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Provinces
on
Linguistic Basis



By
G. V. JOSHI,



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CONTENTS.

a.	Foreword	...	i
b.	Vice Chancellor's Opinion	...	iv
1.	Exodus for the Promised Land	...	1
2.	Mount Sinai and Wilderness	...	13
3.	The Basis of the Present Provinces	...	18
4.	Administrative and other Difficulties	...	24
5.	Dismembered Maharashtra	...	29
6.	„ Karnatak and Andhra	...	33
7.	Opposition to the New Scheme	...	38
8.	Hindrance by some Native States	...	48
9.	Communal Wounds in Bengal and Punjab		55
10.	Muslim-Majority Provinces	...	61
11.	India and the Communities	...	67
12.	The New Scheme	...	71
13.	The Region of Plains	...	80
14.	Highlands of Central India	...	91
15.	The Deccan Table-land with coast strips		96
16.	Greater India	...	107
17.	Provincial Administration	...	110

The Appendices:-

Appendix A	Population according to provinces.	116
„ B	New Method of Drawing the Map of India.	119
„ C	Languages and Population of India.	122
„ D	Religions and Population of India.	123

FOREWORD

Mr. G. V. Joshi has asked me to write a preface to his book 'Provinces on Linguistic Basis.' It would have been better if he had approached some one more qualified by virtue of his learning and position in public affairs, but since the request is made I would be lacking in grace if I did not comply with it. Every effort made to solve the Communal Problem of India is its own justification. Mr. Joshi is a scholar who has given much thought and time to the book which he now wishes to place before the public. If it will at least make people think, and thus bring the solution of the Communal Problem even one step nearer, I am sure Mr. Joshi will think himself amply rewarded for the pains which he has taken.

I have no intention of inflicting my own views upon the reader. He will find much information in Mr. Joshi's book which will interest him; he may disagree here and there, but I believe no one would welcome constructive criticism more than Mr. Joshi himself.

The redistribution of provinces would solve not only linguistic problems, but communal problems also.

India is mainly the land of the Hindus, but she is also the motherland of the largest Muslim population found in any single country in the world. The rivalry and antagonism between these two sister communities has cost India much already. It is the duty of every Indian to strive to bring about that better understanding which we have set before ourselves.

Islam, in its essence is the religion, which more than most realise, preaches brotherhood, equality and tolerance. The introduction, spread and development of Islam in India, forms one of the most interesting chapters of Islamic history. The future glory of Islam will consist in the extent to which it truly exemplifies the spirit of toleration and brotherhood, which represent the true Islam.

How truly tolerant were even the early Mogul rulers of India is exemplified by the terms of a confidential will which Babar left to his son Humayun. The original of the will is still preserved in the State Library at Bhopal. Babar says to his son :—

O, my son: People of diverse religions inhabit India; and it is a matter of thanksgiving to God that the King of Kings has entrusted the Government of this country to you. It therefore behoves you that:

1. You should not allow religious prejudices to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having due regard to the religious susceptibilities and religious customs of all sections of the people.

2. In particular refrain from the slaughter of cows, which will help you to obtain a hold on the hearts of the people of India. Thus you will bind the people of the land to yourself by ties of gratitude.

(iii)

3. You should never destroy the places of worship of any community and always be justice loving, so that relations between the King and his subjects may remain cordial and there be peace and contentment in the land.

4. The propagation of Islam will be better carried on with the sword of love and obligation than with the sword of oppression.

5. Always ignore the mutual dissension of Shias and Sunnies, otherwise they will lead to the weakness of Islam.

6. Treat the different peculiarities of your subjects as the different seasons of the year, so the body politic may remain free from disease.

If the present generation of Indians could capture the spirit of tolerance which Babar showed more than four centuries ago, no Round Table Conference and no separate Electorates would be necessary to solve the communal Problem of India.

Nagpur,
Dated 15th March 1941. }

R. F. Rustamji.
ADVOCATE.

VICE CHANCELLOR'S OPINION.

This book hardly requires Author's Preface. It is sufficient to say that though this subject is so widely talked of yet there is much to talk. The manuscript was shown by the author to the persons of different parties, holding different views, the Congress, Hindu Maha Sabha and Muslim League; and they are of the opinion that if different parties would think along the line suggested in the book, they would be walking along the path of Unity. Here we give the review by Mr. T. J. Kedar, Advocate, Nagpur.

Mr. T. J. Kedar, Vice Chancellor, Nagpur University, reviews the writing in this way:-

“ I have glanced through the MS ‘ The Redistribution of the Indian Provinces on a Linguistic Basis, ’ written by Mr. G. V. Joshi. I commend his ingenuity. He has amply illustrated his view point raising several objections to his scheme, worthy of the worst critic, and answering them successfully. He has shown how the new provinces would do much to end the communal strife.

Under the present circumstances the rearrangement of the Indian Provinces on a Linguistic Basis seems to me to be the line of least resistance since the Congress has approved of it, and the other organizations have not seriously expressed their disapproval. I very much appreciate Mr. G. V. Joshi's efforts in this direction and wish him success in his undertaking.”

Nagpur,
Dated the 5th April, 1941.)

G. V. Joshi.

THIS BOOK

is Dedicated to

Dr. N. B. Khare,

B. A; M. D.

PREMIER OF THE C. P. & BERAR

1937—1938

FOR

His valuable and indispensable services to the
Province as a Premier,

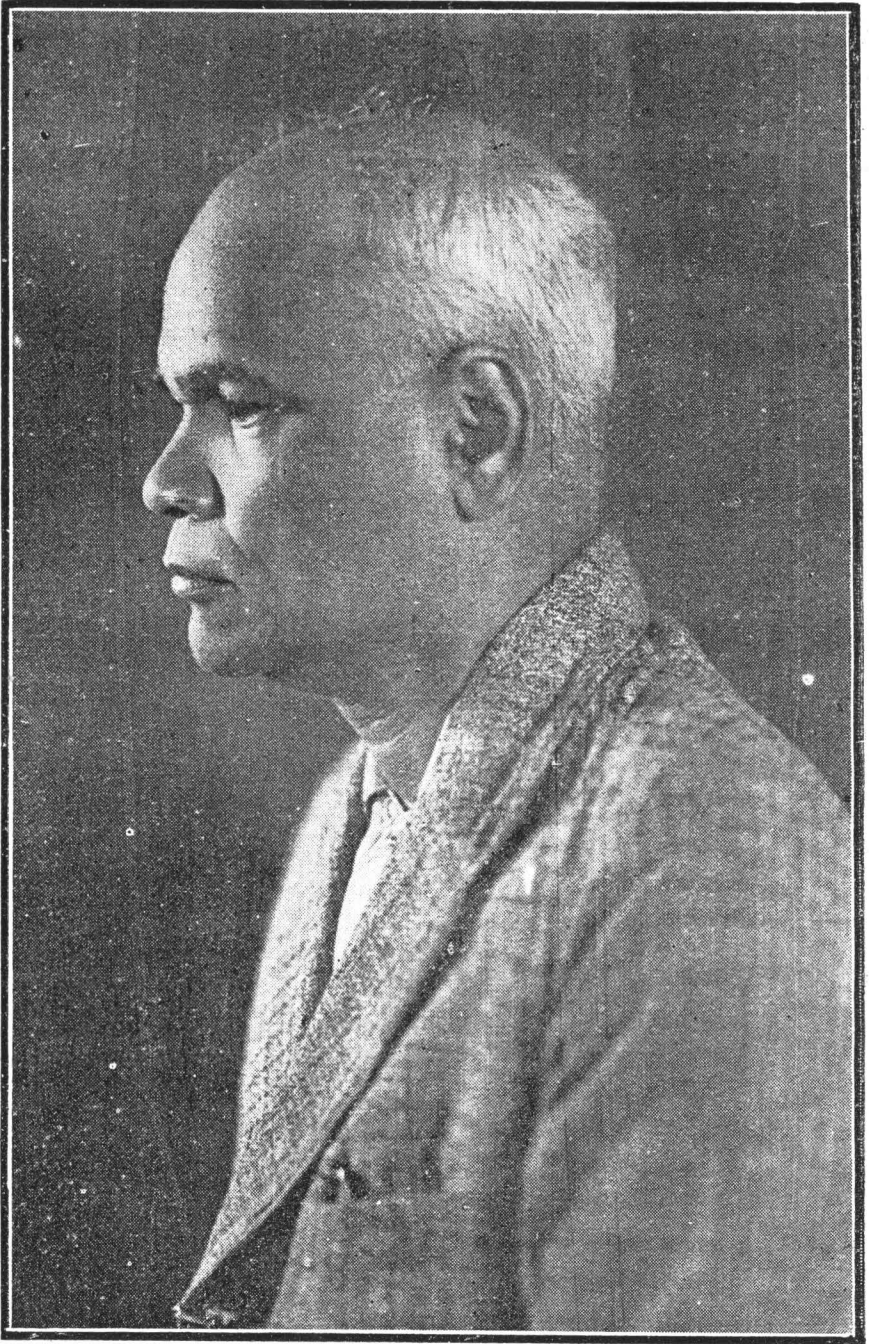
AND FOR

His untiring and unceasing work for the country
as a worker,

AND FOR

His kindness and generosity to the poor as a citizen.

Author.



DR. N. B. KHARE, B. A., M. D.

Provinces on Linguistic Basis

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CHAPTER I

Exodus For The Promised Land

Our exodus for the Promised Land dates from 1857, that is, one hundred years after we were sold in bondage to the Pharaoh (East India Company, battle of Plassy). The last representative of the Moghul dynasty, a withered phantom, was installed, against his will, as Moses. The other ruined royal families were ready to help him. There was no want of followers in dissatisfied soldiery and poverty-stricken public. They were all tired of remaining stuck in the mire of dependency. Hence 1857 was the year when a desperate dash for a forward march was made.

But the Pharaoh was quick to follow us with all his might, and overtake us in the Red Sea of difficulty. He was successful in checking our onward march. But in this attempt the mighty Pharaoh perished. The exodists gave a sigh of relief, but the next moment they were pained to see that the throne of the Pharaoh was occupied by a woman.

But the woman said, "I am not like other women. I am a benevolent queen, and you will reach the Promised Land under my guidance".

"In the meantime" she continued, "you will not be under any disability for reason of not worshipping my gods, you are free to follow your own religions".

"There are various communities amongst you," she further said, "I will treat all the communities equally. No community will be awarded over the other."

"Woeful would be the day for the Empire", the queen solemnly said, "If my successors break this promise and award one community over the other".

This assurance of the benevolent queen was balmy to the exhausted exodists, now struggling for their very existence. Their leaders were dead. They had laboured much in wading their way through the Red Sea of difficulty and in confronting the might of the Pharaoh. So tired were they and so soothing was the assurance given by the queen that they were soon lulled to sleep. Did not the daughter of the Pharaoh mother Moses in ancient times? So they thought that the queen would mother their cause.

The sleep was a long one, a generation long. The queen could not see us wasting in slumber. So she sent a faithful servant, Lord Rippon, unto us to wake us up. He gave us local self-government, we had a little onward march, but again we fell into slumber which lasted for another generation, and the queen who had ruled over us for full two generations, died.

But there arose one, Lokmanya Tilak – the worthy disciple of the old veteran Sir Dadabhai Naoroji – who sincerely believed that the benevolence of the Empire was dead with the benevolent queen. He raised himself head and shoulder above the rest and said, “How long will you sleep, my countrymen? Will you sleep till the Last Judgment Day? Is this the way to reach the Promised Land? Swaraj is our Promised Land”.

For this bold assertion our hero was put into prison. But to console us, and to conceal the injustice done to us, we were given Morley – Minto Reforms. We believed that that path would take us to the Promised Land.

Some years after, when Lokmanya was released from the prison of Mandalay, he saw that the German War was already in full swing, and the people were being beguiled in the Region of Wilderness.

“My countrymen”, he said, “Let us take advantage of the German War for our forward march, – let us have a bit of bargaining with the Government which is needing help from us”.

But there was a sojourner amongst us who had recently come from the dark forests of Africa. Africa!

the very name was frightful to the mediaeval Europe as a land of dark art and witch-craft.

The sojourner said, "I am not a magician but a Mahatma, I have no magic with me but a divine message."

"The divine message which I have brought" Mahatmaji said, "is that we should not have any bargaining with the Blessed Race-as I call the Britishers to be-but implicit faith, no suspicion but sincerity."

This message of the Mahatma of Sourashtra rang high above the roar of the Lion of Maharashtra. The message of Mahatmaji was fulfilled, unconditional help was given to the Government.

The German War ended as suddenly as it had begun. It was like a fountain which gushes out at once, and stops likewise. A free flow of blood there was for full four years.

But when it ended, a new political arrangement was made of the surface of the earth. India not being outside the globe underwent a change, got a new constitution. Montague-Chelmsford Reforms were given to us.

Here again Lokmanya and Mahatmaji differed. The one believed that it was the path which would lead us to wilderness while the other thought otherwise. He affirmed that that was the path for the Promised Land. The one affirmed that the reforms should be rejected while the other exhorted people to accept them. The one laboured hard for his views while the other did not spare any pains for the same. Night and day the one worked, while the other did not waste even a single moment.

But the exertion was too much for Lokmanya. It cost him his life which was so dear to his country.

The rod of Rowlet Act followed soon after to hit us on our heads, and Jalianwala massacre was perpetrated. The whole country was plunged into dismay. In the darkness of dismay Mahatmaji saw that Lokmanya was right. Montague-Chelmsford Reforms was the path for wilderness. So Mahatmaji's message was to turn away from the path.

We have now come to the memorable time – the Nagpur Congress of 1920. “Blessed Race”, the synonym for Britishers, melted away from the mighty mind of Mahatmaji. To him the Government became a Satanic one.

To us Mahatmaji was superhuman. We began to say with real devotion—

“In thee we have the politics of Lord Krishna – In thee we see the non-violence of Lord Christ – In thee we find the zeal of the Prophet Mohamad.”

“Thou art the charriot rider of Kurukshetra – the ass rider of Jarushalem thou art – and so art thou the camel rider of Mecca.”

“God himself – the son of God – and the Prophet of God all in thee we see.”

And the whole atmosphere was pervaded with the sound “Holy !” “Holy !” “Holy !”

Then Mahatmaji, being inspired by the holy ghost, said, “Let the war be a bloodless one”.

Mahatmaji won our minds. We believed that we would triumph over Satans. A bloodless war was to be waged. Sharp weapons were to be directed at different directions. The places chosen were schools, law courts, councils and shops of foreign cloth. We had nothing to do with education, law, legislation and imported yarn. Khaddar, Hindu-Muslim unity, and - if I am permitted to say - hypocrisy were our national dress.

Swaraj was to be obtained within one year.

Nonpayment of taxes at Bardoli was to be commenced.

But a disturbance at Chouri Choura occurred, and the Moplahs were out for mischief.

Then we were suddenly ordered by Mahatmaji, "Halt!"

And the order was implicitly obeyed.

Now the Satans of Mahatmaji got a chance to put him into prison.

The atmosphere of lethargy and dismay pervaded over the country for some years,

But it was not complete inactiveness. The time was occupied in council questions, Hindu - Muslim tensions and such other mischiefs.

In the midst of these tensions and turmoils, Simon Seven made their appearance at the Gateway of India in Bombay, and from thence sallied forth inland to survey the situation of the country.

There is some history, literature and observation as to why the number seven was chosen in the Commission.

Ancient history speaks of the seven wise men of Greece; so they said, "Let modern history speak of the seven wise men of Britain."

They had gone through Wordsworth's poem "We are seven", hence they said, "Let us be seven."

The seven wonders of the world were known to them, hence they thought that they, the seven members of the Commission, would be no less wonderful.

They had looked into the calendar and had found that a week contained seven days, so the number seven attracted them.

With these ideas they were basking in the pleasant summer sun of England, and some more ideas occurred to them.

The sun never sets in the British Empire. The white light of the sun rules over the earth. Hence the white race must dominate over the whole world.

Then it occurred to them that the white light of the Sun is made up of seven colours - *vibgyor*. Hence again the number seven attracted them.

At night they looked at the sky and found that the constellation called Ursa Major contained seven bright stars and they revolved around the Polar star.

So they made the Premier the Polar Star, around whom they decided to revolve, at whose words they decided to dance.

They had counted seven planets revolving around the Sun. Hence they said, "Let us sally forth into India and the Indians will be afraid of us as they are afraid of *Sapta Graha*."

With these observations Sir Simon decided to have seven members in the Commission.

But the visit of Simon Commission was received as coldly as those of Prince of Wales and the Duke of Connaught had been received before.

Simon Commission produced a report which was not hailed much, but which served to fan a storm of opposition and unrest.

Mahatmaji launched once more the campaign of civil disobedience, a bloodless war.

We have now come to the year 1930, exactly 10 years after the non-co-operation movement was launched.

Mahatmaji with a terrible vow that he would never come back to Sabarmati Ashram till India was made free, undertook a great campaign to the sea-coast to break salt laws.

Very soon the exodus to the sea coast assumed a very formidable form. The atmosphere was filled with intense zeal. A good deal of somersault feat was shown in the salt campaign.

The satans of Mahatmaji hesitated for a long time, but afterwards overpowered him and put him into prison.

But unswayed by Indian unrest, far beyond the seas, in England, the first Round Table Conference was being held.

But it was a failure because Mahatmaji was not present in it.

So Gandhi - Irwin truce was made and Mahatmaji was invited in the Second Round Table Conference.

But the Second Round Table Conference was a failure because Mahatmaji was present in it.

So the Third Round Table Conference was called from which Mahatmaji was again to absent himself.

When Gandhi - Irwin truce was in progress a die-hard Member of Parliament felt indignation at it. His indignation overpowered his politeness. He could not refrain himself from saying, ' Lo ! a half naked fakir ascending the steps of the Viceregal Lodge '.

But his indignation was not cared for, Mahatmaji was invited for the second Round Table Conference, and ushered into the presence of the King and the Queen.

Again the same die-hard Member of Parliament felt indignation. He said, ' Lo ! a half-naked fakir shaking hands with the King and Queen.'

' I have come for Swaraj ', the fakir said.

' Swaraj ! What Swaraj ! ' the die-hard Britisher said, ' The Indians use the term Swaraj because they understand it. And we the Britishers use the same term because we do not understand it. '

' My countrymen', he explained in the House of Parliament, ' when you join with the Indians in using their local term Swaraj, do you know what sentiments, what emotions it creates in the Indian hearts ! Have it from me, the local term creates that emotion, that sentiment in the Indian hearts which we the Britishers should not like. '

He further exhorted to change the term Swaraj for Federation.

It was now the turn of Mahatmaji to show indignation. He said, ' The Ganges of blood will flow to win Swaraj so long delayed. '

It appeared that there was a growing sympathy for Mahatmaji among the Members of the Parliament.

But the die-hard Britisher said that his country was filled with the people of his own kind, and he exhorted to dissolve the Parliament and have new elections. To test this view the Parliament was dissolved, and new elections were made, and the issue was looked at with utmost suspense.

By this time the die-hard Britisher was successful in creating the people of his own kind. Hence the Parliament, the representation of the British nation, was filled with his own prototype.

The new Members of the Parliament howled at Mahatmaji, and cried, ' Push the fakir out into the sea and away to his own country, and straightway to jail he goes. '

So Mahatmaji was pushed out into the sea, and away was he sailed to his own country and, before he could make any preparation to renew a bloodless war, was put into prison.

He was released two years after, but when he came out he found that Hindus and Muslims were fighting as before; each one thinking that the other one possessed India and the country was to be snatched away from the possessor. Mahatmaji told that the possessor was the third one who was to be deprived of the power.

But none of them, Hindus and Muslims, would come round and cease fighting.

What was to be done ? Mahatmaji mused.

Then an idea occurred to him, and he smiled within himself.

It was a mythological tale of the Hebrews.

Once Father Abraham, in order to please his God, offered to sacrifice his first - born and closing his eyes to avoid the painful sight, drew a sword across his son's neck. But when he opened his eyes, behold, there was a sheep slaughtered and his son stood smiling before him. God had saved the son.

This mythological tale of the Hebrews is continued in Id, a Muslim festival.

'Can I not do some such thing to please the Goddess of Unity ? Mahatmaji mused within himself.

So Mahatmaji sacrificed his first born on the altar of the Goddess of Unity. The first born was dead to the community in which he was born, though in the other community he moved about under the name of Moulana Abdullah. 'My son is dead,' the mother bewailed bitterly. It was a motherly meek mind.

'I have done this to please the Goddess of Unity—I cannot suffer to see the mother moaning.' Mahatmaji said and tried to console the mother, but she would not be consoled.

It seems that the Goddess was not pleased with Mahatmaji's sacrifice, as Hindus and Muslims continued fighting as before.

But the Goddess pitied the mother and returned the son to her after six months. What a great joy it was to her, only a motherly mind can know.

In the meantime the Third Round Table Conference was being held which produced the memorable White Paper.

But as the White Paper was based on Simon Report, not on Nehru Report, and as it dishonestly and fraudulently broke the solemn promise of the Queen that no community would be awarded over the other it could not be hailed.

Even then we decided not to renew the bloodless war, but to fight the elections.

We the 350 millions of people had to send 6 millions for a certain test. We were to be given a common question 'To be for the Congress or not?' and the way in which we would solve the question we would reap the fruit.

Hence the election day was looked at with utmost suspense. It was Dooms Day for us.

CHAPTER II

Mount Sinai And Wilderness.

The success of the Congress in elections, and in forming Ministries in 8 out of 11 Provinces, put us on Mount Sinai. Hence we could get time to pause a little and see how far we advanced towards the Promised Land. It was 80 years since we began our onward march. We passed through the land of the Pharaoh (Company's Rule) and the Red Sea of difficulty, and then we came to Mount Sinai from where the promised land of Palestine was visible at a great distance. Between Mount Sinai and the Promised Land there is an extensive region of Wilderness. To descend down from the Mount was risky. We feared to lose our way amongst the towering trees which hid the destination from us. Those who came forward to guide us through were sure to beguile us.

By what path could we go ? The bloody war of 1857 had been unsuccessful, and the bloodless war of 1930 (Salt Satyagraha) was unsuccessful likewise.

Hence instead of proceeding further we stood on Mount Sinai gazing at our destination. We could see the Promised Land glittering on all sides, political,

financial, educational and social. The description of any one side would require volumes of books. How many more volumes would the description of all the sides require ?

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Thus we stood on Mount Sinai gazing at our destination. We were afraid of descending down from the Mount through the fear of being lost in Wilderness. How long we would have remained there was the question. It was our wish to make a long stay as we did not wish to risk ourselves in Wilderness.

But in September 1939 something happened and we were thrown down from the Mount. It was the eruption of German volcano which was asleep for 20 years.

Disregarding the support the allies had promised to Poland the Nazis attacked the country. Hence England, with her ally France, declared war on Germany. The Viceroy of India was ordered to send help from the dependency. Hence the Viceroy, the King's Representative, interviewed some leading persons of the country. The Congress Leaders naturally asked what England's war aims were and how they would be applied to India. Not getting a satisfactory reply Mahatma Gandhi said ' The Congress Ministries resign, and to wilderness the Congress goes.'

Thus we are now groping in the wilderness. It appears that Mahatmaji has taken on himself to throw us in wilderness and not to guide us to the Promised Land.

Mahatmaji had some unsuccessful talks with Mr. Jinnah and after it he declared that in launching Satya-

graha there was the fear of Moslem riots taking place. But some prominent Muslims soon came forward and strongly repudiated this charge and said that Mahatmaji's fear of Muslim riots was a pretended one, he did not wish to start satyagraha. They further said that the Muslims were not treacherous to the cause of the country though the League had some difference of opinion with the Congress.

Whatever the cause may be, there is no mass satyagraha and we are groping in wilderness, and longing to hear the gospel of truth which would effect Hindu-Muslim unity and take us further to the Promised Land.

Hence in wilderness let this gospel be heard. It will solve Hindu-Moslem question to a great extent, and the way to our destination will be paved.

Out of 11 Provinces 8 are Congress ones, and all are not Hindu Majority Provinces. The N. W. F. Province where the Muslims are 90% is a Congress one. Sindh though it is a non-congress province at present has a tendency to go to the congress fold as the Muslims are 75% there. Bengal and Punjab where the Muslims are about 55% show no tendency to come to the congress fold.

This shows that a province where any community, Hindu or Moslem, is in a good majority becomes a congress province but the province where no community is in a clear majority does not come to the congress fold as one community mistrusts the other. Hence the question of Bengal and Punjab is solved in a better way in chapter VIII. The chapter IX deals with Muslim -majority provinces.

Irrational distribution of provinces is the chief cause of Hindu-Moslem tension. The scheme given in chapters VIII and IX would allay 70% of Hindu-Moslem dissensions, the other 30% would easily be taken care of.

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Moreover the subject 'Provinces on Linguistic Basis' is the essence of all the other subjects, viz., political, financial, educational and social. This subject is a political one because the provinces are political divisions. It is a financial one because a province is to be administered economically and financial improvement is to be achieved. It is an educational one because the masses are to be educated in their own language. And it is no less a social one because the people speaking one language form one society.

Just when the first R. T. C. was over and Gandhi-Irwin truce was in progress I had published a small pamphlet on this subject, and had a talk with some leading persons of my province. I wanted this subject to be taken up by them.

Once I went to the Council-Colony-quarters where Members make a stay during the session when the fate of their province is discussed - and had a talk with some members there. A chill ran through one of the members as he looked into my pamphlet. He said 'Lo, a pigmy at the height of his imaginary powers has put down these terrible things.'

'Not terrible but wonderful' the other one said, taking the pamphlet from him.

'You appear like a God sitting on a high throne, drawing lines on the map,' the third one said taking the pamphlet from the second.

None of the above remarks are true. Provinces on a linguistic basis is not a new subject, but the Federation, the new constitution which is promised to us, is renewing it. The Federation is unworkable unless the provinces are based on a linguistic basis. Hence in pursuance of this constitution Sindh and Orissa have been formed into separate provinces. But a good deal of work is yet undone and the object of this book is to reveal it.

This subject is an old one. Much has been said on this subject, and yet there is much to be said. 'A great battle has been fought for it, and yet a still greater battle is to be fought. There is nothing so important for the future constitution of India as this arrangement of provinces, and yet nothing so much ignored. There is nothing which claims so much consideration from us as this scheme, and yet nothing so little considered.

How are the present provinces unsuited for the Federal Constitution? Why should the present provinces be based on a linguistic basis? What advantages will we have therefrom? and what disadvantages are we groaning under at present? We have to consider all the above questions. But before that let us see the basis of the present provinces.

CHAPTER III

The Basis of the Present Provinces.

What is the basis of the present provinces? Are they based on some rational lines? About it the Nehru Report gives this view :-

‘ The present distribution of Provinces in India has no rational basis. It is merely due to accident and circumstances attending the growth of the British Power in India. As a whole it has little to do with geographical or historical or economic or linguistic reasons. Even from purely administrative point of view it is not a success.’

Further the Nehru Report voices the view of the Public thus:-

‘ It is clear that there must be a re-distribution of the provinces. Some of us favour small provinces, others prefer large provinces. But small or large, the question of re-distribution has to be tackled.’

Let us illustrate briefly the growth of the present provinces.

It is curious to note that India was conquered by a Joint-Stock Trading Company which was formed in London in 1600, and which had a capital of only one hundred thousand sterling. The Indian sea-board, which extends for nearly 3000 miles, gave this Company, after many years' patience, three vulnerable points, viz. Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. These places first developed into cities and then into presidencies.

The Portuguese were their predecessors from whom they learned a good deal.

Commerce, conquest and conversion, these three C's were the goals of the Portuguese.

The trinities in Christianity are :- Spirit (God) Water, (the Earth) and Blood (sacrifice). The Portuguese had misunderstood these trinities seriously. For them the trinities were Spirit (Wine) water and blood. They had a relish for wine and blood in the same way as for water. In the Indian History the Portuguese appear as blood-thirsty tyrants.

Wealth, wine and woman these three 'w's had ruined the Portuguese officials in India.

This survey and the causes of their fall, helped the Britishers to chalk out their own policies. The Company had to do the two things:-

(1) To sweep the Indian seas clean of the other European rivals, the French being the chief; the Portuguese had already fallen low after a century's sway.

(2) Then to pierce inland through the three vulnerable points, and to complete the conquest of the country.

So far as the first work was concerned, Clive was completely successful, and in the second work he had a good deal of success. The Company's arms under the guidance of Clive, entered through Calcutta and Madras and made inland conquests. The chance for Bombay had not yet come as the country surrounding it, was ruled by the Maharattas.

This is how the three presidencies, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay were formed.

Calcutta or Bengal Presidency.

Even in the time of Alamgir this trading Company had fallen into ruptures with the great Moghul power. The letters of Directors from England to their servants in India, reveal how even then they were dreaming of establishing British rule in India. But it was not long before they found that it was a mere pleasant dream; the Great Moghul drove them like flies from the entire Indian sea-board. It was only after a good show of regret and flattery that this trading Company was permitted to resume its humble business. This was the time when Calcutta was acquired by purchase (1690).

It was many years after, that Dupleix, the French general, revived, in the English hearts, their forgotten dream of conquest.

Calcutta made inland conquests 67 years after its foundation. The battle of Plassy made the Company the master of Bengal and Bihar. And in 1764 the Company obtained the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, the three distinct linguistic areas. Orissa was under the Raja of Nagpur then, hence it was after 40 years that Orissa was added to the Bengal Presidency.

Madras Presidency.

The site of Madras was purchased from a Hindu Raja in 1639, and for 122 years it remained an humble settlement of British merchants. The year 1751, with the siege of Arcot, commences inland incursions of the British arms and within half a century Madras, from an humble settlement, developed into a big presidency which has a gunlike shape in the map.

In this presidency all the Dravidian languages are spoken :- Kanadi, Telgu, Tamil and Malayalam. The Kanadi speaking districts of Mangalore and Bellary were taken from Tipoo. The Telgu speaking area, viz, the Northern Circars, the Ceded districts, and Guntur districts were taken from the Nizam of Hyderabad. And lastly, the Tamil speaking districts were taken from the Nawab of Arcot and the Raja of Tanjore.

In this way different districts, speaking different languages, were united to form a province which has a gun-like shape.

The Malayalam speaking area is occupied by the two states, Travancore and Cochin. Only one district, Malabar, is in Madras presidency.

Bombay Presidency.

The island of Bombay was acquired by the Company in 1668 on an annual rent of £ 10 from King Charles II who had happened to get it as a dowry from the King of Portugal whose daughter he had married. It was not for Clive and for his immediate successors to penetrate inland through Bombay. Bombay remained an humble settlement for 135 years. In 1803 the Peshwa was made a feudatory and in 1818 he was deposed and

his kingdom annexed, and thus Bombay presidency was formed.

| In this presidency four different languages are spoken:- Kanadi, Marathi, Guzarati and Sindhi. The southern districts of Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar and Karwar are Kanadi speaking districts. All the districts north of them upto Surat and Khandesh form the Marathi speaking area. Guzrati is spoken in Guzrat and Sindhi in Sindh.

{ The Kanadi speaking districts of Belgaum, Dharwar and Karwar were taken from Tipoo in the third Mysore war in 1792, and given to the Peshwa. But those districts together with the Marathi speaking districts were taken from his successor in 1818. The Guzrati speaking districts were taken from the Gaekwar of Baroda. And finally Sindh, speaking a different language altogether was conquered from the local chiefs in 1843, and added to the Bombay Presidency. The Punjab was independent then. Had the Punjab been under the British rule at that time, Sindh might have been annexed to that province.

{ The new Reforms have separated Sindh from Bombay, and made it a province.

The Central Provinces:-

The present province known as the Central Provinces, together with Berar and Orissa belonged to Bhonsla, the Raja of Nagpur. Contemporary English historians mention the Raja of Nagpur as the king of Berar, and thus the sole right of Nagpur over Berar is admitted. As a result of the Maharatta war in 1803, Berar was given to the Nizam and Orissa was taken by the British.

The chief languages spoken in this province are Hindi and Marathi. The Hindi speaking districts of Sagaur, Damoh, Mandla and Jubbulpore were taken from the Peshwa of Poona in 1818; and Hoshangabad, speaking the same language, was taken from the Bhonsla about the same time.

Nagpur and Chhattisgarha, the one speaking Marathi and the other speaking Hindi, were taken from the Bhonsla in 1853; and about the same time, Marathi speaking Berar was assigned to the Company by the Nizam under whom it had remained for 50 years. Thus these divisions are united to form a province.

Sambalpur, an Oriya-speaking district, was a part of this province. But owing to the demand of Oriya-speaking people, it was given to Orissa in 1903.

The Diwani (in 1764) had given the Company a nominal authority over Orissa, and it remained so for 40 years. After the war with Bhonsla the real authority was acquired. It was then added to Bengal, and for more than a century it remained a sub-province. It is now made a separate linguistic province in pursuance of the new constitution.

‡ These few instances are sufficient to show that the growth of the British power is the only basis on which the present provinces are based. The very names Bombay and Madras show that the provinces are named after the cities, and not after the people who live there. Is it not an insult to the people that their provinces are named after some particular cities, and not after them ?

CHAPTER IV

Administrative and other difficulties.

| If we have to make Federation, the new constitution which is being given to us, a success, we should have provinces based on a linguistic or such other rational basis. In pursuance of this constitution Sindh and Orissa have been formed into separate linguistic provinces. Now the demand of the other parts of India for linguistic provinces should be fulfilled.

| A glance at a political map of India will show how irrationally the present provinces are based, no consideration is given to the geographical or economic basis: and hence even from purely administrative point of view it is not a success.

Sindh is in the Indus Valley, and hence if it was doomed to be a sub-province at all it ought to have been that of the Punjab and not of Bombay. Sindh is an out-of-the-way place in the Bombay Presidency. It is not easily approachable from any part of Bombay by land, and hence it is a wonder how it remained in the grip of Bombay for nearly a century, subordinating her interests to the island-city.

Karachi is a natural harbour for wheat-growing Punjab and Sindh; as Bombay is a natural harbour for cotton-growing Maharashtra. But due to the amalgamation of Sindh in Bombay no care was taken for the development of Karachi, and hence the Indus valley, not having a good outlet to the sea, had her natural resources undeveloped and her trade checked.

It required nearly a century to discover this mistake, and now Sindh is made a separate geographical province of the Indus Valley.

{ Kanadi-speaking area also is an out-of-the-way place in Bombay presidency. Hence the people of that place have their material resources undeveloped, and their sea-port Bhatkal, undeveloped. Bhatkal sea-port is being robbed of the chances of developing itself.

The Punjab means the land of the five rivers, hence its boundary shou'd be the river Sutlej, not the river Jamuna. Geographical Punjab extends upto that river. Historical Punjab of Mahamood of Gazni and of Maharaja Ranjeet Singh extended upto that river. Maharaja Ranjit Singh wanted to cross the river Sutlej but the British intervention checked him from doing so. Why is the Punjab allowed to extend upto the river Jamuna under the British rule? It has given rise to a bitter communal and linguistic strife; and hence the administrative difficulties are confronting us in that province. The communal and linguistic strife in this province will be better discussed in chapter VIII.

Now let us look at the Central India Agency. If we look at this unit or province - or whatever we might choose to call it - what do we find ?

We find that the intervening wedge of Jhansi is dividing this unit into two parts; Malwa Agency on one side and Bundelkhand Agency on the other side. Is it not a curious arrangement for a province to have some districts in one place and the other districts in some other place or province? A province should have a definite boundary.

Cooch-Bihar State is in Bengal and under the Bengal Governor. But before 1912 when Bengal was split into two parts, east and west, this state was in the Eastern province but for jurisdiction it was under the Governor of the Western Province. Was it not a curious arrangement? A state in a linguistic province should be under the Governor of that province.

Provincial languages checked.

‡ In looking at the map of India today we see definite linguistic areas. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature. Hence the importance of distributing provinces on a linguistic basis is felt. If provinces are not distributed on a linguistic basis, weaker languages and culture fall a prey to the stronger neighbouring languages. Dismembered Maharashtra and Karnatak, as we shall see later on, illustrate this fact.

‡ Further the disadvantage attending this unnatural distribution is that the provincial languages, even aggressive ones which feed on the other neighbouring languages, do not thrive. The importance of provincial languages cannot be denied. Nehru Report speaks about it thus:-

‘It is well recognised that rapid progress in education as well as in general culture and in most departments of life depends on language. If a foreign language is the medium of instruction, business and affairs and the life of the country must necessarily be stunted. No democracy can exist where a foreign language is used for these purposes. A democracy must be well informed and must be able to understand and follow public affairs in order to take an effective part in them. It is inconceivable that a democracy can do this if a foreign language is largely used. It becomes essential therefore to conduct the business and politics of a country in a language which is understood by the masses. So far as the provinces are concerned this must be the provincial language.’]

[When we encourage provincial languages we do not mean to discourage English and Hindi. This point is made clear in Nehru Report, which says:-

‘We are certainly not against the use of English. Indeed from the necessities of the situation we feel that English must, as at present, continue for some time to come to be the most convenient medium for debate in the central legislature. We also believe that a foreign language, and this is likely to be English, is essential for us to develop contacts with the thoughts and science and life of other countries. We are however strongly of opinion that every effort should be made to make Hindustani the common language of the whole of India, as it is today of half of it. But, granting all this, provincial languages will have to be encouraged and, if we wish the province to make rapid progress

we shall have to get it to do its work in its own language'.

Our General Progress Slow:-

We have seen how the irrational distribution hampers the cause of education. But as in educational field so in social, industrial, financial and many others also our progress is slow. What is the reason of this? It is obvious enough. If we want to make progress in these fields we ought to deal with these questions taking provinces separately, not taking India as a whole. The curious arrangement of provinces today compels us to deal with these questions taking India as a whole, hence our progress is checked. "Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature." Hence a linguistic area has the same social manners and customs. Social manners and customs of one part of India are not followed in the other parts. This is the reason why Sarada Bill affects some provinces much more than it affects the other. The evil custom of Deva Dasi prevails in South India. If we want to get rid of this social evil sooner, it should be made a provincial question, not an All-India one.

A little glance at a physical and a linguistic map of India will show that linguistic areas of our country correspond with physical features. Hence if we have our provinces distributed on a linguistic basis, we have them distributed on a geographical basis also. It is perhaps needless to say that if we want to make industrial and financial progress of our country, and if we want to be economic in administrative expenses, we ought to have provinces on a geographical basis.

CHAPTER V

Dismembered Maharashtra.

Maharashtra was a solid, united kingdom till the time of the last Hindu King, Ram Deo Rai of Yadeo family. The Bahamani Kingdom which succeeded it, suffered Maharashtra to remain a united area. It was due to the dismemberment of Bahamani Kingdom into five fragments that the Marathi speaking area was split into different political divisions, and the split is continuing to this day. The Maharattas, who dissolved the five fragments of Bahamani Kingdom, did not keep the Marathi speaking area under one rule. The area was partitioned between Poona and Nagpur.

A glance at the map of India will show that the hammer of politics has shattered the Marathi speaking area into various fragments. The fragments are :-

- (1) Nagpur Division (5 Districts) :—
Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara, and Balaghat.
- (2) Berar Division (4 Districts) :—
Amraoti, Yeotmal, Akola, Buldhana.

- (3) Nizam Maharashtra (6 Districts) :—
Nander, Bhir, Parbhani, Aurangabad,
Osmanabad and Bidar.
- (4) Bombay Maharashtra (10 districts) :—
East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Poona,
Ahamadnagar, Nasik, Satara, Sholapur.
Thana, Kolaba, Ratnagiri.
- (5) Bombay or Southern Maharatha States:—
Kolhapur, Sangli, Bhor, Aundh etc.
- (6) Bombay City:— As this city is a metropolis
and as it has a population more than a
million, it should be regarded as a separate
unit.
- (7) Goa:— It is a Portuguese territory.

These seven fragments have grievances of their own.

Nagpur division is attached to Mahakosala or Hindi C. P; hence Hindi is trying to have a linguistic conquest over Nagpur. The moves and resolutions from certain circles to change the Nagpur Municipal Committee's Marathi language for Hindi, and the increase of Anglo-Hindi schools and the decrease of Anglo-Marathi schools show that Hindi is on the way of having a linguistic conquest. We are not against Hindi being the lingua-franca of India, but we are against Hindi squeezing provincial languages under her heavy weight.

Berar has to submit to the two claims, Mahakosal's and the Nizams. Hence Marathi is being squeezed under the heavy weights of Hindi and Urdu.

In Nizam Maharashtra a ruthless Moghul hand is wiping away Marathi culture and repainting it with the colour of Urdu culture.

Bombay Maharashtra in this respect is more fortunate than the other members. It has not only preserved Marathi culture, but has become a guide for the other unfortunate members.

Bombay states having Maharatta Chiefs and Maharatta population may be expected to become havens for Marathi culture.

Bombay city is a business place and 1/4 of its population is non-Marathi speaking.

Goa is under the Portuguese domination for more than four centuries, and hence Portuguese is the prevailing culture there.

The Muslim percentage in Marathi speaking area is 7%, but it varies at different places:-

(1) Nagpur division	...	3%
(2) Berar	...	8.7%
(3) Nizam Maharashtra	...	11%
(4) Bombay Maharashtra	...	6%
(5) Bombay City	...	17%

The causes of this variation are evident.

Bombay city has a very high Muslim percentage because the Muslims have an inclination towards trade rather than towards agriculture and hence that community is drawn from the mainland to the island.

Bombay Maharashtra affords 6% Muslims because in this area the two Bahamani Kingdoms, Ahamadnagar and Bijapur flourished and decayed.

Now let us consider about Nagpur, Berar and Nizam Maharashtra.

Upto the year 1803 Berar was under the Raja of Nagpur, and the portion which we call Moglai Maha-

rashtra today, was under the Peshwa of Poona, But in 1803, as a result of the Maratha wars, the rulers of Nagpur and Poona were relieved of Berar and Moglai Maharashtra, and these portions were given to the Nizam. The Nizam retained Berar for 50 years (from 1803 to 1853), and Moglai Maharashtra he is retaining even now.

This explains the variation of percentages in Nagpur, Berar and Moglai Nagpur has 3% Muslims, and we may say that till 1803 Berar and Moglai also had the same percentage.

Fifty years' domination of the Moghul remnant over Berar has raised the percentage from 3% to 8.7% thus giving the increase of 5.7%. In Moglai Maharashtra, where the hand of the Moghul is still heavy, this percentage is raised from 3% to 11% giving the rise of 8%. It is estimated that during the Nizam's domination over Berar three thousand Berarians were turning Muslims every year. It is complained in some circles, while boasted in the other ones, that in the Nizam's territory ten thousand Hindus turn Muslims every year.

In short these are the woes of Maharashtra.

Maharashtra ! Dismembered and distorted Maharashtra ! Why doest thou not rise and gather thy dismembered limbs and shake off thy distorted appearance ? Hast thou no power to do it ? Or thou hast so much pro.Hinduism and pro.Indianism in thy heart that there is no place for individuality ? The sacrifice of Individuality on the alter of Nationality is not demanded.

CHAPTER VI

Dismembered Karnatak & Andhra.

The name Kanada or Karnatak does not appear on a political map of India, and hence many of our students of North India are ignorant of these words. They know the word Kanada to confound it with Canada in North America, and the word Karnatak is known to them because they have read about the 'Karnatak Wars' in the Indian history. The three wars which were fought between the English and the French near Madras city in 1744-1763 are known as the 'Karnatak Wars'. But are these Anglo-French wars rightly named? Were they fought in the lands where Karnatakee is spoken? No, they were fought in Tamil and Telgu speaking areas. Karnatakee or Kanadi is spoken on the western side while these wars were fought on the eastern side. Mohamadan and their successors the English historians who did not know the difference between Tamil, Telgu and Kanadi languages were naming all the country south of the Krishna River, as Karnatak-hence this mistake in the Indian history.

Thus we see that the term 'Karnatak Wars' is the only source for many of our students, to know the word 'Karnatak,' and we see what a wrong source it is. These wars ought to have been called 'Anglo-French Wars' or 'Madras Wars',

The name Karnatak, as we have just seen, does not appear on the map of India. That area is partitioned between the various provinces and states. Its northern portion forms the part of Bombay Presidency, a great slice in the north-east is in the jaws of the Nizam and in the middle portion Madras has dug the dagger deep, the southern area is Mysore state which is completely Kanadi speaking.

Disadvantages attending this partition are many. In the north Marathi culture is forcing her way on Karnatak, in the north-east, Urdu of Hyderabad state is trying its best to wipe away Kanadi culture, the east being in the grip of Madras presidency, Telgu and Tamil are trying to absorb their victim. Fortunately in the west there is the Indian Ocean and no rival culture to attack it. In the south there is Mysore state which is the only region where Karnatak culture is preserved.

Karnatak is dismembered in this way:-

- (1) Bombay presidency (4 districts)
Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar, and Karwar.
- (2) Madras presidency— (3 districts.)
Bellary, Manglore, and Coorg.
- (3) Nizam state (2 districts.)
Raichur, and Gulbarga.

(1) Mysore state. (Complete.)

It has eight districts.

The history of this linguistic area in brief is this:—

Tipoo, the Ruler of Mysore, was successful in bringing almost all the Kanadi speaking districts under one sway, and thus showed himself worthy of his people's trust. The Kanadi districts which were under the Nizam and the Peshwa remained to be brought under the sway of Mysore. But before doing it Tipoo, the Tiger of Mysore as he called himself, fell on Travancore. Then the British seeing what was happening to their ally the Raja of Travancore, and fearing that such a thing might not happen to them at Madras, evoked the aid of the Peshwa and the Nizam. The Tripple Alliance thus formed, fell on Tipoo. Tipoo was no match for such a formidable alliance, he shut himself in his capital Shrirangapattam and entreated for peace. The British wanted to end his dynasty then and there, but Nana Farnawis, the Maharatta statesman, was shrewd enough to see that the end of Tipoo would mean the end of the British rival in South India, which he did not like.

Thus Tipoo was saved, but he was sheared of half of his territory which was equally divided between the allies. The Peshwa got Belgaum, Dharwar and Karwar. But 26 years later he was relieved of these districts together with his own inheritance, when his dynasty ended in 1818.

Andhra or Telangana also is a dismembered area, Madras and Nizam have partitioned it. Madras presidency has 9 Telgu-speaking districts and the Nizam's

territory has eight. The Andhraits have now arisen for the separation of their area from Madras.

Advantages from the New Scheme.

Having seen some of the disadvantages under which we are groaning on account of the present irrational distribution of provinces, it is not difficult for us to see the numerous advantages which will be afforded by rational provinces. We have seen that the linguistic areas correspond with geographical areas, and hence if we distribute provinces on a linguistic basis, we have them distributed on a geographical basis also. Such a distribution being a natural one will afford us advantages which naturally attend this scheme.

When provinces are based on a geographical basis it will afford economy in administration, and it will open many natural resources which will increase industry and wealth of the province concerned. By distributing provinces on a linguistic basis we give impetus to the provincial languages and to the education of the masses. Each province will have a university of its own to do this work.

¶ If this new scheme is the creator of provincial spirit it brings many boons which are not easily seen. This spirit will weaken the caste-system; and Hindu-Muslim tension also will be weakened.

How will the provincial spirit weaken the caste-system? Provincial language as a rule, corresponds with a special variety of race, culture, traditions and litera-

ture. Different linguistic areas have different peculiarities and culture.

Hence an intermarriage between a Bengali Brahman and a Panjabi Brahman is not easily conceived, but an intermarriage between a Bengali Brahman and a non-Brahman, or a Punjabi Brahman and a non-Brahman may be conceived. In this way the provincial spirit will weaken the caste system.

The same provincial spirit will weaken Hindu-Muslim tension also by curing our Muslim brothers of the disease of 'Pan-Islamism' and 'Pakistanism'. All these advantages mentioned above, and many more, will surely go to make India strong.

CHAPTER VII

Opposition To The New Scheme.

Having seen some of the disadvantages under which we are groaning on account of the present irrational distribution of Provinces and the advantages which the rational provinces would give us, we have now to see the new scheme. But first let us see the opposition brought to bear against the new scheme, and let us judge the validity of the arguments.

Over hundred languages.

Our opponents say that there are over one hundred languages spoken in India today. Are we going to have so many provinces? Will it be an administrative convenience?

When we say that there are more than one hundred languages spoken, we include therein many which have no literature, no grammar, and no alphabets of their own; and many of them are spoken by but a very small minority. When we exclude such languages we find that a small number remains which claims consideration from us. A list of such languages is given below. (Census Report 1931)

1	Hindi (East and West)	...	104,990,000
2	E. Punjabi (Gurumukhi)	...	15,725,000
3	W. Punjabi (Landha)	...	3,069,000
4	Pahari (East and West)	...	2,507,000
5	Sindhi	...	3,967,000
6	Kashmiri	...	1,437,000
7	Pashto	...	1,594,000
8	Balochi	...	625,000
9	Bengali	...	53,037,000
10	Rajasthani	...	12,683,000
11	Guzarathi	...	10,634,000
12	Oriya	...	10,928,000
13	Assamese	...	1,997,000
14	Marathi	...	20,739,000
15	Konkani	...	466,000
16	Khandeshi	...	222,000
17	Telgu	...	26,176,000
18	Tamil	...	20,177,000
19	Malayalam	...	9,101,000
20	Kanarese	...	11,196,000
21	Coorgi	...	44,000
22	Tulu	...	629,000

Some Provinces Far Bigger than the other ones.

The above list shows that some languages like Hindi are spoken by a very large majority, while the other languages like Konkani, Khandeshi, Tulu and Coorgi by a very small minority. Are we going to have some provinces very big and the others very small? Will it be an administrative convenience?

This difficulty can very easily be overcome if we have three or four provinces for the Hindi-speaking area

while the small areas speaking Tulu or the other minor languages may become the districts in the major provinces. The areas speaking Tulu and Coorgi would become the districts in a Kanadi Province, and the areas speaking Konkani and Khandeshi would merge into Maharashtra.

Rajasthan and Bihar have languages of their own but they allow Hindi to have a linguistic conquest over them. Gondi, Bhilli, Pahari, and such other languages allow neighbouring major languages to have conquests over them. In these days, when we stand for self-determination, on no account can we deny this right to any one of choosing a conqueror and submitting to him. Now Assam stands on the horn of a dilemma, to have a culture of its own or to allow Bengali to have a cultural conquest.

Boundary question.

There is an old Marathi Proverb which says 'A language or a dialect changes at every twelve miles.' It is an old proverb, spoken and believed when there was no arrangement for the education of the masses. Marathi, like the other then languages, was not a homogeneous one, but was a group of various dialects Nagpuri, Berari, Poonait, Khandeshi, Konkani and Karwari. But the means of communication and the widespread of education have dissolved these dialects and made them a homogeneous Marathi language.

If we travel from one linguistic area to the other, we do not find any mathematical line between them, but we see that the area speaking one language gradu-

ally merges into the other. The districts which are on the borders are often bilingual, and this may give rise to boundary disputes. There may be a dispute about Belgaum where Marathi and Kanadi are spoken, there may be a dispute about Balaghat where Marathi and Hindi are spoken. A boundary dispute may arise between Bengal and Bihar, and between Bihar and Oudh. How to define boundaries under such circumstances ?

Boundary disputes ought to be decided by the wishes of the people concerned; for this an inquiry will have to be made on the spot, and that by an expert committee. We should not fear that the boundary disputes would not be amicably settled. Such disputes in India will not be like brutal wars fought between the European nations for an inch of ground.

People in bordering districts are often bilingual. The Khan of Khilat spoke Bruhi with his father and Baloch with his mother. Such things are not uncommon in India where marriages between different linguistic groups take place.

But even then the question of primary education in bordering districts will have to be settled. The district on the border may have 60% population speaking the language of the province, and 40% speaking the language of the neighbouring province. Should 40% people suffer in such a case ? In such cases the Municipal Committees and District Councils should make arrangements for the education of 40% in their own mother tongue with the language of the province as a compulsory subject.

For this let us fix the percentage 20%. If any bordering district has 20% or more speaking the language of a neighbouring province, the Municipal Committees and the District Councils should make arrangements for their primary education. If the percentage is less, and if the community is rich enough, the community should make its own arrangement for the primary education, and the local bodies would give them grants if they keep the language of the province as a compulsory subject.

While fixing a boundary between the two linguistic provinces we may come across a district inhabited predominantly by Aborigines. Suppose we come across such a bordering district which has a population 10 lakhs, one lakh speak the language A, two lakhs speak the language B, and the remaining 7 lakhs are Aborigines speaking their own dialect. Should that District be given to the province B because B speaking people outnumber A speaking people? No, it should be decided by the wishes of the 7 lakhs Aborigines, whether they want to be amalgamated in the province A or B. In these days of self-determination they have a right to decide which language should have a conquest over them, A or B.

Administration Expensive

{ Another argument which is levelled against the new scheme is on economic grounds. The new scheme increases the number of provinces. Will it not tell seriously on the finances of India if we have so many provinces with so many governors drawing fat salaries?

Financial question is not so difficult as it is fancied to be. A retrenchment in the scale of expenditure

will make both ends meet. We will have to apply the axe to provincial expenditure, and tap fresh sources of revenue.

Further we might add that the separation of an area and the formation of a new province does not necessarily imply a separate economic life. Nor does it mean a duplication of all the organs of Government. For instance it is quite possible for one High Court to serve more than one province.

We will be able to discuss this point in a better way later, on when we will have examined the new scheme and seen the number of provinces; because we will then be able to discuss about provincial administration.

Provincial Spirit.

The new scheme is often opposed on a point which our opponents think a very strong one. They think that the boundaries may be amicably settled, and thus we may have linguistic provinces. But it will soon give rise to a new provincial spirit. Maharashtrians would think that they are for Maharashtra, and Maharashtra for them. Bengalees would think that they are for Bengal and Bengal for them. Such a spirit is ruinous to the Indian National spirit, because it will have India divided within itself. The Indian National Congress and many other associations have tried for so many years to unite India, and when once the country is united will it again be split, and so many years' labour of so many associations nullified? This question of our honest opponents needs consideration.

Is the provincial spirit ruinous to the Indian National spirit? Provincial spirit will strengthen that particular province, it is true, but will it weaken India? Let us consider this. Different provinces are different limbs of one body India. If a certain limb, say a hand, or an eye, or a tooth, or a shoulder tries to become strong why should the body grumble? Will the body not be profitted by that strengthened limb? And if one limb tries to become strong is it not encouraging impetus for the other limbs to acquire strength by emulation? Hence if the provincial spirit strengthens a province it strengthens India also.

(Moreover it is possible to bring such a constitution in which India becomes the federation of different provinces, and in which people would think that they are not for a particular province but for the whole of India, and their province is not for them but for the whole of India.

‘ Maharashtra for India, and Maharashtrians for India,’ ‘ Bengal for India and Bengalees for India ’ would be our slogans. There would be no objection for non-Maharashtrians to settle in Maharashtra for services or such other vocations, but what would be required is that they should submit to the language of the province.

Linguistic provinces should not mean political separation. The Treaty of Versailles teaches us this. The Treaty gave Europe linguistic provinces, but at the same time imposed political separation on them. Many of the tribes and sub-tribes which had enjoyed protection of the Germans and Russians for many centuries,

were made into separate nations, and the small tracts where they lived, and which had no access to the sea, were called independent countries. But the world could not be cheated long. These Lilliputian nations could hardly enjoy 20 years independence. They have now reverted back, of their own free will, to the protection of the major nations; and thus we are reminded of the story of the Prodigal son in the Bible.

Communal Motives.

Another opposition brought to bear against the new scheme is on communal motives. Some people opposed the separation of Sindh from Bombay presidency as it would become a Muslim-majority province. But they failed to see that whether Sindh was separated or not it would have remained a Muslim-majority area. Now though Sindh is separated and formed into a Muslim - majority province, it is yet a Hindu country.

The separation of Karnatak from Bombay presidency is opposed in the same way, the Nehru Report says, by Messrs. Anney and Pradhan. About them the report says, 'Our colleague, Mr. M. S. Anney, does not wholly agree with our viewpoint regarding the Karnatak-Messrs Anney and Pradhan refrain from expressing any opinion on this subject.' And further the Report says, 'We would add that our colleagues Messrs Anney and Pradhan are not wholly at one with us in the arguments we have advanced.'

The new reforms have separated Sindh and Orissa from the major provinces, but it is a grief that the same

justice is not done to Karnatak. The cases of Sindh, Orissa and Karnatak were put before All Parties Conference in 1928. The Conference or Nehru Report says, 'We have received no representations except in regard to Karnatak and Sindh. We have also received a small book giving the case of Utkal, but we regret we have been unable to consider it in the absence of any special memorandum or representation.' Still Orissa or Utkal is formed into a separate province.

About Karnatak the report says, 'The case for the Karnatak was placed before us by a representative of the Karnatak Unification Sangh and the Karnatak provincial Congress Committee. It has been ably prepared with a wealth of information, historical, cultural and statistical. All our questions were answered satisfactorily and in our opinion a strong prima facie case for unification and the formation of Karnatak as a separate province was made.'

About Sindh the same report says, 'It is unfortunate that although the separation of Sindh has given rise to a great deal of heated argument, we are yet not in possession of all relevant facts, such as were placed before us by the representative from the Karnatak. We would commend the way the Karnatak case was prepared, with patient thoroughness and maps and statistics, to those who have demanded the separation of Sindh.'

The above remarks show that the New Reforms have done injustice to Karnatak by not fulfilling their aspirations.

Andhraites or Telgu speaking people also are not behind in raising a cry for the separation of their province from Madras.

Maharashtrians who were having a long slumber enjoying the bliss of ignorance, have now arisen to raise a cry for the separation and unification of their linguistic area. The First United Maharashtra Conference which was held at Poona on the 25th May 1940, and the First Maha Vidarbha Conference held on the 18th August of the same year at Wardha show how recent is the stir amongst the Maharashtrians.

Guzrathis have not yet raised a voice for the separation of their province from Bombay. It is perhaps because their area is not dismembered into different provinces but forms the part of a major province. But this consideration did not hold back Sindh and Orissa from their aspirations.

CHAPTER VIII

Hindrance by some Native States.

Hitherto we have examined some oppositions, but now the opposition which is the greatest of them all, is confronting us. When we think of this scheme from practical point of view we find that some native states come in our way. In the Nizam State there are three distinct linguistic areas, Marathi, Karnatic and Telgu, The Southern Maratha States also present considerable difficulties. The chiefs of the S. M. States have their jagirs both in Marathi and Kanadi speaking areas. Hence to conduct administration and to facilitate transfer of their state servants, it has become necessary for them to make their jagirs of both the places have the same language, viz. Marathi. The Nizam state and the southern Maratha states are the only ones that come in our way.

What should we do to overcome the difficulties which the states afford us? Transfer of some bordering districts is the only remedy. Let this suggestion not frighten us. If we value permanent peace we will have to do this work whether we like it or not.

In the S. M. states Marathi-Kanadi dispute ought to be overcome in this way. For this the river Ghataprabha may be fixed as boundary line between Maharashtra and Karnatak. Maratha jagirs south of that river would be the part of Karnatak, and the jagirs north of that river would be part of Maharashtra.

The Nizam State.

The Nizam state has three distinct linguistic areas:- Marathi, Kanadi and Telgu. It is the biggest of all the Indian states both in area and population. The next biggest is the Mysore state, but it is less than half of the Nizam state both in area and population.

The Nizam state has 16 districts. Of these the six are Marathi, two are Kanadi, and the remaining eight are Telgu speaking districts.

1. Marathi speaking districts:-

Aurangabad, Osmanabad, Bhir, Nander, Parabhani and Bidar.

2. Kanadi speaking districts:-

Raichur and Gulbarga.

3. Telgu speaking districts:-

The remaining eight.

The linguistic population:-

(Here and in subsequent pages we have followed the Census Report 1931, as the C. R. 1941 is not yet available)

Telgu speaking	...	6,972,534
Marathi speaking	...	3,786,639
Kanadi speaking	...	1,620,094
Urdu speaking	...	1,573,630

Telgu, Marathi and Kanadi have definite linguistic areas, but Urdu or West Hindi has no such linguistic area. It is because all the Mohamadans though they are the converts from the above-mentioned linguistic people, have offered Urdu as their mother tongue. West Hindi speaking people are 15,74,000, and the Mohamadans are 15,34,000. Hence Forty thousand Non-Muslims who have offered West Hindi as their mother tongue, are from U. P. side.

In order to have linguistic provinces, and in order to ensure permanent peace, we will have to make some changes. Marathi speaking districts should be given to Maharashtra and Kanadi speaking districts to Karnatak. His Exalted Highness the Nizam will have the remaining eight Telgu speaking districts to rule over. Lesser the burden on His Exalted Highness better governed will be the area.

Let not the suggestion that out of the 16 districts His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad should renounce the eight, not make us aghast. Even then His Exalted Highness would remain the first amongst all the native states. Mysore state which is second to Hyderabad, would remain the second, and the position of his Exalted Highness would not be changed.

For this act of generosity the subjects of His Exalted Highness would offer him the title of the 'King' and 'His Majesty,' the dignity much desired by him. At present amongst all the native states only the ruler of Nepal has the title 'the King' and 'His Majesty'. The 'Nizam' means the 'Manager', and this title appears to be lower than 'Subedar' or 'Governor'.

The people have some social functions like 'Dasera' in which they show loyalty and respect to the king. The ruler of Hyderabad can claim such an allegiance from his subjects if he has the title of the 'King' and not of the 'Manager.' And let us not fail to notice that in order to win the title of the 'King' and 'His Majesty' the ruler must be a constitutional monarch as the king of England is.

It is unfortunate that any new suggestion which is put forth before the country, is viewed from the communal point of view. Hyderabad is a Hindu-majority state with a Muslim Nawab, and Kashmere is a Muslim-majority state with a Hindu Maharaja.

We do not care to what religion or to what linguistic group the ruler belongs so long as the people enjoy political and the other rights under him.

The Hanover House which is ruling over England today was invited from Germany, two centuries back, to rule over England. The first three kings of the dynasty never cared to learn English, and in the Royal Palaces hardly an English face was to be seen amongst the Royal friends and servants. But the English people never thought that they were under the German rule.

In our country the princes may not be the indigenous persons of the soil over which they rule. A Hindu Maharaja may have a Muslim-majority state, or a Muslim Nawab may have a Hindu-majority state. We have Maratha princes ruling over non-Marathi speaking areas. But it does not matter to us so long as the princes do not force their languages or religions upon the subjects.

All the sound arguments which we put forth fall flat on those who take delight in maintaining high communal bias in them. 'A Muslim Nawab is asked to sacrifice half of his territory!' To be reasonable, why should the sacrifice of one person mean so much to 75 millions of his co-religionists? However great a person may be, he counts but one amongst 75 millions of people. If by the sacrifice of one man 75 millions be the gainers where is the harm?

Those whose communal temperature is high, would say, 'You ask a Muslim Nawab to sacrifice half of his territory, let us ask a Hindu Maharaja to do likewise; and we have such a Maharaja in the Muslim-majority area-Kashmir'.

The request to the Muslim Nawab to renounce half of his territory, would be on a linguistic or a national basis. But the same desire from the Maharaja of Kashmir would be on a communal basis. Even then let us consider the case of Kashmir.

Kashmir.

This state has three divisions which are physical as well as political.

	Area in sq. miles.	Population.	Density. per sq. mile.
Jammu	12,401	17,88,000	144
Kashmir Valley	8,555	15,69,000	183
Frontier Districts	63,560	2,88,000	5

The frontier districts are thrice as large as Jammu and Kashmir Valley put together but the population there is very scanty, being only 5 persons to a square

mile. In the other portions the population is 144 and 128 to a square mile.

Jammu is the heritage of the Maharaja of Kashmir from the pre-Moghul period. Maharaja Ranjeetsingh, when he conquered Kashmir from the Afgans in 1819, appointed a Rajput Raja of Jammu as a governor of Kashmir. After the 1st Sikh war, in 1845, the British government sold the territory and the title of Maharaja to the governor. Thus the present rulers of Kashmir owe the territory by the 'Right of Purchase'.

Kashmir is a Muslim-majority state, the Hindus are 20% of the total population; but this percentage varies at different places. In Jammu the Hindus are 37%, while in Kashmir Valley they are only 4%. The Buddhists who are 1% of the total population, are 10%, in the Frontier Districts.

There are two kinds of states:-

1. Pre-Moghul Period States, and
2. Post-Moghul Period States.

The pre-Moghul period states are not of the making of any one. The Maharanas of Rajputana were the Maharanas before the coming of the Moghuls, and they are existing so even now. Gaekwar, Sindhia, Holkar and Pawar never had the title of Maharajas when they were independent rulers; if they are Maharajas now, they are of British-making. In the same way the Nawabs of Hyderabad, Bhopal and Tonk are of British making; under the Moghul rule they would not have been suffered to remain hereditary Nawabs.

Lord Dalhousie had drawn this distinction, and his policy was to confiscate the states which were of the British making. Hence the Doctrine of Lapse was launched against the newly created states, and not against the old Rajput ones.

Thus we see that the Maharaja of Jammu is not of British making, but the Maharaja of Kashmir reverts back as the Maharaja of Jammu; would it satisfy the Muslims ?

Hindus would not like this suggestion. But let us consider the situation calmly. Agitation for the rights of the subjects were made both in Kashmir and Hyderabad. But in Kashmir the Hindus did not get 50% seats in the Council as the Mohamadans have got in Hyderabad; while the minority community in Kashmir is 20% and in Hyderabad it is 10.5%.

This shows that the Hindu Maharaja of Kashmir cannot help his Hindu subjects sufficiently. Hence let him take care of 37% of the Hindus in Jammu, the 4% Hindus of Kashmir would be able to help themselves better with the aid of the Central Government rather than with the aid of a Hindu Raja.

CHAPTER IX

Communal Wounds in Bengal & Punjab.

Bengal and Punjab are Muslim-majority provinces; the Muslim percentage in Bengal is 54·8% and in the Punjab it is 56·5%. The Muslims want statutory majority in these provinces. They want statutory majority in the provinces where they are in majority, and special rights and weightages where they are in minority. Such a demand seems to be an unjust one. But a little impartial consideration will show that this demand is not so unjust as it appears to be.

In Bengal and Punjab the Muslims are in a slight majority from population point of view, but educationally and financially they are in minority.

‘Then, why did they remain behind educationally and financially?’ a Hindu would say, ‘Were there laws prohibiting the Muslims from going to schools and getting education? Or did the laws debar them from government services or such other vocations? If they

are educationally and financially behind it is their own fault, and they must suffer for it.'

The Muslims say, 'It is not our fault that we have remained behind in education and wealth. The reason of our backwardness is due to the fact that we are the converts from the lower classes of Hindūs. You, the higher caste Hindus hold no hope for the lower castes and for the people who are duped or forced to become Muslim.'

Persecution did not play so much part as persuasion did in getting converts for Islam. In Mongyer and Moorshidabad, the seats of the Nawabs of Bengal, the Muslims are not in such a majority as they are in the eastern districts, Sylhat Valley and Assam Valley where the Moghul armies did not penetrate. In Trans-Sutlej Punjab where the Hindus are 13·5% they are mostly Brahamans and Kshatriyas; in Kashmir Vally the Hindus are 4% and they are all Brahamans; in the N. W. F. Province the Hindus are 5 p. c. and they are all Brahamans and Kshatriyas.

'This shows,' the Muslims say, 'how you the Hindus of the higher castes were treating our forefathers carelessly when Islam came amongst us teaching equality, fraternity and brotherhood. Some of our forefathers might have been forcibly converted, but they wanted to be reclaimed back, and you the Hindus banged your doors against them.'

'If, by the demand of the statutory majority,' the Muslims say, 'you think that we are robbing you, let us do it. Did you not rob our forefathers? Persecution seldom fails to recoil on the persecutor.'

The demand for the statutory majority whether just or unjust is put forth with all vehemence, but it must be dealt with coolly. *

We are against the redistribution of provinces on a communal or a religious basis. We want to have provinces on a linguistic, economic, or a geographical basis. But we may have provinces on a communal basis also if so demanded by both, the Hindus and Muslims. The demand of one community will not do.

Though the Punjab and Bengal are Muslim-majority provinces, they have three types of districts; 1. Muslim-majority districts, 2. Hindu majority districts, and

* Many influential persons of Hindu and other communities are of the opinion that the Muslims might hardly be 50 per cent in the Punjab and Bengal. At the time of the last census, the Hindus boycotted the census in these as in the other provinces, and the Muslims gave here as elsewhere, their exaggerated number. They are further of the opinion that the Muslims know that they are not in such a majority in the Punjab and Bengal, and fearing that they would not be elected in such a majority want to maintain the false number by statutory majority. It is further pointed out that in Bengal Hindu adults outnumber Muslim adults, but Muslim minors outnumber Hindu minors, this shows that the Muslims gave an exaggerated number of their children.

The question whether the author shares the above view or not, does not arise. The author sticks to the Census Report.

3. the districts where no community is in a clear majority.

But these provinces have a certain line running from north to south, on one side of the line the Muslims are 70 per cent and on the other side they are 30 per cent. In the provinces where the Muslims are 70 per cent they would not ask for statutory majority; and as for the special rights and weightages if they demand in the provinces where they are in minority, they should give the same to the other communities where they are in majority. We may think that such a device will do much to end the communal trouble.

Which are those wonderful lines running in Bengal and Punjab? They may be called the 'Lines of Peace.'

In Bengal we get the Line of Peace by joining Cooch-Bihar to Khulna. To the west of the line the Muslims are 29 per cent and to the east they are 70 per cent. In the Punjab the line of peace is afforded by the river Sutlej, west of the Sutlej the Muslims are 71.6 per cent and to the east they are 29 per cent.

The present Punjab extends upto the river Jamuna but as we have seen somewhere, the real Punjab, the geographical and the historical one, ends at the river Sutlej. The Punjab of Mohemad of Gazni and of Maharaja Ranjeetsingh extended upto that river. Maharaja Ranjeetsingh wanted to conquer and unite all the Sikh states even on this side of the river, but the British did not allow him to do so. The Lion of the Punjab roared on the banks of the river Sutlej, dashed his tail on the ground, but he had to submit to the Sutlej as the boundary of his realm.

Why is the present Punjab allowed to extend upto the river Jamuna under the British rule ? It has given rise to a communal and linguistic strife. The language of Trans Sutlej Punjab is West Punjabi or Landha, and of Cis-Sutlej Punjab is East Punjabi or Gurumukhi. Hence Trans Sutlej Punjab should be made into a Province and Cis-Sutlej Punjab with some districts from U. P. should be made into another province and named 'Sur-Hind.'

The difficulty about Bengal also may be solved in the same way. The Province of Bengal is only a part of Bengali speaking area. Hence the boundaries of the province may be extended, and then it may be divided into two, East Bengal and West Bengal.

The comparison and the study of the statistics of these two provinces for the years 1921 and 1931 are instructive. The population of India during these 10 years increased by 10 per cent, and during the general distribution Bengal got 8 per cent increase and the Punjab got 18 per cent increase in population. But the variation in communal percentages is this:—

Bengal	1921	1931	
Muslims	54 p. c.	54·8 p. c.	.8 p. c. increase.
Hindus	43·3 p. c.	43 p. c.	·3 p. c. decrease.
Christians	·2 p. c.	·2 p. c.	
Others	2·5 p. c.	2 p. c.	·5 p. c. decrease.
Total	100 p. c.	100 p. c.	

Those who are numbered as others are mainly Tribals and Buddhists. In the Census Report of 1931 many of the Tribals and Buddhists have enumerated themselves as Hindus, and their percentage, it appears

from the above figures, is .5 per cent. The percentage of the Hindus, which was 43.3 per cent in 1921, ought to have been 43.8 per cent in 1931. But within these ten years .8 per cent Hindus turned Muslims. Thus the Muslim percentage which was 54 per cent in 1921, rose to 54.8 per cent in 1931.

The Punjab		1921	1931	
Muslims	...	55.3 p. c.	56.5 p. c.	+ 1.2 p. c.
Hindus	...	31.8 p. c.	26.8 p. c.	- 5 p. c.
Sikhs	...	11.1 p. c.	13 p. c.	+ 1.9 p. c.
Christians	...	1.6 p. c.	1.7 p. c.	+ .1 p. c.
Adi Dharmis	—	—	1.8 p. c.	+ 1.8 p. c.
Others2 p. c.	.2 p. c.	
Total		100 p. c.	100 p. c.	

From the above figures we see that within ten years the Hindus are reduced 5 per cent. Four lacs of Hindus, who were known as Adi-Hindus separated themselves from the Hindus in 1931, and called themselves as Adi-Dharmis. This has caused 1.8 per cent decrease in Hindu population. 1.2 per cent Hindus turned Muslims, 1.9 per cent found asylum in Sikhism, and .1 per cent went to the Christian fold. The total of all the above figures is 5 per cent.

There is one more point worth noticing about these two provinces. In the Punjab the percentage of Christian converts is 1.7 per cent, while in Bengal it is .2 p.c. The Punjab was conquered nearly a century after the conquest of Bengal, even then it has given so many converts. In the Punjab Adi-Hindus or depressed classes have become Christians in large numbers.

CHAPTER IX

Muslim-majority Provinces.

The map shows that there are two distinct Muslim majority areas, the one is the North West India and the other is the North East corner of India. The Muslim majority area in the North East gives one province, viz. East Bengal with Sylhet District from Assam. And the North West India gives five provinces, viz. Sindh, Punjab (Trans. Sutlej), Kashmere and Jammu, N. W. F. Province, and Baluchistan. The study of these two areas is instructive (Population in thousands. C. R. 1931.)

East Bengal with Sylhet district.

Total	Muslims.	Hindus.	Bud.	Tr.	Chr.
33,176	23,394	9,417	300	69	68
	70·5 p. c.	28·4 p. c.	1·0 p. c.		

North-West India. All the 5 provinces.

Total	Muslims.	Hindus.	Sikhs.	Chr.	Others.
26,463	19,641	4,185	1,863	417	143
	74 p. c.	15·5 p. c.	7·3 p. c.	1·5 p. c.	

Muslims in different parts of India.

N. W. India	19,641	24·6 p. c.
East Bengal	23,394	31·4 p. c.
Rest India	34,004	44·0 p. c.
Total	77,039	100 p. c.

The above figures show that East Bengal contains more Muslims than do all the five provinces of N. W. India. Both the areas together have 56 per cent of the total Muslims of India, while the remaining 44 per cent are distributed in the other parts.

Some enthusiastic Muslims want to call Muslim majority area as 'Pakistan.' Of course in Pakistan they do not include Bengal as it is detached from the other Muslim countries outside India, it has two crores of Hindus, and it is surrounded by Nepalese and Biharis, who are reputed to be warlike people.

Hence they want the 5 provinces of North West India to be called Pakistan. None of those provinces have less than 70 per cent Muslims and all the area put together has 74 per cent.

But the Muslims here are less than two crores, and 24.6 per cent of the total Mahomedan population of India. Will these 24.6 per cent Muslims sacrifice the interests of 75.4 per cent of their brethren spread over the rest of the country and this sacrifice for their poetic and fantastic dream of calling a certain area as 'Pakistan?' Moreover the existence of 68 lacs of Non-Muslims here prevents it from becoming a Muslim country.

Pakistan is an Urdu word which in Hindi means 'Punya Bhumi,' and in English it means holy land. If the Muslims want to call a certain area Pakistan, why do they not call the whole country by that name? The Hindus already call it Punya Bhumi.

Moreover what business have we to call our country Holy Land and the other countries of the world Unholy

Lands? Much less we will like a certain area of our country to be called Pakistan and the rest Na-Pakistan!

Hindustan is not the only name for our country. We have other names besides, which do not signify any religion. Leaving aside the word India, which is a foreign one, we have other words. They are:—

(1) Arya Warta, Arya Desha, Arya Bhumi, Arya Bhu.

(2) Bharat, Bharat Varsha, Bharat Desh.

(3) Hind, Hind Desh, Hind Bhumi, Hind Bhu.

These old names would do, and there is no need of throwing a bomb shell of new names amongst the public.

If new names are wanted may we suggest one? May our country not be called Hind sthan along with Hindu-sthan.

Hind :— Name of a country.

Hindu:— Name of a religion or a person following that religion,

Hindi:— Name of a language or a person living in Hind, to whatever religion he may belong.

The Congress does not use the word Hindusthan but it uses the foreign word India. What word should the Congress use in the place of this foreign word? Of course Hind-sthan.

Let this suggestion not frighten the Hindus. Hindu-sthan will always remain Hindusthan, and we do not desire to change the name. But our country has many other names besides, and let this be one of them.

The word Hindi does not signify any religion but it signifies a language and the people. Mohamadans who

go outside India to the other Muslim countries call themselves Hindusthanis. Why should they not use the short term 'Hindi'? Does the term Hindusthani not signify religion?

Hence the language which is, or which is to be the Lingua-Franca of India should be called Hindi, and not Hindustani. If the Muslims are insistent in calling the Lingua Franca Hindustani and not Hindi, we should say that from the beginning they have been using a wrong word and now they are fighting to preserve it.

Urdu is called West Hindi, but 'Sur-Hindi' would be a better word. There is no use quarreling over the script, the script which is more scientific and more phonetic will have the upper hand.

Urdu or West Hindi is not the mother tongue of the Muslims living in Muslim-majority provinces. Their mother tongues are the provincial languages, Bengali, Sindhi, Punjabi, Kashmiri, Pashto, Balochi and Bruhi. In Bengal the Muslims are 54·8 p. c. while 0·5 p. c. have offered Urdu as their mother tongue. The Urdu speaking people in the other Muslim-majority provinces are

Provinces.	Muslims.	Urdu Speaking People.
1. Bengal	54·8 p. c.	0·5 p. c.
2. Punjab	56·5 p. c.	14·00 p. c.
3. Sindh	73·7 p. c.	Nil
4. Kashmir	77·0 p. c.	Nil
5. N. W. F. P.	91·0 p. c.	1·00 p. c.
6. Baluchistan	85·0 p. c.	2·00 p. c.

This shows that the change of religion does not necessarily mean the change of the language or culture. Hence there should be no attempt of forcing Urdu on

Bengali or the other Muslims, and make them forget the seed from which they are born. History tells us that Arab Khalifas had accepted Persian as their court and literary language, though Arabic was their language and the language of the Kuran.

Hindus are divided into so many castes and sub-castes that no community which is over 10 p. c. should be regarded as a minority one. But let us fix the number 20 p. c. The provinces where the Muslims are 20 p. c. or more, should be called as neutral provinces.

We have three such provinces.

1. Sur Hind	...	25 p. c.	Muslims.
2. West Bengal	...	29 p. c.	„
3. Assam	...	20 p. c.	„

Now we would like to suggest something to the Hindus who live in Muslim-majority provinces. They must abolish all the caste system today. Jat-Pat-Todak Mandal is already doing this work in the Punjab, but the progress of this work must be enhanced in all the 6 Muslim-majority provinces. In sur Hind, West Bengal and Assam which we call neutral provinces, an early attempt should be made to abolish the caste-system. In the other provinces this need has not yet arisen. In the Muslim-majority provinces Arya Samaj, Hindu Mahasabha and such other associations would not be able to help the Hindus in a proper way if they maintain caste system amongst them.

With this much talk with Hindu friends let us have a little talk with Muslim friends. In the Hindu-majority

and neutral provinces the Muslims are 34 millions, and in Muslim-majority provinces the non-Muslims are 14 millions, and the Hindus are less than that. That is if there is one Hindu in a Muslim-majority area, there are 3 Muslims in the other area. If the Muslims give concession to one, they get concession for 3. This shows how with less amount of sacrifice the Muslims are the gainers of more. This fact may be viewed in the other way also, for one Hindu in a Muslim-majority area there are 3 Muslims as hostages in the other area.

That the provinces have become Hindu-majority and Muslim majority ones is a natural consequence, but no recourse should be taken for artificial arrangements such as mass-immigration, mass-migration, mass-conversion or political separation. Pakistan movement will make the Muslims the worst sufferers, the treaty of Versailles teaches us this.

There is a poetic idea behind the word Pakistan. The consonants of this word are the first letters of the provinces, Punjab, Kashmir and Sindh. Baluchistan gives t and Afganistan gives n. The Hindus may have the same poetic idea and call it 'Kis Bapka'. Here also the consonants are the first letters of the provinces. The first k represents Kashmir and the last k is for Kabul. It is a revealed fact that the Pakistanwallas want to include Kabul in their scheme.

Let goodness prevail and no fanciful lines be drawn on the map to call a certain area Pakistan (Holy Land), or that area will be called Papistan (Sinful land) by the rivals.

CHAPTER XI

India and the Communities.

Though India occupies a speck in the world map, it contains one fifth population of the world. All the religions and all the communities which our globe has to display, are represented here. When we raise Hindu Muslim question we lose sight of this fact. Many of us hesitate to have Swaraj because Hindu-Muslim question would be a thorn in our side, it would be a home trouble for India.

But which nation is free from a home trouble? Nearly all the independent nations have their own home troubles. The home trouble for England is Ireland, and for Ireland it is Ulster. Japan has a home trouble in Korea which is Ireland for her. The Negro trouble is a home trouble for U. S. A. Canada and South Africa though they are the parts of the British Commonwealth have their own home trouble. Canada was conquered from the French and South Africa from the Dutch Colonists. Hence the question before Canada is whether French or English should be the court language. In South Africa a great war is waged on Dutch-English

question. Will these nations sacrifice their independence to save themselves from home trouble? Then why should it be necessary for India alone to do the things which the other nations are not required to do?

Hence let us strive for, and achieve independence disregarding the coming home trouble.

The question is often asked what is Hinduism. Whether Jainism and Buddhism should be included in Hinduism. The Census Report says that it is as wrong to include Jainism and Buddhism in Hinduism as it is to include Christianity in Judaism. Christianity is a revolt against Judaism, in the same way Jainism and Buddhism are revolts against Brahminism or Vedic religion. The Census Report wrongly takes Hinduism as a synonym for Vedic religion. The Report puts the population of the Hindus as 230 millions, but more than half of them being Shudras or Harijans, the Vedas are denied to them. Hence the non-Vedic people are also enumerated as Hindus. Then why should the Jains and the Buddhists not be included in that religion? The difference may be that the Vedas are denied to the Shudras and Harijans whilst the Jains and Buddhists have revolted against them. But this makes no difference. Hence Hinduism is a synonym not for Vedic religion but for Aryan religion or Aryan culture. All the religions born in India fall into the category of Hinduism or Aryan culture.

Though Christianity may not be included in Judaism it may be included in Semitic culture. Judaism, Christianity and Islam are the parts of Semitic culture.

Sikhs have got separate electorates and reservation of seats, but Sikhism is a part of Hinduism. Sikhism is not a revolt against Vedic religion as Jainism and Buddhism are.

Jains, Buddhists and tribals though they are enumerated outside Hindus, have never fought for separate electorates and reservation of seats. It is really a mistake to number them outside Hindus.

If the Buddhists are Hindus, are the Chinese and Japanese Hindus? The Buddhism of the Chinese and Japanese is mixed with something else, and India is not their fatherland, hence they are not Hindus. But the Buddhists of India, § Burma, Ceylon, and Indo China may be called Hindus.

For practical and political purposes we cannot stiffen logical definition. In India, for political purposes we may take Judaism or Hebrew religion as a sect of Christianity, and Zoroastrianism or the religion of the Parsees as one of the sects of Hinduism.

It is no wonder that the Hindus are enumerated according to the different sects and castes, but the Christians who are in microscopic minority in India are enumerated according to the different sects and churches. The Mohamadans have hitherto refused to give their different sects. But as the Sunnis and Shias show very little compromising spirit, and as the Agakhani religion is mid-way between Hinduism and Islam, a demand is arising from them for separate enumeration.

As Hindus are divided into different sects and castes no community which is more than 10 p. c. can be

regarded as a minority one. The Muslims are 23 p. c. in India. The League of Nations has put that no community which is more than 20 p. c. should be regarded as a minority one. Hence taking India as a whole the Muslims cannot be regarded as a minority community. They may be regarded as minority communities in the provinces where they are less than 20 p. c. Our new scheme gives three neutral provinces, Sur-Hind, West Bengal and Assam; the remaining are either Hindu-majority or Muslim-majority provinces.

Reservation of seats is the solution for the minority communities but not separate electorates. By separate election a hostile majority is created against a minority. The separate electorate system has ruined many liberal minded Muslims as they had to speak with and think along the lines of their narrow-minded co-religionists in a way their conscience would not permit them to do, and thus they had to abuse their own soul to secure votes for themselves.

Hence we want to see that election day when a Hindu in the Punjab and in the N. W. F. P. would move amongst the Muslims to win their confidence to get votes from them; and a Muslim in Madras would move amongst the Hindus with his over-politeness to secure votes for himself.

CHAPTER XII

The New Scheme.

While examining the oppositions levelled against the New Scheme, we have seen how the Native States and the Muslim question afford considerable difficulties, and how successfully can those difficulties be surmounted. We are now in a position to see the new scheme.

When we are called upon to think of a new scheme we think of the present War. Our intelligence is directed to aggravating the confusion or is captivated by the apparent wisdom of a policy of 'Wait and See'. It is not the war, but the loss of this fine opportunity for improvement that is most tragic. Hence unmindful of what the other countries are doing let us mind what we have to do.

India would be the federation of various linguistic provinces, and they would be of three types:-

1. Muslim-majority provinces, six.
2. Neutral provinces, three.
3. Hindu-majority provinces, the rest.

Linguistic provinces correspond with geographical provinces. We have four geographical divisions:-

1. The Region of Mountains.
2. The Region of Plains.
3. High-lands of Central India.
4. The Deccan Table-land with Coast strips.

The Himalayas with their offshoots make a vast Region of Mountains in the North of Indiā. At the foot of these mighty mountains the three mighty rivers the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahamaputra and their tributaries flow; this makes a vast Region of Plains. Further to the south, upto the Vindhya Mountains are the Highlands of Central India. beyond that region there is the Deccan Table-land with coast-strips.

Now let us see the provinces in each of these regions.

The Region of Mountains.

1. Baluchistan:-

Quetta the capital of the province was occupied by the British in 1876. This annoyed the Amir of Afganistan as he thought it to be his acquisition. To avenge this he began to show inclination towards the Moscow-vites of whom he knew that the Britishers were afraid. This led to the second Afgan war (1878-81). The result of which was the complete acquisition of Baluchistan.

This province has 6 districts, and 2 states.

Districts:- 1. Quetta-Pishin, 2. Loralai, 3. Zhob, 4. Bolan, 5. Chagai, 6. Sibi.

States:- 1. Kalat, 2. Lasbella.

Kalat:- It has a population of 342,000. It is ruled by a Khan who belongs to a Brahui tribe which is a Dravidian race and speaks a Dravidian tongue.

Las-bella:— It has a population of 64,000. The ruler, the Jam, is of Arab descent.

The languages spoken here are these;—

Balochi 30 p. c., Pashto 24 p. c., Brahui 14 p. c., Sindhi 17 p. c., Landha 6 p. c., Punjabi 2 p. c., W. Hind 2 p. c.

The total number of people speaking Balochi language is 625,708; out of which 265,322 people live in Baluchistan. The rest live in the other parts of Bombay presidency.

Population:—	(In thousands C. R. 1931)	
Muslims	395	85 p. c.
Hindus	53	11.4 p. c.
Sikhs	8	1.7 p. c.
Christians	7	1.5 p. c.
Total	463	
States total	405	

It is not necessary to have Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province as two separate provinces. The six districts of this province should be amalgamated in N. W. F. P. The valley through which Sibi-Jacobabad Railway passes should be annexed to Sindh. Lasbella State, which is near Karachi, would be under the Governor of Sindh. And the Khan of Khalat may be given the title of Amir of Baluchistan and thus the national aspirations of the Baluchis would be fulfilled.

2. The N. W. F. Provinces or Pashto-Desh.

After nine centuries of Muslim sway this province was conquered by Maharaja Ranjeetsing in 1837; and the

British acquired it with the whole of the Punjab in 1849 as a result of the Second Sikh War. It was part of the Punjab till 1901, and then it was made into a separate province.

This province has five districts, five states and tribal areas.

DISTRICTS:— 1. Peshawar, 2. Hajara, 3. Kohat, 4. Bannu, 5. Dera Ismail Khan.

STATES :— 1. Swat, 2. Chitral, 3. Khyber, 4. Khurum, 5. Waziristan.

The States were brought under the British influence some years after the Second Afgan War. This again annoyed the Amir of Kabul as he considered them to be parts of Afganisthan. Hence an envoy, Durand by name, was sent to Kabul in 1893. He not only made the Amir acknowledge the British suzerainty over the acquired states, but made him cede something more. A line was drawn to limit the extension of Afganisthan. This line is known as the Durand Line. The area between this line and the British districts is called the tribal area. The tribes inhabiting it are not the subjects of Afganisthan, nor have the British made them their subjects. The Khans who rule over the tribes have tribal acquisitions, not territorial ones.

The languages spoken here are these:-

Pashto 52%, Landha 42%, Punjabi 4% and Urdu 1%.	
Pashto speaking people in India	15,94,300
" N. W. F. P.	12,65,542
" in Baluchistan	2,07,018
" in Rest India	1,21,740

Population:-	in thousands
British districts	24,25
States	14,30
Tribal areas	8,28
Total	46,83

If the districts from Baluchistan be added to this province the population would be 5146000. This province should be called Pashto-Desh rather than N. W. F. P.

Communal Population and percentages in British Districts:-

Muslims	22,05	91 p. c.
Hindus	1,56	6 p. c.
Sikhs	47	1·6 p. c.
Christians	16	
Total	24,24	

3. Kashmir and Jammu.

After 5 centuries of Muslim sway this beautiful province was relieved by Ranjeetsing in 1819. The Sikh ruler appointed the Rajput Raja of Jammu as the Governor of Kashmir. In 1845, as the result of the First Sikh War, the British Government sold the territory and the title of the Maharaja to the Governor. Thus the present ruler of Kashmir owes his territory by the 'Right of Purchase.' The Nizam owes his territory by the 'Right of bending before the storm', and the Maharaja of Mysore owes his by the 'Right of Grace.' It was the grace of the British Government to install the old Hindu Dynasty in Mysore after the fall of Tipu."

This state has three divisions which are physical as well as political. In a preceding chapter we have seen the area and the population of these divisions.

The languages spoken in this state are:-

Kashmiri 39 p. c., Punjabi 24 p. c., West-Pahari 17 p. c., Rajasthani 9 p. c., Landha 2 p. c.

Kashmiri speaking people in India	14,37,200
„ „ Kashmir	14,13,200
„ „ Rest India	24,000

Population in thousands:-

	Jammu.	Kashmir.	Total.
Hindus	664 37p.c.	71 4p.c.	735 20p.c.
Muslims	1090 61p.c.	1727 93p.c.	2817 77p.c.
Christians	1.5p.c.	.5	2
Sikhs	30 1.5p.c.	20 1p.c.	50 1.5p.c.
Buddhists		38 2p.c.	38 1p.c.
Total	1758	1858	3616

We have already suggested somewhere that Kashmir should be divided into two parts, west and east, and East Kashmir or Jammu should remain under the Maharaja.

4. Hima Pradesh or Garhwal.

This is a new mountainous province. It has many hill-stations, it is the real Switzerland of India, being more approachable to many parts of India than Kashmir is. It has 6 districts, two from the Punjab and 4 from U. P. and three states.

The languages spoken here are West Pahari and West Hindi. The Mohamadans in this province are less than 5 p. c.

States:- 1. Tehri, 2. Simla, 3. Chamba.

Districts:- From Punjab, 1. Kangra, 2. Simla.

From U. P. 1. Dehradun, 2. Nainital,
3. Almora, 4. Garhwal.

Population:-	T.	H.	M.	Oth.
States:-	825	798	22	4·5
Districts:-	2461	2277	137	39·5
Total	3286	3075	159	44
		93·5 p.c.	4·8 p.c.	

5. Nepal.

The boundary of Nepal, before it came into conflict with the British, extended upto the river Sutlej. But in 1814, as a result of Nepal War, it was reduced to the river Kali, and the districts now to be included in Himachal Pradesh were annexed to the British territory. Nepal is an independent state, but so far as the foreign relations are concerned, it is a dependent one. Hence we may say that it is a dependent state with complete internal autonomy. The degree of internal independence enjoyed by the native states of India varies from the merest vestige in some of the smaller ones to a considerable internal autonomy as in the Hyderabad state. Nepal and Bhutan may be considered ranking higher than Hyderabad. The language spoken here is W. Pahari or Nepali. The people are Hindus, Buddhists and tribals. The population is 5,600,000.

6. Bhutan and Sikkim.

Bhutan has much in common with Tibet which is on the north of it. The government of the state is shared by Deb Raj (Secular head) and Dharma Raj (Spiritual head), and the people are all Buddhists. Bhutan is less independent than Nepal is, but it ranks higher than Hyderabad, as the subsidy of Rs 50,000 is paid to him by the British Government; while Hyderabad state is

required to pay. The language spoken here is E. Pahari. The population of this state is 250,000.

Sikkim.

Sikkim is a small mountainous country between Nepal and Bhutan. As it is on a trade route between India and Tibet it was brought under the British influence in 1890. The area of this State is about 2800 sq. miles. and the population is 109,000. The people are Hindus, Buddhists and tribals, and they speak East Pahari. One British resident looks after Sikkim and Bhutan both.

There are some noticeable points about the Mountain region. Due to the physical features the means of communication are very meagre. Baluchistan and North West Frontier Province have some railway lines for military purposes. In Kashmir a small railway line joins Jammu and Sialkot, and a motor road runs from Rawalpindi to Shrinagar. In Hima Pradesh the towns which are hill stations have motor and railway roads running up to them from the plains below. Nepal and Bhutan not being in the British Empire, have not even a mile of a railway line in their territory.

Another noticeable point about this region is that it has deficit provinces and states.

In Baluchistan the Khan of Khalat gets a subsidy from the British Government, and it is the source of his income.

The Khans of the North West Frontier Province get subsidy likewise. Kashmir State is not required to pay such a heavy tribute to the British Government as the other Indian States are required to pay.

The new province Hima Pradesh or Garhwal will have to be amalgamated to Surhind, another new province in the Region of the Plains. This mountain province would give excellent Garhwali soldiers to fight.

Nepal gets an yearly tribute from the British Government which was paid to Afganisthan first, but which is now stopped since the Afgan War in 1919. Besides this, Nepal sends yearly thousands of young men for military and other services in the British Territory, and thus the employment problem in that State is solved.

Bhutan gets a subsidy of Rs. 50,000 a year to keep the mountain tribes under control.

The men of the mountains seem to say :— ‘Oh ye wallowers in the mud of river banks ! Oh ye people of the plains ! Give us something to eat, or we descend down on the plains and plunder you.’

The people of the plains being prudent and more rich, use the men of the mountains for their own defence as they make excellent soldiers.

CHAPTER XIII

The Region of Plains.

This vast region is formed by the basin of the three great rivers, the Indus, the Ganges and the Brahmaputra. Nowhere is this region more than 600 feet above the sea level, except to the west of Delhi where the Indus basin and the Ganges basin are separated, This corridor which separates the basins of the two great rivers is very important as it gives access to the Ganges valley, just as Khyber Pass gives access to the Indus valley. Hence important battlefields of Kurukshetra, Tarim and Panipat are in this corridor. The Indus valley has two provinces, the Punjab and Sindh.

7. Sindh.

Ranjeetsingh who wanted to conquer the whole of the Indus valley and have an access to the sea, was not allowed to conquer Sindh. The Maharaja's progress which was already checked at the river Sutlej was now checked at Sindh; thus he fell a prey to the encirclement policy of the British.

In 1839 at the beginning of the First Sikh War, the Amirs of Sindh were forced to enter into a Subsidiary

Treaty enunciated by Lord Wellesley. Though the treaty was forced on them, they rendered signal and useful services to the British Government although it was in their power to cause considerable embarrassment. But after the defeat and disgrace in the Afghan War the British army fell on Sindh and conquered it. The conquest of Sindh must have weighed heavily on the conscience of the conqueror. Sir Charles Napier in his despatches writes:- "I have Sinned. (Sindh)."

This province has 6 districts and two states.

Districts:- 1. Karachi, 2. Hyderabad, 3. Larkana, 4. Sukkur, 5. Thar Parkar, 6. Upper Sindh Frontier.

States:- 1. **Khairpur:-**It has a population of 227000 out of which 18 p. c. are Hindus and 82 p. c. are Mohamadens.

2. **Las Bella:-** It is to the west of Karachi harbour. It is ruled by an Arab Jam and has a population of 64000.

The total number of Sindhi speaking people is 39,67,000 out of which, we may say, 67,000 live outside Sindh. Hence out of the total population of 41,78,000 in the province 39,00,000 persons speak Sindhi and the rest speak other languages. Hence this province has 95 p. c. people speaking Sindhi and the rest speak other languages.

Population:-

Districts	3887	(1) Districts	3887
Hindus	1016	25.7 p. c.	(2) Khairpur 227
Muslims	2830	73.7 p. c.	(3) Las Bella 64
Sikhs	18		Total 4178
Christians	15		
Parsees	4		
Others	2		

8. The Punjab.

The present Punjab extends upto the river Jamuna, but the new Punjab should end at the rivers Sutlej and Bias; and thus a great step will be taken to end the communal and the linguistic problems in that area.

Bhawalpur is a Muslim majority state with a Muslim Nawab. Hence Trans Sutlej Punjab with Bhagalpur state should form the new Punjab. Cis-Sutlej Punjab with some districts from U. P. would form another new province 'Sur Hind.'

The New Punjab will have 18 districts which are grouped into three divisions;—

1. Lahore
2. Rawalpindi
3. Multan.

DISTRICTS — Lahore, Amritsar, Gurudaspur, Montgomery, Multan, D. G. Khan, Muzzfargarh, Lyallpur, Jhang, Mianwali, Shahpur, Shekpur, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Guzrat, Zelum, Attok, Rawalpindi.

Population:-		Punjab.	Bhawalpur.
Hindus	20,41	13.5 p. c.	144 15 p. c.
Muslims	106,60	71.6 p. c.	799 80 p. c.
Sikhs	17,06	11.5 p. c.	34 3.5 p. c.
Christians	3,76	2 p. c.	1
Others	1,01		4
Total	148,94		984

Total population 1,58,78

W. Punjabi or Landha and E. Punjabi or Gurmukhi are the languages of the provinces. Urdu is not the language of the Muslims of the province.

9. Sur Hind.

Cis-Sutlej Punjab, Cis-Sutlej state and some districts from U. P. would form this new province.

DISTRICTS FROM THE PUNJAB.

(1) Ambala Division, 5 districts — Hissar, Rohtak Gurgaon, Karmal, Ambala.

(2) Jullundar division, 4 districts — Hoshiarpore, Jullundar, Ludhiana, Ferozpur.

DISTRICTS FROM U. P.

(1) Meerpt Division 5 districts.

(2) Agra ;, 6 districts.

(3) Barelley ,, 6 districts.

Thus this province will have 26 districts, 9 from the Punjab and 17 from U. P.

The languages of the province will be Gurumukhi and West Hindi.

The Muslim percentage in the present U. P. is 14.6 per cent but in the West U. P. it is 20.6 per cent and in the East U. P. it is 12 per cent.

The communal percentage in the different parts are these:—

	H.	M.	S.
(1) Cis-Sutlej Punjab	49 p.c.	30 p.c.	15.5 p.c.
(2) ,, states	53 p.c.	20 p.c.	24.3 p.c.
(3) West U. P.	77 p.c.	20.6 p.c.	0 p.c.
Total	64 p.c.	25 p.c.	9.0 p.c.

Population of the Province.

	Total	M.	H.	S.	C.	Oth.
C. S. Punjab	8687	2672	4288	1358	16	300
C. S. States	4025	797	2126	972	3	34
West U. P.	14961	3213	11495	40	151	50
Total	27573	6682	17909	2370	170	385

(10) OUDH :— The present U. P. is an unwieldy province. It has 48 districts and 4,84,09,000 population.

Hence we have suggested that 4 districts should be given to Hima Pradesh and 17 districts to Sur Hind. Thus the new province of Oudh will have 27 districts and 3,20,49,000 population.

1. Allahabad Division	7	Districts.
2. Benaras	5	„
3. Gorakhpur	3	„
4. Fyzabad	6	„
5. Lucknow	6	„
Total ...	5	27 „

States (1) Benares (2) Rampur Population 8,56,000. In the present U. P. 99 per cent have given West Hindi as their mother tongue. Hence the language of Oudh would be West Hindi.

The population of the Prouince is

T.	H.	M.	C.	S.	Oth.
3,20,49	2,80,71	39,04	44,5	6	14,5
	87.5 p.c.	12 p.c.			

(11) BIHAR :— This province as now separated from Orissa has 17 districts which are grouped into three divisions. (1) Bhagalpur 5 districts. (2) Patna 7 districts (3) Chota Nagpur 5 districts.

Chhota Nagpur is the part of Central India High-lands and not of the Ganges valley.

The languages spoken here are Bihari, E. Hindi, W. Hindi and Bengali.

The population of the province is :-

T.	H.	M.	Tr.	Cr.	Oth.
32372	25915	4140	1974	332	11
	80p.c.	12.6p.c.	6p.c.	1p.c.	

BENGAL— The population of Bengal is 50,114,000, in which 92 per cent speak Bengali, 3 per cent E. Hindi, 0.5 per cent W. Hindi, 3 per cent tribal languages and 1 per cent other languages.

Bengali speaking people in India are 53,037,000 and the population of Bengal is 50,114,000. This shows that Bengal province is only a part of Bengali speaking area. Much of that area is occupied by the adjoining provinces of Assam, Bihar and Orissa.

Bengali speaking people live in

	Thousands.
India ...	53,038
Bengal ...	46,394
Outside Bengal	6,644
Assam ...	3,916
Bihar and Orissa	1,852
Burma ...	377

In Assam, Sylhat district with the population of 27 lacs is entirely a Bengali speaking Muslim majority area. Hence this district should be given to Bengal. In this district the Muslims are 60 per cent and the Hindus are 40 per cent.

Bengal with a vast population is already an unwieldy one and it would become much more so with the new districts added to it. Hence there should be two Bengals, East and West.

We have already suggested that there is 'Line of Peace' running from Cooch Bihar to Khulna. To the east of the line the Muslims are 70 per cent and to the west they are 29 per cent.

Bengal had 28 districts and with Sylhet added to it the number will become 29. West Bengal should have 14 districts and East Bengal 15 districts.

T.	H.	M.	Tr.	Cr.	Oth.
19,662	13,365	5,707	462	114	85
	67p.c.	29p.c.	2.3p.c.		

(12) WEST BENGAL — It will have 14 districts. Khulna, Dinajpur, Malda, Murshidabad, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Birbhum, Burdwan, Bankura, Midnapur, Hoogli, Howarah, Calcutta, Parganas, State — Cooch Bihar.

(13) EAST BENGAL

It will have Sylhat district from Assam and the remaining 14 districts of Bengal. Tripura State will be in this ~~province~~ province. Though it is a Muslim majority province it has a crore of Hindus. Urdu is a foreign language to the Muslims of this province, Hence no attempt should be made to force Urdu on them and to make them forget the seed from which they are born. Sur Hind, Oudh, Bihar, and W. Bengal are the provinces of the Ganges valley and East Bengal and Assam are the provinces of the Brahmaputra valley.

Population:—

T.	M.	H.	Bud.	Tr.	Cr.
33,176	23,394	9,417	236	69	68
	70 p.c.	28 p.c.	0.7 p.c.		

(14) ASSAM.

Population of Assam	8,622 (in thousands)	
„ „ States.	625	„
Assamee speaking people	1,997	21.5 p. c.
Bengali speaking people	3,961	42.8 p. c.
East Hindi speaking people	520	6.0 p. c.

The above figures show that Bengali speaking people outnumber Assamee-speaking people. If Sylhet, which is a Bengali speaking area with the population of 2,724 be taken away from the province, the Bengali-speaking people would remain 1236, and the population of the province would become 5898.

This province has four divisions which are political as well as physical.

1. Brahamaputra Valley — It has 4,855 population, and 6 districts :- Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhmipur.

2. Surma Valley Sylhet District.

It has a population of 2724. It is a Bengali-speaking Muslim majority area.

(3) Hill Districts — It has four districts.

1. Cachar. 2. Lushai Hills, 3. Naga Hills, 4. Khashi and Jainta Hills.

The population of these districts is 1043 thousands.

(4) States — Manipur and Khashi States. They have the population of 625 thousands.

Let us have a general survey of these divisions.

1. Brahamaputra Valley — This is the original Assam or Kamrup. Nearly all the Assamese speaking people, and they number nearly two millions, and a million Bengali speaking people live in this valley. Besides these two languages the languages of other provinces are also spoken, as this province has imported a large number of persons from different parts of India to work as coolies in tea gardens.

Assam or Kamrup was a mighty Hindu Kingdom which was annexed to the British territory in 1826.

This virgin valley which was unpenetrated by a Muslim sword now has more than 20 per cent Muslims.

The population of this valley in 1900 was 2619, but in 1931 it rose to 4856. This shows that in the course of 30 years this valley has received many millions of immigrants.

(2) Surma Valley or Sylhet District.

This was also an ancient Hindu Kingdom which never submitted to the Nawabs of Bengal. But it was annexed to the British territory in 1330. This district has now 60 per cent Muslims. As it has now become a Muslim majority, Bengali speaking district, it may be given to East Bedgal which is a Muslim majority province.

The present Assam with Sylhet district has 31 per cent Muslims and without this district it will have 20 per cent.

(3) Hill Districts — It has four districts and 1043 population, tribal languages and tribal religions predominate here.

(4) Manipur and Khashi States — They have the population of 625. Here also tribal religions and tribal languages predominate.

Assamese and tribals having no literature and culture of their own desire, should be allowed to be associated with Bengali culture.

Which religion should assimilate them? Hinduism or Islam? It is not in the scope of this book to discuss about religions, but we may discuss about language, literature and culture. But we will do no harm to this our set principle if we quote some of the criticism from the Census Report of 1931.

This Province has received a large number of immigrants from Mymensing, a Muslim majority district in Bengal. The population of Mymensing is 5 millions, as large as that of a province and it has 75 per cent Muslims. Dr. J. H. Hutton M. A., D. Sc., I. C. S., observes them in the Census Report of 1931 'as Prolific breeders'. They have such a huge power of producing children.

Mymensing Muslims were Hindus some generations back, but the change of the religion has made them mischievous. Dr. J. H. Hutton in the same Census Report calls them 'unruly and uncomfortable neighbours.' They have already assimilated Sylhet and made it a Muslim area, and now they threaten to assimilate Brahmaputra valley.

The Census Report says 'These emigrants threaten swarm entirely the indigenous inhabitants, and in the course of two or three decades to change the whole nature, language and religion of the Brahmaputra valley and to assimilate it to the Muslim area of Sylhet.'

Dealing with the same problem Mr. G. S. Mullan M. A., I. C. S., the Census Superintendent for Assam in 1931 says, 'The few thousand Mymensinghas in North Lakhimpur are an outpost which may during the next decade prove to be the valuable basis of major operation.'

Mr. G. S. Mullan further says, It is sad but by means improbable that in another 30 years Sibsagar

district will be the only part of Assam in which an Assamese will find himself at home.'

The population of Assam excluding Sylhet and including Khashi and Manipur states is this :—

	DISTRICTS		STATES	
Hindus	3820	65.5 p. c.	272	43.5 p. c.
Muslims	1153	20.0 p. c.	24	4.0 p. c.
Christians	200	3.0 p. c.	46	7.3 p. c.
Tribals	708	11.0 p. c.	280	44.8 p. c.
Buddhists	15			
Others	6			
Total	5898		625	

CHAPTER XIV

Highlands of Central India.

This region has no provinces but agencies.

(1) Rajputana Agency (2) Malwa Agency and (3) Bundelkhand Agency.

15. Rajaputana Agency.

Geographically Rajputana extends from the river Chambal to the rivers Indus and Sutlej. Hence the two states Kotah and Tonk, which are on the eastern side of the river Chambal, may be included in Malwa Agency.

In Rajputana all are Rajput States save Bharatpur and Dholpur which are Jat ones.

The Nawab of Tonk who has his territory in Malwa north of Bhopal has some Jagirs in Udaipur and Jaipur and for this the Nawab owes allegiance to the ruler of those states.

In Rajputana 76 per cent speak Rajasthani, 15 per cent West Hindi, 6 per cent Bhill, and 3 per cent other languages.

The following are the states in Rajputana.

(Population figures are in thousands.)

1. Jaipur	2631	8. Sirohi	216
2. Jodhpur	2125	9. Banswara	260
3. Udaipur	1566	10. Dungarpur	227
4. Bikaner	936	11. Karauli	140
5. Jaisalmir	76	12. Bharatpur	485
6. Alwar	749	13. Dholpur	254
7. Bundi	216		

Total population — 10,223.

Hindus	8,689	86.8 p. c.
Muslims	978	9.0 p. c.
Jains	289	2.2 p. c.
Tribals	224	2.0 p. c.
Sikhs	40	
Christians	45	

16. Malwa Ageuey.

Central India Agency is divided into two halves by an intervening wedge of Jhansi, Malwa Agency and Bundelkhand Agency. Malwa Agency has 9 states. They are Maratha, Muslim and Rajput ones.

1. Gwalior	3523	5. Datia	158
2. Indore	1318	6. Dhar	243
3. Bhopal	729	7. Kotah	685
4. Tonk	317	8,9. Dewas 2	153

The population of this Agency is

Hindus	6,386	90.0 p. c.
Muslims	525	7.0 p. c.
Jains	80	1.0 p. c.
Tribals	108	1.5 p. c.
Others	7	
Total. ...	7,126	

17. Bundelkhand Agency.

The eastern half of Central India Agency and some states from C. P. would form this Agency.

C. I. Agency states:-

1. Rewa	1587	3. Panna	212
2. Orchha	214	4. Some other states.	

C. P. STATES.

1. Surguja	501	4. Chang Bhakar	23
2. Jashpur	193	5. Korea	90
3. Udaipur	97		

Total population. 904

18. Orissa.

Orissa and Guzerat are not the parts of the Deccan 'Tableland,' they may be called coast strip provinces. After the British conquest, Orissa remained the part of Bengal for more than a century, then it became the part of Bihar, and now owing to the public demand it is made into a separate linguistic province. It has five districts and many states. The population of the British districts is 6905, and of the states it is 4465.

DISTRICTS — 1. Cuttack, 2. Balasore 3. Angal, 4. Puri, 5. Sambalpur.

STATES — Mayurbhanj, Patan, Kolahandi, Bamra, Gangpur, Sonapur.

Orissa did not submit to Muslim sway till the time of Akbar, hence the percentage of Muslims in British districts is 1.8 per cent, and in the states it is 0.4 p. c.

Oriya and some other languages are spoken in this province.

Population:-

	DISTRICTS		STATES	
Hindus	6541	94.6 p. c.	4056	90.8 p. c.
Muslims	129	1.8 p. c.	17	0.4 p. c.
Christians	16		73	1.5 p. c.
Tribals	219	3.2 p. c.	304	6.5 p. c.
Others			2	
Totals	6905		4465	
Totals	1,13,70			

19. Guzrat.

It is a coast strip province. It has 5 British districts, Baroda state and many other states.

DISTRICTS—1. Ahmedabad 2. Broach 3. Kaira
4. Guzrat 5. Panch Mahals.

The total population of Guzerat is

1. British districts	3124
2. Baroda state	2443
3. Other states	4474
Total	10041

The Muslim percentage in British districts is 11.5 per cent, and in Baroda state it is 7.3 per cent and in all the province put together it is 8 per cent.

The total population of Guzerat is 10041, and the total number of Guzerati speaking people is 10634. There are very few non Guzerati speaking people in Guzerat, and nearly 7 lacs of Guzeratis live outside their province, most of them being of the merchant class.

Amongst the states Baroda is a Maratha and Palanpur is a Muslim one; but it is a mistake to think the rulers of these states as foreigners, they have become so much Guzeratis now.

Guzerat which had groaned under the Muslim sway for 5 centuries was relieved by the Marathas under Gaekwar. The caste system which is a special feature of Hinduism, forbade the Marathas to have Guzerati women for their wives, but this consideration did not come in the way of their accepting Guzerati language as their mother tongue. Hence they should be considered as Guzeratis now.

But unfortunately very recently we saw a growing tendency in Guzerat, and it was fanned by some Guzerathi Congress leaders, to think the Marathas as foreigners and to try to rob them of their Jagirs. Did those leaders who were at the bottom of this mischief, realise that there are 7 lacs of Gujratris living outside Gujrat? Those people have made good properties there. Would they not be considered as foreigners in the other provinces? Moreover the Maratha Jagirdars are the descendants of those who have saved the honour of Guzerathi women for whom the Moguls had special lust.

The Marathas in Gujrat, at the most, may be asked to submit to the language of the province.

Population:-	District.		Baroda.	
Hindus	2568	82 p. c.	2152	87·7 p. c.
Muslims	365	11·5 p. c.	182	7·3 p. c.
Christians	43	1·2 p. c.	7	
Jains	54	1·6 p. c.	48	2 p. c.
Tribals	116	3·8 p. c.	44	1·6 p. c.
Parsees			7	

CHAPTER XV

The Deccan Table Land with Coast-Strips.

20. Maha Kosala-Hindi C. P. – Or Gondwana.

This is a new province carved out of the present province of C. P. and Berar. The present C. P. and Berar has four political divisions.

- | | |
|------------------|---------------|
| 1. C. P. States. | 15 States. |
| 2. Hindi C. P. | 13 Districts. |
| 3. Marathi C. P. | 5 Districts. |
| 4. Berar | 4 Districts |

Total :— 15 States and 22 Districts.

The communal percentages in the different parts of C. P. and Berar are these :—

	H.	M.	Tr.	Chr.	Total.
C. P. States	72p.c.	0·8p.c.	24·8p.c.	2p.c.	99·6p.c.
„ Hindi	83·5p.c.	2·7p.c.	12·5p.c.	‘	98·7p.c.
„ Marathi	89p.c.	3p.c.	7·5p.c.		99·5p.c.
„ Berar	88·9p.c.	8·7p.c.			97·6p.c.
C. P. & Berar	86p.c.	4p.c.	8·3p.c.		98·3p.c.

Maha.Kosala, really speaking, is not a new province but an old one, because its boundaries exactly correspond with the boundaries of the ancient kingdom of Gondawana. Hence our suggestion is that the historical name of 'Gondwana' should be given to this province rather than the mythological name 'Maha Kosala.' We fail to understand why there should be a growing tendency amongst some of us to dive deep into the ocean of mythology to find out some names to be given to provinces.

This being the ancient kingdom of Gondawana some tribal languages predominate in this province, but Hindi should be allowed to have a linguistic conquest over them. Thus we have seven Hindi speaking provinces.

1. Surhind
2. Oudh
3. Bihar
4. Rajputana
5. Malwa
6. Bundelkhand
7. Maha Kosala.

This province has 13 districts and 10 states, 5 having been given to Bundelkhand.

Districts:-

1. Jubbulpore Division:- (5 districts).
Jubbulpore, Saugar, Mandla, Seoni, and Damoh.
2. Nerbuda division:- (5 Districts).
Hoshangabad, Narsinghpur, Chhindwara, Nimar and Betul.
3. Chhattisgarh division:- (3 Districts).
Drug, Raipur, Bilaspur.

States:- They are ten.

Bastar, Kanker, Khairagarh, Raigarh, Sarangarah,
Nandgaon, Chhuikhadan, Kawardha, Shakti,
Makrai.

Population:-

	Districts.	States.
Total	8464	1580
Hindus	7079	83.5 p. c.
Muslims	238	2.7 p. c.
Christians	35	0.8 p. c.
Tribals	1080	12.5 p. c.
Total population of this province		1,00,44.

The cause of such a small Muslim percentage in this province is that it had not submitted to the Muslim sway till the time of Akbar. This great Moghul though having everything to speak good of him, had a great cupidity for wealth and power. He did not care whether his opponents were helpless women. Chand Bibi of Ahmadnagar and Rani Durgawati of Gondawana fell a prey to his cupidity; and both of these illustrious women committed suicide rather than see themselves plundered, dishonoured and disgraced.

Gondwana which was a flourishing kingdom under Rani Durgawati was left to be decayed and turned into jungles under the Mogul rule. Amongst the 15 Subhas or Provinces of Akabar Gondwana is not named. Thus a vast tract of land between Orissa, Malwa and Berar was felt to be turned into jungles.

Maharashtra.

We have already discussed about the dismemberment of Maharashtra, we have seen how the hammer of politics has shattered Marathi speaking area into 7 different parts. The total population of the area is this.

Population Districts.		
1. Nagpur	3602	5
2. Berar	3441	4
3. Moglai	4716	6
4. Bombay Mah.	10138	10
5. „ City	1161	
6. „ States	2322	
7. Goa		
Total.	25380	25

Marathi speaking people.

Marathi	... 20740
Konkani	... 466
Khandeshi	... 222
Total	21428
Population in the area.	25,380
Marathi speaking people	21,428
Difference	3,952

In Marathi speaking area about 4 millions are non-Marathi speaking. How is this?

1. All the Mahomedans, and they number about two millions, have offered Urdu as their mother tongue though they are the converts from Marathi speaking people.

2. The districts of Balaghat, Bidar and Southern Maratha States are bilingual,

3. Bombay City has 30 per cent non-Marathi speaking people.

There are some Maratha states outside Marathi speaking area.

1. Baroda State is in Guzerat and it has 1.5 per cent Marathi speaking people.

2. Gwalior is in Malwa and it has 0.8 per cent Marathi speaking people.

3. Holkar, Dewas and Powar are in Malwa and they have 2 per cent Marathi speaking people.

It is good that these states do not force Marathi language on the people over whom they rule.

Marathi speaking area is too big to form a province. Hence there should be two provinces, East Maharashtra and West Maharashtra. Nagpur should be the capital of East Maharashtra, and Bombay that of West.

21. East Maharashtra.

This province should have three divisions :—

1. Nagpur Division, 5 Districts.

Nagpur, Wardha, Chanda, Bhandara and Balaghat.

2. Berar Division. 4 Districts.

Amraoti, Yeotmal, Akola and Buldhana.

3. Moglai Division. 6 Districts.

Nander, Bhir, Parabhani, Bidar, Aurangabad, and Osmanabad.

The total population and percentages.

T.	H.	M.	Tr.	Cr.	Oth.
11,759	10275	974	356	30	50
	88 p. c.	7.5 p. c.	3 p. c.		

22. West Maharashtra.

This province should have the following three Divisions.

1. Districts — Ratnagiri, Kolaba, Thana, East Khandesh, West Khandesh, Ahamednagar, Nasik, Poona, Satara, Sholapur.

2. States — Kolhapur, Sangli, Bhor, Sawantwadi etc.

3. Bombay City — The cities which have more than a million population should be regarded as separate districts.

Population:-

	T.	H.	M.	C.	Tr.	Chr.
1. Bombay Dist.	10138	9262	617	140	12	98
		92p.c.	6p.c.	1p.c.		
2. Bombay City.	1161	789	208	80		81
		67p.c.	17p.c.	7p.c.		
3. Bombay States.	2322					
Total	13621					

Karnatak.

The two provinces and the two states share Kanadi speaking area.

1. Bombay Presidency, 4. Districts:-

Bijapur, Belgaum, Dharwar, Karwar.

2. Madras Presidency, 3. Districts:-

Bellary, Manglore, Coorg.

3. Nizam State, 2. Districts:-

Raichur, Gulbarga.

4. Mysore State:- Complete.

Mysore state forms one province of Kanadi speaking area. Hence the districts from Bombay, Madras and Nizam would form another province, and it should be called Maha Karnatak.

23. Maha Karnatak.

Population:-

T.	H.	M.	Cr.	Oth.
9004	7545	1104	177	143
	83·8p.c.	12·2p.c.	2p.c.	

Muslim percentage in Maha Karnatak is the highest in the Deccan, it being 12·2 p. c.

24. Mysore Karnatak.

Mysore state is a Kanadi speaking area. In this state 70 p. c. speak Kanadi, 15 p. c. Telgu, 5 p. c. Tamil, 6 p. c. Urdu, and 1.5 p. c. Marathi.

Urdu speaking people in Mysore are 6 p. c. and the Muslims are 6 p. c. This shows that all the Muslims, though they are the converts from Kanadi speaking people, have offered Urdu as their mothertongue.

Mysore state has eight districts and its population is this.

T.	H.	M.	Cr.	J.	Tr.	Bud.
6557	6015	398	87	29	23	1
	91p.c.	6p.c.	1p.c.			

The population of:-

Maha Karnatak	9004
Mysore Karnatak	6557
Total	15561

Kanarese speaking people 11691

∴ Difference 4365

In Kanadi speaking area 43 lacs are non-Kanari speaking people. How is this?

1. Coorgi and Tulu are enumerated separately but they should be regarded as dialects of this language.

2. Muslims have offered Urdu as their mother tongue. The Muslim percentage in Maha Karnatak is very high.

3. In this area there are many Tamilees and Telgus.

Telangana.

Telgu speaking area spreads over the eastern half of the Nizam's territory and the northern half of Madras presidency. Hence there should be two provinces.

1. Nizam Telangana and
2. Andhra Telangana

25. Nizam Telangana.

Out of the 16 districts in Nizam State, 8 are Telgu speaking ones. We have already suggested that the Nizam should be allowed to rule over those 8 districts the others should go over to Maharashtra and Karnatak. With less burden the ruler would be able to do better work.

Districts in Nizam Telangana.

Hyderabad, Nizamabad, Mahabubnagar, Medak, Nalgonda, Warangal, Kariunnagar, Adilabad.

Population:-

T.	H.	M.	Tr	Cr.	Oth.
7558	6352	685	402	128	7
	84p.c.	9p.c.	5p.c.	1.5p.c.	

The capital Hyderabad should be renamed as Bhaga-Nagar, and the University should be called Nizam Telangana University instead of Osmania University. In short the Ruler should not remind his Hindu subjects that the founder of his dynasty was brought up in the school of Aurangzeb.

26. Andhra Telangana.

The northern half of Madras Presidency is a Telgu speaking arëa, hence it should form the above mentioned province. It has 9 districts.

Ganjam, Vijigapatam, Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Cudapah, Kurmul, Anantpur.

Vijigapatam or Coconada may be selected as the capital of the province.

T.	H.	M.	C.	Tr.	Oth.
15914	14042	680	650	348	1
	87·5p.c.	3·8p.c.	3·8p.c.	1·8p.c.	

Population of Telgu speaking area.

Nizam Telangana 7558

Andhra Telangana 15914

Total 23472

Telgu speaking people 26,176

Population in the area 23,432

Difference 2,704

Hence 27 lacs of Telgu speaking people have spread in the other parts of India.

27. Tamil Nad.

It is the southern half of Madras presidency. It has 11 districts.

Madras city, Chinleput, North Arcot, South Arcot Salem Coimbatore, Tanjore, Trichanapoly, Tinnevelly, Madura Nilgris. Madras should be the capital of the province.

Population of this province is.

T.	H.	M.	C.	Oth.
24954	23025	1179	929	23
	92p.c.	4·5p.c.	4p.c.	

28. Malval or Kerala.

There is one more Dravidian language which claims a separate province. That language is known as Malayalam or Malyali and it is spoken by nearly a crore of people. Hence their province should be known as Malyal or Kerala.

Malayalam speaking area has one district Malbar, and two states Travancore and Cochin. Population of the area.

	T.	H.	M.	C.	Oth.
Malabar	3533	2303 65p.c.	1163 31·4p.c.	65 1·7p.c.	
Travancore	5095	3134 62p.c.	353 7p.c.	1605 32p.c.	4tr
Cochin	1205	780 65p.c.	87 6·6p.c.	334 27·5p.c.	1·4jews
Total	9833	6217 62p.c.	1603 16p.c.	2003 20p.c.	5·5

The total population of the province is 9833, in which the Hindus are 62 per cent, Mahomedans 16 per cent, and Christians 20 per cent.

This small area has a large number of Christians. The total number of Christians is 60 lacs, in which this area has 20 lacs, that is one third of the total Christians of India live in this small area. The Christians of Kerala are of the Syrian Church.

The percentage of Christians in Malabar is 1·7 per cent and Travancore 32 per cent. The percentage of Mahomedans in Malabar is 31·4 per cent, Cochin 6·6 per cent and Travancore 7 per cent.

The jews who are in microscopic minority in India, predominate here; and they with the Syrian Christians claim ancient heritage. How did the Jews and the ancient Christians come to India?

They came here after the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. The Romans who did not know the difference between the Jews and the Christians perse-

cuted them equally. Hence these people found asylum in India many centuries before the Parsees found asylum here.

Malabar has 32 per cent Mahomedans, and Travancore has the same percentage of Christians. Cochin has also a good percentage of Christians. How is this?

The Hindu Rajas wanted lucrative profit from the sea trade, but their subjects being Hindus would not cross the sea through the fear of losing castes. Hence the Hindu Rajas of Travancore and Cochin permitted, or rather compelled, some of their subjects to become Christians. The Raja of Malabar, the Zamorin of Calicut, forced Islam on his Hindu subjects with the help of Arabs. The Mahomedans of Malabar are known as Moplahs who have recently made themselves so famous in the revolt of 1921.

The word Moplah is derived from "Maha Pilla" or the eldest son. This shows that the Hindu Raja of Malabar of the 8th century had passed a decree that each fisherman, or such other lower class of Hindu should give his eldest son to the fold of Islam. These converts are known as Moplahs.

It is curious to note that the country of Moplahs was not conquered by a Muslim sword till the time of Tippoo. Tippoo conquered Malabar from a queen and forced her to give her daughter to his son. The queen must have felt very sorry when her daughter was being converted to Islam, but the same sorrow was experienced by the ancestors of Moplahs when they were converted to Islam by the ancestors of the queen.

CHAPTER XVI

Greater India.

Greater India or Vishal Bharat extends far beyond the geographical limits culturally and historically. It extends from Kabul to Kombokodia (French Indo-China), and it includes not only Ceylon but all the East India Islands which are under the Dutch. Except Ceylon and Burma the other area is not under the British rule.

1. Kabul:- The Hindu Kush mountain forms the northern boundary of Afganistan. The boundary of Hindustan extends upto that mountain. But now Afganistan is an independent kingdom and is culturally lost to India. Till the time of the Moghuls Afganistan was part of India, and had a considerable percentage of Hindu population.

2. Siam:- It is an independent kingdom under the Buddhist Kings. The Kings have Hindu names such as Rama, Praja Dipaka, Anand and Vipul Sangram; and the cities have Hindu names such as Ayodhya. Though it is a Buddhist country the remains of Hindu temples may be found here. Siam is also called Thailand or Tailand. Hence it appears that this country was colonised by a Hindu King's sister named Siam Tai (black

sister), and thus this country is called after her name Siam and Tailand.

3. Kombodia:- It is under the French rule and is known as French-Indo-China. The Kombodians or Kamboj are Aryans, and have much of Hinduism in them, South of Kombodia there is a district known as Cochin-China. Hence this district must have been colonised by the people of Cochin state which is to the north of Travancore.

4. East India Islands:- They are under the Dutch. The islands have Hindu names such as Sumatra, Java and Bali. The mountain peak is Sumeru, and the other mountains and rivers have Hindu names. The people have much of Hinduism in them, and the remains of ancient Hindu temples may be found here. It is a historical fact that before the 6th century the Hindus were a maritime people, and the crossing of the sea was not a sin to them.

5. Ceylon and (6) Burma:- They are under British rule but not under the Indian Government. Hence our new India should include them as provinces.

Ceylon.

This beautiful island, which is as large as Ireland, is geographically a part of South India as it is the extension of the mainland. This island is connected with the mainland with Rama's Bridge, but the Arabs call it Adam's Bridge. It has the highest mountain peak which the Hindus call Vishnu's Peak and the Buddhists call Buddha's Peak, but the Arabs insist in calling it Adam's Peak. All the rivers of this island are called Gangas such as Mahawali Ganga, and the towns have Hindu names such as Anu-Radhapur.

This island was known to the Greeks and Romans as Tip-Roven or Dwip-Ravan, or the island of the King Ravan.

Hence this island is the part of India and it must be included in the Indian Empire. Are the Britishers right when they say that it is not the part of India? Is it the part of the Br. Isles then? Even Ireland could not become the part of Br. Isles, much less can Ceylon be.

The population of Ceylon is 45 lacs. The people are Sinhalees and Tamilees. The Sinhalees are Aryans and they are Buddhists, and the Tamilees are Dravidians and they are Hindus. This island has very few Mohamadans and Christians. Sinhalee and Tamilee are the two languages spoken here.

Burma.

The real name of this province is Brahma Desh or the land of the God Brahma. The rivers and towns of this province have Hindu names, and the people are Buddhists. It is argued that the Burmese are Mangolians and hence they are not Indians. But it is a falacious argument. Are the Bengalees not Mangolo-Dravidians? And on that account would they be denied the right of being Indians?

Culturally, historically and even geographically Burma is the part of India. But the members of the British Parliament who are skillful in inventing something new, have invented that Burma is not the part of India. Is Burma the part of England then? Burma is as much the part of India as Wales is of England.

The population of this province is 146 lacs, in which (population in lacs) are

Bud.	H.	Tr.	M.	C.	O.
123	7	6	5	3	2
84p.c.	4.7p.c.	4p.c.	3.3p.c.	2p.c.	

CHAPTER XVII

Provincial Administration.

We have 28 political divisions of India. If Ceylon and Burma be added, they make 30. These 30 divisions may be grouped into the following groups:-

1. Provinces or Prants.

They are the British districts with none or very few native states. At present we have 11 provinces but according to the new scheme we will have 15; that is, we will have 4 more provinces only and the financial burden will not be too much.

2. Major States or Mahasansthan.

Some of the states are as big as provinces, and they are six.

3. State Agencies, State Confederacies or Sansthan Sangha.

They are the states grouped together to form a political division. They are three:- Rajaputana, Malwa and Bundelkhand.

4. State-Provinces or Sansthani Prants.

They are the British districts and states grouped together to form a political division. We have five such divisions.

Gujrat, Orissa, N. W. F. Province, Hima Pradesh, and Kerala.

Major States or Maha Sansthan.

1. Nepal	56 lacs
2. Nizam	75 „
3. Mysore	65 „
4. Jammoo	17 „
5. Baluchistan	4 „
6. Bhutan & Sikkim	3·6 „

State Confederacies or Sansthan Sangh.

1. Rajaputana	102 lacs
2. Malwa	71 „
3. Bundelkhand	49 „

States Provinces or Sansthani Prant.

		Br.	St.
1. Orissa	113 lacs	7	4
2. Guzrat	101 „	3	7
3. Kerala	98 „	1	2
4. N. W. F. P.	46 „	1	1
5. Hima Pradesh	32 „	3	1

Provinces.

According to population they may be graded into 4 grades.

- 1st grade population over 3 crores.
- 2nd grade population from 3 to 2 crores.
- 3rd grade population from 2 to 1 crores.
- 4th grade population below 1 crore.

1st Grade Provinces.

1. East Bengal	331 lacs
2. Oudh	329 „
3. Bihar	323 „

2nd Grade Provinces.

4. Sur Hind	263 lacs
5. Tamil Nad	249 „
6. West Bengal	200 „

3rd Grade Provinces.

7. Burma	146 lacs
8. An. Telangana	159 „
9. Punjab	158 „
10. W. Maharashtra	136 „
11. E. Maharashtra	108 „
12. Maha Kosala	101 „
13. Maha Karnatak	90 „

4th Grade Provinces.

14. Ceylon	45 lacs
15. Assam	65 „
16. Sindh	41 „
17. Kashmir	18 „

Our new provinces would not differ much in area from one another, but they would differ vastly in population. East Bengal and Sindh have nearly the same area but the population varies, being 8 and 1. Should the Governors of Bengal and Sindh have the same pay and position? Of course not because the responsibilities of the governors vary as the population of the provinces vary. Hence according to population we have graded the provinces into four.

The 1st grade has 3 provinces.

The 2nd grade has 3 provinces.

The 3rd grade has 7 provinces.

The 4th grade has 4 provinces.

Total 17 provinces.

We have discussed somewhere that the separation of an area and the formation of a new province, does not necessarily imply a separate economic life. Nor does it mean a duplication of all the organs of government. For instance, it is quite possible for one High Court to serve more than one province.

For administrative convenience, for economic solution, and for bringing distant provinces like Ceylon and Burma nearer to the centre, the 30 political divisions, irrespective of provinces and states, should be grouped into 7 zones. This seven zone system has originated from Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, the Premier of the Punjab. But it appears that he took a pair of compasses and a scale and drew fanciful lines on the map; and paid no consideration to languages and culture. We can have successful seven zone system if we have provinces on a linguistic or such other rational basis.

One more reason why these should be the grouping of provinces is that some linguistic areas have more than one province.

Our seven zones are.

The 1st Zone:-

1. Baluchistan	8 lacs
2. Peshawar	46 „
3. Kashmir	18 „
4. Jammur	17 „
5. Sindh	41 „
6. Punjab	158 „
7. Sur Hind	263 „
8. Hima Pradesh	32 „
Total	583 „

2nd Zone:-

9. Oudh	329 „
10. Bihar	323 „
11. Orissa	113 „
12. Nepal	56 „
Total	821 „

3rd Zone:-

13. West Bengal	332 „
14. East Bengal	196 „
15. Assam	65 „
16. Burma	146 „
17. Bhutan, Sikkim	3 „
18. Bengal States	9 „
Total	751 „

4th Zone:-

19. Guzrat	101	„
20. Rajaputana	102	„
21. Malwa	71	„
22. Bundelkhand	49	„
Total	323	„

5th Zone:-

23. Maha Kosala	100	„
24. E. Maharashtra	108	„
25. W. Maharashtra	136	„
Total	344	„

6th Zone:-

26. Andhra Telangana	159	lacs
27. Nizam Telangana	75	„
28. Maha Karnatak	90	„
29. Mysore Karnatak	65	„
Total	389	„

7th Zone:-

30. Tamil Nad	249	„
31. Kerala	98	„
32. Ceylon	45	„
Total	392	„

APPENDIX A.

Population according to Provinces.

(Census Report, 1931)

Provinces.	pop. in lacs.	H. p. c.	M. p. c.	Chr. p. c.	Shiks p. c.	Tr. p. c.	Jains p. c.	Oth. p. c.
Muslim Prov:--								
Baluchistan	4							
Pashto Desh (Dist.)	29	7	89		1.7			2.3
W. Kashmir	18	4	93		1			2
E. Kashmir	17	37	61		1.5			.5
Sindh	41	25	73					2
Punjab	158	13.5	71.6	2	11.5			1.4
E. Bengal	331	28	70					2
Hindu Prov:--								
W. Bengal	196	67	29			2.3		1.7
Surhind	262	63.7	26		9			2.3
Assam (Dist)	58	69	19	2	10			
Oudh	329	87.5	12					.5
Bihar	323	80	12.5	1		6		.5

Hima Desh	32	93.5	4.8				1.7
Rajaputana	102	86	9			2	2
Malwa	71	91	7			1	1
Bundalkhand	49		3				
Orissa (Dist)	69	94.6	1.8			3.2	4
Guzarat (Dist)	31	82	11	1.2		3.8	1.6
M. Kosala	100	83.5	2.5			13	1
E. Maharashtra	108	88	7.4			3	1.6
W. Maharashtra	136	92	6	1			1
Andhra	159	87.5	3.8	3.8		1.8	3
Nizam	75	84	9	1.5		5	5
Karnatak	90	83.8	12.2	2			2
Mysore	65	91	6	1			2
Tamil Nad	249	92	4	4			
Kerala	98	62	16	20			2

[117]

(Sea Map Overleaf)



FIGURE I

APPENDIX B.

New Method of Drawing the Map of India.

Many methods are invented for the use of school children but Morrison's method seems to be the most popular, being the easiest. Here we give a method which is easier than the easiest one, and it should be called Square Method or rather Joshi's method after the name of the inventor.

A square is taken which is divided into 16 smaller squares. The vertical and horizontal lines thus formed represent longitudes and latitudes. The sides of the smaller square represent the distance of $7\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ longitudes and 7° latitudes. (See Fig. II)

The central point O and the points A, B, C and D are important as they determine the outline of the map.

East of the point A have E bisecting the side of the smaller square.

Join the points EM (15°) Burma line. EA Calcutta line, and AB Vijagapatam line.

From the point N (80°) cut off F and G. $\frac{1}{3}$ of the sides of the smaller square.

Join BF Madras line, and GC Bombay line.

In the west from the point H which bisects the side of the smaller square have HI, $\frac{1}{3}$ of the side of the smaller square, and have CJ of the same length.

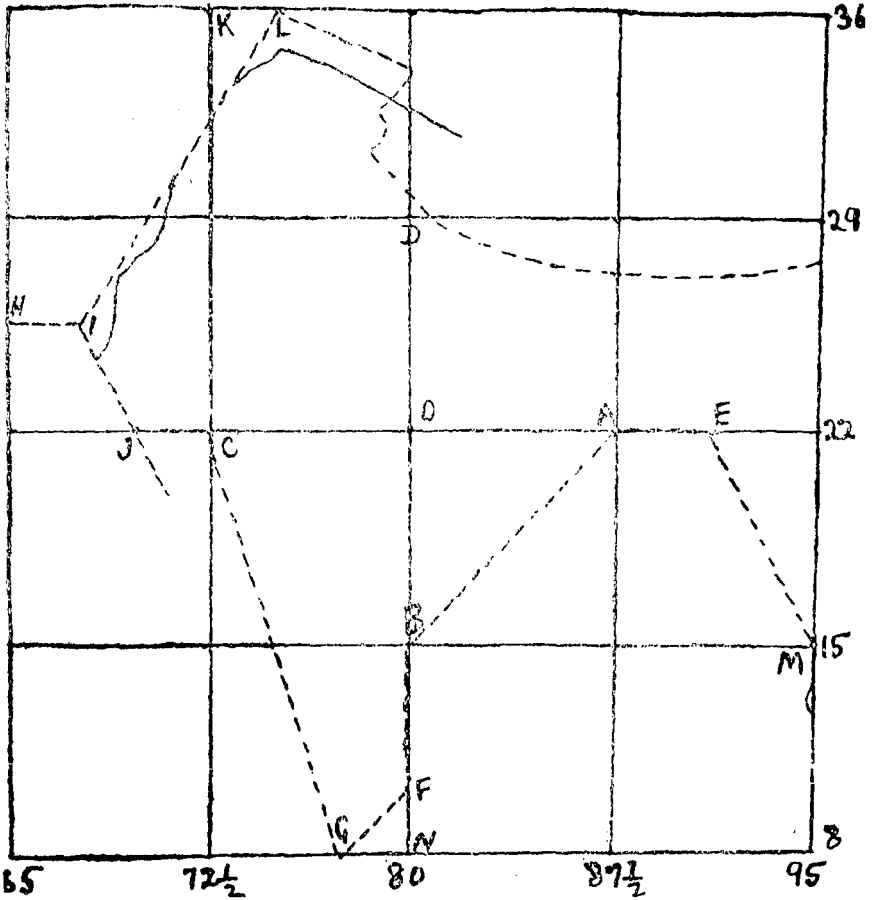


FIGURE II

Join IJ Kathiawad line.

In the North have KL, $\frac{1}{3}$ of the side of the smaller square.

Join IL to form Indus line;

Now we may have Himalayan boundary determining its position in relation to the latitude passing through the point D.

Thus we have a straight line map of India.

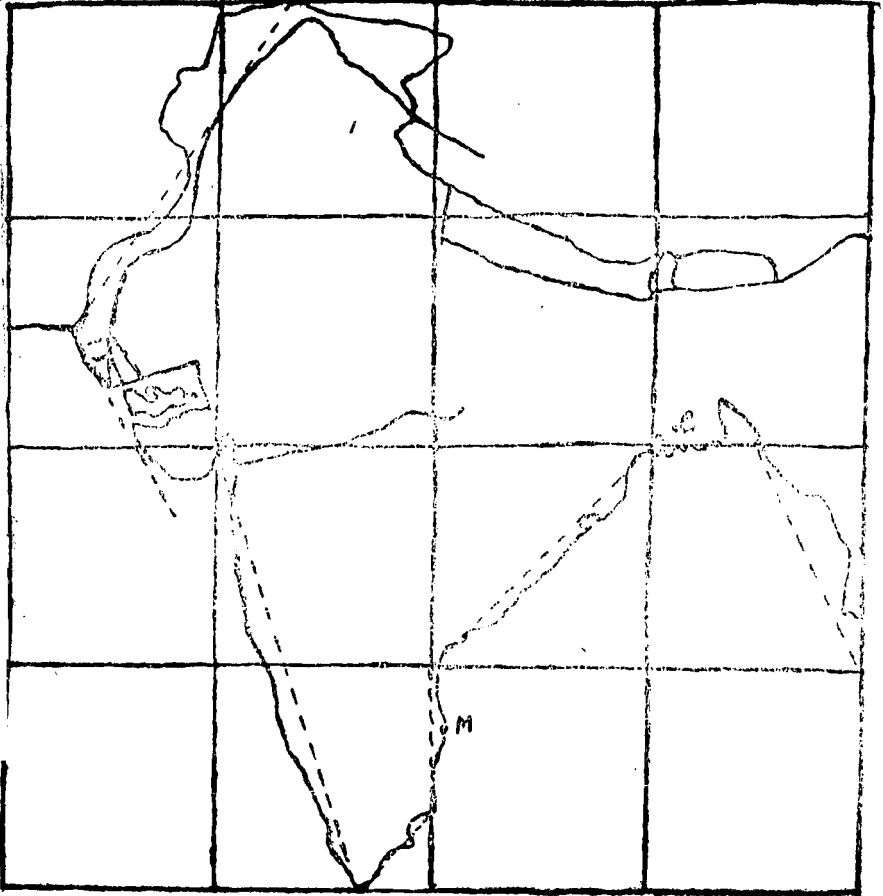


FIGURE III

Fig. III shows how the outline map of India fits on the straight line map. The work of drawing the map of India can be made still easier in this way:-

Divide the square into four equal parts instead of 16. Take the middle points O, A, B, C, D and the other necessary points as before. Now the outline map can be drawn at once without drawing the straight line map.

APPENDIX C.
Languages of India.
 (Population in thousands.)
 (Census Report 1931)

		p. c.
W. Hindi	6,36,37	20
E. Hindi	4,13,63	10
W. Punjabi (Lah.)	30,69	2
E. Punjabi (Guru)	1,57,25	4
W. Pahari	23,25	.7
E. Pahari	1,82	
Pashto	15,94	.5
Baluchi	6,25	
Kashmiri	14,37	.1
Sindhi	39,67	.4
Telgu	2,61,76	8
Tamil	2,01,77	6
Malayalam	91,01	3
Kanarese	1,11,96	3
Coorgi	44	
Tulu	6,29	
Bengali	5,30,37	15
Assamese	19,97	.6
Oriya	1,09,28	3
Guzrati	1,06,34	3
Marathi	2,07,39	6
Konkani	4,66	
Khandeshi	2,22	
Rajasthani	1,26,33	4
Gondi	17,20	.5
Bhilli	21,85	.6

APPENDIX D.

Religions in India.

(Population in thousands.)

(Census Report 1931)

Brahmanic	21,93,00		
Arya Samagic	9,90		
Brahmos	5		
Others (Dadu Kabir & C.)	1,88,98		
Jains	12,52		
Buddhists	4,39		
Tribals	76,30		
Minor (Adi Dharmis & C.)	4,45		
Sikhs	43.25	1.2	P. C.
Total Hindus	25,32,84	75	,,
Muslims	7,70,93	22.8	,,
Christians	59,61	1.7	,,
Parsees	1,09		
Jews	24		
Total	33,64,71		
