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The
PARTITION OF BENGAL
or the
Separation of Behar?

Being the
Exposition of an Ideally Perfect
Scheme for the Partition
of the
Lower Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa.

BY

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P R E F A C E.

In the course of a retrospect of the year 1905, the *Times* writes as follows, with reference to the partition of Bengal :—

A very important administrative reform has been carried out, not without vehement and even threatening protests in some quarters, in what is known as "the partition of Bengal." This vast province, containing some eighty million inhabitants, had grown too large to be administered by a single Lieutenant-Governor, and Lord Curzon in Council decreed that it should be divided, the eastern portion being amalgamated with Assam. The partition met with the most excited opposition from a large section of the Bengali race, who, under English education, have grown into something like a nationality, have improved their language and created a literature. It is a regrettable necessity that desires which are not without their praiseworthy side should have to be subordinated to the higher needs of good government.

The *Times* calls the partition of Bengal "a very important administrative reform". This is perfectly true. The provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa which constituted until the 16th of October, 1905—the date of the partition of Bengal—the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Lower Provinces, were undoubtedly an unwieldy and over-grown territorial jurisdiction for purposes of efficient executive administration, and some partition had for years become an absolute necessity and the reform was urgently needed. This may not have been felt by the Bengalis, who had the advantage of having the Lieutenant-Governor in their midst, but it was keenly felt by the Beharis, who

had been agitating for the separation of Behar for the last ten years—a short account of which is given in this pamphlet. The point for discussion, therefore, was not whether a partition of the Lower Provinces should be effected, but whether it should be the partition of the province of Bengal itself, as has been actually carried out, or the separation of the outlying province of Behar—which has long been advocated by competent authorities and the details of which are set forth in this pamphlet—as an ideally perfect alternative scheme for the partition of the Lower Provinces.

The *Times* admits that the partition of Bengal has been carried out in the teeth of “vehement and even threatening protests,” and “the most excited opposition from a large section of the Bengali race.” This statement is also perfectly true. It is a pity that Lord Curzon had not the sense of fairness to admit this fact and that he tried to ignore, or at any rate minimise, its importance by declaring that the agitation was got up and manufactured by wire-pullers in Calcutta. This may be true to the extent that all political agitation, wherever it be, is engineered and directed by the leaders at headquarters, but there can be absolutely no doubt of the solidarity and genuineness of Bengali feeling against the scheme of partition as effected, and one is glad to find the *Times* candidly admitting it, instead of blinking at so patent a fact.

The *Times* reluctantly supports the partition as effected on the ground of its being a “regrettable necessity”, for which “desires which are not without praiseworthy side should have to be subordinated to the higher needs of good government”. It is the object of the present pamphlet to show that though the partition of the Lower Provinces was undoubtedly a “regrettable necessity,” still it was absolutely unnecessary for the Government to have ridden roughshod and trampled under foot the “desires

which are not without praiseworthy side," and that "the higher needs of good government," did not at all require the subordination of those "desires," in the way that it has been done, but that there is ready to hand an unassailable scheme for the partition of the Lower Provinces which, while conducing to "the higher needs of good government" to even a larger extent than that contemplated by the partition of Bengal, will have, at the same time, the important additional advantage of securing for itself the goodwill and sympathy of all parties concerned. At a representative gathering of the people of Bengal, held in the Town Hall of Calcutta on the 31st of January, 1905, it was unanimously resolved that if the partition of the Lower Provinces be unavoidable, an arrangement might be effected under which "the whole of the Bengali-speaking population should be placed under one and the same administration." It is the object of this pamphlet to show that the suggestion contained in the above resolution—to which, unfortunately, the Bengalis have given their consent too late in the day—is perfectly feasible and will conduce, to even a larger extent, to "the higher needs of good government" than the scheme carried out by the Government of Lord Curzon.

The present pamphlet—which is based on two articles which appeared in the *Hindustan Review* of February, 1904, and August, 1905—has been compiled in view of the debate that will surely take place in the House of Commons on the re-opening of Parliament. It is to be hoped that a perusal of this pamphlet will help all who are interested in the problem of good government in India, in coming to a right solution of the question of the partition of the Lower Provinces. The pamphlet, it is hoped, will also be found useful by the Government of India in suggesting the necessary modifications to the Secretary of State for India, if desired by him to do so. Lord

Minto declared in his reply to the address of the Indian Association, Calcutta, that he would be misleading the people by holding out any hope of the reversal of the partition. That the partition is irreversible—in the sense that there can be no restoration of the *status quo* as it existed until the 16th of October, 1905—is the conviction of most people, who, however, cherish the hope that it may yet be possible for the Government to so modify their scheme—as now desired by the Bengalis themselves and as suggested in this pamphlet—as to conciliate public opinion in Bengal, while carrying out their avowed object of “the higher needs of good government.”

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The Partition of Bengal or the Separation of Behar ?

An ideally-perfect alternative scheme.

Introductory.

The situation in Bengal is truly deplorable. It is now immaterial to consider how the agitation was originally created, or whether it was wise to set up an agitation of this nature and this magnitude; probably it has overstepped the leaders' first conception of it in its force, in its intensity and in the enormous areas affected. It is immaterial to consider these points at this time of the day; the situation, however brought about, is there; and there can be no manner of doubt that large masses of the people, masses of people who from their very nature do and can habitually take no part in the politics of the agitators, have been inflamed to a pitch of excitement that is unparalleled in the history of political agitation in India. They may, and probably do, understand nothing of the ethics of this partition business, but yet that they are excited almost beyond control, admits of no doubt. Nor has the accomplishment of partition helped to subside this agitation, with its boycott of British goods and its determined passive resistance to authority. The disaffection of masses of people, which now threatens to become permanent, cannot possibly make for the good government of the tracts concerned. It may not be a source of danger to the British Empire in India; but it makes the task of an alien government, difficult at all times, more difficult, almost impossible. Under these circumstances, the essence of good statesmanship lies, not in allowing matters to drift from bad to worse, not in driving the disaffection down into hitherto unaffected strata of society, nor by repressive measures in directing it underground to do more real mischief; the essence of good statesmanship lies in applying such a remedy as may convert the forces now ranged against the Government into those for the Government, and it is the duty of all loyal supporters of the Government to suggest such a remedy.

In the following pages an attempt is made to suggest such a remedy. This remedy is no new one, it is as old as the question of partition itself. We shall prove to the entire satisfaction of every reasonable man that the scheme which we suggest is as nearly perfect, as it is possible for any human scheme to be, and

we hold that the Government made a grievous blunder in not entertaining this scheme in the first instance—indeed, it is doubtful whether it was ever considered as a whole—and in rushing through its own immeasurably inferior and crude scheme of partition. Not that our scheme is merely some kind of a remedy for the present state of things, but we claim for it that, in comparison to the scheme of partition which has been carried out, it is superior in all the elements which constitute an ideally perfect partition of territory for administrative purposes. This being our position, two propositions will, we think, be readily conceded: (1) either the Government must prove that our scheme is unsuitable, or (2) it must be prepared to plead guilty to the charge that in carrying through its own scheme of partition it is actuated by some secret sinister motives which do not appear in the published papers on the subject. There is no third alternative before the Government.

Just consider what our scheme is calculated to effect. Bengal has now given its consent to it, and though the consent has been rather late, yet there is absolutely no doubt that if the Bengalee-speaking people are now placed under one administration, there will be a violent reaction in favour of the Government, and such a chorus of thanksgiving and such a shout of joy will ascend the heavens as was never heard in India before. The agitation in Bengal has been unparalleled, the reaction will also be equally unparalleled. But more valuable will be its permanent effect. The Bengalee people's faith in the efficacy of petitions to the Government, faith in constitutional agitation, in fact, all but broken now, will return; their faith in the sense of justice of the Government and in the integrity of its motives, considerably weakened, if not all gone, will be strengthened; and the yet somewhat dim consciousness that in all matters affecting their welfare, they should trust to themselves rather than to a harsh, unsympathetic and callous Government will grow more dim; but on the other hand, if this consciousness at any time becomes fully developed, the difficulty of good government will increase a hundred fold. The returned affection of considerable masses of the people is an asset which no government, much less an alien government, can afford to ignore. On the other hand, Behar and Chota Nagpore will hail the action of the Government as a measure of political salvation. Behar has off and on agitated for its separation from Bengal for the last 10 years—a short history of this agitation is given in this pamphlet—and although we cannot positively assert that there will be absolutely no dissentient voice in Behar—no large measure affecting vast masses of the people has hitherto received unanimous consent or unanimous condemnation—yet this much we can assert that the opposition, if any, will be from a considerably small minority, and their voice will be drowned, as

the voice of a small minority of the Bengalees who are in favour of partition has been drowned, in the chorus of approval that will go up from the province of Behar as a whole.

The reason why Behar has for years demanded separation from Bengal is perceptible to the meanest understanding. A Government in Calcutta is not always in touch with Behar problems. In the very nature of things we can at the best receive but step-motherly treatment from the ruler of Bengal and Behar. The Lieutenant-Governor can pay us one or two hurried visits during the whole tenure of his office—that is all the measure of his personal connection with Behar; and his surroundings being wholly Bengalee, when our interests clash with those of Bengal, it is unnecessary to say which of the two prevails. As the *Pioneer* remarked during the Behar separation controversy:—"Behar has always been Behar, Bengal Bengal. The people and the nobles of Behar are justly proud of their country and will doubtless rejoice to see it severed from a common rule with Bengal, with which in climate, in crops, in men, manners or morals, it has nothing in common." On the other hand, a local Government in Behar will be naturally more solicitous of the welfare of the Beharis than any administrator residing in Calcutta can possibly be. To take only one instance. As a result of having a local Government of our own, we may reasonably expect to have an Engineering College and a Medical College in Behar; as it is, we have to go to Calcutta and Shibpore for our medical and engineering education, and the result so far has been that there is not a single Behari graduate in Engineering, and not even half a dozen in Medicine, while there are hundreds and thousands of graduates in Arts, for the simple reason that we have Arts Colleges at our doors. Will a local Government in Behar complacently look at this state of things? Then again, with a local Government of our own, the competition for the Provincial Civil Services will be naturally confined to the children of the soil, the large ministerial departments—at present mostly the monopoly of Bengalis—will be thrown open to indigenuous employes, the revenues raised in the province will be mostly spent for the benefit of Behar itself, a healthy stimulus would be imparted to local talent in general, a greater consideration to the special needs and requirements of the province will be given; in short, all those benefits which are the natural concomitants of "self-contained" states will be fully realised. But we go further and hold that the separation of Behar, while being absolutely necessary for the progress of the province itself, will at the same time help in the general progress of the whole country. We hold with that far-sighted statesman and friend of India, the late Mr. John Bright, that our different provinces shall ultimately form locally

autonomous states under the Central Government, somewhat after the manner of the United States of America; and even Sir Henry Cotton, in the course of his presidential address at the Bombay Congress, gave expression to somewhat similar views. That is the only way in which the different races in the country can be politically unified, and those who work with this end in view work for the only practical form of unification. The idea that the different races will at any time merge to form one nation is chimerical; and it follows that the sooner Behar is released from the leading-strings of Bengal and allowed to develop itself autonomously, the nearer the only possible form of unification of India, and the longer this is delayed, the longer will that desirable consummation be retarded. This, in itself, is an important consideration.

The question of cost need not disturb our equanimity, for the Government of India in their despatch, dated 2nd February, 1905, say:—"The formation of the new province will necessarily involve a substantial increase of expenditure, but the funds required to meet it will be raised, not by imposing additional taxation on the people of Bengal, but by applying for the purposes of the new province part of the surplus revenues under the control of the Government of India. So far from Bengal paying for its own reforms, it will get it largely at the cost of the rest of the Empire." Of course, this holds good for the new Lieutenant-Governorship, whether it is created to the east or to the west of Bengal.

Behar demands separation from Bengal. A short history of the "separation" agitation in Behar.

"In the next place, you refer to the fact that thoughtful men in the province are advocating the separation of Behar from Bengal for administrative purposes. Now, 'thoughtful,' is not precisely the term that I should apply to the gentlemen who are working this agitation, which is a mere balloon without any substance whatever in it. It is undoubtedly purely a newspaper agitation, of the kind at present in vogue. It appears to me very much like the newspaper agitation at home in what is called the 'silly season,' when Parliament is not sitting and newspapers have to exercise their ingenuity on something sensational for their readers, and they start some such discussion: 'Is Marriage a Failure?', or describe the proportions of some portentous goose-berry. I have observed that this discussion about the separation of Behar started while the provincial Council was not sitting. It must have been a silly season for the Behar and other papers to have taken up this question. They had apparently nothing more useful to discuss. It is the last thing likely to happen within our time. *Neither the Government of India nor the Secretary of State is likely to propose the creation of another local Government in Upper India.*"

In these words the late Sir Alexander Mackenzie, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces, killed the agitation for the separation of Behar in 1896. Had he lived but nine years

longer, he would have seen not only the Government of India propose but the Secretary of State sanction "the creation of another local Government in Upper India," and that local Government, a Lieutenant-Governorship. The *Behar Times* of those days, writing with reference to this utterance, said that the last word on the subject had not been spoken, and that "as soon as the contemplated separation of Chittagong from Bengal is taken up for discussion again, the question of the separation of Behar from Bengal, as an ideally perfect and final administrative measure, will naturally arrest the attention of the public and that of the Government of India." The prophecy of that paper has been amply verified, and although it is not the separation of Behar that has been finally sanctioned, the separation of an area, almost equal to that of Behar, from Bengal itself, has become an accomplished fact, and the "Bengali nation" lies prostrate and bleeding, clean cut into two. With an instinct that was almost prophetic, as the events of to-day prove, the *Behar Times* wrote as follows in 1896:—

"The Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces wants that he should be relieved of a portion of his burden. For this purpose the proposal has been officially made to separate the Chittagong division from Bengal and add it to Assam. We say that that would give no appreciable relief to the Lieutenant-Governor. Further, we say, that Chittagong is a Bengali-speaking division and with Cachar and Sylhet, two other Bengali-speaking districts already transferred to Assam, and with other portions of Eastern Bengal likely to be hereafter so transferred—if real relief is sought to be given to the Lieutenant-Governor—there would be practically two local Governments of Bengal, of equal magnitude. On the other hand, Behar is a homogeneous tract, and its separation would give a real measure of relief to the Lieutenant-Governor and save the Bengali people from being divided under two local Governments, as well as obviate the difficulty which is at present felt in governing a small Assam."

The history of the agitation for the separation of Behar is interesting. The evolution of the idea dates from the birth of the *Behar Times* in 1893. So well had that journal carried out the mission of its life that only a year after its establishment, the idea found articulate expression in an address presented to Sir Charles Elliott—the then Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces—at Gaya in 1894. In the course of this address it was said:—"We crave leave to submit that it is the fate of Behar that it forms, for administrative purposes, a mere appendage of the larger province of Bengal. Perhaps, by reason of the very position which that province occupies as the most advanced in India, the interests of Behar and its people are liable to be lost sight of; but we earnestly hope that its importance as a separate province, containing a separate people, will be always consistently recognised in matters

of legislation and administration." Writing on this subject the *Behar Times* wrote about the time:—"We have impressed upon the Government the advisability, not to say the justice, of treating Behar as a separate unit in certain matters of importance, and we have the authority of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor for saying that our claim for such treatment had found a response in his heart. That declaration of Sir Charles Elliott may be taken as a great advance made in the direction of the establishment of Behar as a separate provincial administration. The event may be distant, but it is inevitable." That paper returned to the subject again in January, 1896, in reviewing the events of the past two years in Behar, as follows:—

"We are for the constitution of Behar as a separate provincial administration. It is merely an accident that Behar is linked to Bengal for administrative purposes; there is less in common between the people of Bengal and the people of Behar, than between the people of Bengal and the people of Assam, and there is, therefore, no reason, except such as may be found in the question of administrative convenience, why Assam should be a separate administration, and not Behar; nor is there any reason why Behar should be linked to Bengal and not to the United Provinces with which it has everything in common. No doubt, the creation of Behar as a separate provincial administration is a distant event; but the mission of this paper is lifelong; and it is satisfactory to find that in retrospect over the work of such a short period as two years, we are in a position to report some advance made in that direction."

Though the idea was there, no systematic agitation had been till then set up, but a powerful impulse was given to the idea and a systematic agitation begun on the appearance of a leading article in the *Pioneer* in 1896. In the course of that article, the *Pioneer* wrote as follows:—

"Behar and Chota Nagpur would be a separate and entirely homogeneous charge, which would afford tempting opportunities to an administrator. If we British were a logical people and impatient of anomalies, the relief of the over-worked Government of the Lower Provinces would lie irresistably in the separation of Behar and Chota Nagpur. Assam cannot be, will never be, a charge so popular, or as likely to attract the best men as Behar."

Following the appearance of this article in the *Pioneer*, the *Behar Times* wrote a series of articles proving down to the ground that from almost every conceivable point of view the separation of Behar was a better scheme of relief to the over-worked Government of the Lower Provinces than the transfer of Chit-tagong, or of even a larger slice of Bengal, to Assam. The mind of the educated public in Behar was powerfully agitated by these articles, till meetings began to be held in every district of the province, and memorials were adopted by the score. There was a very small minority opposed to the separation on the ground of

prospective loss of certain privileges which we at present enjoy, but their voice was drowned in the chorus of approval with which these articles were received and, we believe, Behar was never before so powerfully, so genuinely, agitated as in those days of the "separation" controversy. The culmination was reached when pointed reference was made to the subject of "separation" in a joint address of such semi-official bodies as the Municipality and the District Board of Gaya to the then Lieutenant-Governor, and it was in reply to this address that Sir Alexander Mackenzie delivered his fulmination with which we have opened this chapter. The entire battery of the Bengali press was, however, directed against the agitation; they at once saw that it was an ideally perfect alternative scheme that was being proposed, and they therefore tried to kill the agitation with all the contempt, villification and misrepresentation that they could command. Referring to this aspect of the controversy the *Pioneer* wrote as follows:—

"We pointed out that the administration of the existing province of Assam had been so chequered that an addition to its charge was of doubtful policy, and finally we made bold to say that but for the British habit of making the best of such an accomplished fact as the existing Assam, the real solution lay, not in the separation from Bengal of Bengali districts, but in giving Home Rule to such a homogeneous tract as Behar, inhabited not by Bengalis but by a race closely akin to the adjoining population of the United Provinces, speaking not Bengali, but Hindi, and possessing administrative problems with which Calcutta had not always proved to be in touch. In saying all this, we were merely echoing and carrying to their logical conclusion the complaints of the patriotic men of Chittagong. Did the journalists of Bengal rally round the standard thus set up? Far from it. Beharis, indeed, of all classes, welcomed the suggestion that they might escape from the domination of Calcutta, and proposals for a separate Behar have been discussed in crowded public meetings in many parts of that ancient province. But these public meetings find no echo in the Bengali press. The "enthusiastic gatherings" of Bengal are duly reported and encouraged by the Anglo-Bengali and vernacular papers, through whose agency they are not unfrequently convened. But the desire of Behar to have a separate administration meets with no encouragement from the Bengali editors. *It is probable that no more genuinely popular and universal desire has manifested itself in India since the era of public meetings began.* But alas! Bengali editors are not only like the best of us selfish, but are not ashamed to display their little weakness in print. "Perish Chittagong" is their cry. Let half of Eastern Bengal, comprising a population who are *par excellence* known as Bengalis, be lopped off from its connection with Calcutta, but do not let us lose Behar—the *el Dorado* of countless Bengali clerks, the asylum of how many Bengali Subordinate Judges and Munsifs, the source of income to how many Bengali managers of princely estates."

The *Behar Times* clearly saw and foretold at the time that although the then attitude of the Bengali press was dictated by

best kind of selfishness, that selfishness was bound to the long run, of the suicidal variety; and subsequent events have shown that that paper foretold but too truly. If Behar had been separated from Bengal in 1896, as the joint result of the harmonious action of the Bengali and Behari leaders, why should Bengal have been brought under the guillotine to-day, and the fairest part of the province cut assunder? At any rate, even if the separation had not actually taken place at that time, but if the proposal for separation had been placed before the Government with the unanimous consensus of Bengali and Behari opinion, could not the Bengalees to-day have turned round to the Government to say that you have no business to divide Bengal before you prove that the alternative proposal which we put before you would not equally well, if not better, serve the purpose in view? We of Behar have had our revenge in abundance for the attitude which the Bengali press then adopted towards the movement for the separation of Behar, for we now find them in the humiliating position of being under the necessity of proposing the same separation of Behar to save their own province from dire disruption, with the greater likelihood than not that they may now propose in vain.

Mr. Risley proposes the separation of Dacca and Mymensingh in addition to the Chittagong division—The Bengalees do not even then propose the separation of Behar as an alternative scheme.

Naturally, after Sir Alexander Mackenzie's pronouncement, the separatist party in Behar had to keep quiet and very little was heard of the movement from the middle of 1896 down to December, 1903, when the famous letter of Mr. Risley on the partition of Bengal made its appearance. As soon as that document saw the light, the *Behar Times* began to be deluged with letters asking that paper to agitate for the separation of Behar again, but in view of the fact that the proposal set forth in Mr. Risley's letter was an almost impossible one, and that it was likely to be considerably modified before being adopted, that paper in consultation with the Behar leaders, determined to wait and watch further developments. But it is remarkable that even while Dacca and Mymensingh were threatened, in addition to the Chittagong division, the Bengali press and people never thought of putting forward the alternative proposal for the separation of Behar. Their interest in Behar was apparently greater than in Dacca, Mymensingh and the Chittagong division; and when Sir Henry Cotton in the course of his presidential speech at the Bombay session of the Indian National Congress, held in 1904, suggested that, if redistribution of territory was absolutely necessary, Behar as a homo-

geneous tract, should be separated from Bengal rather than Bengal itself should be divided into two parts, and when he proposed a resolution on these lines in the Subjects Committee, which was seconded by Mr. S. Sinha, the only Behari delegate present, and supported by Mr. Gauga Prasad Varma of Lucknow, Editor of the *Advocate*, the Bengalee delegates simply laughed down the idea, and with their preponderating voice in the deliberations of the Congress prevented any such resolution being proposed; while they themselves proposed the creation of a Governorship with Council as an alternative scheme. Sir Henry Cotton in the course of his presidential address had spoken as follows:—

“I admit that it is desirable to relieve the Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces of some of the responsibilities which rest upon his shoulders. But this end may easily be attained by other means; either by the appointment of an Executive Council, or PREFERABLY, I THINK, BY THE SEPARATION OF BEHAR AND CHOTA NAGPORE which are not peopled by Bengalis, and the constitution of that province, with a population of thirty millions in round numbers, as a separate administration. It would be easy to devise a scheme which would not receive the unanimous disapproval of the affected population. To press on proposals such as those which have been put forward for the break-up of Bengal against the loudly expressed wishes and sentiments of the Bengali people, can only be described as a most arbitrary and unsympathetic evidence of irresponsible and autocratic statesmanship.”

Again, at the Conference which was held in Calcutta—shortly after the Bombay session of the Congress—to discuss the proposed scheme of partition, Sir Henry Cotton impressed upon his hearers that it was all very well to oppose the partition, that destructive criticism was good enough in its own way, but that constructive criticism was also required, and that it would be wise to put forward an alternative proposal to the scheme formulated by the Government. On this occasion Sir Henry spoke as follows:—

“I will offer you A CONSTRUCTIVE SCHEME. I do not say that it would be accepted with any unanimity by the population of the provinces affected, but this I will say, that certainly it would not be opposed with anything like the vigour and force that this measure of the partition of Bengal has met. If a dismemberment must be made, I would say, SEPARATE BEHAR AND CHOTA NAGPUR FROM BENGAL, AND ESTABLISH THEM UNDER A SEPARATE ADMINISTRATION. It would be immeasurably preferable to any proposal of dismembering Bengal. There is a large section of the Behar population which would welcome it.”

But no, the suggestion was not even then embodied in the resolutions adopted at the Conference, although we have reasons to believe that, at any rate, some of those who took part in the Conference were in favour of it. Sir Charles Stevens, an ex-Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces, when asked his opinion by an interviewer on behalf of the *Englishman*, made the self-same suggestion for the separation of Behar, and gave expression to his

conviction that "a far more effective method, and one less open to objection, would be to erect Behar into a separate administration, which would be a charge fully equal in population to the Bombay Presidency." A well-known Bengali publicist, Mr. Prithwis Chandra Ray, made to Lord Curzon the same suggestion, in an open letter addressed to his lordship in 1904, under the title of the *Map of India*. This is what Mr. Ray wrote:—

Behar has recently set up a cry—which is every year gaining in strength and persistence—of "Behar for the Beharia." Everybody knows that the language and the customs and the habits of the people of Behar and also its history, have nothing in common with those of Bengal. Under the circumstances it would be at once prudent, as well as just, to detach willing Behar from Bengal, instead of dividing unwilling Bengal into two. Under the Moghuls Behar formed a separate province. I want the Moghul idea to be followed by the British by making Bengal and Behar two distinct provinces, as Behar has no sentiment to remain tied up as an appanage to Bengal, from which it would much rather be severed politically, as it is historically and ethnically.

This was also the suggestion of that distinguished Bengali Musalman, Mr. Dilawar Husain, who retired sometime back after holding for many years the responsible and onerous post of Inspector-General of Registration in the Lower Provinces. This is what Mr. Dilawar Husain wrote:—

"Instead of breaking up Bengal, statesmanship demands that the Chief Commissionership of Assam should be abolished and merged in the Lower Provinces. Behar and Chota Nagpore should be detached from the Lower Provinces and—with or without the permanently-settled districts of the United Provinces, i. e., the Benares division—should form an independent administration. It is absolutely wrong to divide an essentially united people like the Bengalis and equally wrong to place under a single administration two peoples so essentially different as those of Bengal and Behar."

The opinions of two such veteran Anglo-Indian journalists, as the late Mr. Furrel, long the editor of the *Calcutta Review*, the *Englishman* and the *Statesman*, and of Mr. Paul Knight, proprietor of the *Statesman*, exactly coincide with the views quoted above. The following is a quotation from a recent appreciation of the late Mr. Furrel from the pen of Mr. Paul Knight, contributed to the *Statesman*:—

"One other, a more recent instance we may give of what we have called an experience of Indian problems unrivalled in India or out of it. Furrel's solution of the question of the partition of the Lower Provinces, is the true and perhaps the only one. That province is overgrown; this is beyond doubt. Some partition is necessary and the question is—what partition? 'Sever Behar and Chota Nagpore and form them into a separate administration,' said Furrel, 'and the knife cuts through no vital tissues. You leave Bengal an organic whole to live its life undisturbed. You remove from the cares of the Lieutenant-Governor a backward province and one that has no vital connection, political, ethnic, or other with Bengal. You relieve the Lieutenant-Governor without sacrificing the feelings, and the rights of millions of our fellow-sub-

jects.' Now, it is a remarkable fact that the only counter-proposal which Mr. Rislely and the official apologists of the Bengal partition have left sedulously alone, in their published defence of that measure, is this. They have not attempted to answer it, because it is *unanswerable*."

But when the opinion of Sir Henry Cotton, the best friend of the Bengalees, who is also a popular hero in Bengal, was ignored, who cared for Sir Charles Steyens or Mr. Dilawar Husain, or Mr. Furrel, or Mr. Paul Knight? We wonder if the Bengalis believed that the Government had put forward their proposals of territorial re-distribution—to which they so resolutely stuck—merely for the purpose of eliciting an academic discussion of them? Did they believe that these proposals were brought forward aimlessly, or that the Government were not in dead earnest to effect some re-distribution of territory? Or did they believe that merely because they put forward as an alternative the dubious proposal to let the provinces have a Governor with a Council, that proposal would be accepted by the Government as a matter of course? It does not necessarily follow that a Governor with Council will be able to manage the Lower Provinces with a population of 74,744,866, because he is able to manage Bombay with a population of *less than one quarter*, or Madras with a population of *little less than half*. Moreover, the *Administration Report of Bengal for 1901-1902* says:—

"Practically the Lieutenant-Governor for a long time exercised the same powers in civil matters, as the Governors in Council of Madras or Bombay, though subject in some respects to somewhat closer supervision by the Supreme Government. Since the inauguration of the policy of financial decentralisation by Lord Mayo in 1871, large increases have been made to the powers and responsibilities of the Lieutenant-Governor. The Government of the Lower Provinces now practically stands in the same relation to the Government of India as any other Local Government, the only difference being as regards the Governments of Madras and Bombay. These two Local Governments still possess a certain nominal authority in military matters and are empowered to communicate direct with the Secretary of State in a few matters of minor importance."

If the Governors of Madras and Bombay have practically the same powers as the Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces, except that they "possess certain nominal authority in military matters, and are empowered to communicate direct with the Secretary of State in certain matters of minor importance," how will a Governor and Council, with these additional powers only, be able to govern better than a Lieutenant-Governor, or manage the present overgrown and unwieldy province with more success?

Further, it is a fact which was referred to by Mr. Sinha in his speech at the Benares Congress that Mr. R. C. Dutt—who requires no introduction at our hands to English or Indian readers and who,

at any rate, cannot be accused of having a bias against the Bengalees, being a Bengalee of Bengalee himself—does not favour the idea of the Lower Provinces being given a Governor and Council. In his opinion such a form of government with its divided responsibility cannot be so effective for such an enormous area as the Lower Provinces, nor is such a form of government so well amenable to public criticism as the personal rule of a Lieutenant-Governor. It is well known that it was chiefly due to Mr. Dutt's opinion that the idea of a Governor and Council for the Lower Provinces was not embodied in the partition resolution of the Benares Congress, as had been done the year before.

Mr. Risley's proposal shelved. Lord Curzon proposes a considerably enlarged scheme.

Be that as it may, it soon became evident that the proposals brought forward by Mr. Risley were to be still further enlarged. Lord Curzon in his speeches at Dacca and Mymensingh, in 1904, foreshadowed the larger scheme which involved the creation of a second Lieutenant-Governorship in Bengal, and it is this larger scheme, which after an incubation of more than one year, saw the light of the day in July 1905, as embodying the final decision of the Government of India, supported by the sanction of the Secretary of State.

For clearly grasping the points involved in the discussion of the scheme of partition which has been carried out, and the alternative scheme which we propose, it is desirable to have in view certain facts and figures, both in regard to the Lower and the other Provinces of British India. The British Indian Empire covers an area of 1,766,957 square miles with a total population of 291,361,056, or, roughly speaking, three hundred millions, which is about one-fifth of the estimated population of the globe and more than double Gibbon's estimate of the population, composed of the diverse races, nationalities and peoples of different creeds, who obeyed the sceptre of Imperial Rome at the height of her glory under the Antonines. Of this area and population, no less than 679,393 of square miles and 62,461,549 of population—roughly more than one-third of the total area with considerably less than one-fourth of the total population—belong to the Native States, while the remaining less than two-thirds of the total area and more than three-fourths of the total population—1,087,204 of square miles and 231,899,507 of persons—are taken up by the provinces of British India. These provinces of British India—which are purely political units formed for the purposes of civil administration—number just one dozen, leaving aside the Chief Commissionership of the Andaman Islands, which is held *ex-officio* by the

Superintendent at Port Blair. The twelve provinces—these statements refer to the state of things before the partition of Bengal was accomplished—of which British India is composed, consist of two Governorships, those of Bombay and Madras; four Lieutenant-Governorships, those of the Lower Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab and Burma; and six Chief Commissionerships, those of the Central Provinces, Assam, Coorg, the North-West Frontier Province, Ajmere-Merwara and British Beluchistan. Of these the last three are controlled by the Foreign Department, while the first nine, as also the penal settlement of the Andaman Islands, are subject to the control of the Home Department of the Government of India. The Resident at Mysore and the Governor-General's Agent for Rajputana hold *ex-officio* the Chief Commissionerships of Coorg and Ajmere-Merwara respectively. Of the twelve provinces which constitute British India, ten belong to India proper, while two—Beluchistan and Burma—are geographically separate countries. The provinces, as the following table will clearly bring out, differ considerably from one another in area and population; the Lower Provinces, as they stood before partition—leaving aside Burma—being the largest and Coorg the smallest, both in area and population:—

Number.	Name of Province.	Area.	Population.	Number of districts.
1	The Lower Provinces	151,185	74,744,866	47
2	Madras	141,705	38,209,436	22
3	Bombay	122,915	18,515,587	25
4	The United Provinces	107,161	47,675,723	48
5	The Punjab	97,209	20,306,252	27
6	The Central Provinces	104,213	12,630,662	24
7	Assam...	52,959	5,841,878	12
8	The North-West Frontier Province.	13,132	2,049,576	5
9	Ajmere-Merwara...	2,711	476,912	2
10	Coorg ...	1,582	180,607	1
11	British Beluchistan	9,403	119,488	2
12	Burma ...	168,550	9,252,875	36

It will appear from the above table that—leaving aside Burma, which, though the largest province in point of area, has the smallest population in proportion to its size, and which is a part of British India only for administrative purposes, for it is really a distinct country, completely cut off, and differing essentially in every respect from any other province of the Empire—we find the Lower Provinces, as they stood before partition, to be the most important administrative jurisdiction of the Empire, from every point of view. In point of area, it was by far the largest

province, covering as it did 151,185 square miles of British territory, 38,652 square miles of States in political dependence upon its Government and 5,309 square miles of the unexplored and half-submerged forest known as the "Sundarbans," thus bringing up the total of its area to 195,146 of square miles—as against even the 168,550 square miles of Burma. To give a better idea of its area, it might be compared in size to the United Kingdom with the addition of a second Scotland, while its population—larger than that of any other Indian province—was equal to that of the United States of America together with that of Mexico. The largest province of the Empire in area and population, it was also the richest and most fertile province yielding a gross revenue, which amounted to one-third of the actual revenues of the Indian Empire.

The political limits of the provinces into which British India is divided, have—as a glance at the map of India will show—been fixed without any regard to physical characteristics, or the distinctions of race and language. The present territorial distribution has come about in a more or less haphazard way, governed by the exigencies of the times, the lines of demarcation between the provinces being purely arbitrary, which have been fixed from time to time, as the British power advanced in the country. It has thus come to pass that homogeneous populations have been split up and placed under different administrations, whilst peoples utterly unhomogeneous and distinct from one another in every respect, have been brought together under one government. The most glaring instance of this was beyond all question, the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Lower Provinces of which we are now speaking. The Lower Provinces included four distinct countries, *viz.* Bengal, Behar, Orissa and Chota Nagpore. The Lieutenant-Governorship also included until 1874 the districts which were in that year formed into a separate administration, as the Chief Commissioner-ship of Assam. The following table gives the area, population and number of districts of each of the four countries which constitute the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Lower Provinces until before partition:—

Number.	Name of Province.	Area.	Population.	Number of Districts.
1	Bengal ...	79,068	42,943,325	27
2	Orissa ...	9,841	4,343,150	4
3	Behar ...	85,582	21,547,538	10
4	Chota Nagpore ...	32,433	6,710,116	6

In the above table the area and the population of the district of Malda, and of the Krishnaganj, Kalianganj and Balrampur thanas of the Puruea district, which though administratively included in Behar, are really portions of Bengal (as they lie to the east of the river Mahananda, which is the true ethnic and linguist-

tic boundary between Bengal and Behar) have been treated as such, and included under Bengal; while the area and the population of district of Santal Parganas, which though included in the Bhagalpore division of Behar, is physically the easterly projection of the Chota Nagpore plateau, have been treated as such and included under Chota Nagpore. It may also be stated that the above figures do not include the area and the population of the tributary states of these provinces. The figures deal with the areas and the populations actually under British rule.

To give a better idea of the four countries which made up the Lower Provinces, as they stood before partition, it may be stated that the province of Orissa is equal in area to the kingdom of Saxony and the republic of Switzerland put together. The province of Chota Nagpore, with the Behar district of Santal Parganas—which as stated above is physically the eastern projection of the plateau—is nearly twice the size of Scotland. The province of Behar—minus the districts of Malda and Santal Parganas and the three above mentioned thanas of the Purneah district east of the Mahananda—equals England in area and exceeds Austria in population; while Bengal—including Malda and the said three thanas of Purnea—is half as large again as England and Wales, and exceeds in area the aggregate of five European states, *viz.*—Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland and Greece.

The grounds and figures of the scheme of partition as carried out.

Let us now give in detail the figures involved in the scheme of partition carried out, and then we shall discuss whether the exclusion of the two Bengali divisions of Burdwan and Presidency from the old and their inclusion in the new province, as proposed at the first monster meeting held in Calcutta, after publication of the Government resolution, and as also adopted by the last Indian National Congress held at Benares, or in other words, the formation of Behar, Chota Nagpore and Orissa into one province, and that of Bengal and Assam into another, would or would not better serve the purpose in view, both logically and statistically.

The figures for the new province constituted are as follows:—

	Area.	Population.
Assam	52,059	5,811,878
Rajshahi division minus Darjeeling ...	16,193	8,216,042
District of Malda	1,809	884,230
Dacca division	15,040	10,793,988
Chittagong division	11,773	4,737,731
Feudatory States	8,211	799,313
Total	<u>106,074</u>	<u>31,303,283</u>

The above figures give the area and the population of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Now let us see what is left of the old province :—

	Area.	Population.
Burdwan division	13,919	8,240,076
Presidency division	12,066	8,993,023
Patna division	23,683	15,514,987
Bhagalpore division minus Malda	18,612	7,811,988
Chota Nagpore division	27,100	4,000,429
Orissa division	9,841	4,343,150
Feudatory States	30,441	2,949,231
Total	135,697	52,782,889

In this calculation we have omitted from consideration the area and the population of certain States transferred from the Central Provinces to Orissa and Chota Nagpore and certain other States transferred from Chota Nagpore to the Central Provinces. The area and the population of the tracts, which have been mutually transferred between the Lower Provinces and the Central Provinces, are small, in comparison to the total area under consideration, and are, moreover, about equal to one another in extent, so that the main calculations are not at all vitiated by their exclusion.

The transfer of additional territories to the new province is justified in the Government resolution of July last, chiefly on two grounds:—"That they would provide a clearly defined western boundary corresponding with well recognised characteristics, both geographical, ethnological, social and linguistic" and "that they would concentrate in a single province the typical Mahomedan population of Bengal for whom Dacca would furnish a natural capital." We confess we fail to see how. First, as to "geographical" characteristics, it does not follow that because a river is constituted the boundary line between two tracts of country, the geographical characteristics on the two sides of the river must be, as a matter of course, different. What is the difference between the geographical characteristics of any two districts on the east of the river Ganges and any two districts on the west of that river in Bengal? What is the difference geographically between Khulna and Jessore and Rungpore and Dinajpur, for instance? All these four districts are typically Bengal districts. The river and the high humidity of the atmosphere are their one characteristic feature, and the soil is rich in black mould and of boundless reproductive fertility, subject to recurrent inundation. We rather think that instead of there being "well-recognised" geographical characteristics to distinguish the one from the other, there is abundant evidence to show that

there is nothing, absolutely nothing, to distinguish them geographically one from the other. Secondly, "ethnologically" there is even less, if possible, to distinguish the people of East Bengal from the people of West Bengal. They are both typically and characteristically Bengalees. Mr. (afterwards Justice) Beverley in his *Report on the Census of Bengal, 1871*, thus describes the people of the whole of Bengal:—

In Bengal we have a people physically distinct from any other race in India. Whether, on the one hand, they are to be attributed to climatic influences and the natural characteristics of the country, or, on the other, to the great infusion of aboriginal blood, that people presents national peculiarities sufficient to identify it in any part of the world. Living amid a network of rivers and morasses and nourished on a watery rice diet, the semi-amphibious Bengalee in appearance belongs to a weak puny race, yet he is able to endure an amount of exposure to which the up-country Hindustani would soon fall a victim. In active pursuits the Bengalee is timid and slothful, but in intellect he is subtle and sharp-witted; and these latter qualities, combined with a plodding industry and a natural fondness for sedentary employments, have carried him in the Government offices all over the country, and raised him to some of the highest judicial posts in the land."

We challenge the Government of India to prove that this description applies to the Bengalees of Rungpore and Dinajpur, for instance, and does not apply to the people of Khulna and Jessore. Thirdly, it is even more difficult to discover "well-recognised" difference in the "social and linguistic" characteristics of the people living on two sides of the river. Does the Government of India mean to suggest that Bengalees of Rungpore speak Bengali and the Bengalees of Jessore speak Hindi? Really, distorted ingenuity could have gone no further, and the fact that the Government of India should have pressed into service a proposition of which diametrically the very reverse constitutes the truth, shows to what dire straits that Government is driven for arguments to support its scheme of partition. Lastly, as concentrating in a single province the typical Mahomedan population of Bengal, it is sufficient to say that a large "typical" Mahomedan population remains in West Bengal as well, that, as a matter of fact, West Bengal will have a Mahomedan population of some millions. How is then the Mahomedan population concentrated in one province? We think the Government of India would have scored better if they had fought shy of arguments based on geographical, ethnological, social and linguistic characteristics; their reference to these makes their case more untenable.

The Bengalees are at last driven by the force of circumstances to propose the separation of Behar.

Let us now turn to the figures of the alternative scheme which we have advocated all these years and which the Ben-

galis, for the first time, put forward in the following resolution passed at the first monster meeting held in Calcutta after the publication of the Government resolution on partition:—

That this meeting emphatically protests against the resolution of Government on the partition of Bengal. It is unnecessary, arbitrary and unjust, and being in deliberate disregard of the opinion of the entire Bengali nation, has aroused a feeling of distrust against the present administration, which cannot conduce to the good government of the country. The partition of Bengal will, by dividing the Bengali-speaking race, seriously interfere with the social, intellectual, moral and industrial advancement of the vast population concerned, while it will entail heavy expense, initial and permanent, that must add to the burdens of an over-taxed people and indefinitely postpone all prospects of financial relief which the country so urgently needs. The Meeting accordingly requests that the Secretary of State in Council will be pleased to reconsider and withdraw the orders that have been passed, or if partition be unavoidable, (which this meeting does in no way admit) *modify the orders, so that the Bengali-speaking race may form part and parcel of the same administration by incorporating the Presidency and the Burdwan divisions into the newly formed province.*

It is remarkable that even while in desperate straits to save their province from disruption, the Bengalees did not till then adopt the alternative scheme as the only plank in their defence, and that even while the Government had issued the resolution dividing Bengal into two, they inconsequentially talked of a Governor and Council and of there still being doubts that territorial re-distribution was necessary.

The same alternative scheme was also suggested by the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale, C. I. E., President of the Benares Congress, in his presidential speech, and it is truly remarkable that two Presidents of the Congress, one after another, should have suggested the separation of Behar as an ideally perfect plan of partition. Mr. Gokhale said:—

“Gentlemen, I have carefully gone through all the papers which have been published by the Government on this subject of partition. Three things have struck me forcibly—a determination to dismember Bengal at all costs, an anxiety to promote the interests of Assam at the expense of Bengal, and a desire to suit everything to the interests and convenience of the Civil Service. It is not merely that a number of new prizes have been thrown into the lap of that Service—one Lieutenant-Governorship, two Memberships of the Board of Revenue, one Commissionership of a division, several Secretaryships and Under-Secretaryships—but alternative schemes of roadadjustment have been rejected on the express ground that their adoption would be unpopular with members of the Service. Thus even if a reduction of the charge of the Lieutenant-Governor of the Lower Provinces had really become inevitable—a contention, which the greatest living authority on the subject, Sir Henry Cotton, who was Secretary to that local Government under several Lieutenant-Governors, does not admit—one would have thought that the most natural course to take was to separate Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa from Bengal

and form them into a separate province. This would have made the Western province one of 30 millions in place of the Eastern. But this, says the Government of India, would take from the Lower Provinces 'all its best districts and would make the province universally unpopular.' This was of course a fatal objection, for compared with the displeasure of the Civil Service, the trampling under foot of public opinion and the outraging of the deepest feelings of a whole people was a small matter."

The suggestion was at the last Congress allowed to be *practically* embodied in the following resolution:—

"That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the partition of Bengal in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the people of the province: that having regard to the intense dissatisfaction, felt by the entire Bengalee community at the dismemberment of their province, and their manifest disinclination to accept the partition as an accomplished fact, this Congress appeals to the Government of India and the Secretary of State to reverse or modify the arrangements made in such a manner as to conciliate public opinion and allay excitement and unrest existing at present among large masses of the people; and that this Congress recommends the adoption of some arrangement which would be consistent with administrative efficiency and would place the entire Bengali community under one undivided administration."

Compare this with the following resolution passed by the Congress in 1904:—

"That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the proposals of the Government of India for the partition of Bengal *in any manner whatsoever*. That the proposals are viewed with great alarm by the people, as the division of the Bengali nation into separate units will seriously interfere with its social, intellectual and material progress, involving the loss of various constitutional and other rights and privileges which the province has so long enjoyed and will burden the country with heavy expenditure which the Indian tax-payers cannot at all afford.

"That this Congress is of opinion that no case has been made out for the partition of Bengal, but if the present constitution of the provincial Government is considered inadequate for the efficient administration of the province, *the remedy lies not in any redistribution of its territories but in organic changes in the form of the Government* such as the conversion of the Lieutenant-Governorship into a Governorship with an Executive Council like that of Bombay and Madras."

The fact that the Congress this year dropped the suggestion for the appointment of a Governor in Council and pinned its faith practically on the separation of Behar and other non-Bengali-speaking tracts as an alternative scheme, which the Bengalis had laughed down just one year previously, is truly significant and may be left to tell its own tale without comment. But apart from what the Congress may say, or what the Bengalis may say or do, what we Beharis have got to urge is that the inclusion of the Burdwan and the Presidency divisions in the new province, which would then include whole Bengal, or in other words the separation of Behar, Chota

Nagpore and Orissa from Bengal and their formation into the second Lieutenant-Governorship proposed, would constitute an ideally perfect scheme for the partition of the Lower Provinces. The Government of India in their resolution of July last say :—

“ Upon two conditions, however, the community has a claim to insist. The first is that the solution ultimately approved shall not be arrived at in haste or until all available alternatives have been fully considered, and its superiority over them conclusively established.”

We, therefore, insist on knowing how and when this particular alternative scheme for the separation of Behar and Chota Nagpore with Orissa has been considered and found wanting, and what are the grounds on which it has been found wanting ; and the Government of India were bound to satisfy us, in accordance with their own views as to what the community “ has a claim to insist upon,” before having carried out their own scheme into execution. The mere *ipse dixit* of the Government of India that all alternative schemes have been weighed in the balance and found wanting, will not do ; we have a right to know the grounds upon which this particular scheme, as a whole, if it was ever considered, was discarded.

The Government of India discuss a fragmentary scheme for the separation of Behar and reject it in blissful ignorance of the figures involved in the scheme.

The Government of India have, however, in one place in their despatch, dated 2nd February, 1905, considered a somewhat fragmentary scheme for the separation of Behar and rejected it. They say :—

“ It will be convenient to examine an alternative plan which has attracted some attention and may possibly be put forward for your serious consideration by the opponents of our own proposals. Its leading features are :—

- (1) The transfer of Chittagong division from Bengal to Assam.
- (2) The formation of a Chief Commissionership of Behar which would include the Patna division, the Hindi speaking districts of Chota Nagpur (*viz.*, Hazaribagh, Palaman and Ranchi) ; the Benares division of the United Provinces and possibly the districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur.
- (3) The transfer of Orissa to Central Provinces and the conversion of that Province into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

In our view the scheme is open to the following objections which greatly outweigh any supposed advantages that may be claimed for it :—

- (1) The proposed Commission would not be large enough to recruit for itself and would, therefore, have to borrow officers as Assam does now. If it were attached for recruiting purposes to the United Provinces, as considerations of language would seem to suggest, it is probable that officers of those Provinces would be nearly as unwilling to serve in the new province as Bengal officers now are to go to Assam.

- (2) It would take from the Lower Provinces all of its best districts and would make the province universally unpopular.

(3) It would establish a final and insurmountable obstacle to the territorial expansion and administrative development of Assam. Even with the addition of the Chittagong division that province would not be large enough for independent recruitment, while the nature of the country excludes the possibility of its further extension eastward within anytime that it is possible to look forward to. There would thus be two anomalies instead of the one that exists now—on the East the unpopular Commission of Assam recruited from Bengal, and on the West the Commission of Behar and Chota Nagpur recruited under similar though perhaps less conspicuous disadvantages from the United Provinces."

Our scheme, it will be seen, is different from the above in the following *material* particulars:—(1) It does not entail the transfer of the Chittagong division from Bengal to Assam, but on the contrary it entails the abolition of the Chief Commissionership of Assam and the transfer of that province bodily to Bengal; (2) it includes the whole of the Bhagulpore division, except the Bengali district of Malda; (3) it does not entail the transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces, Orissa being included in the proposed Lieutenant-Governorship of Behar. The objections of the Government of India to the scheme, fragmentary as it was, are worthless. Let us consider these objections *seriatim*. (1) A new administration consisting of whole Behar, (why "possibly the districts of Monghyr and Bhagulpore" we are curious to know—are they not parts of Behar?) the Hindi speaking portions of Chota Nagpore and the whole of the Benares division will contain nearly 72,000 miles of territory and nearly 31½ millions of population, and it will be the fourth province in all India in point of area and population. It will be a province considerably larger than the Panjab and the Presidency of Bombay in population and *exactly equal in population to the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam which the partition has brought into being*. It is, therefore, absurd to urge that so large a province will be unable to recruit for itself. Are the Bombay Presidency and the Panjab, which are smaller than this Province would be in point of population, unable to recruit for themselves? Then again, why a province with a population of 31½ millions should have a Chief Commissioner and not a Lieutenant-Governor, all the more so as the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam with exactly the same population has been given a Lieutenant-Governor? (2) At the present day, since the outbreak of plague every year in all the Behar districts without exception and in the Benares division, from which the Bengal districts have fortunately escaped so far, the advantages which the Behar districts at one time possessed from a climatic point of view no longer exist; and the management of plague entails a heavy burden on Behar officers from which Bengal officers are wholly free, so that Bengal officers need not at all grumble if they cannot get transfer to Behar

districts. And, after all, this objection can never be a fatal one, for the members of the Civil Service are merely the servants of the public, and as the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale well said, their displeasure when it comes to "the trampling under foot of public opinion and the outraging of the deepest feelings of a whole people," cannot possibly count. (3) This objection may seem somewhat valid, although we do not admit that the administration of Behar, Chota Nagpore and Benares with a population of 31½ millions would be an administrative anomaly in any sense of the term, or from any point of view. This objection, however, cannot possibly apply to our scheme, the essence of which is the absorption of Assam into Bengal. Evidently the Government of India were in blissful ignorance of the figures of area and population involved in the alternative scheme discussed and discarded by them. Evidently, it was in similar blissful ignorance that Lord Curzon during his tour in Eastern Bengal, year before last, declared that the object of the Government would not be served by "snipping off outside fragments"—by which he probably meant the separation of Behar. It would seem that he hardly knew that Behar alone—the "outside fragment"—had an area and population equal to that of the Bombay Presidency. Fragmentary as this scheme was, it will be seen that even as it was, the scheme would have been infinitely superior in all essential respects to the scheme of partition which has been actually carried out, and over and above that it would not have alienated the affection of the Bengalees from the Government.

Our Ideally perfect alternative scheme.

Now let us give the figures of our scheme. The old Lieutenant-Governorship will consist of,—

		Area.	Population.
BENGAL.	Assam	52,959	5,841,878
	{ Rajshahi division	17,356	8,495,159
	{ Dacca division	15,040	10,793,988
	{ Chittagong division	11,773	4,737,731
	{ Burdwan division	13,949	8,240,076
	{ Presidency division	12,015	8,993,028
	{ District of Malda	1,899	884,303
	{ Feudatory States	8,211	799,313
Total		<u>133,202</u>	<u>48,785,503</u>

The new Lieutenant-Governorship of Behar (including Chota Nagpore) and Orissa will consist of—

		Area.	Population.
BEHAR.	{ Patna division	23,688	15,514,987
	{ Bhagalpore division minus Malda	19,612	7,841,988
	{ Chota Nagpore division	27,100	4,900,429
	{ Orissa division... ..	9,841	4,343,150
	{ Feudatory states	30,441	2,949,231
Total		<u>109,682</u>	<u>35,549,785</u>

We have advisedly omitted from the figures for the Lieutenant-Governorship of Behar, the area and population of the district of Darjeeling, for though under the scheme of partition already carried out, it has been tacked on to the Bhagulpore division of Behar, with a view to retain it in the old province, yet it is doubtful whether when Behar is separated from Bengal, it will remain with Behar. If Darjeeling remains in Behar, the above figures will be slightly better in favour of Behar; if it is taken back to Bengal these figures will stand as they are. But we hold the retention of Darjeeling in Behar to be a very counsel of perfection. United, Bengal, Bihar and Orissa have got two capitals, one summer and one winter, Darjeeling and Calcutta. Divided, it is reasonable to hold that the capitals, their joint possession, should also be divided, and it would be fair division for Bengal to retain the winter capital and give the summer capital to Behar, all the more so because Bengal will have another ready-made summer capital in Shillong, while Behar, if Darjeeling is denied to her, will be under some difficulty in finding out a summer capital, and even when one is found, the initial expense of equipping it as such will be heavy.

From this calculation we have, as before, omitted the area and population of the territories mutually transferred between the Lower Provinces and the Central Provinces, but this, as before pointed out, does not affect the calculations.

A glance at the figures of the scheme as carried out, and the scheme as proposed, will show that even on the mere score of area and population the latter is to be preferred to the former. The disparity in the area and the population of the divided parts is greater in the scheme as carried out than in the scheme now proposed. The scheme proposed provides for better approximation to equality of area and population, which is a very important consideration. While the difference in the areas of the two divided parts under the scheme, as carried out, is 29,623 miles, this difference is reduced to 23,520 miles in the alternative scheme. While the difference in the population of the two divided parts under the scheme as carried out is 21,479,607, this difference is reduced to 13,235,818 in the scheme as proposed. We presume it will be admitted that when we have got to divide a province into two parts, for the purposes of better administration, the areas and populations of the two divisions should be as far equal as possible. In the scheme as proposed, a nearer approach is made to this equality than in the scheme as carried out, and the logical conclusion follows that so far as area and population are concerned, the former is decidedly preferable to the latter. Then again, taking the two ostensible objects of partition, namely, the relief to the overgrown Government of the Lower Provinces

and the difficulty of governing an inordinately small Assam, we put it to Government to say whether these objects would not be better served by the scheme now proposed. If area and population are any criterion of the difficulty or the absence of difficulty in the government of a province, if a large area and a large population are the *sine qua non* of good government, then we put it to every reasonable man to say whether Assam would not be better off, if joined to a province of which the area and population, including those of Assam, would be 133,202 miles and 48,785,503 souls, than if joined to a province of which the area and population, including those of Assam, would be only 106,074 miles and 31,303,282 souls. As to relief to the overgrown Government of the Lower Provinces, it is sufficient to point out that under the scheme proposed we take away over 25,000 miles of territory and over 17 millions of people more than under the scheme as carried out, and if relief is to be obtained, by the transfer of territory and population, (and mind, this is the whole case of the Government of India for partition) then our scheme is certainly calculated to give better relief to the Government of the Lower Provinces, better in the sense that it transfers more territory and a larger population than under the scheme carried out.

It is, however, when we come to consider our scheme from the point of view of its geographical, sociological and linguistic aspects, that its immeasurable superiority over the scheme carried out becomes fully apparent. The Government of India say that their scheme keeps in view "well-recognised" geographical, ethnological, social, and linguistic characteristics. We have already seen how very fictitious and chimerical is the claim put forward by Government in this respect. We shall now point out that geographically, ethnologically, socially and linguistically our scheme is as near an ideal of perfection as it is ever possible to be. Those who know anything about the Indian provinces, are no doubt aware that the four countries of Bengal, Behar, Chota Nagpore and Orissa, that constituted the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Lower Provinces, until before partition, differ materially from one another in nearly everything pertaining to their physiography and sociology. The immense diversities that exist in these four countries in physical features, climates, nature of soil and agricultural produce, language, literature and alphabets, as also in the physique and character of their peoples and their historic traditions, are summarised below.

Physical features.

The three provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa agree with one another only in so far that they all consist of great river valleys,

thus differing from Chota Nagpore which is entirely a mountainous region. Orissa, comprising the rich deltas of the Mahanadi, is a narrow littoral strip of country and has got the physical characteristics of a sea-borne tract. It is inhabited by the people known after their country as Uriyas. The language spoken by them is called Uriya, which is descended, like the other Indo-Aryan vernaculars of to-day, from the Sanskrit, through the Prakrit, and is utterly unintelligible to a Bengali or a Beharī. It is not by any means a dialect of Bengalee as some ambitious Bengalees would try to make out. "Some years ago an attempt was made," says Mr. Baines in his *General Report of the Census of 1891*, "to degrade Uriya into a dialect of Bengali so as to exclude it from schools and public offices; but fortunately history and philosophy prevailed over political ambition and the elder language has held its own against its hybrid sister". The Uriya character in which the language is written is a modification of the Deva-Nagari but changed so far as to make it "remarkably complicated and awkward" and not decipherable by a Bengali or a Behari. The province of Orissa is inhabited, however, not only by the Uriya-speaking people, but also by a number of aboriginal tribes, each of whom has got its own dialect, the best known of these being that of the Khonds.

The Chota Nagpore plateau with its easterly projection of the Behar district of Santal Parganas, differs essentially in its physical features from the other three provinces. It lies between Behar and Orissa but stretches further westward deep into the hilly country. The plateau is a continuation of the Central India tableland, and is inhabited by, besides the Beharis who constitute its civilized population, a great many of the aboriginal tribes, who speak their own dialects. The plateau is on an average 3,000 feet above the level of the sea. It is on all sides difficult of access. It is a well-wooded, undulating country diversified by ranges of hills, and has a fine dry climate resembling that of Behar. A large portion of this province is inhabited by Beharis, principally the districts of Ranchi, Hazaribagh, and Palamau, and half the population of the Santal Parganas belongs to the same race. Thus about three-fourths of the population of the province of Chota Nagpore—including the Santal Parganas—consists of Beharis, and except for its being a plateau and partly inhabited by aboriginal tribes, it resembles Behar so far in its climate and its products that it is rightly looked upon, to all intents and purposes, as a part of the province of Behar. As the *Bengalee* remarked in its issue of January 16, 1904, in the course of a leading article:—"The population of the districts of Chota Nagpore is closely akin to the people of Behar, and as a matter of fact these districts have been always regarded as Behar districts. The non-aboriginal inhabitants

of Chota Nagpore differ little from those of the Behar districts." That the people of Chota Nagpore themselves regard themselves as Beharees, to all intents and purposes, is amply borne out by the following quotation from a memorial submitted by them to the Government of India anent the original proposal of Mr. Risley to transfer Chota Nagpore from the Lower to the Central Provinces:—

"The inhabitants of these districts are closely akin to the people of Behar, and as a matter of fact, too, they have been always looked upon as Behar districts. The non-aboriginal population of Chota Nagpore—so far as their spoken language, habits of life and social and religious customs are concerned—have no difference whatever from the people of the neighbouring districts of Behar."

The province of Bengal stretches along the coast from Orissa to Burma and inland from the sea-board to the Himalyas. Its northern portion consists of the valleys of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and their tributaries, while its southern portion is formed by the united deltas of these two great rivers. Thus the most distinctive physical feature of Bengal is its network of rivers. As Sir Richard Temple put it in his *Men and Events of my Time in India*:—"Bengal is essentially a river-kingdom; it possesses but few roads in comparison with other Indian provinces, but then it has for its highways the rivers threading and permeating the country like a net-work, and constituting natural channels of communication on a magnificent scale. The husbandman, village artisan, pedlar, or market gardener, does not keep a cart; he has a boat instead, in which he sculls along the watery ways with his produce, or his wares. Even the labourer or menial learns to paddle his conoe." Sir John Strachey writes as follows on the same subject in his *India*: "The rivers in Bengal render to a great extent the services which are rendered in other countries by the road. In many parts of the province a well-to-do man keeps his boat as elsewhere he would keep his cart. Railways have penetrated into most of the districts, but it is difficult for them to contend with the cheap water-carriage, and they will not diminish the usefulness of the rivers or materially lessen the traffic they carry. The great marts and entrepots of internal commerce are situated at convenient places on the chief rivers, and the agricultural produce of the country is carried off in all directions by the navigable channels." At Serajganj and other places whither cargo is transhipped "a floating city," in the words of Sir Richard Temple, "is actually formed on the river; on board of this vast flotilla markets are held, goods disposed of, even rates of exchange settled, and transactions proceed as if on land".

Of all these river-wonders, none can compare in its striking effect with that of the joint deltas of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, known as the "Sundar-bans," and Sir William Hunter's

graphic description of this part of Bengal, extracted from the *Imperial Gazetteer*, will bear quotation:—

“The delta of the Ganges, and with it the delta of the Brahmaputra is indistinguishably mixed up, and where it borders on the sea, becomes a labyrinth of creeks and rivers, running through the dense forests of the Sunder-bans and exhibiting during the annual inundations the appearance of an immense sea. Higher up the rice-fields to the extent of thousands of square miles are submerged. The scene presents a panorama of singular novelty and interest—the crops covered with water; the ears of grain floating on the surface; the stupendous embankments, which restrain, without altogether preventing the excesses of the inundations; and peasants in all quarters going out to their daily work with their cattle on canoes or on rafts. The navigable streams which fall into or diverge from the Ganges, intersect the country in every direction, and afford abundant facilities for internal communication. In many parts boats can approach, by means of lakes, rivulets, and water-courses to the door of almost every cottage. The lower region of the Ganges is the richest and most productive portion of Bengal and abounds in valuable produce.”

The whole country is thus intersected everywhere by the channels and tributaries of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, and one can understand what Sir William Hunter meant when he wrote that if “Lower Egypt was the gift of the Nile, according to her priests in the age of Herodotus, the vast province of Bengal is in the strictest scientific sense the gift of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra.”

The above description is wholly inapplicable to Behar, which differs materially in its physical features from Bengal. On the other hand, Behar is physically indistinguishable from the United Provinces. The river Ganges and its tributaries, while, of great utility to the people, do not occupy in Behar the position that they do in Bengal. Roads and railways have to take the place in Behar of the navigable channels of Bengal, while bullock-carts have to be laid in requisition in place of the canoes which are so useful in Bengal. In fact, excepting that both the provinces are flat countries, there is absolutely no other resemblance in their physical characteristics.

Climates.

Bengal and Behar differ as much in their climates as in their physical features. The climate of Bengal is damp and, to quote the *Bengal Administration Report for 1901-2*, “the high humidity of the atmosphere of Bengal has become proverbial.” This high humidity renders the climate unhealthy during a great part of the year, and its effect is quite marked on the physique of the people who inhabit that province. It also produces—to quote the *Administration Report* again—during the summer and the rains, “that oppressive feeling of sultriness which is so trying to persons accustomed to the drier atmosphere of Behar.” The “drier atmosphere of Behar” renders

its climate salubrious. Although in summer months the heat in Behar is greater than that in Bengal, still there is not that "oppressive feeling of sultriness" which in Bengal, in spite of the greater prevalence of cloud and rain, renders the climate so trying. On the other hand, Behar enjoys the advantage of having a much colder winter, with an agreeable and bracing climate to which Bengal can show no parallel. Behar is also free from the unpleasant hot-weather storms of Bengal called "nor-westers," which are generally accompanied by heavy rain-showers, and occasionally by hail, as well as from the dreadful cyclones which form the worst climatic feature of Bengal. The effect of the healthier climate of Behar, as compared with that of Bengal—of its pleasantly cold winter and dry summer and its salubrious climate in general—is clearly discernible in the constitution of the people who inhabit the province.

Nature of the soil and productive resources.

Turning now to the nature of the soil and the productive resources of Bengal and Behar we find here as much dissimilarity as under any of the previous heads. "The districts of the whole of Bengal—the great alluvial and deltaic plain between the Himalayas and the Bay of Bengal, a level area of nearly one hundred thousand square miles, unbroken by a single hill, rich in black mould, and of boundless reproductive fertility, subject to recurrent inundation, and enjoying natural facilities such as no other country in the world possesses for internal commerce and irrigation, constitute," we are told in the *Administration Report*, "the great rice-producing area of India." Although pulses, vegetables, condiments, fruits are produced in abundance in Bengal, "the great agricultural staple, more important than any other," says Sir John St. Leger, in his *India* "is rice, which constitutes the chief food of the people."

The soil of Behar and Chota Nagpore, on the other hand, is not adapted to the cultivation of paddy. Although a fair quantity of rice is produced, the most important food staple of these two provinces, which takes the place of rice in Bengal, is the more nutritious wheat. "In Bengal," says the *Administration Report*, "wheat is not one of the chief articles of consumption," as it is in Behar, "where it forms an important food-staple." Besides wheat, the other food staples of Behar and Chota Nagpore—which take the place of rice in Bengal—are *sharua*, barley, maize or Indian corn, and millets (*cheenu* and *sawani*). These latter form the staple food of the vast bulk of the people of Behar and Chota Nagpore, while wheat is generally used by the higher classes. In Bengal, however, rice "forms the chief article of human food."

There is also an equally great difference in the commercial staples of the two provinces. Leaving aside minor commercial products, the great commercial staple of Bengal is jute. As "the

plant flourishes most in a hot damp atmosphere, with a heavy rainfall and a rich alluvial soil, it is," says the *Administration Report*, "scarcely grown outside Bengal, and in Behar and Chota Nagpore the place of jute is taken by other kind of fibres." Leaving aside linseed, which we are told in the *Report* "is the chief oilseed crop of Behar," as the "damper districts of Bengal are not well suited to its cultivation," opium takes in Behar the first and the most important place amongst the articles of commerce. As is well known, the cultivation of opium is a Government monopoly, and it is one of the principle sources of revenue to the Government of India. Thus one of the principal sources of Indian revenue is a produce of Behar and of no other part of the Lower Provinces. On account of the great difference in the nature of the soil and the climatic conditions of the provinces, a great number of crops, both food-staples and those used for the purposes of commerce, are grown in either Bengal or Behar, just as the physical conditions of either province admit.

Languages.

Coming now to the languages spoken in the Lower Provinces, as they stood before partition, we find the same un-homogeneity that we have found so far in other respects. Leaving aside the language spoken by the numerous aboriginal tribes in different parts of the provinces, the three chief vernaculars are Bengali, Hindi and Uriya. Uriya as stated above is the language of Orissa. Outside Orissa the language is spoken in the adjoining portions of Madras and the Central Provinces, on which ground the Government of India at first proposed the amalgamation of these tracts with the Orissa division, the whole being placed under the administration of the Lower Provinces. Hindi (or more correctly "Behari" according to Dr. Grierson) is the language of Behar and of the greater portion of Chota Nagpore, while Bengali is spoken throughout the whole of Bengal, including the Malda district. In Chota Nagpore, Bengali is spoken in the district of Manbhoom, in portions of the Santal Parganas, as also to some extent in the Singhbhum district. Outside its eastern political limits, it is spoken in western Goalpara and in the districts of Sylhet and Cachar, which are portions of Bengal, but which were incorporated with the Assam Chief Commissionership in 1874. Taking the entire population of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Lower Provinces, as they stood before partition, we find that Bengali is the vernacular of 50 per cent., Hindi of 34 per cent., and Uriya of 6 per cent. of the population. The vernaculars of the aboriginal tribes are spoken by the remaining 10 per cent. of the population.

The three principal vernaculars of the Lower provinces—Bengali, Hindi and Uriya—are, along with the other modern Indo-Aryan

languages, descended from the ancient Sanskrit through the Prakrit, but the fact of this common descent does not render the speakers of these languages at all intelligible to one another and does not thus act as "a uniting force". As put by the late lamented Professor Sir John Seeley, in his *Expansion of England*:—"So much has been said by philologists about Sanskrit and its affinities with other languages that it is necessary to remark that it is an obvious community of language of which the test is intelligibility and not some hidden affinity that acts as a uniting force. Thus the Italians regarded the Austrians as foreigners because they could not understand German, without troubling themselves to consider that German as well as Italian is an Indo-European language." There is, no doubt, philological affinity among all the Aryan languages of India as there is among those of Europe. The Indo-Aryan languages may be compared with the Romance group of the allied Indo-European languages, but the philological affinity of Bengali, Hindi and Uriya no more makes those who speak them one people in the one case than the speakers of Italian, French and Spanish in the other. Some zealously patriotic Bengalees not only try to make out Assamese and Uriya to be mere dialects of Bengali—patois of it, if you like—but try their best to minimise the vast linguistic differences that exist at present between the languages of Bengal and Behar. For instance, the late Mr. Guruprasad Sen in his interesting work *An Introduction to the Study of Hinduism* wrote as follows:—"The Bengali has branched out from the Hindi within the last 300 years. The poetry of Kabikankan, Vidyapati and Govind Dass might with slight changes be published as Hindi works and an edition of 'Chaitanya Charitamrita' might be published in Hindi without any change at all. The differentiation indeed of Hindi and Bengali is only clearly discernible in the 18th century, and it is unhappily the aim of our modern Bengalee authors to make it more marked." The passage as it stands is misleading. According to that well-known historian of Bengali literature, Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, C.L.E.—a scholar of established reputation and one whose opinion on questions connected with the language and literature of Bengal is undoubtedly entitled to much greater weight, on account of his being one of the foremost writers of the day in Bengali, and also on account of his position as the first President of the Bengal Academy of Literature, than that of the late Mr. Guruprasad Sen—Bengali was a distinct language somewhere about 500 years ago. Says Mr. Dutt in his *Literature of Bengal*: "Hindi received literary recognition in the twelfth century after Christ, Bengali in the fourteenth century". And again:—"The stream of Bengali literature began to flow as early as the fourteenth century of the Christian era. Chaucer of England and Chandidas of Bengal were well nigh contemporaneous writers and

five hundred years have rolled away since Chandidas first wrote and sang."

As to Vidyapati whom Mr. Sen impliedly took for a Bengali poet, a reference to Dr. Grierson's *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* would show that Vidyapati was not a Bengali but a native of Behar. The poet was a native of North Behar or Tirhoot (ancient Mithila) where his descendants still hold the village which he acquired under a deed of gift from the Raja Siva Singha. "Vidyapati, the earliest poet of Behar", says Mr. R. C. Dutt, "composed his songs in the vernacular of Behar in the fourteenth century, and it is probable that Chandidas—the earliest vernacular poet of Bengal—was only an imitator of Vidyapati and drew his inspiration from his contemporary of Behar. Thus the earliest Bengali poetry that is extant, is indebted to the earliest poetry of Behar." This testimony from an impartial literary historian like Mr. Dutt is of much greater value than the opinion of a political theorist like Mr. Guru Prasad Sen, who, to prove his contention that the different races of India were fast forming a compact nation, minimised as much as he could, the difference in language between the peoples of Bengal and Behar. Granting, however, that Bengali branched off from Hindi only 300 years ago, and that the language used by some of the earliest Bengali poets is not very much removed from the Hindi of the same period, it is undeniable that the two languages have been distinct for at least three centuries and that considering the tendency of modern Bengali writers to Sanskritise their language—a fact referred to by Mr. Sen himself—there is hardly any reason to believe that the two languages will ever coalesce to form a single language. As it is, a vast gulf divides the speakers of the two languages and the line of cleavage is quite marked between Bengali speakers and Hindi speakers even when they inhabit—as for instance in Purneah—the same district. Few of the domiciled Bengalis—who have been living in Behar and the United Provinces for several generations, following professions like the bar and the medicine, which bring them in contact with all sorts and conditions of men—succeed in completely mastering Hindi and their knowledge of the language of the land of their adoption is seldom above that possessed by the majority of Anglo-Indians. It remains to be added that the character in which Bengali is written, is, like that of Uriya, a modification of the Deva-Nagri, but changed so far as to be quite unintelligible to the writers of Hindi. Hindi is still written in the original Deva-Nagari character, as also in Kaithi, which is a running hand of the Nagari.

Character of the different races.

To complete the sketch of the Lower Provinces, as they stood before partition, a few words should be said as to the character of

the different races. Leaving the aboriginal tribes, the three principal races of the Lower Provinces are the Bengalis, the Beharis and the Uriyas. It being a well established fact that the configuration of a country, its physical features, its climate, the nature of its soil, its natural resources and its food-supply, have a very great influence in forming the character of its population, it would be realized at once that there would naturally be very great difference between the Bengalis and the Beharis in this respect. It will be sufficient to refer here in support of this view the official testimony of Mr. (afterwards Justice) Beverley, in his *Report of the Census of Bengal* quoted above (p. 17).

The Beharis belong ethnologically and sociologically to the Hindustani race, speaking the same language and identical in their manners and customs with the Hindustanis of the United Provinces and parts of the Punjab, the Central Provinces, Central India and Rajputana. To show the vast difference in the character of the two races we are describing, it will be sufficient to quote but one testimony of so distinguished an official as Sir John Malcolm. We read in Prof. MaxMuller's *India: What Can It Teach Us*:—"After describing the people of Bengal, as weak in body and timid in mind, Sir John continues: 'But from the moment you enter the districts of Behar, the inhabitants are a race of men, generally speaking, not more distinguished by their lofty stature and noble frame than they are for some of the finest qualities of the mind. They are brave, generous, humane, and their truth is as remarkable as their courage'." It would be useless to add anything to the descriptions given by Mr. Beverley and Sir John Malcolm to bring out the vast gulf that divides the two races. It is but natural that peoples born and bred up under conditions of life so entirely different, due to the physical and the climatic conditions of their respective countries, should materially differ from each other in character. If anything were needed, however, to show that the Bengalis and the Beharis do not form one people, but regard themselves as separate and distinct nationalities the following resolutions,—deliberately adopted at two public meetings held in Calcutta on the 18th March, 1901 and on the 7th August, 1905—in which the Bengalis speak of themselves as a "nation," place the matter beyond any doubt:—

(1) "That the division of the Bengali nation into separate units and the disruption of its historical, social and linguistic ties would seriously interfere with the intellectual, social and material progress of the people, which it has always been a part of the traditional policy of the British Government in India to foster and to stimulate."

(2) "That this meeting emphatically protests against the resolution of Government on the partition of Bengal. It is unnecessary, arbitrary and un-

just, and, being in deliberate disregard of the opinion of the entire Bengali nation, has aroused a feeling of distrust against the present administration, which cannot conduce to the good government of the country."

The Maharajah of Cossimbazar in presiding over the great mass meeting in Calcutta held on the 7th August, 1905, spoke as follows:—

"Among the six divisions of the old province, there will be left only a division and a half containing a Bengali-speaking population. We shall be in a hopeless minority, and the prospect of public employment of our people will dwindle in the proportion of our numerical insignificance. We shall be strangers in our own land."

Surely, if the Bengalis and the Beharis were one people, the above has absolutely no meaning. How can you be in a 'hopeless minority' if the two are one people? Why does the question of public employment of 'our people' disturb your mind when 'our people' and that of Behar are one people? Aye, there is the rub! And there is the whole genesis of the Bengalee opposition to the separation of Behar.

Historical.

During the Behar separation controversy of 1896, the *Englishman* wrote as follows:—"Historically Behar is not a part of Bengal and in Mahomedan times it was always a distinct province of the Empire, while ethnic and linguistic differences still sharply divide it from the rest of the Lower Provinces. The Behar vernaculars are dialects of Hindi allied to the dialects spoken in the United Provinces, while the people themselves have an equally close affinity." We have already seen the correctness of that part of the *Englishman's* statement which deals with the ethnic, linguistic and sociological conditions in general of the two peoples. It would be sufficient to note here few points on the historical aspect of the question. Behar emerges into Indian history long before we hear anything of Bengal. The salient points of the remarkable history of Behar are well summarised by Mr. E. A. Gait in his *Report of the Census of the Lower Provinces, 1901*:—

"The Province of Behar is known to us from very early times. The ancient kingdom of Magadha comprised the country now included in the districts of Patna, Gaya and Shahabad. Its capital was at Rajagriha, some thirty miles north-east of Gaya. North of the Ganges was Videha or Mithila, which included the modern districts of Darbhanga, Saran, Champaran, and Muzzaffarpore; the south of the latter district constituted the small kingdom of Vaisali. To the east lay Anga, including Monghyr, Bhagalpore and Purnea, as far as the Mahananda river. There are constant references to these countries in the *Mahabharata*. Magadha is even mentioned under the name of Kikata in the *Rigveda*. It was in Magadha that Buddha developed his religion and that Mahavira founded the cognate creed of the Jains. Soon after Buddha's death, a Sudra named Nanda wrested the throne from the Kshatriyas and founded a new dynasty. He made his capital at the confluence of the Sone and the Ganges near the modern Patna. Chandra Gupta, a contemporary of Alexander the

Great, overthrow this family and founded the Maurya dynasty. He successfully resisted Seleucus one of Alexander's generals and it was at his court that Megasthenes compiled his great work on India. His grandson, Asoka, established a hegemony over the whole of Northern India including a great part of Bengal and Orissa. He was the great protagonist of Buddhism and sent his missionaries to every known country. In the fourth century the Gupta dynasty rose to power. Their capital, also was at Patna, and their supremacy was acknowledged by the kings of Bengal and Kamrupa. They were Hindus by religion. In Hiuen Tsang's time North Behar was divided into Vriti to the north and Vaisali to the south, both countries stretching eastwards to the Mahananda. South of the Ganges were Hiranya Parvana (Monghyr) and Champa (South Bhagalpore, the Santhal Parganas, and Birbhūm). The rulers of both these kingdoms were probably Khetauris of Mal origin. In the ninth century the Buddhist dynasty founded by Gopala included Magadha in its dominions, and eventually fixed its capital at Qdantapuri. The last of this line was defeated in 1197 A. D. by Bakhtyar Khilji whose soldiers destroyed Odantapuri and massacred the Buddhist monks assembled there."

Incidentally in discussing the languages of the Lower Provinces we have shown on the authority of Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt, how Bengal derived her earliest literary culture from Behar. But a longer passage from the same distinguished writer's *Literature of Bengal* might profitably be quoted here to show that the culture of Bengal is to a large extent derived from and based on that of the geographically distinct province of Behar :

"Mithila or North Behar was one of the most advanced kingdoms in India from the time of Janaka in the epic age, and took a prominent part in the progress of philosophy and thought which marked the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ. It is possible that Gautama the founder of logic flourished in Behar; it is certain that logical studies were kept up in schools of Mithila by an uninterrupted succession of scholars and teachers. Pakshadhara Misra was the last of these eminent scholars, and had his crowded school of logic in Mithila in the fifteenth century; and Vasudeb of Nabadwip was one of the scholars who learnt logic in his school. In fact North Behar was one of the most cultured kingdoms in ancient India. Among all the nations of the epic age the Vidhas of Mithila were considered the most cultured. And when the nations of epic age declined in power, the Maghadhas of South Behar took the lead, and were for centuries the most powerful and the most enlightened nation in India. There can be little doubt that Bengal was first colonized by Aryans from Behar, i.e., from the sister kingdoms of Mithila and Magadha, and that for two thousand years Bengal received culture and knowledge from her western sister. And when the light of modern literature, philosophy and religious reform dawned on Bengal in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, we still mark that the light proceeded from the west. Chandidas' poetry was inspired by Vidyapati and other poets of Mithila; Chaitanya's reform was a survival and revival of the monastic Buddhism of Magadha; Raghunath's school of logic was an offshoot of the schools of Mithila; and lastly Raghunandan's compilation of sacred laws was in imitation of such compilations made in Mithila."

Of the history of Bengal "very little is known," as Mr. Gait rightly points out, "until the rise of the Pal dynasty," i. e.,

during the 9th century, and it was not long before it fell a prey to the Afghans and the Moghuls. Compared in fact with the hoary historic traditions of Behar, running far back into a dim distant past which takes us to the days of Gautama Buddha and Asoka, those of Bengal are but of yesterday, and we have seen above in the extract from Mr. Romesh Dutt's book, the *Literature of Bengal*, that "for two thousand years Bengal received culture and knowledge from her western sister"—Behar. During Musalman rule Behar always formed—with or without the districts now comprised in the Benares division of the United Provinces—a separate province and is shown as such in the *Ayeen-i-Akbari*. It was not till after Aurangzeb's death that Bengal and Behar came to be united under the Nawab Nazim and which led the Emperor Shah Alum to deal with them together, when conferring them on the East India Company in 1765.

During Mahomedan times Patna was the seat of the provincial government. Coming to the British period it was after the decisive battle of Buxar, that the civil authority over Bengal, Behar and Orissa was conferred in perpetuity on the East India Company by the Emperor Shah Alum under a royal grant in August, 1765. Immediately following this grant, the Company arranged that the Resident at the Nawab Nazim's Court should inspect the management of the Naib Dewan and a chief should superintend the collections of the province of Behar under the immediate management of a distinguished Behari, Raja Shitab Rai. In 1770 "Councils with superior authority" were established at Murshidabad and Patna. In 1776 the superintendence of the collection of revenue was vested in Provincial Councils, one of which was located at Patna. One of the earliest District Courts was established in Patna, as also one of the four Provincial Courts of Circuit and Appeal. In 1817 the "Board of Commissioners in Behar and Benares" was established and was vested with all the authority which had been previously enjoyed by the Board of Revenue in Calcutta,—which shows that even under British rule it was recognized that the affinity of Behar is with the United Provinces and not with Bengal. In 1822, the duties, powers and authority exercised by the "Board of Commissioners in Behar and Benares" were extended to the division of Bundelkhand and the districts of Allahabad and Cawnpore, and the Board was denominated the "Board of Revenue for the Central Provinces," which again shows that it was considered convenient and natural to treat Behar and portions of what is now called the Province of Agra as one homogeneous tract. Up to 1834 the whole of the British possessions in Upper India constituted the Presidency of Fort William and was directly administered by the Governor-General in Council. In that year, however, the Governor-General of Fort

William became the Governor-General of India and the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal was then governed by him in his capacity of a provincial Governor without a Council. At the same time power was given by the Parliamentary Statute for the creation of a separate Governorship of Agra, a Lieutenant-Governor being substituted for a Governor in 1836. In 1854 the Governor-General ceased to have any personal connection with the Government of the Lower Provinces which was then for the first time placed under a Lieutenant-Governor; but the real separation of the Upper Provinces from the Lower Provinces dates from 1836, and because Behar was not then included within the territories thus separated, it is no argument to say that Behar became a possession of Bengal and inseparable from it and not entitled to have an independent existence. The present connection of Behar with Bengal is the result of variable administrative changes described above, and there is no ground to hold it as fixed and immutable as destiny. And now that we are at the end of our survey, we hope, we have been able to conclusively establish our contention that Bengal and Behar have nothing in common with each other, and that the same arguments which tell against the dismemberment of Bengal apply *mutatis mutandis* in favour of the separation of Behar and Chota Nagpore. The same view has found expression in the writings of some of the eminent Anglo-Indian and Indian administrators. As Mr. Romesh Chandra Dutt remarked in his *Peasantry of Bengal*:—"There are many essential differences in manners, customs and habits of living, which distinguish the people of Bengal from those of Behar and Chota Nagpore." And Sir John Strachey writes in his *India: its Administration and Progress*, that "the physical conditions, the character of the population and the languages of these four provinces are all different." Mr. Dilawar Husain wrote in 1904 on the same subject as follows:—"Mr. Bhupendra Nath Bose remarked at the Town Hall meeting that 'Beharis belong to the race that inhabits Upper India,' and he was right, for the difference between Bengal and Behar are vast and manifold. The language, the character in which it is written, the castes, the food and dress, and the history and tradition of Behar are all essentially different from those of Bengal, but they are precisely the same as those of other parts of Upper India (Hindustan proper); so are, I am sure, the sympathies as well as the affinities of Behar."

The situation has been well summed up by one of the greatest living Indianists, Dr. G. A. Grierson, C. I. E., who in his essay on the Languages of India contributed to the *Report of the Census of India, 1901*, writes as follows:—"Behar has been for centuries much more closely connected politically with the United

Provinces than with Bengal. The face of the Beharis is ever turned towards the North-West, and they have long desired to sever all connection with the people of Bengal." In spite, therefore, of the political connection that has now subsisted under British rule between Bengal and Behar for so many years, they are to-day, it need hardly be said, as distinct in everything as ever. As was well put by the *Pioneer*:—"Behar has always been Behar, Bengal Bengal. The people and the nobles of Behar are justly proud of their country and will doubtless rejoice to see it severed from a common rule with Bengal, with which in climate, in crops, in men, manners or morals, historic traditions or administrative problems, it has nothing in common."

**Necessary deductions—how the alternative scheme
is ideally perfect.**

As a result of this somewhat lengthy reference to the geographical, sociological and historical conditions of Bengal and Behar and of the application of the same to the scheme carried out and the scheme proposed, the following conclusions become irresistible:—(a) that the scheme carried out divides a homogeneous people, the Bengalis, into two parts, and places the two different parts under two different administrations, and that this is wholly avoided by the scheme proposed; (b) that while the concentration of the Muhammadan population of Bengal (although this is not wholly effected) is regarded as a great recommendation of the scheme carried out, the concentration of the larger Bengali population is lost sight of, and that this is avoided by the scheme proposed under which there will be concentration of all the Bengalis—both Hindus and Mahomedans of Bengal—under one administration; (c) that while under the scheme carried out, there would be joined together under one administration three unhomogeneous peoples, namely, the Bengalis, the Beharis and the Uriyas; under the scheme proposed, there would be only two unhomogeneous peoples, namely, the Beharis and the Uriyas joined together under one administration, while in the other administration there would be Bengalis and Assamese as at present; (d) that under the scheme carried out, one administration will have to confront three distinct languages, and the other administration two, while under the scheme proposed, each administration will have to deal with two languages—a very important consideration affecting the transfer of officers from one part of the province to the other; (e) that while under the scheme carried out, the boundaries of the two provinces are arbitrarily fixed without the least reference to geographical, ethnological, social and linguistic considerations; under the

scheme proposed these boundaries would be placed upon a well-marked and clearly defined basis, and all these considerations, in addition to historical traditions, would be distinctly and emphatically kept in view; (f) that while under the scheme carried out, one province and a half, namely Assam and half of Bengal, go under one administration and $3\frac{1}{2}$ provinces, namely, $\frac{1}{2}$ Bengal, Behar, Chota Nagpore and Orissa under the other; under the scheme proposed no one province is divided, and Assam is joined to Bengal as a whole, while the other administration is made up of three whole provinces, namely, Behar, Chota Nagpore, and Orissa; (g) that while under the scheme carried out, $1\frac{1}{2}$ peoples, *i.e.*, $\frac{1}{2}$ Bengalis and all Assamese, go under one administration, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ peoples, *i.e.*, $\frac{1}{2}$ Bengalis, all Biharis and all Uriyas go under the other; under the scheme proposed, 2 whole peoples, *i.e.*, all the Bengalis and all the Assamese, go under one administration, and 2 whole peoples, *i.e.*, all the Beharis and all the Uriyas, (the people of Chota Nagpur being Beharis) go under the other; and lastly, (h) that while the partition as carried out has been effected in the face of the bitterest hostility of the Bengalis—such a hostility as they had never before exhibited with reference to any measure of Government, and a hostility which has all the elements in it of becoming a permanent source of danger, a condition of affairs that will surely not make for the progress of the new province—the partition, as proposed, will be gladly acquiesced in by the Bengalis (in fact, it has now been proposed by them), and will be received with enthusiastic joy by the people of Behar and Chota Nagpore as the fulfilment of a long-deferred hope and as a measure of political salvation for them. Rightly did the *Pioneer* point out in 1903 that, “*if we are to operate with the consent of the patient, Behar is a much better subject for amputation.*” It would be superfluous to say anything more about the comparative merits and demerits of the two schemes.

A supplementary proposal.

We have another proposal to make. As the Government has lent its mind to large re-distribution of territory among the different administrations, with a view to equalise the burden imposed upon them, and has laid under contribution the Central Provinces in order to make Bengal more symmetrical, and it was originally proposed to lay under contribution the Presidency of Madras as well—as, in fact, the virtue which is supposed to hedge in the gospel of accomplished facts is at a discount at present, and, moreover, as the Government of India in their Despatch, dated 3rd December, 1903, say that “the question of territorial and administrative re-distribution in India is, indeed, in our judgment one of the most urgent and vital of the many problems for which we are at present

endeavouring to find a solution"—our proposal is to give the Benares division back to Behar to which it rightfully belongs, both geographically, sociologically and historically. Just see what an immense gain it would be from different points of view. It would materially relieve the United Provinces by about 7 thousand miles of territory and by about 5 millions of population. It is admitted in Mr. Risley's famous letter, dated 3rd December, 1903, that "the Government of the United Provinces (with 112 square miles of territory and 48,493,000 people), has already in respect of area and population a sufficiently heavy charge." Does it not strike the Government of India that the question of some relief to the United Provinces will become a pressing one, twenty years hence, when the population will, in all human probability, be doubled or half as much more, and is it not therefore wise to administer that relief betimes? By doing so two additional important purposes would be served, besides the relief to the United Provinces:—1st, it would more nearly equalise the area and population under the Government of Behar, as proposed, and the Government of the United Provinces, and that both would make a nearer approach to the area and population that would be left to Bengal and Assam; 2ndly, it would concentrate all the permanently-settled tracts of the country under only two administrations—instead of under three, as is the case under the scheme carried out. The Permanent Settlement of Lord Cornwallis prevails throughout the Benares division, in common with Bengal and Behar, but in the rest of the United Provinces it does not. It would be a great relief to the Government of the United Provinces to be rid of these permanently-settled tracts of the country, for it must be a great strain to be called upon to administer one system of land revenue in a fractional portion and another system of land revenue in the rest of the territory under its sway. We put forward this proposal as a real counsel of perfection, but it is not in essence bound up with the alternative proposal which we bring forward for the partition of the Lower Provinces and the Government may accept or reject the former proposal and still carry through the latter.

Miscellaneous.

It has been openly asserted by even some Anglo-Indian critics of the Government scheme that its object is to stem the tide of the growing solidarity of the Bengalis and to check their onward political career, which is materially assisted by the compactness of the people, due to the whole Bengali community being under one administration. The Bengali papers are openly saying that it is with sinister motives that the Government have carried through their scheme in the face of such a solid opposition. Even the *Statesman*, a leading Anglo-Indian

paper of Calcutta, deliberately says that in carrying through their own partition scheme, the Government are actuated by sinister motives. According to that paper these motives are :—

“ First, to destroy the collective power of the Bengali people ; secondly, to overthrow the political ascendancy of Calcutta ; and, thirdly, to foster in East Bengal the growth of a Mahomedan power which it is hoped will have the effect of keeping in check the rapidly growing strength of the educated Hindu community.”

Be that as it may, there can be no doubt that by refusing to accept the alternative scheme which we have set forth—a scheme for which we claim more than can be asserted for the Government's measure—the Government would be certainly giving a handle to their opponents to impugn their conduct as actuated by sinister motives.

Whether the partition of Bengal as carried out is irreversible, or whether Government will adopt the alternative scheme and thereby put an end to the frenzy of despair which has seized several millions of people, and at the same time bring gladness to the hearts of several millions of other people, remains to be seen. But if the present scheme of partition is persisted in, the Beharis have, at any rate, the right to insist that in the nomenclature of the old province, the name of their province should come first, and that the old Lower Provinces as left by partition, should be called the Province of “ Behar, West Bengal and Orissa.” The reason for this claim is plain ; the Beharis are by far and away the predominant partner in the old province both in point of area and population ; it is therefore but fair that they should give the first name to the confederacy, and it would be a grievous wrong to the people of Behar if their claim in this respect is ignored. The Behar Landholders' Association, which is a leading Association composed of the territorial magnates of the province, and which is held so high in the estimation of the Government that it has been given the right to recommend a member to the provincial Legislative Council, has already taken up this question, and the following resolution which was, significantly enough, moved by a Bengali, who has settled in Behar—Raja Shib Chander Banerji, of Bhagulpore—was unanimously passed at a recent meeting held under the presidency of the Hon'ble Maharajah Bahadur Sir Rameshwara Singh, K. C. I. E., of Durbhunga :—

“ That in view of the fact that by the partition of Bengal, which has already been accomplished, Behar becomes the predominant partner, both in point of area and population in the Presidency of Fort William as now constituted, this Association (as soon as the validity of the partition is placed beyond doubt) should memorialise the Local Government, and if need be, the Imperial Government, that the said province be now designated as the Province of Behar, West Bengal and Orissa, and the Lieutenant-Governor be in

future addressed as the Lieutenant-Governor of Behar, West Bengal and Orissa."

Conclusion.

To the Beharis themselves we have to address ourselves at this critical juncture in their history in the words of Moulvi Dilawar Hussain, Khan Bahadur, whom we have already quoted. In the course of an article contributed in 1904 to the *Moslem Chronicle*, that eminent Bengali Muhammadan delivered himself as follows:—

"In all parts of the world, in Europe, America, Australasia and Africa, there is a strong tendency to unite peoples belonging to a common race or having a common history; but in India, and in India alone, the Government desires to disunite people who possess a common history and a common ancestry and to keep peoples joined together whose descent and history are absolutely dissimilar. The Bhagalpur and Patna divisions, constituting Behar, and the Chota Nagpur division, are quite fit to form a distinct administration—with or without the Benares division of the United Provinces—and quite fit to form a Government under a Lieutenant-Governor, with a Board of Revenue, a Legislative Council, and a High Court. *I am surprised that the people of Behar should have let slip such an opportune moment.* Behar is the place where the greatest of the sons of India founded the religion of self-abnegation and self-sacrifice—a religion which rules the motives and governs the conduct of hundreds of millions of people. Time was when Behar gave sovereigns to the whole of Northern India, and this Behar has now so degenerated that it feels a pride to follow humbly at the heels of Bengal, so degenerated that the people are content if the name of their country is lapsing out of use, and the Government of the Lower Provinces is called simply the Government of Bengal—instead of the Government of Bengal and Behar. If they possessed the smallest self-respect, the people of Behar should be ashamed to bear their country called the Bæotia of India, and should be prepared to resent the name of Behar being ignored and allowed to fall into oblivion, in the nomenclature of their provincial Government, and if they had acquired the slightest political or national consciousness, they should never have allowed such a grand opportunity to be lost—an opportunity which they will not yet gain within the present generation."

We commend these words to the Beharis as fully expressing our own views on the subject, and deliberately say to them that it is a question of Now or Never. "Awake, Arise or be for ever Fallen."

Select Press Opinions on the *Hindustan Review*.

I.—BRITISH AND ANGLO-INDIAN.

1. **THE Pioneer** (Anglo-Indian daily, Allahabad).—We have more than once congratulated the *Hindustan Review*—an ably-conducted monthly containing really excellent articles—on the place it has taken in periodical journalism. The moderation, which generally characterises its discussion of public events and of the acts of the Government, naturally carries infinite weight. It would be well if there were more journals inspired by the spirit of the *Hindustan Review*. It appears in the garb of a first-class monthly and has much more the appearance of coming from Fleet Street than from an Indian Press. Mr. Sinha has brought his review well to the front, and it is appreciated by English readers, who desire to keep in touch with the views and interests of the educated Indian community.

2. **THE Englishman** (Anglo-Indian daily, Calcutta).—The *Hindustan Review* has attained a very high standard of excellence.

3. **THE Statesman** (Anglo-Indian daily, Calcutta).—Among Indian periodicals few, if any, compare in general excellence with the *Hindustan Review*, which comes out in an admirable form. It is a well-edited, substantial, attractive and excellently-printed review. Its contents are good, varied and interesting. It is a creditable addition to the ranks of journalism, and the editor deserves to be well supported, since the charge for a single copy is only 8 annas.

4. **THE Indian Daily News** (Anglo-Indian daily, Calcutta).—The *Hindustan Review*, in a garb in keeping with its excellent character, is as well-printed as some of the best-known London periodicals, and its contents are varied and interesting. An attractive feature is the survey of the month by the editor. We have here the well-matured opinions of a gentleman of culture, stated with moderateness, openness and courage. The *Hindustan* is undeniably one of the ablest exponents of the popular view.

5. **THE Civil and Military Gazette** (Anglo-Indian daily, Lahore).—Among Indian periodicals a high place must be accorded to the *Hindustan Review*, published under the able editorship of Mr. Sinha, which has won for itself a well-earned reputation for moderation and sanity of judgment. There is a great variety of interest in its articles, and among its contributors are men who have won distinction in almost every walk of life in India.

6. **THE Indian Daily Telegraph** (Anglo-Indian daily, Lucknow).—The *Hindustan Review* is very attractive. It is an interesting addition to the press and is an excellent publication for the quality and the variety of its contributions.

7. **THE Madras Mail** (Anglo-Indian daily).—The *Hindustan Review*, which contains contributions on questions of general interest, is conducted on excellent lines. Its contents are varied and interesting, and it well serves the interests of the public.

8. **THE Educational Review** (Anglo-Indian monthly, Madras).—The *Hindustan Review* appeals to a wide public by discussing subjects of general interest. It contains much which appeals to the educated public. It is a creditable production.

9. **THE Indian Magazine** (London monthly).—The *Hindustan Review* contains articles of much interest, instructive as to the trend of Indian thought.

10. **THE Calcutta Review** (Anglo-Indian quarterly).—The *Hindustan Review*, in its superb get-up, is a marvel for the price in quality and quantity. We cordially confess that though the cheapest, it is also one of the best of the reviews.

II.—INDIAN.

11. **THE Bengales** (Calcutta daily).—The *Hindustan Review*, which is a power in the land, fully maintains the character of a high-class review, and is brimful of thoughtful matter on a variety of subjects; its articles and reviews being excellent. It is a most commendable enterprise and deservedly commands success.

12. **THE Indian Mirror** (Calcutta daily).—The *Hindustan Review* is steadily increasing in influence and popularity. It is a valuable periodical, by reason of the intellectual treat it spreads before its readers, month after month.

13. **THE Amrita Bazar Patrika** (Calcutta daily).—The *Hindustan Review* is one of the best monthlies in India. Its articles are from eminent men of light and leading, and they are all highly interesting and instructive.

14. **THE HINDU** (Madras daily).—The *Hindustan Review* is a most excellent monthly, with a magnificent get-up, containing contributions on questions of general interest to all classes of readers. If any one wishes to study the problems of New India—social, educational, political and religious—he could not do better than read it regularly, month after month. It contains most interesting and valuable matter, which is extremely readable and useful. In every point the enterprising review edited by Mr. Sinha comes up to the level of the best English reviews. Under its able editor the *Hindustan Review* has acquired a reputation for moderation and usefulness and is widely read throughout India. The review is to be had at a marvelously cheap rate and one cannot, indeed, find a better investment for Rs. 5 a year.

15. **THE MADRAS STANDARD** (daily).—The *Hindustan Review* is beautifully got-up and has quite the appearance of an English review. Its articles are of a high order and embrace a variety of important topics.

16. **THE TRIBUNE** (Lahore daily).—The *Hindustan Review*, which has been brought by its editor to a high state of usefulness and dignity as a vehicle of public opinion, offers a variety as well as a choice of good matter. Its contents are quite up-to-date, and it reflects the opinions and the events of the time, with great success. Justice is done to all the prominent topics in well-written contributions which touch all fields of general interest. This ably-conducted review, with its excellent get-up, occupies a very important position in Indian journalism.

17. **THE ADVOCATE** (Lucknow bi-weekly).—The *Hindustan Review* is a high-class monthly, full of interesting articles contributed by men of light and leading.

18. **THE OBSERVER** (Lahore-bi-weekly).—The *Hindustan Review*, which is in the front of Indian journalism, comes out in a particularly attractive garb. It contains valuable contributions and gives useful food to the mind. It is an excellent monthly and a really valuable publication.

19. **THE INDIAN NATION** (Calcutta weekly).—The *Hindustan Review*—a high-class monthly, one of the best ever published in India—contains original articles on various subjects, and a high standard of excellence is maintained throughout. By his ability and unwearied exertions, the editor has brought it to a high state of efficiency. It appears in a superb garb, in every way worthy of the substantial merits of the review.

20. **THE INDIAN SPECTATOR** (Bombay weekly).—The *Hindustan Review* is admirable. The contents of each issue are varied, and the articles are highly interesting. The matter and the manner alike of the articles deserve praise.

21. **THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER** (Bombay weekly).—The *Hindustan Review*, which maintains a high level of interest, is a decided approximation to what an Indian review should be. Its principal articles are all concerned with the important socio-economic problems which lie at the root of our national progress and they are all permeated with sound thought and inspired by a large and generous outlook on life. In fact, we have represented in the *Hindustan Review*—which has made a position for itself as an organ of public opinion—the general body of principles which are coming to dominate our earnest thinkers. With its small price, attractive get-up and general high level of writing, the *Hindustan Review* is one of the most effective exponents of Indian liberalism embracing all aspects of life.

22. **THE ORIENTAL REVIEW** (Bombay weekly).—The *Hindustan Review* is one of the best publications of its kind. Its contents are always of a most readable, informing and excellent character. It owes its excellence to its brilliant and cultured editor in whose capable hands this admirable review has obtained a large circulation.

23. **UNITED INDIA** (Madras weekly).—The *Hindustan Review*, is more fully representative of Indian thought than other Indian periodicals, and well keeps up its very high standard of excellence. It is not a monthly edition of the daily press but a refreshing contribution to the periodical literature of the time we live in.

24. **NEW INDIA** (Calcutta weekly).—The *Hindustan Review*, in its most attractive garb, occupies the leading place among Indian reviews. Its get-up compares well with that of the English periodicals, while its articles are both able and exhaustive.

25. **UNITY AND MINISTER** (Calcutta weekly).—The *Hindustan Review*, which occupies a prominent position in the ranks of Indian periodical literature, appears in a magnificent garb. In its get-up and substance it compares well with the best of the English monthlies and is undoubtedly the best and cheapest in India—its pages being replete with articles on momentous questions of the day, affecting the moral, material, social, political and educational progress of the country, handled in a manner

that is highly creditable to the writers. Its reviews are written in a very able manner, while the "Last Month", which deals with current topics, shows the editor's ability to take a comprehensive view of men and measures.

26. **THE Calcutta Weekly Notes** (Calcutta legal weekly).—The *Hindustan Review* contains excellent reviews of legal works and contributions of considerable merit dealing with important subjects.

27. **THE Mahratta** (Poona weekly).—The *Hindustan Review* is a leading, influential and ably-conducted monthly.

28. **THE Moslem Chronicle** (Calcutta weekly).—The *Hindustan Review* deals with literature of a high order. It is an admirable monthly and deserves encouragement.

29. **THE Behar Times** (Patna weekly).—The *Hindustan Review* is simply superb in its get-up and quite equal to the best English and American reviews. It leaves all other Indian reviews far behind in its external appearance and in the variety and the value of its contents, few of them will be found to equal, and probably none to surpass, it. We cannot speak too highly of the talented editor's well-written survey of the topics of the month.

30. **THE Arya Patrika** (Lahore weekly).—The *Hindustan Review* under its talented editor, who conducts it with extraordinary ability and consummate skill, has become a power in the land.

31. **THE Arya Messenger** (Lahore weekly).—The *Hindustan Review* is one of the high-class monthlies in India and contains most excellent articles.

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