the highest form of instruction in all branches of human knowledge, but as we have often had dinned into our ears in Council and elsewhere, Bihar and Orissa is not a wealthy province, at least in revenue, and it had a long lee - way to make up when it was found into a separate province. We have made rapid progress in many directions since 1912. We provided ourselves with a new capital, a new secretariat a new High Court. We are busily engaged in improving our maffasal colleges and we are about to provide ourselves with a new University. Considering the size of our revenues and the fact that more than half of our short life has been covered by the war, our progress has, I admit, been remarkable, but there is no denying the fact that in point of revenue capacity we are poor compared to with other provinces in India; there is a limit to our spending powers and the present proposals of the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur seem to me to pass that limit. Government possesses no Alladin's lamp which they have only to rub and in a twinkling the genie of the lamp will run you up a palace of marble halls. The P.W.D. is our building agent and the funds have to come from the tilling millions. As Mr. Fawcus has shown, we already have our hands quite full, and if the Rai Bahadur wants his Medical and Engineering

Colleges at once, I can only suggest that he should use the charms of his eloquence on some of the millionaires of North Bihar. Half a crore of rupees might perhaps suffice to create and endow these institutions.

I would also ask the Rai Bahadur to remember - I would ask the whole Senate to remember - that even within the educational field Government have other claims to consider than those of collegiate and university education. Much more urgent in the interests of the masses is an expansion of primary educational expenditure. We cannot starve their claims to provide costly institutions for the benefit of the few who can, at least temporarily, get what they want elsewhere.

When I discussed the question with the Hon'ble Mr. Le Mesurier, he put the case against the Resolution much on these lines : -

"In the first place it would be premature and dangerous to complicate an already difficult and costly scheme by making expensive and difficult additions all of which require the sanction of higher authority and the provision of funds.

Secondly, our present available funds are already in great measure earmarked for schemes which have been sanctioned and are therefore not available for new projects.

Thirdly, the proposals in question are likely to come in conflict with the views of the Government of India if they are guided by the P.W.D. and Industrial Commissions and the opinions of Medical experts.

Fourthly, while it may be admitted that our provision for Medical and Engineering Education is at present inadequate, in the latter field, our proposals for improving the Bihar schools of Engineering and creating a new one at Cuttack together with the provision approved by the Patna University Committee for higher teaching at Rurkee and Sibpur will meet immediate requirements.

These provisions are likely to be extended if the colleges turn out their lower classes and confine themselves to turning out Engineers leaving subordinates to be trained in the schools.

As to Technology, it is evident that the field of employment for the students of a Technological Institute and consequently all hopes of its success

depends upon the wholesale adoption of the recommendations of the Industrial commissioner, of which the Educational Proposals form only a small part. Their recommendations seem to imply that the institute shall be under the Director of Industries and an Industrial department of the Government of India. The affiliation of such an institute would present no little difficulty and involve very considerable expense.

In the medical field professional opinion will probably favour increase and improvement of the schools, control of the teaching and discipline by a Provincial Medical Board and in the case of the principal institute an extension of the course to five years in the hope of securing a qualification registerable in Great Britain. The case of higher student would be met at least temporarily by the Patna University Committee's recommendations.

Fifthly, the University scheme is based on the fundamental idea of residence and higher teaching - which we may expect well before long commence at the present intermediate standard. it is most undiesirable therefore to incorporate within it institutions which at present take in students who have not passed the

Matriculation or school final standard and whose ultimate goal in most cases is a diploma much below University standard.

Lastly, and this is perhaps the most important of all reasons for rejection of the Resolution, a definite scheme for a University has been sent up on the recommendations of a committee of completely representative character and has received the sanction of the secretary of State. If it is now proposed to depart in general principle from the recommendations of the Committee, it will be necessary to recast the whole proposals and start afresh.

For these reasons I must advise the Senate to refrain from accepting the Hon'ble Rai Bahadur's Resolution and to adopt instead the amendment proposed by Mr. Faucus, to which I have not the least doubt that Government will cordially subscribe".

APPENDIX V

*Note on an Economic Census of Patna Bazaar by Prof. C.
J. Hamilton in 1921*

The enquiry was conducted, under my guidance, by the student members of the Chanakya Socceity during the autumn of 1920 and the Spring of 1921. Its object was to ascertain the numbers and kind of economic interprises carried on in the Patna Bazar , a term which was taken to mean the main thoroughfare extending for rather over seven miles from the Bankipore Maidan to the other end of Patna city. This thoroughfare contains the majority of the trading and petty manufacturing establishments of Patna. There are, however, a number of petty traders and manufacturers located in the side streets that lead from the main road. These have not been invistigated. It was originally intended that these should be included but owing to the political conditions prevailing in the latter part of 1920 a number of investigators left the college and the scope of the inquiry was consequetly somewhat narrowed. The area investigated is, nevertheless, sufficient to give an accurate idea of the kinds of things that are bought and sold, and to a less extent made, in a typical bazar that serves the needs, primarily, of the resident Indian

population and, secondarily of the European population in a large moffusil station.

2. In explanation of the tables that follow the first point that should be noticed is the difficulty of classification. The various enterprises have been classified under the three main heads of whole-sale and retail traders and manufacturers. But it is not always easy to define the head under which a particular enterprise should be placed. In an Indian bazar the division of economic function between whole sale and retail selling and between selling and manufacturing is far less clearly marked than, for example, is the case in an English city.

3 Thus the larger shops not only sell retail, but are the sources of supply in many cases of the goods sold in the smaller shops. An instance of this was prominently afforded in the case of the sellers of boots and shoes. A boot and shoe shop of some size was several times found to be supplying stock to a smaller shops of the same kind close by, thus apparently stimulating competition with itself. The same thing occurred in the case of cloth dealers. There are different explanations of this apparently 'uneconomic' conduct. In some cases the shops are really in a sense competitions. That is they are separately owned. But they meet the demands of different classes of

customers. A humble class of customers will hesitate to enter a 'superior' shop but will resort to the neighbouring shop which caters for the particular class. By supplying the poor man's shop the larger shop is not, therefore, sacrificing profits that it might gain for itself. The question of fixing competition prices between the two shops does not arise as neither of them adopts the system of fixed prices common in the case of large retail traders in Western cities. Each transaction is settled after a process of bargaining. In other cases the supply of goods from one shop to another, although the shops may be trading under different names, does not involve dealings between potential competition. It is not uncommon, particularly among cloth dealers, for several shops trading under different names to belong to the same firm.

Besides the confirmation of wholesaling and retailing, which is not uncommon, that of retailing and petty manufacture is very common. Prominent instances are afforded by the making and selling of such things as sweet-meats, ornaments of various kinds, cotton caps, 'biri' cigarette. etc. In order to avoid enumeration twice over the premises in which the making of the article is the occupier's chief activity have been

considered under the head of manufacturing although the goods when made are sold at the same place.

4 A further difficulty of classification arises from the fact that English names signifying the main classes of retail shops seldom apply to the shops of an Indian bazar. The high degree of specialisation usually characteristic of the shops of an English town is far less common in India outside the European centres of big cities. Nevertheless in a plea of the size of Patna specialisation in retailing is clearly marked. But the specialisation often follows different lines. Thus in the case of the cloth seller, corresponding to some extent to the English draper, the business is confined to the sale of various kinds of cloth and trimmings, possibly also carpets, but does not include such articles as hosiery, sewing thread, needles, buttons, which are usually to be obtained from a general store. A very common type of shop in Patna is one which combines the sale of such articles as stationery, looking-glasses, brushes and combs, socks, and cigarettes. It might be described as the 'young man's' shop but it is difficult to find an appropriate English name. For want of a more accurate description these shops have been enumerated under the head of "Fancy goods and stationery".

Sometimes business enterprise is shown in a quite unusual combination of traders. Thus in one case a bookseller and publisher. Seeing a profitable opening, had started a coal godowns from which he retailed coal imported from, Jhansi. Another combination not uncommon is the sale of books together with patent medicines. specialisation or combination in retail trading in such a bazar as that of Patna would seem to be chiefly the following.-

(a) The nature of the goods dealt in

The case of Vegetables or butchures' meat the character of the goods and the handling of them makes specialisation almost necessary.

(b) The importance of buying

Large quantities of goods have to be stocked which are generally of the same kind and when the profit depends largely on the special knowledge of the shopkeeper as the buyer of his stock tends to be a high degree of specialisation. Instances are found in the case of the cloth dealers, the foot and shoe shops, the dealer in builders' materials, and the grain shops.

(c) The convenience of customers

The existence of special classes of customers in many cases determines the character of certain retail shops which cater for their varied wants as far as

possible. Thus almost all articles regularly purchased by the European population are sold by a few "general stores". Similarly the wants of the student class are supplied by the shops to which I have referred as the young man's shops.

(d) Retailing as the adjunct of manufacture

A very large number of the petty shops of the bazaar are little more than the adjunct of the workshops of small artisans, mechanics, and manufacturers. The makers of certain classes of ornaments, of white caps, of 'biri' cigarettes, of 'hookahs', of tin boxes, of basket-ware, of sweet meats, of perfumes, are petty manufacturers and workmen first and shopkeepers second. The specialisation in selling is due to the fact that each man is a small independent producer who sells what he makes.

The information which the investigators sought to obtain included that relating to the length of time each enterprise had been established 'the volume of trade, whether it was increasing or decreasing, the source of supply from which the stock was obtained , and the extent of the market for which the enterprise catered. On none of these points was it possible to get really satisfactory replies. The information as to length of establishment was as follows :-

Established 20 years and over ----	18.5 percent
" 10 to 19 years -----	20.5 percent
" 5 to 9 years -----	18.5 percent
" 1 to 4 years -----	28.5 percent
" less than 1 year -----	14.0 percent

If these replies are correct it suggests a very high degree of instability in the trade of the smaller shopkeepers. The evidence went to show that among small sellers of vegetables, of 'pan' and cigarettes, of stationery, of certain kinds of ornaments there was constant change. Small capitals are ventured and lost. Or a workman will gather a few customers, perhaps for a season's trade, and give up the premises at the end of it.

No reliable information was obtained as to the volume of trade. In most cases those in charge of shops evidently felt suspicion as to the object of the enquiry. In the majority of cases the business was said to be declining and this was usually attributed to the effect of the war in making raw materials difficult to obtain or in raising prices and decreasing sales. But business was in many cases admitted to be expanding. Undoubtedly the fact that stands out is the very large number of rivals dealers or suppliers of the more general wants of customers. The large number of

cloth shops, of grocers, of ornament makers, of sellers of cigarettes, aerated waters, stationery, and fancy goods suggests that in most cases each seller supplies a very small number of customers. Indeed in many cases the so-called shops are little more than a very small front space of a dwelling the total rent for which would not exceed a rupee or two per month.

The source of supply of the stock in trade in the case of the larger shops was generally stated to be either the Indian manufacturing centre or the port of import such as Bombay or Calcutta. No authentic case was found of direct import from abroad. It may be noted that in not a few cases the source of supply was stated to be Dinapore, suggesting that in some respects Dinapore is a more important trading centre than Patna.

6 Very few cases occurred in which Patna shops supplied customers at any distance. The trade of Patna bazaar is almost wholly local. It is worthy of note although Patna is the capital of a province there is not a single shop financed or managed by European enterprise and not a single shop with a stock or mode of management comparable to that of a large store in an English town of any importance.

I -RETAIL SHOPS

Tobacco;betel; aerated water	126
Cloth dealer	97
Grocer (Kichari farosh)- (spices, sugar, grains)	96
Stationery fancy goods	
Fruit and vegetables	45
Grain seller	35
Boots and shoes	33
Cap seller(pallas)-(often combined with other fancy articles)	28
Oruggist	25
Oil seller	23
Butcher	19
Oilman's stores and hardware	17
Book seller and printer	16
Brassware	15
Rope and basketware	15
Ironmonger	13
Perfumer	12
Earthenware	12
Tea shops	9
Liquor vendor	9
Opium and ganja	9
Coal dealers	9
Cooked rice	8
Bangles (bar and glass)	6
General stores	6
Hotels for coolies	6
Wood and fuel	6
Bhunja	6
Parchun	6
Cycle repairs and accessories	5
Milk, dahi	5
Glass hires	5
Old bottles	5
Hookahs, sandals and pipes	5
Builders materials	3
Embroidery materials	3
Cotton thread	3
furniture dealer	2
Sporting requisites	2
Lime dealer	2
Leather goods	2
Dye seller	2
Chhoa (unprepared tobacco)	2
Fodder seller	2
Mat seller	2
Typewriting machines	1
Baker	1
Steel trunks	1
Coach works	1

Spectacle shop	1
Picture framers	1
Sewing machines	1
Carpet seller	1
Dealer in old iron	1
Fan seller	1
Soap dealer	1
Photographer	1

Total	848

II - MANUFACTURING AND RETAIL

Sweet meats	81
Tailor	60
Goldsmith	53
Ornament maker (Various)	49
Tikuli maker	28
Tinsmith(maker of tin boxes, dhilaris, etc.)	22
Brassware maker	20
Wood worker (maker of sandals, charpoys, ekkas, etc.)	20
Dyer	19
Cotton thread maker	17
Blacksmith	17
Shoe maker	17
Watch repairer	15
Repairer of tin or iron goods	14
Cabinet maker	12
Biri maker	12
Coppersmith	9
Oil presser	9
Chilam maker	8
Book binder	7
Lac bangle maker	7
Silver foil maker	6
Naicha maker (tobacco pieces)	5
Looking -glass maker	5
work maker	5
Mookah maker	5
Umbrella repairer	5
Baker	4
Kite maker	4
Cycle and gramophone repairer	4
Spectales maker	3
Cap maker	4
Embroidery worker	3
Store setter (juleller)	3

Carpet weaver	2
Cotton rope maker	2
Soda water maker	2
Harp maker	2
Repairer of shawls	2
Cage maker	2
Fan maker	2
Electro-plater	1
Motor and Carriage works	1
Manufacturing Stationer	1
Rubber stamp maker	1
Flour mill	1
Type fornder	1
Copper plater	1
Image maker	1
Electric light repairs	1
Ghee maker	1
Mica goods	1
Nakli maker	1
Glass maker(from old glass)	1
Thread reeling	1
Hinge maker	1
Drum repairer	1
Tin foil maker	1
Stick maker	1
Tile maker	1

Total	586

III-WHOLESALE TRADERS

Tobacco godown and dealer	3
Yarn dealer	3
Timber dealer	1
Lime and cement dealer	1
Pepper dealer	1

Total	9

APPENDIX VI

*Speech of Babu Amrit Lal Ojha in Bihar and Orissa
Legislative Council on 11th February, 1929**

"Without getting money we cannot spend more. 7
while thinking of other sources, my attention is naturally drawn to one other source and that is, I think, the expansion of industries and trade in this province. From my experience I can say that there is a vast field for expansion of trade and industry in this province. But serious efforts have not yet been made to tap these sources, and I do not know how much more time Government will take in doing so. In this connection, my attention is naturally drawn to the item under head "Industries". Turning to the budget of the Industries Deptt. for the current year, what do we find? - a steady increase in expenditure. In 1927-28, the department spent about Rs. 8,25,000 and this year, the revised estimate is for about Rs.10,25,000. This shows that the Department of Industries which is managed by an able Indian Director is certainly fully equipped and with this experienced and able Director and his staff, I think the department should be expected to make some headway.

* Babu Amrit Lal Ojha was a member of the Board of Industries in 1928-29. This speech was given as a comment on the Annual budget for the year 1929-30. He reveals the Government of apathy towards helping industries in the province

Being a member of the Board of Industries, I know what are the achievements of the department, but I do not propose to go into details. I would only like to say this that Government should try to make the best use of the experience and ability of the Director. With this increase in expenditure one may be led to believe that in industry, there is a prosperity, efficiency and development on every side, but the disillusion is reserved when we get to the key of the situation. I refer to page 20 of the budget estimate under the major head "Loans and Advances by Provincial Government" and under the sub-head "Loans under the State Aid to Industries Act, 192". What do we find there? We find a shocking revelation. In the year 1926-27, the budget under this head was rupees two lakhs and was reduced to rupees one and half lakhs in the estimated budget for 1927-28. This was again further reduced to one and a quarter lakhs on revision in the same year, while the actual amount spent was only Rs.9,906. In the current year, the budget estimates was reduced to Rs.1,00,000 while the actual amount already spent happens to be Rs. 69,000 only. If the pruning knife gets on busy at this rate, I think in couple. of years more the items itself would be totally erased from the estimate.

But there is something hopeful again because, as explained by the Hon'ble Minister and as I find, the budgeted account for the year 1929-30 is Rs. 150800. I do not know on what basis these grants are proposed, how these proposals are put forward and by whom, because as I had an occasion to complain only yesterday, we, i.e., the members of the Board of Industry have never had an opportunity to say anything in connection with these proposals. As members of the Board of Industry, we are never consulted as to what proposals should be forwarded to Government and if any other proposals are to be made. So we do not know how this happens. I can say one thing more. If my memory does not fail me, I think we have dealt with many applications for State Aid under the Aid to the Industries Act, for a very large amount, though we do not know what has happened to all these applications, and I think we have stated it once before that we are not informed of the result of these applications.

In my opinion this State Aid to Industries is the key to industrial development, and without this aid the country will not be able to stand on its own leg in any near future and this is why particular attention must be paid to it. Government may go in for any amount of liquor and poison, but the country and its people will be no better for these unless they are helped by the

Government to private ventures. Our main difficulty in that on account of economic scarcity, people lack initiative and capital is shy. Well, Sir, it has been argued many a times that people should not always look to Government for help and aid. It may be correct in the case of other countries now, But I think in the beginning it was due only to the State aid that they could do something and now they are in their present position. At this stage in this country also, it is therefore, necessary that Government should take it into consideration. I think, though it may be contradicted that in the blind ual for economy Government have abused their discretion. The actual existing facts have been brushed aside and completely ignored. If the Government cannot help the people who have acquired industrial knowledge from the facilities given by the Industries Department I do not think the whole short run by the Industries Department is worthwhile going into. It is a fact that people have no money and have not got the courage to risk the dangers in starting industries of their own. It is therefore, imperative for the Government, s I said particulrly at this stage in this country, to float a loan if necessary, when Government are short of funds, in support of the industries. Year before last, I think, i made a reference to the Trade Facilities Act in England. Under this Act, Sir, tradesman are helped

there to a great extent, if it is necessary in England, which is certainly a rich country, I think it is more necessary to have some such facility here. But I find that no notice has been taken of my reference to the Trade Facilities Act, nor have any steps been taken till now to help the traders and industries of the provinces. Sir, I fail to understand if on account of scarcity of funds the Government cannot help the industries what is the use of maintaining such a department as the Industries Department spending yearly about 10 lakhs of rupees. The more I think of it the more I feel about it, because I do not think any ordinary businessman would do any thing like that. If the Government want to help the trade and industries, if they believe in the expansion of industries, I think they should try to explore all avenues and find out some ways to do something in this direction. I find of course, the Industries Department making some efforts to help small industries, but they are not prepared and I think they are not supposed to help the larger industries of the province. I would like to inquire what steps have been taken to develop the sugar industry of the province. I would like to know what has so far been done to help the coal industry. I have seen mentioned somewhere and I think I can say without fear of contradiction that Government are proud of the

coal resources of this province. But if they are proud of this I think it is their duty to see that the coal industry of the province is flourishing. Sir, you are aware that the coal Inquiry Committee was appointed at the suggestion of this House and you are also aware that this was dissolved in Oct., 1928, after, I may be permitted to say this because I speak from personal experience as a member of the Committee,- some ferrial proceedings protracted for about a year and a half. Here is a conclusive proof of the apathy of the Government towards large industries. I can say many things in connection with this but it is useless to say them when we all know that the Government are, - they may be sympathetic, but they are not prepared to do anything in that direction. However, it is my duty to say and while discharging my duty I should say that I believe in this and this only that to solve the present problem the only remedy is to expand the industries and to tap these sources of the income. When I say these sources I am referring principally to the minerals resources and also to other resources. I particularly mention mineral resources because we all know that the province is very rich in minerals. It requires development and it can only be developed with State aid. It is my opinion that particularly at this stage

without State aid nothing more can be done when we have got to stand in competition with other countries. With these words, Sir, I beg to resume my seat.

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