PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

RECONSTITUTION OF THE PROVINCES

OF

BENGAL AND ASSAM

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA



SIMLA
PRINTED AT THE GOVERNMENT CENTRAL PRINTING OFFICE
1906

Price Rs. 4]

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

No.	Document.	Date.	From	To	Subject.	Pages.
		1903.				
1	Letter with 2 enclosures.	3rd Dec. ...	Government of India.	Secretary of State for India.	Necessity for affording relief to the Bengal Government and proposals as to certain territorial changes in consequence.	1
		1905.				
2	Letter with 19 enclosures.	2nd Feb. ...	Ditto	Ditto	Scheme for the reconstitution of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam.	1—272
3	Despatch ...	9th June ...	Secretary of State for India.	Government of India.	Sanction to the general principles involved.	273—276
4	Resolution of the Government of India.	19th July ...	...	...	Reconstitution of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam.	276
5	Letter with 2 enclosures.	3rd Aug. ...	Government of India.	Secretary of State for India.	Arrangements for the administration of the new provinces. Drafts enclosed of Proclamation and Bill.	276—282

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PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

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OF

BENGAL AND ASSAM.

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No. 1.

Letter from the Government of India to the Right Hon'ble St John Brodrick, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, dated the 3rd December 1903.

(Extract.)

In connexion with the amalgamation of Berar for administrative purposes with the Central Provinces, our attention has been drawn to the pressing necessity for affording to the Government of Bengal some substantial relief from the constantly increasing burden imposed upon it by the vast population entrusted to the administration, and by the growth of important industrial and commercial interests. The conclusions at which we have arrived after anxious consideration of the large and important group of problems involved and the grounds upon which they are based are fully stated in the letters to the local Governments concerned, of which copies are enclosed. After receiving and considering the replies to these letters, we shall address you again on the subject, and we trust that we shall then be in a position to lay before you our final proposals for applying an effectual remedy to a condition of affairs which in our opinion is incompatible with the maintenance of the high standard of administration at which we aim and on which the reputation of our Government depends. The question of territorial and administrative redistribution in India is, indeed, in our judgment, one of the most urgent and vital of the many problems for which we are at present endeavouring to find a solution.

Enclosure 1 in No. 1.

Letter from H. H. Risley, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 3678, Home Department (Public), dated Calcutta, 3rd December 1903.)

(This letter has already been published, *vide* Gazette of India, Part I, of 12th December 1903, pages 1016—25).

Enclosure 2 in No. 1.

Letter from H. H. Risley, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, the Honourable the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, the Honourable the Chief Commissioner of Assam, Nos. 3679-3681, dated Calcutta, 3rd December 1903.

(This letter has already been published, *vide* Gazette of India, Part I, of 12th December 1903, pages 1024—25).

No. 2.

Letter from the Government of India, to the Right Hon'ble St. John Brodrick, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, dated 2nd February 1905.

(Extract.)

In fulfilment of the undertaking given in our despatch of the 3rd December 1903, we have now the honour to address you further on the

important question of the reconstruction of Bengal. In the opening paragraphs of our Home Secretary's letter of 3rd December 1903, we stated the leading facts which demonstrate the immediate necessity for affording substantial relief to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. In the voluminous correspondence that has since passed on this subject, copies of which are annexed to our letter, the question has been examined in a variety of aspects, and every shade of opinion, whether official or non-official, has found the fullest expression; but no attempt has been made to indicate the causes, some of them mainly historical, that have produced and maintained in existence a state of things which is in our view incompatible with the high standard of administration that modern conditions demand. Of the area now under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal the greater portion was included in the grant of the Dewani of Bengal, Behar, and the tract of country then known as Orissa, to the East India Company in 1765. The province was enlarged by the addition of Orissa proper in 1803, and of Assam in 1824. From that date until the present time the jurisdiction of Bengal has remained unaltered, except for the reduction effected by the creation of the Chief Commissionership of Assam in 1874, and the transfer of the South Lushai Hills in 1898. Up to the year 1854, when the first Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was appointed, the administration of these vast territories was carried on by the Governor General in Council under the Regulating Act of 1773 and the Charter Act of 1833. The latter of these enactments made the Governor General of Bengal, Governor General of India and Governor of Bengal, and vested the executive government of Bengal in the Governor and Council of Fort William. Under section 69, one of the ordinary members of Council, usually the senior, was appointed Deputy Governor without additional salary, and the ordinary duties of this officer, who was also called upon to act as President of the Council during the frequent absences of the Governor General on tour, effectually prevented him from either visiting the districts or exercising any real control over the officials on the spot. Even after a Lieutenant-Governor had been appointed, the traditional policy of non-intervention was on the whole maintained; and it was not till the conspicuous failure of Sir C. Beadon to cope with the Orissa famine of 1866 had drawn public attention to the inherent defects of the system that projects of reform were considered but unfortunately set aside in 1868. But an era of change was already impending. In 1871 Sir George Campbell, who had been President of the Famine Commission, and in that capacity had proposed sweeping alterations in the method of governing Bengal, initiated as Lieutenant-Governor a series of measures which completely transformed the character of the administration. The Road Cess Act, the Census of 1872, the establishment of a Native Civil Service, the extension of the sub-divisional system, the promotion of primary education, the collection of statistics of all kinds, involved an entire departure from the *laissez-faire* policy of his two immediate predecessors, and rendered it impossible to defer any longer the formation of the Chief Commissionership of Assam which had been proposed by Lord Lawrence in 1868. Sir George Campbell's successors continued in the main the policy inaugurated by him, one leading feature of which has been the more active intervention of Government for the protection of the poorer classes. The necessity for such intervention originated with the rent movement arising out of the breakdown of the Bengal indigo system; it has become more frequent and more minute since the revision of the Tenancy Act in 1885 and the gradual extension of the survey and record of rights; and there is now every prospect of its being very largely extended. Its effect is by no means confined to the Revenue officers; the change of attitude towards land questions re-acts upon every branch of the administration and increases work all round by bringing the people and the officers of Government into closer contact. Apart from this, the general progress of the province, the improvement of communications, the development of manufacturing and mining industries, the growth of the city and port of Calcutta, the closer attention given to education, the large number of municipalities, the wider activity of District Boards, the demand for water-supply, drainage and improved sanitation both in town and country, and the reforms contemplated in the Police, all contribute to swell the array of important questions which claim the Lieutenant-Governor's attention. In dealing with this mass of business his difficulties are aggravated and the burden of his work is added to by the notoriously litigious spirit of the people, which grows with the advance of popular education, by the incessant

Vide Blue Book of 1868 entitled "Papers relative to the Administration of Bengal."

criticism of the Press, by the aptitude of the educated classes in Bengal for public agitation, and by the extensive and searching use that is made of the right of interpellation in the Legislative Council. Here we would draw your special attention to the immensely increased duties connected with the city and port of Calcutta. The Special Committee of the India Office in 1867 laid stress upon the great amount of work which devolved upon the Lieutenant-Governor by reason of Calcutta being his capital. The Census of 1872 showed a population of 633,009 within the area then administered by the Corporation of Calcutta and Fort William; the population now amounts to 847,796, an increase of 34 per cent. as compared with the enumeration of 1872 and of 24 per cent. as compared with that of 1891. If the population of the suburbs of Cossipore, Chitpore, Manicktollah and Garden Reach and that of Howrah on the opposite bank of the Hughli are added, the total amounts to 1,106,738. The greater Calcutta comprised within those limits ranks among the twelve largest cities of the world, while the population of Calcutta proper is more numerous than that of any other city in the British Empire except London. In view of the diversity of the population and the congestion produced by its growth, the importance of the trade interests involved, the extension of jute mills and steam factories of various kinds, the development of railways, and the difficulties connected with the port and the river approaches, Calcutta and its environs present a series of problems of peculiar intricacy and importance, which make constantly increasing calls upon the time and energy of the Lieutenant-Governor. The growth in the population of Calcutta has been matched by a corresponding increase in the population of the Presidency. When Sir F. Halliday was appointed to be the first Lieutenant-Governor in 1854 the total population of Bengal was estimated at about forty millions. When Sir George Campbell became Lieutenant-Governor in 1871 it had risen to 62,335,217. According to the figures of the last Census it is now 78,493,410. If these figures are compared with those of the two next largest provinces in India, *viz.*, 48,493,879 in the case of the United Provinces and 42,397,522 in the case of Madras, the magnitude of the disparity at once becomes apparent: and quite apart from the peculiar difficulties and complexities of the situation in Bengal, the doubt is at once suggested whether it is possible for so immense an aggregation of humanity to be properly administered—in the close sense in which administration is expected of the head of an Indian province—by a single individual. To this question we hold that but one reply can be given. We believe that there are many parts of Bengal in which there is less touch between Government and the people than in any similarly advanced portion of India. We regard the present task, if it is to be thoroughly and vigilantly discharged, as utterly beyond the capacity of any one human being: and we hold that a most serious responsibility would rest upon any Government which, having investigated the matter and ascertained the real source of mischief, did not unhesitatingly proceed to apply the requisite remedy. We have attempted, in statement I annexed to this despatch, to bring together some figures which illustrate the administrative obligations of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal as compared with those of the heads of some of the larger provinces. A second statement illustrates the enormous growth of the work of the Bengal Secretariat since the year 1867, when Sir Stafford Northcote invited the opinion of the Government of India on the subject of an organic change in the form of government. Where the correspondence of the Secretariat has expanded so greatly, it is obvious that the work of the Lieutenant-Governor himself must also have increased, though of course not exactly the same proportion. Fourteen years before the period with which these figures commence, Lord Dalhousie observed in his minute of the 6th December 1853 that the Government of Bengal alone imposed upon the Governor General "a burden which in its present mass is more than mortal man can fitly bear." Twenty years afterwards Sir George Campbell, being then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, wrote in his well-known Administration Report of 1871-1872—"It is totally impossible that any man can properly perform single-handed the work of this great Government. As the Government is at present constituted the two civil Secretaries must be more than Secretaries, they must be Ministers of Departments." Four years later again, when Sir A. Eden became Lieutenant-Governor, the work had increased so much that one of his first acts was to obtain sanction

Enclosure no. 16.

Enclosure no. 17.

to the appointment of a third civil Secretary for the purpose of dealing with the important subject of provincial finance. One of the most unfortunate results of the overwhelming mass of work which is thus thrown upon the Lieutenant-Governor is, that in Bengal the Secretaries have far greater initiative and considerably more independent power than is exercised by the corresponding officers in other provinces. The fact that under existing conditions the work of government can only be carried on by the informal delegation to irresponsible subordinates of discretionary powers so indefinite that in all but the most important matters the source of authority is obscure, forms in our opinion the strongest condemnation of the system which we are now proposing to remodel. If we have succeeded in establishing to your satisfaction that the most pressing necessity exists for affording early and substantial relief to the Government of Bengal as at present constituted, it remains to be considered in what
Enclosure no. 15. form that relief should be given. In the memorial submitted by the public meeting held in Calcutta on the 18th March 1904, which may be taken to formulate exhaustively the matured opinions of those who are opposed to any reconstruction of the province, it is urged that the Lieutenant-Governorship should be converted into a Governorship with an Executive Council, and the authority of Sir Stafford Northcote is cited in support of the proposal. The reference is to paragraphs 3 to 5 of the Secretary of State's despatch of 16th January 1868, which referred to the augmented demands on the Bengal Government and the administrative failure of 1866, and suggested among other remedies for the defects of the system (1) that the Government might be placed on a footing similar to those of the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and (2) that separate provision should be made for the administration of the outlying portions of the Province. In the course of the discussion that took place on this proposal both at the India Office and in India, the arguments in favour of a Governor and Council were stated with much force by Sir Bartle Frere in a minute, dated 2nd December 1867 composed with special reference to the constitution of the Government of Madras, by Sir William Grey, then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, in a minute, dated 13th March 1868, and by Sir Henry Maine, in a minute dated 16th March 1868. These opinions, however, were contested *in toto* by Sir John Lawrence in his two minutes of 20th January and 23rd March 1868. We do not consider it necessary to reproduce the arguments that were used upon either side, but the strong opinion of Sir John Lawrence that personal administration by a single head, without a Council, is the best form of government for many parts of India, Bengal included, is one with which we are so entirely in agreement that we must be allowed to refer to it in passing. In the discussion of the matter in Council four Members out of seven were found to be opposed to the reproduction of the Madras and Bombay constitution in Bengal, although two of these made an independent suggestion to which we shall afterwards refer. The discussion was reported to the Secretary of State in a despatch, dated 28th March 1868, and the subject then dropped. The suggestion of a Council to assist the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal having now again been revived, and having been pressed upon us as the sole available alternative to territorial reconstruction, we have carefully considered the arguments that were employed on both sides in 1868, and have re-examined the matter from every point of view in the light of the present situation. Our opinion is unanimous. We are entirely opposed to the introduction of a form of government which we believe to be wholly unsuited to the circumstances of Bengal, and which we should regard as a retrograde measure, instead of a step in advance. The general line of reasoning that has led us to this conclusion is as follows: If the question be asked why an Executive Council has been thought to be a suitable form of government for Madras and Bombay, the answer is, that in those Presidencies the system was introduced and has been maintained, not so much to promote the despatch of business by sub-dividing work, as in order to guide and keep from error a Governor appointed as a rule from outside and wholly ignorant at starting of the conditions of Indian administration. So entirely is this recognized as the object, that the Governor is not given the power of overruling his colleagues in ordinary matters of administration, and the Government of Madras and Bombay is in reality that of a triumvirate, with a triumvir of superior rank and status in the chair. The Governor's sole power of veto, indeed, is analogous to that vested in the Governor General, who can

"adopt, suspend or reject a measure proposed before him in Council, whereby the safety, tranquillity, or interests of British India or any part thereof are or may be, in his opinion, affected," even though the majority of his colleagues dissent from his opinion. We are aware of only one instance in which this power has been employed by a Governor General, and we know of none in which it has been exercised by a Governor of a Presidency. In either case it has nothing to do with the everyday conduct of administration. As regards this, even the power of overruling his Council which the Governors of Bombay and Madras formerly acquired in an indirect fashion by means of the vote of the Presidency Commander-in-Chief has since been taken from them by the abolition of the local Commands, so that the corporate character of the administration has been both enhanced and reaffirmed within recent times. There is no parallel between these conditions and those which would prevail in Bengal. The initial need for the system does not exist here; its merits would be reduced and its disadvantages enormously increased. The two Councillors would be drawn from the same service, probably from the same province, as the Lieutenant-Governor. They would not be controlled by the same degree of deference that is paid to the higher rank and status of the Governors of Madras and Bombay. The Councillors would regard their opinions as of equal weight with those of the Lieutenant-Governor. If he were drawn from the same province, they might be smarting under the sense of supersession themselves. If he were an outsider, they could scarcely fail, being in enjoyment of superior power, to remember that it could also be defended by superior local knowledge; and an era of chronic dissension might be expected to set in. These dissensions would not be less, but probably more acute, owing to the fact that the Lieutenant-Governor would be, and in our view necessarily must be, himself a trained administrator and not an English politician with no Indian experience. Many instances could be drawn from the history of Indian administration to show that differences of opinion between experts are maintained with peculiar tenacity and are exceedingly difficult to reconcile. Looking back upon what has taken place in Bengal itself during the last thirty-five years, we have no hesitation in saying that the principal and most beneficial measures of Sir George Campbell's eventful term of office would with scarcely an exception have been bitterly opposed by a Council composed of Bengal officers, and could only have been carried through by the Lieutenant-Governor persistently overruling his colleagues. Several of his successors would have met with similar difficulties in respect of some of the most important reforms which they succeeded in effecting. It would be necessary, therefore, if the introduction of a Council into Bengal were not to result in a *régime* of administrative paralysis, not only that the Lieutenant-Governor should be able to overrule his Council at discretion, but that the power should be freely used, his reasons being recorded in each case for the information of the Government of India. But to impose such a condition, necessary as we have shown it to be, is virtually to condemn the proposed Council altogether. For a Council which can be overruled at will is not really a Council at all in the sense in which the term is used by the supporters of the system, or has ever been used in connection with any form of collective government. Such a Council would exist merely in name, and its establishment would engender a feeling of chronic antagonism between the Lieutenant-Governor and his colleagues which would be destructive of all good administration, and would by the friction and dissension which it created infinitely increase the anxieties and responsibilities of the head of the administration instead of lessening them. It may be admitted that the introduction of an Executive Council, by rendering possible a distribution of work amongst its members, would relieve the Lieutenant-Governor of a considerable amount of ordinary business which he is now called upon to transact. It is also probable that the Councillors would assist the Lieutenant-Governor by receiving a number of interviewers whom he is now called upon to see himself, and by presiding at certain public functions of minor importance which the Lieutenant-Governor now attends. But this relief would be accompanied by an appreciable slackening in the despatch of public business, arising from the addition of an intermediate authority between the Secretaries and the Lieutenant-Governor, and from the inevitable increase of

inter-departmental references. In any case it would be mainly confined to head-quarters. For the experience of the Councils of Madras and Bombay is, not that their Members personally replace or relieve the Governor by themselves making regular tours or occasional visits to outlying parts of the Presidency, but that they enable him to undertake these excursions by staying at head-quarters and disposing of current business. This, however, is precisely the condition which it is not desirabie to reproduce in Bengal. Already the impression exists that the real administration of the province is very largely taken out of the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor. With a Council possessing equal powers with the Head of the Government, and with a Lieutenant-Governor resolved upon doing his duty to a charge of extravagantly overgrown size, this impression would not only be deepened, but it would represent the reality. While the Lieutenant-Governor was away, and his absences would necessarily be frequent, his colleagues would be the real rulers of the province, and in the event of friction prevailing would make the fullest use of their powers. And here we arrive at what is in our view the crowning drawback of the system, namely, that what is best for a province in India is not the rule of a Committee, but the rule or at least the responsibility in the last resort of an individual. A Chief Commissionership is defended by many as a superior form of administration to a Lieutenant-Governorship for this very reason, that it brings the personality and identity of the ruler more in contact with the people. As in England, where it is the prestige of individual statesmen rather than the collective influence of the Cabinet, which provokes popular enthusiasm, so in India both Europeans and Indians desire to know where the authority is, and to see the responsibility fixed. The orders, if they proceed from a Board, do not carry greater weight because of the numbers behind them. They carry indeed less weight because their origin and sanction are obscure, and because they lack the personal touch which to an eastern, or even to a western serving in the east, is an almost inseparable feature of strong government. No reasoning is needed to prove that the introduction of a Council with the avowed object of preventing the dismemberment of Bengal would present a permanent obstacle to the extension of Assam towards the west, the only direction in which it is possible for that province to develop, and would thereby stereotype the intolerable conditions now prevailing there as described in our letter of the 3rd December 1903. In point of fact that letter greatly understates the administrative evils which arise from the system under which Assam is dependent for its most important officers upon another province. It is hardly too much to say that so long as the head of one province selects the officers who are to do the work of another and less popular province, and those officers have the right (which in existing circumstances it is impossible to deny to them) of reverting to their original province after a certain term of service elsewhere, the administration of the latter province is bound to be in a state of perpetual flux, and that its head must be content to carry on the work of government by a series of compromises and concessions, deprived as he is of the ordinary means of exercising effective control over his subordinates. We have given very close attention to this aspect of the question during the period in which the present case has been under our investigation, and the argument is one to which we attach so much weight that even if the disadvantages of retaining the boundaries of Bengal as they at present stand, and of establishing a Council for its administration, were far less patent than we have shown them to be, the permanent injury that the change would inflict upon Assam by crystallising existing conditions, would in our opinion afford a conclusive reason for setting aside the proposal. The suggestion that there should be constituted for the guidance of a Governor appointed from England some sort of council of advice from among the principal officers of Government was made by Sir George Campbell in paragraph 16 of his further report on the Orissa famine, and is repeated in his memoirs, where he writes that "the work of a local Government consists so much in a multitude of details that a council of the chief executive officers would be best rather than councillors with nothing else to do." As we have mentioned above, Sir George Campbell's proposal seems to have met with the approval of Sir Henry Durand and Sir John Strachey in 1868. We are now informed, although the matter is not officially on record, that an experiment on these lines has been tried on several occasions by different Lieutenant-Governors, and that actual

practice served only to bring out what appear to us to be the essential objections to it, namely :—

(*a*) that the members, not being Members of Council in the strict sense, cannot finally dispose of current business, however unimportant may be its character, and cannot therefore give the Lieutenant-Governor the most obvious form of relief that a Council ought to furnish;

(*b*) that since they are only called together for the purpose of occasional consultation, much time is wasted by meetings which take place at irregular intervals; that the lack of responsibility on the part of individual members does not conduce to a final decision being arrived at; and that the composition of the Council, varying as it does from time to time, deprives their discussions of the element of continuity;

(*c*) that the formal creation of such a Council would increase, rather than diminish, the labours of the Lieutenant-Governor, who always can, and does at present, avail himself of verbal discussion with his officers when it seems advisable.

We would add that because, for the reasons set forth above, we have expressed an opinion strongly adverse to the administration of Bengal by a Lieutenant-Governor drawn from the Civil Service and an Executive Council however constituted, it must not therefore be inferred that we would contemplate with the smallest satisfaction the alternative of administration by a Council and a Governor appointed from England. On the contrary we think that this would be the least desirable of the many alternatives that have been put forward. Bengal, in our opinion, more perhaps than any other province, requires the head of the Government to possess an intimate knowledge of India and the Indian people. We can imagine no part of the country where a statesman or a politician appointed from England without previous knowledge of India, would find his ignorance a greater drawback, or where he would be less able to cope with the intricacies of an exceedingly complex position. In concluding this branch of the subject we may sum up the arguments that have convinced us that the idea of making an organic change in the form of government in Bengal by giving the Lieutenant-Governor a Council must be set aside absolutely and without hesitation as a solution of the present difficulty. Stated as briefly as possible our reasons are :—

(1) that an Executive Council exists in Madras and Bombay for the guidance of a Governor who has no experience of India;

(2) that in the case of a Lieutenant-Governor who has such knowledge—and we consider it impossible for Bengal to be properly administered by a Governor who has not—the association of a Council with the Lieutenant-Governor would lead to constant dissension, if he were able to overrule his colleagues, and to impotence and stagnation if he were not;

(3) that the establishment of an Executive Council in Bengal would divide, and therefore weaken, both the responsibility and the authority of the Government;

(4) that personal methods of government are better suited to the circumstances of India, and produce superior results;

(5) that the introduction of a Council, in so far as it involved the maintenance of the present territorial limits of Bengal, would establish a permanent obstacle to the further development of Assam and would perpetuate intolerable defects in its system of recruitment.

If for these reasons the proposal for a Council must be condemned, the only possible alternative is to reduce the territory for the administration of which the Lieutenant-Governor is responsible. Before proceeding to examine the various forms in which this kind of relief can be given, we may refer

briefly to the recent history of the question, and may mention the various stages by which we have reached our final conclusion. These, it will be seen, do not indicate either any change of position or vacillation of opinion on our part. Rather may they be said to mark a progressive advance towards the ideal which we have always had in view, and which we placed before you in our despatch of 3rd December 1903, namely, to afford relief to the head of an overgrown province who is at present labouring under an impossible burden of work. We have already shown that as far back as 1867-1868 the suggestion of an Executive Council was discussed and rejected by the then leading authorities on the question of Indian administration, and the relief considered necessary was afforded by the formation of the Chief Commissionership of Assam. In recent times the question of giving further relief was first raised in 1892 in connection with the proposed transfer of the South Lushai country from Bengal to Assam. It was then decided that the Chittagong district should also be transferred to Assam as soon as the settlement operations then in progress had been completed. The expediency of the transfer of the whole of the Chittagong Division was reserved for further consideration and was referred for opinion to the Governments of Bengal and Assam in January 1896. The result of the examination which ensued was that the proposal was held over until the Assam-Bengal Railway should have been completed and the settlement of the Chittagong District, which was still unfinished, have been carried out. The opinions of Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and of Sir H. Cotton, who had just succeeded Sir W. Ward as Chief Commissioner of Assam, are in your possession. Eventually it was decided to limit immediate action to the transfer of the South Lushai Hills from Bengal to Assam. Four years later the substitution of Uriya for Hindi as the court language of the district of Sambalpur suggested the transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces and led to the examination of various proposals for the redistribution of existing provincial jurisdictions. These discussions were still in progress when the arrangement was concluded with His Highness the Nizam by which the Government of India acquired permanent administrative control over Berar. This led us to consider the whole question of territorial redistribution in India on more comprehensive lines, and resulted in our addressing the Governments of Bengal, Madras, the Central Provinces and Assam in our Home Secretary's letters of 3rd December 1903, which formed the enclosures to our despatch of that date. The effect of the scheme propounded in these letters would have been to reduce the population of Bengal from 78½ to 60½ millions by transferring the Chittagong Division, Hill Tipperah, Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam and Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces, while at the same time it was proposed to add certain territory from the Central Provinces and Madras with the object of bringing all the Uriya-speaking population under a single Government. The publication of these original proposals gave rise to an immense amount of public discussion which served to indicate that the objections upon which the people of Bengal laid the greatest stress were the loss of a Lieutenant-Governor, the deprivation of a Legislative Council, and the removal of the jurisdiction of the Board of Revenue and possibly of the High Court. In the middle of February 1904, after the question had been discussed by us informally with the Lieutenant-Governor, His Excellency the Viceroy visited Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensing, and foreshadowed, in a series of speeches delivered in reply to public addresses, the formation of an Eastern Province, organised on the scale of a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Legislative Council and an independent Revenue authority, and involving the transfer to Assam of a tract of country extensive enough to justify this larger project. This suggestion, we may explain, emanated from public discussion and public opinion rather than from the Government itself, although it appeared to us to afford a satisfactory reply to the great majority of the criticisms with which the earlier and less comprehensive proposals had been received. The Bengal Government's letter of 6th April 1904 carried the idea a stage further, and proposed to give up to the new Province the whole of the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions and the districts of Pubna, Bogra and Rangpur, forming the eastern half of Northern Bengal. At the same time Sir Andrew Fraser deprecated the transfer of any of the British districts of

Enclosures of Despatch to Secretary of State, no. 39, dated the 14th July 1897.

Enclosure no. 13.

Enclosure no 5.

Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces, while he accepted the additions of territory from Madras on the basis of his experience regarding Sambalpur. After considering the proposals put forward by the Lieutenant-Governor and the views expressed by the Government of Madras and the Chief Commissioners of the Central Provinces and Assam, we pointed out in our letter of the 13th September 1904 that the series of transfers recommended by Sir A. Fraser would leave the Province with a population of about sixty-two and a quarter millions, or practically the same as that ascertained by the Census of 1872, while even if the transfer of certain territories from Madras were not carried out, the population would amount to 59,384,000, so that the objection that the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor would still be too large would hold good with but slightly reduced force. We proposed therefore to add to the area to be transferred the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Malda and the State of Cooch Behar, and explained that this extended scheme appeared to present the following advantages :—

Enclosure No. 7

(1) It would give the new province a population of over 31 millions, leaving Bengal with a little more than 54 millions.

(2) It would provide for the whole of the western frontier of the new province a well defined boundary, conterminous throughout its length with a well-recognised geographical and social distinction, and for a part of its length with the division between the Bengali and the Hindi languages. This boundary would correspond with certain physical, linguistic and ethnological characteristics which the boundary proposed by the Lieutenant-Governor ignored.

(3) That it would concentrate in the new province the typical Muhammadans of Bengal and would constitute the city of Dacca the natural capital of such an aggregation.

(4) That it would bring within the new province the whole of the tea industry, with the exceptions of the gardens in the Darjeeling district, the conditions of which are peculiar.

(5) That it would also bring under one Government the greater part of the tract within which jute is cultivated.

(6) That it would avoid the necessity for breaking up Commissioners' Divisions.

A copy of this letter was sent to the Chief Commissioner of Assam and his opinion was invited. You will see that both local Governments have accepted our enlarged scheme readily and without any material criticism. The Chief Commissioner of Assam mentions as an additional argument in favour of the proposed boundary that it will include almost the whole of the area over which the Tibeto-Burman tribes known collectively as Bodos have extended. Mr. Fuller lays stress upon the fact that the enlarged proposal will bring together under one Government the tea-growing areas of the Dooars and of the Assam valley, and, by thus associating an area of free labour with an area of indentured labour, will promote the gradual substitution of natural for artificial methods in the recruitment of tea coolies. In so far as he criticises the scheme, particularly in its bearing upon the cadre and rates of pay for the new province, his criticism is one which we anticipate no difficulty in meeting satisfactorily. Similarly as regards the choice of capital we entertain little doubt that the head of the new province, if created, should consider the interests of Chittagong equally with those of Dacca, and should not reside wholly at one place to the neglect or detriment of the other. Finally Mr. Fuller suggests that the districts of the Surma Valley, the Garo Hills, the Lushai Hills, and the State of Manipur which are now under the direct control of the Chief Commissioner, should be formed into a new Commissionership. The effect of this would be to give the new province five Commissionerships, and *pro tanto* to enhance its attractions so far as the prospects of promotion are concerned. In his letter of the 26th September 1904, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal concurs generally with the arguments put forward by us. He rather minimizes the advantages of having river boundary on the

Enclosure no. 8.

Enclosure no. 10.

Enclosure no. 11.

ground that the shifting of the channel tends to produce a good deal of friction in respect of alluvial formations. At the same time he admits that the Ganges is less open to this objection than the Brahmaputra, since the *char* lands on the former do not shift so much and disputes are less frequent and less important. As regards the arguments relating to jute and tea, he says that their importance is reduced by the opinion of the Chamber of Commerce that territorial divisions do not affect the course of trade, while, as the Labour Acts will remain the same, the interests of the planter will not be touched. The objection to breaking up divisions also appear to him to be of little importance. Sir Andrew Fraser has discussed the enlarged proposal with the members of the Board of Revenue and the most senior officers in Bengal, and he states that with the exception of a single officer who was inclined to advocate the retention of the tea-district of Jalpaiguri in Bengal, there was complete unanimity in accepting them. According to our final proposals, the new province will consist of the present Chief Commissionership of Assam and of Eastern and Northern Bengal—the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions, excluding Darjeeling but including the State of Hill Tipperah, and the district of Malda which now forms part of the Bhagalpur Division. It will comprise an area of 106,540 square miles and a population of thirty-one millions, of whom eighteen millions will be Muhammadans and twelve millions Hindus. In view of its geographical position and in accordance with analogies which are already familiar in the nomenclature of Indian Provinces, we think that it might probably be called "The North-Eastern Provinces" (the Provinces alluded to, though not directly specified, being those of Eastern Bengal and Assam). The Province of Bengal, while ceding these large territories on the east, will gain on the west Sambalpur and the five Uriya States of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonpur, Bamra, and Rairakhol, from the Central Provinces, and will surrender to the Central Provinces the five Hindi States of Jashpur, Sarguja, Udaipur, Korea and Chang Bhakhar. It will thus be left with an area of 141,580 square miles and a population of fifty-four millions, the Hindus numbering forty-two millions and the Muhammadans nine millions. The statis-

Enclosure no. 18. tical details are given in Statement III. We think that it may fairly be claimed for this scheme of reconstruction that it meets all reasonable objections that have been brought against the original proposal, including those taken by Sir Henry Cotton and the High Court in 1896 and examined in the Bengal letter of 6th

Enclosure no. 5. April 1904. Our present project will divide the territory now comprised in Bengal and Assam into two compact and self-contained provinces, each of them fairly homogeneous in character, situated within definite boundaries, and equipped for administrative purposes on the scale which modern conditions demand. It promises in fact to afford a final settlement of the difficulties which have to be met, and we have in consequence no hesitation in recommending it for your acceptance. You will have seen from the sketch of our proposals which is given above, and from examining the tabular statement, that we have abandoned those portions of our original scheme which contemplated the transfer to Bengal of certain areas now included in the Madras Presidency and the transfer of Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces. The question as affecting Madras is fully and

Enclosure no. 6. effectively stated in the letter from that Government of the 20th June 1904. It is shown there that the transfer would give rise to serious difficulties in connexion with the linguistic and racial conditions and the geographical conformation of the tract in question, that it would greatly complicate and confuse its judicial arrangements, and that it would place the administration of its peculiar land revenue system in the hands of officers who would have no acquaintance with the principles on which it is based or with the language on which the bulk of its records are and must continue to be maintained. The force of these argu-

Enclosure no. 9. ments is greatly enhanced by Sir Andrew Fraser's letter of the 12th September 1904, in which he abandons the view provisionally expressed in his letter

Enclosure no. 5. of 6th April 1904 and strongly deprecates the transfer of this territory on the grounds that the change would disturb a well recognized state of affairs without due necessity; and would throw an additional burden on the already over-burdened administration of Bengal. After careful consideration we accept the unanimous opinion of the Governments of the two provinces concerned, and we have decided to abandon this portion of the scheme and to leave matters exactly as they are. The arguments against the transfer of any of the British districts of Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces are stated effectively in the

Bengal letter of 6th April 1904, and paragraph 3 of the Central Provinces letter Enclosure no. 5.
of 16th March 1904 mentions the objections to transferring the districts of Enclosure no. 3.
Manbhum and Singhbhum. The Chutia Nagpur Division consists of a series of plateaux rising in successive steps of 800, 1,200, 2,000 and nearly 3,000 feet from the plains of Bengal. The highest elevations are found on the west of Ranchi district and in the tributary states, and this western mass of hills, with the ranges which fringe the plateau on the south, renders the Division practically inaccessible by any direct route from the Central Provinces. It follows that any one wishing to go from Nagpur to Ranchi, or *vice versâ*, must travel by way of Purulia and make an enormous detour, while Palamau on the north of the division can only be approached through Allahabad. In short, all the lines of communication run to the south-east and connect the division with Calcutta and not with Nagpur. The commercial connections of the division, and especially those of the important coal interests, trend in the same direction. A series of coal fields, which are now being gradually opened up, runs right. across the north of the division from Karharbari in the east of Hazaribagh to the Daltonganj coal fields in Palamau. In the former district there are extensive deposits of mica which have been largely developed within the last few years, and copper, antimony, lead, gold, and other minerals have been discovered and worked from time to time. In paragraph 4 of their letter of 19th March the Chamber of Commerce expressed themselves as opposed to the transfer of Annexure 1 to enclosure 5.
Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces on the ground of the mining and industrial interests involved. We attach weight to the opinion of the Chamber on this point, and we find in it nothing inconsistent with the statement made in paragraph 3 of the same letter, that trade will not be affected by any change in the seat of administration, for the jute trade, which is more particularly referred to in this latter remark, is carried on without any interference from Government. Mining, on the other hand, is conducted under official supervision, the degree of which tends to increase as the enterprise develops and the mines become deeper and more dangerous. If the Mines Act were administered from Nagpur, we should expect the Calcutta agents of the various mines to raise very strong objections to the change. It is pointed out in the Bengal letter of 6th April 1904 Enclosure no. 5.
that if the districts of Ranchi and Singbhum are transferred to the Central Provinces there will be difficulty in finding a division to which they can conveniently be attached. The objection reproduces in a slightly different form the general objection which we have noticed above based on the inaccessibility of any portion of the division from the Central Provinces. It might have been added that if a part of the division were transferred it would be difficult to determine to what division the district left behind should be attached. It may further be observed that to transfer Singbhum to the Central Provinces would conflict with the idea of uniting the Uriya-speaking people, and unless the district were to be broken up would impose upon the Central Provinces the duty of administering the large Bengali-speaking pargana of Dhalbhum in the east of Singbhum. In fact, if Sambalpur is to be transferred to Bengal there is nothing to be said for transferring Singbhum to the Central Provinces. In the Bengal letter of 6th April 1904, Enclosure no. 5.
the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to hand over to the Central Provinces the five Native States of Jashpur, Sarguja, Udaipur, Korea and Chang Bhakhar, which form a solid block of territory on the west of the districts of Palamau and Ranchi, marching on the north with Mirzapur and on the west with Rewah and Bilaspur. The language spoken is Hindi. The Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces concurs in the proposal. One of its chief advantages will be that it will render it possible to improve the administration of these States by placing them under the Political Agent of Raipur, who is already in charge of the fourteen Native States in the Chhattisgarh Division. Owing to their distance from Ranchi and the difficulties of travelling in a country very imperfectly supplied with roads, and also to the fact that since the development of railways and coal-mining the ordinary work of the Commissioner of Chutia Nagpur has been greatly increased, these States have not received so much attention as might be desired. The most distant of them, Chang Bhakhar, has only once been visited by the Commissioner, some forty years ago. We believe that the arrangement proposed will commend itself to the Chiefs themselves. To be brought into intimate relations with a European officer of high standing will appeal to their ideas of dignity, and we believe that some of them, at any rate, are connected by the

ties of family and caste with the Chiefs who are under the Political Agent at Raipur. The part of our scheme which involves a transfer of territory from the Central Provinces to Bengal is examined in the Bengal letter of 6th April 1904 and paragraphs 9—14 of the Central Provinces letter of 16th March 1904. It will be seen that both Bengal and the Central Provinces agree in suggesting that the Sambalpur District (with the exception of the Chandarpur-Padampur estate) and the five Uriya-speaking States of Patna, Kalahandi or Karond, Sonpur, Bamra and Rairakhol should be transferred from the Central Provinces to Bengal. The object of the transfer is to facilitate the administration of Sambalpur, which, owing to the prevalence of the Uriya language, presents great difficulties to the Central Provinces, and also as far as possible to bring all the Uriya-speaking peoples under one Government. The whole of the territory transferred will be added to the Orissa Division, the Commissioner of which has comparatively light work, and can easily undertake larger responsibilities. In paragraphs 12 and 13 of his letter referred to above the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces mentions certain objections entertained by the Chiefs of those States to the change. We sympathise with their reluctance to be placed under a native Assistant Superintendent, but we understand that the Lieutenant-Governor proposes to appoint a European Political Officer to take charge of the entire group of Uriya-speaking States, and we believe that this will go far to reconcile the Chiefs to the change proposed. Before dealing with the various objections which have been taken to the particular scheme of reconstruction which we here recommend, it will be convenient if we examine an alternative plan which has attracted some attention and may possibly be put forward for your serious consideration by the opponents of our own proposals. Its leading features are—

Enclosure no. 5.
Enclosure no. 3.

(1) The transfer of the Chittagong Division from Bengal to Assam.

(2) The formation of a Chief Commissionership of Behar which would include the Patna Division, the Hindi-speaking districts of Chutia Nagpur (namely Hazaribagh, Palamau, and Ranchi), the Benares Division of the United Provinces, and, possibly, the districts of Monghyr and Bhagalpur.

(3) The transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces, and the conversion of that province into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

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

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

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

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

The proposal to attach Orissa to the Central Provinces is examined and condemned in paragraphs 10 and 11 of our Home Secretary's letter of 3rd December 1903. To the objections there stated, it might be added that it is undesirable at present to raise the Central Provinces to the status of a Lieutenant-Governorship, and that this could only be done at the cost of stereotyping the existing condition of Assam. The formation of a Chief Commissionership out of Orissa and the adjacent Uriya-speaking country has been referred to as an arrangement which would commend itself more especially to the Uriyas. We observe, however, that the proceedings of the public meeting held at Cuttack on 22nd April 1903 put it only in the second place, while the memorial sending up these proceedings seems in paragraph 20 to express a preference for remaining with Bengal. However this may be, if for the reasons stated above the districts of Ganjam and the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam must continue under the administration of Madras, it is clear that the Chief Commissionership would have less than seven and three quarter millions of population, and would be altogether too small either to give effective relief to Bengal or to support a full service of its own. Its formation, moreover, would preclude us from proposing the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and we should still be left with two weak Chief Commissionerships each dependent upon other provinces for its supply of officers. We now proceed to examine the various objections which have been or may be taken to the scheme of reconstruction which we recommend for your acceptance. In doing so we shall base our remarks upon the memorial of the residents of Calcutta, its suburbs and the various districts of Bengal, which was submitted to us on the 5th October 1904 by Raja Pyari Mohun Mukerjee in his capacity of Chairman of the public meeting held at the Town Hall in Calcutta on the 18th March 1904. It had been originally arranged that the meeting should take place on an earlier date, but it was purposely postponed, as is stated in the 3rd paragraph of the memorial, in order that it might deal with the enlarged proposals indicated by the Viceroy's speeches at Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh. The resolutions carried at the meeting were submitted to us on the 27th April with a list of the Committee appointed to draw up the memorial. The latter document has since been adopted as the basis of a recent speech by Sir Henry Cotton protesting against the partition of Bengal and it may therefore be taken to represent the final expression of the views of that section of the educated community of Bengal which is opposed to any division of the Province. Considering the strength of the Committee employed to draft the memorial, the time that its authors have had to devote to its composition, and the fact that the Chairman himself, an influential zemindar and pleader of the High Court, who represented the landlords with much ability in the Legislative Council which passed the Bengal Tenancy Act, is one of the shrewdest and most experienced adherents of the advanced school of politicians in Bengal, we can only attribute its weakness and lack of substance to the fact that the larger scheme of reconstruction foreshadowed in the Viceroy's speeches in Eastern Bengal a year ago has met all the genuine objections and has left the opposition with no basis but one of sentiment upon which to continue their stand. We take their points in order:—

Annexures 23, 24.
Enclosure no. 5.
Enclosure no. 15.
Enclosure no. 14.
Enclosure no. 13.

Appeal to public opinion.—The memorial opens by referring to the alarm with which the scheme of reconstruction is viewed and the unparalleled agitation to which it is said to have given rise. It goes on to urge that an opposition so strong and so universal should not be ignored. The reply to this is that the opposition, in so far as it did not proceed merely from members of the literary class, was in the main manufactured by the methods referred to in the Viceroy's speeches, especially that delivered at Dacca, and in the Bengal letter of the 6th April 1904.

Loss of national unity.—Under this head it is alleged that the division of the Bengali nation into separate units and the disruption of its historical, social and linguistic ties will seriously interfere with the intellectual, social, and material progress of the people. This states in somewhat indefinite language

the professional politician's objections to the scheme; Bengal united is a power, Bengal divided will pull several different ways. That is the belief of those who regard the question solely from what we venture to think the rather narrow standpoint of certain vague political aspirations. When we describe this point of view as narrow, what we mean is that it cannot be for the lasting good of any country or any people that public opinion or what passes for it should be manufactured by a comparatively small number of people at a single centre and should be disseminated thence for universal adoption, all other views being discouraged or suppressed. The present agitation furnishes a notable illustration of the system under which a particular set of opinions expressed practically in the same words is sent out with a mandate from Calcutta to be echoed in the form of telegraphic protests and formal memorials from a number of different places all over Bengal. We would further draw attention to the remarkable fact, mentioned by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, that the opinion of certain large landholders in Faridpur and Backerganj in favour of reconstruction comes to the notice of the Government of India only incidentally through a reference in paragraph 5 of the letter from the Bengal Chamber of Commerce of 19th March 1904. From every point of view it appears to us desirable to encourage the growth of centres of independent opinion, local aspirations, local ideals, and to preserve the growing intelligence and enterprise of Bengal from being cramped and stunted by the process of forcing it prematurely into a mould of rigid and sterile uniformity. In course of time if the subtle tendencies which determine social expansion and intellectual advancement are only given a fair field, it may be expected that such centres will arise among the Muhammadans at Dacca, among the natives of Behar at Patna, and among the Uriyas at Cuttack. While an opportunity will thus be given for the formation in natural ways of that local opinion which in other countries has been found to be a healthy element in national life, there is no reason to suppose that the administrative reconstruction contemplated will prove fatal to any sense of community of interests, and racial sympathy that may exist among Bengalis as such. The ablest of the letters received by the Government of Bengal, that from the Bengal Landholders' Association, says distinctly—"We do not apprehend that any portion of Bengal is likely to be so lost in Assam as to lose its identity." Our conclusion on this portion of the case is that in so far as the idea of national unity which the memorialists wish to preserve is a genuine growth rooted in the common bond of race, religion, and language, and not the artificial product of professional agitation, universal experience teaches that the mere adjustment of administrative boundaries will present no obstacle to its development. If national sentiment is animated by any real vitality of its own, it ought to be as independent of the boundaries of provinces as the Chamber of Commerce assures us is the case with trade.

Annexure 1 to enclosure no. 5.

Annexure 9 to enclosure no. 5.

Loss of constitutional and other privileges.—This objection is also stated in very general terms. It is to the effect that the districts proposed to be separated from Bengal will lose several constitutional, educational and other privileges which they have long enjoyed. No attempt is made in the subsequent paragraphs of the memorial to develop this general proposition more fully, and it would seem that the promoters of the memorial have realised that, if a new province is formed under a Lieutenant-Governor on practically the same lines as Bengal, it is impossible any longer to allege that constitutional or other privileges will be withdrawn. It is, in fact, easy to show in detail that all conceivable privileges will be retained under the enlarged scheme now put forward and thus to meet the various tobjections which have been put forward at different stages of the discussion. The main points for consideration are the following:—

(*a*) *Legislative Council.*—It seems to us to be beyond question that a province with a population of 31 millions, the majority of whom are already represented on the Bengal Council, should certainly have a Legislative Council of its own. We agree generally in the statement of this aspect of the ca[illegible] which is contained in the Bengal letter of 6th April 1904, [illegible] we see no objection to an assurance being given that in the [illegible] province there will be no recourse to legislation by regulation, e[illegible] in the case of districts

Enclosure no. 5.

like the Naga, Lushai and Garo Hills which are in much the same position in respect of their legal status and the character of their population as the Sonthal Parganas and the Chittagong Hill Tracts in Bengal. Such recourse would indeed be impossible without a declaration by the Secretary of State under the Government of India Act, 1870, which certainly would not be made.

(*b*) *Board of Revenue.*—The objections to the loss of the Board of Revenue are examined in the Bengal letter referred to above. We agree with the Lieutenant-Governor in thinking that the new province should certainly be provided with a revenue authority before which parties may appear in person or by Counsel. As to the particular form which this authority should assume, we are disposed to think that in the first instance at any rate a Financial Commissioner would be sufficient. Lord Lawrence, writing in 1868, expressed his preference for such an officer in place of a Board, and the arguments which we have used above as to the respect paid to personal authority in India point towards the same conclusion. If a single Financial Commissioner should prove unable to cope with the work, there will be no difficulty in appointing a second, either permanently or for a period, as has been done in the Punjab on several occasions.

Enclosure no. 5.

(*c*) *High Court.*—The objections to the original scheme of transfer which were based upon the supposed deprivation of the jurisdiction of the High Court are stated and examined in the Bengal letter of 6th April 1904. The enlarged proposals now made do not in themselves involve any change in that jurisdiction, nor need such a change be suggested so long as the existing number of judges can cope with the work of both provinces. But the time may come when, even with the full staff that can be appointed under the existing law, the High Court will be unable to dispose of the cases coming before them. In order to enlarge the Court it would then be necessary to have recourse to legislation in Parliament, and the whole question of the best form of judicial arrangements for the two provinces would necessarily arise. With the growth that may reasonably be anticipated for the city of Dacca, when it becomes the head-quarters of a large province, a strong bar will certainly arise there, and the eastern province, having by that time developed a provincial spirit, may demand an appellate tribunal of its own, and may not be inclined to favour the suggestion that the Calcutta High Court should be expanded to the extent necessary to enable it to do the work of both provinces. In view of this possibility it seems to us that it would certainly be premature and might even be embarrassing to give the guarantee asked for in paragraph 5 of the letter from the Chamber of Commerce of the 19th March 1904, that the jurisdiction of the High Court over the transferred districts will at no future time, however remote, be interfered with in the slightest degree. Whatever opinion we might form on the subject now could in no case be deemed binding on our successors.

Annexure 1 to enclosure no. 5.

(*d*) *Backwardness of Assam.*—The suggestion that Assam is a backward province, and that this will re-act upon the districts which it is proposed to associate with it, is merely a form of the argument referred to in the Bengal letter. There is of course no reason whatever to suppose that the standard of administration in the new province will be lower than that to which the people of Eastern Bengal are now accustomed. In fact we have every reason to hope that with the closer supervision that Eastern Bengal will receive from the Lieutenant-Governor of the new province, the system of government will be incomparably more efficient than that which now prevails in these remote and frequently neglected districts.

Enclosure no. 5.

Enclosure no. 5. Enclosure no. 15.

(*e*) *Language and race.*—The question whether linguistic and racial unity will be affected is discussed in the Bengal letter and paragraph 44 of the memorial. It is urged by the memorialists—(1) that their language is sure to deteriorate if the people of the east and west are placed under two separate governments; and (2) that Brahmans and Kayasths of the one province would object to intermarry with those of the other. To the first objection it may be replied that Bengali will be the dominant language in the new province, and no cause is indicated or suggested which would tend to bring about its deterioration. As to the second, the present state of affairs is correctly described in paragraph 44 of the memorial from the inhabitants of Dacca, who are best acquainted with the facts. The conclusion arrived at in paragraph 42 of the Bengal letter that mere administrative division does not of itself produce social division is in our judgment entirely sound, and completely disposes of the allegations of the memorialists.

Annexure 11 to enclosure no. 5.

Enclosure no. 5.

(*f*) *Loss of educational advantages.*—Under this head we have nothing to add to the full examination of the question that is contained in paragraph 43 of the Bengal letter.

Enclosure no. 5.

(*g*) *Loss of facilities for employment.*—This question is discussed in paragraph 44 of the Bengal letter, where the Lieutenant-Governor writes as if the transfer would not materially affect any individual interests and suggests that the Government of India should interfere to prevent provincial restrictions on the employment of outsiders from operating unjustly. We are disposed to think that Sir Andrew Fraser makes too little of this point, and that the educated classes of Bikrampur will probably hold fewer appointments in a reduced Bengal than they now obtain. On the other hand, unless special steps are taken to guard against it, they will undoubtedly absorb all the clerical posts which are now held by the Assamese. In any case the interests of a small class of persons cannot weigh against the far larger and more important considerations in favour of the change.

Annexure 1 to enclosure no. 5.

(*h*) *Commercial interests.*—The larger aspects of this question may be summed up in the remark that trade follows the cheapest route irrespective of administrative boundaries, a view in which all the commercial authorities agree. In paragraph 6 of their letter of the 19th March the Chamber of Commerce protest against any artificial development of the Chittagong Port with the object of enabling the Assam-Bengal Railway to compete unfairly with the existing means of communication. It may be gathered from their remarks that they are apprehensive lest the scheme which has come under our consideration for improving the trade route through the Sundarbans may be abandoned when Bengal is divided. We have, however, no intention of dealing with that scheme otherwise than upon its merits. Their argument that Chittagong is not the natural port of Assam because trade did not flow there of itself before the railway was made, plainly ignores the real facts of the case. Before the railway was made Assam had only one trade route, the Brahmaputra river, which led under the conditions then existing to Calcutta. Now it has two—the river and the railway—and the latter goes straight to Chittagong, which has become the natural port of a certain part of the province. The jute forecast referred to in paragraph 4 of the letter from the Indian Jute Mills Association of the 29th January 1904 will of course be kept up. It does not seem to us to be material whether it is prepared by one Government or by two, and we see no reason for placing it in the hands of a special officer to be attached to the Government of India. The particular grievance of a certain section of native merchants is very frankly stated in paragraph 64

Annexure 3 to enclosure no. 5.

of the letter of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce of 3rd February 1904, where in order to drive home their point they say that the whole of the jute trade of Eastern Bengal and the greater part of the rice trade of Backerganj will be diverted to Chittagong. It seems to us not unlikely that some of these traders of Eastern Bengal, who on their own showing are only middlemen, will have to spend money in setting up new places of business, if they wish to retain their connection with the trade in rice and jute, and it is further possible that the value of their premises in the quarters of Calcutta named by them may to some extent decline. On the other hand, it may be argued—(*a*) that quite 50 per cent. of the jute crop must come to Calcutta to be worked up in the mills: (*b*) that jute intended for export will in any case go to Chittagong if that is the cheapest route; (*c*) that the area under jute is sure to expand, so that there will be enough for both Calcutta and Chittagong; (*d*) that the opening up of the congested areas of Calcutta will enhance the value of property in Hatkhola, Ultadanga and Chitpur.

Annexure 7 to enclosure no. 5.

Financial objections.—We have found it necessary to examine at this length the points vaguely referred to in paragraph 1, heads (*b*) and (*c*) of the memorial of October 1904, in order to bring out the definite objections the replies to which are furnished by the Bengal letter of the 6th April 1904. The memorialists themselves, however, do not seem to have thought it worth while to press these points in detail. Having in fact been driven from their original positions, they have fallen back upon a new line of defence. The objection that they now take to the larger scheme of reconstruction indicated by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speeches in Eastern Bengal is that "its cost, initial and permanent, would seriously add to the heavy burdens already imposed upon the people." This objection is expanded in paragraphs 28 to 32 of the memorial, in which it is argued—(1) that the cost of administration to be borne by the 78 millions of people now included in Bengal will be nearly doubled. In support of this proposition it is gravely stated that as Bengal now requires 280 members of the Civil Service, the division of the province into two will involve the addition of nearly another 280 civilians. (2) That the formation of the new province will cause great confusion, the remark being made that when Sylhet and Cachar were transferred to Assam in 1875, "heaps of valuable papers were either lost or stolen." (3) That the requirements of the new province in respect of buildings would involve an expenditure of "many times 7 crores of rupees." It will be seen that the memorialists first enumerate all the departments they can think of and assume that each of these will require a separate building. They then take refuge in the conjecture that the buildings of the new province will cost many times the sum supposed to be required for the improvement of Calcutta. (4) That this expenditure can be met only by imposing additional taxation on the land in spite of the pledges given by Lord Cornwallis, or by starving all useful works. We do not deem it necessary to reply at length to these singular allegations. The formation of the new province will necessarily involve a substantial increase of expenditure, but the funds required to meet it will be raised, not by imposing additional taxation on the people of Bengal, but by applying for the purposes of the new province part of the surplus revenues under the control of the Government of India. So far from Bengal paying for its own reforms it will get them largely at the cost of the rest of the Empire. This will be effected by a revision of the provincial settlements in which due provision will be made for a reasonable standard of administrative progress—a matter in which Eastern Bengal has in the past been rather neglected. The recurring expenditure involved in the formation of the new Province is shown in Statement IV to amount to Rs. 13,35,559, so that after deducting Rs. 4,76,885, the present cost of the Assam Administration, the additional outlay to be incurred comes to rather more than eight and-a-half lakhs a year. The estimate is of course only approximate; it would be impossible at the present stage to prepare an accurate proposition statement. For the reasons given above no provision is made for a separate High Court and only one Secretary for Public Works has been shown, since it is hardly likely that in a province where the

Enclosure no. 15. Enclosure no. 5.

Enclosure no. 13.

Enclosure no. 15.

Enclosure no. 19.

rainfall is so large and so steady, irrigation works will be undertaken on a sufficiently large scale to require supervision by a special expert. Nor does the estimate include any expenditure that may arise from the sub-division of the unwieldy districts of Mymensingh and Sylhet. That reform has long been recognised as desirable, and would have to be carried out sooner or later irrespective of any redistribution of territory. On the other hand, we have made no allowance in the estimate for any reduction of the administrative establishments of Bengal. We are indeed clearly of opinion that no reduction in the Secretariat will be found possible. All of the Secretaries are at present seriously overworked, their pay is by no means excessive, and the difficulty of reducing their number is greatly enhanced by the onerous and responsible functions which they perform in relation to the local Legislative Council. If any countervailing economies are to be effected, they must in our view be sought in the direction of reducing the cost of the Board of Revenue and we shall be prepared to consider this further at a later stage. Meanwhile we need only observe that a permanent increase of eight lakhs is a light price to pay for the inestimable benefits which the people of both provinces will derive from the changes now contemplated. The legal questions involved in the creation of the new Province, including the precise form of the proclamations to be issued under the statutes governing the case, and the scope of the legislation that may be needed, are matters requiring careful consideration. We propose to address you on these subjects in a further despatch by the following mail. We will now sum up in the briefest terms possible the leading features of the scheme of territorial reconstruction which we propose for your acceptance. They are:—

(1) That a new province under a Lieutenant-Governor with a Legislative Council and a competent revenue authority be formed out of the territories now administered by the Chief Commissioner of Assam together with the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions (except the district of Darjeeling), the district of Malda now attached to the Bhagalpur Division and the State of Hill Tipperah now under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

(2) That the name of the new province should be "The North-Eastern Provinces."

(3) That the district of Sambalpur, (except the Chandarpur-Padampur estate and the Phuljhar zamindari) and the five Uriya-speaking States of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonpur, Bamra, and Rairakhol be transferred from the Central Provinces to Bengal.

(4) That the five Hindi-speaking States of Jashpur, Sarguja, Udaipur, Korea, and Chang Bhakar be transferred from Bengal to the Central Provinces.

(5) That the existing jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court be maintained unless and until the growth of judicial business in Bengal and the Eastern Province may render it necessary to introduce a change.

The conclusions thus summarised are the outcome of much anxious thought and careful deliberation on our part. The evils which they seek to cure—the congestion of work in Bengal and the arrested development of Assam—are of the gravest kind; and every branch of the administration in these important Provinces suffers from them in an increasing degree. The remedy which we propose is in our opinion the only one feasible. Of this we were so convinced more than a year ago that we did not hesitate to publish our first provisional scheme and to invite the fullest expression of opinion upon it. Since then the question has been discussed without intermission from every conceivable point of view, and we imagine that no project of administrative reform has ever been subjected to abler and more searching examination from all those whose interests were thought to be in any way affected. We readily acknowledged the value of these criticisms and the assistance that we have derived from them. They amply justify our action in making our intentions public, and the careful consideration that we have bestowed upon them has enabled us to modify our original scheme so as to meet all the objections which carry real weight. This, as

we have pointed out above, is tacitly admitted by the influential and representative Committee under whose guidance the memorial of last October has been prepared. Further we present to you our scheme with the gratified consciousness that it carries with it the practically unanimous approval of the leading officials of the three administrations whom it directly concerns. We had not deemed it possible that so striking a consensus of authoritative opinion would be forthcoming on a subject admitting of so much diversity of argument and view; and we think we are fairly entitled to claim that a plan so influentially and spontaneously supported, in the absence of any feasible or acceptable alternative, holds the field. On the side of the Indian opponents of our scheme sentiment alone remains, a sentiment which no argument can eradicate and no assurances appease, but which rests, as we have endeavoured to show, on a mistaken conception of the true foundations of national unity. We now submit our proposals for your sanction in the assured conviction that nothing short of this large measure of territorial reconstruction will enable Bengal and Assam, which include some of the most densely populated, wealthiest and most fertile areas in India, to advance upon the career of administrative improvement and industrial and commercial expansion which, under proper control, should lie before them in the near future.

Enclosure 1 in no. 2.

Letter from W. C. Macpherson, Esq., C.S.I., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 5063-J., dated 21st December 1903.

WITH reference to your letter no. 3678, dated the 3rd instant, I am directed to say that the Lieutenant-Governor finds that a good deal of the agitation against the proposals made about Eastern Bengal is due to what appears to him to be some misapprehension of these proposals.

2. His Honour finds, in discussing the proposals with Indian gentlemen who are interested in them, that they feel strongly that the whole system of administration in the Eastern Bengal districts, which may be transferred, will be altered and brought into conformity with that of the Assam Districts, and also that they will have to take any matter in which they are interested to Shillong. The idea seems to be that they will be subordinated in interest and in administration to Assam.

3. It seems to His Honour that this is altogether contrary to the object which the Government of India have before them. He has tried to explain to some of these gentlemen, for example—

(*a*) that the jurisdiction of the High Court remains;

(*b*) that the law will be unaltered, and that their rights and the system of government will remain;

(*c*) that Shillong will no doubt remain the Sanitarium of the new province, but that its capital will undoubtedly be the chief town of one of the Bengal Divisions transferred to it;

(*d*) that the new province will probably not even be known as Assam, but by some suitable name to be selected hereafter; and

(*e*) that one of the main objects of the scheme is to secure that due attention shall be paid to the interests of the transferred districts; they will not be merged in Assam, but will with the present Assam districts form a new province, in which they will of necessity occupy a very important place.

4. These are briefly the views which His Honour has indicated to some who have discussed the question with him; and he finds that they lead to considerable diminution in the apprehension with which the proposals are received. It would, however, be very desirable, if the views are correct, that they should be

stated as the views of the Government of India in making the proposals. I am, therefore, to enquire whether they have the concurrence of the Government of India.

Enclosure 2 in no. 2.

Letter from H. H. Risley, Esq., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 3808, dated Calcutta, the 23rd December 1903.

I AM directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter no. 5063-J., dated the 21st December 1903, representing that some misapprehension appears to prevail as to the effect of the proposals sketched in paragraphs 18 to 28 of the Home Department letter no. 3668, dated the 3rd December 1903, for the transfer to Assam of some of the districts of Eastern Bengal, and suggesting that these impressions, if they be erroneous, should receive authoritative correction.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Government of India have no hesitation in confirming the informal explanations, that have already been given by His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, which are entirely in accordance with their own views. It is plainly stated in paragraph 26 (iii) of the Home Department letter that the jurisdiction of the High Court will remain unaltered and the statutes which confer upon the Governor-General in Council the power to alter the limits of Provinces expressly provide that no such alteration shall of itself affect the law in force in the territories concerned. It follows that the scheme under consideration will involve no change in the system of administration of the districts tranferred except the wholly beneficial change arising from the fact that they will receive from the head of the Government a degree of personal attention which cannot be bestowed upon them under existing conditions. Shillong will cease to be the permanent head-quarters of the Administration and will assume its proper place as a hill station, to be visited as Darjeeling is, for a few months in the year. The question what place should be selected for the capital of the new Province is a matter upon which the Government of India desire to invite a full expression of opinion. The claims of Dacca to be restored to the position which it occupied in the 17th century as a capital city, have to be carefully weighed against those of the rising seaport of Chittagong. There is, however, no real conflict of interests between the two places. The growth and prosperity of Chittagong are assured by its situation as the natural outlet of the whole tract of country liyng east of the Brahmaputra; it will always receive a large share of the Chief Commissioner's attention; and its development will necessarily tend to revive the commercial activities of Dacca. Whether Dacca becomes the capital of a Province, wealthier and more populous than the whole of Bengal two centuries ago, or whether Chittagong and Dacca are visited alternately by the Chief Commissioner, as Allahabad and Lucknow are visited by the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, there can be no question that the material and intellectual advancement of both places will derive an immediate stimulus from their recognition as the chief towns of a great industrial Province. In the matter of the name of the new Province the Government of India are equally willing to consider the feelings of the people and to defer to their reasonable anxiety that the identity of Eastern Bengal shall not be lost in its union with Assam. By what precise designation this end will best be secured is a question on which numerous suggestions will doubtless be put forward. The combined territories might, for example, be called "The Eastern Provinces" or "The North-Eastern Provinces" of India in accordance with analogies that are already familiar in other parts of the country. On these points the Government of India will await a further expression of the views of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor. The main point to be borne in mind in the discussion is that the Government of India have no desire that the identity of the parts of Bengal under examination should be either diminished or sacrificed by their incorporation in another administrative area. On the contrary, it is the view of Government, looking to their size, population and importance, that they are likely to receive an attention and to exert an influence, under the new conditions in excess of those which they at present enjoy.

Enclosure 3 in no. 2.

Letter from B. Robertson, Esq, C.I.E., Chief Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, Central Provinces, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 2646-A., dated Nagpur, the 16th March 1904.

I AM directed to reply to your letter no. 3679—3681, dated the 3rd December last, with which was forwarded a copy of a letter to the Government of Bengal containing certain proposals for reducing the territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor by transferring portions of it to adjacent provinces. The opinion of the Chief Commissioner was invited as to the possibility of transferring to the Central Provinces the greater portion of Chutia Nagpur, and also upon the proposal that the Sambalpur District and the five adjacent Feudatory States now under the Central Provinces Administration, in which Uriya is the prevalent language, should be transferred to the Government of Bengal.

2. The population of the Central Provinces (including Native States) and Berar is 14,627,045 and the area 133,604 square miles. The land revenue and rates amounted in 1901-02 to Rs. 1,02,47,567 in the Central Provinces and Rs. 95,87,818 in Berar, or a total of Rs. 1,98,35,385. The statistics regarding the Districts and Native States of Chutia Nagpur are :—

	Area in square miles.	Population.	Land Revenue and Rates.
			Rs.
Hazaribagh	7,021	1,177,961	2,46,012
Ranchi	7,128	1,187,925	1,44,728
Palamau	4,194	619,600	1,75,544
Manbhum	4,147	1,301,364	2,12,035
Singbhum	3,753	613,579	1,77,724

The area of the Native States is 16,054 square miles, and the population just over a million. The Government of India are disposed to favour the transfer of this area, except the district of Manbhum and possibly the whole or part of the district of Hazaribagh, to the Central Provinces. They indicate also that, owing to the existence of an Uriya-speaking body in the Singbhum District, this suggestion may require to be modified if the whole of the Uriya-speaking peoples are concentrated in a single tract to be administered not by the Central Provinces but by Bengal.

3. It appears to the Chief Commissioner that the question requires to be considered in the first instance from the point of view of the language spoken by the people in Chutia-Nagpur. The population of the Manbhum District includes 942,575 persons who speak Bengali, and the Chief Commissioner agrees with the Government of India that this district should certainly not be transferred to the Central Provinces. Of the 613,570 inhabitants of Singbhum 107,578 were returned as speaking Bengali, 100,095 as speaking Uriya, and 235,313 as speaking Ho, a Munda language which, as the Government of India remark, is likely in time to give place to Uriya. Only 26,276 persons were returned in this district as speaking Hindi. Mr. Hewett does not think it advisable to add to the Central Provinces which would, under the proposals now under consideration, become a province divided broadly into two tracts, in one of which Hindi and in the other Marathi is spoken, a district in which neither of these languages is in general use.

4. The remaining three districts of Chutia Nagpur contain a large Hindi-speaking population. In Palamau, there are 580,892 persons speaking Hindi out of 619,600; in Hazaribagh 1,076.155 out of 1,77,961, and in Ranchi 504,797 out of 1,187,925. In Ranchi 314,778 were returned at the Census as speaking Oraon, and 298,611 as speaking Mundari. In the Native States of Chutia-Nagpur also Hindi is the prevailing language, it being spoken in round numbers by

600,000 out of a million residents. According to the test of language, it seems to the Chief Commissioner clear that the three districts of Palamau, Hazaribagh and Ranchi, with the Native States of Chutia Nagpur, can be suitably administered by the Central Provinces administration.

5. If the character and stage of development of the hill tribes in Chutia Nagpur are considered, it appears to the Chief Commissioner that there would be an advantage in transferring the charge of these tribes to the Central Provinces Administration. The members of the Central Provinces Commission are familiar with the treatment of aborigines. The aboriginal inhabitants of Chutia Nagpur are not dissimilar from many of the aborigines of the Central Provinces who are found in large numbers not only in the Native States and Zamindaris, but also in the Khalsa, and the form of administration which has been found so well adapted to this class of people in the Central Provinces would also, Mr. Hewett anticipates, be found equally suitable to those resident in Chutia Nagpur.

6. It is suggested by the Government of India that possiby the whole or part of the Hazaribagh District might be retained under the Bengal Government, the ground for this suggestion being the fact that the connection of the coal industry of the district lies almost exclusively in Calcutta. So far as the Chief Commissioner is able to form an opinion, it appears to him probable that the mercantile community of Calcutta would on this ground much prefer that the portion of the Hazaribagh district, in which the coal fields lie, should continue to be administered by the Bengal Government. At the same time it should, Mr. Hewett thinks, be recognized that in the past two or three years great strides have been made towards the development of the mineral resources of the Central Provinces. There are firms, with head-quarters at Calcutta or Bombay, engaged in prospecting or mining in every division of the Province. It is true that the coal industry is not yet developed here, but the Chief Commissioner anticipates that there will be considerable activity in these Provinces as soon as the Railway is extended to the Pench-valley Coal Field. Mr. Hewett hopes that this Administration would be found capable of dealing, in a prompt and sympathetic manner, with business in which the mercantile community of Calcutta is interested, and sees no reason why, if it is determined to transfer any portion of the Chutia Nagpur Division to the Central Provinces, the whole of the Hazaribagh District should not be transferred.

7. With reference to the suggestion that Chutia Nagpur is more inaccessible to the Central Provinces than to Bengal, the Government of India have noticed that at present the province is more or less inaccessible from most directions. Inquiries which the Chief Commissioner has made seem to show that it is at least as accessible to the Central Provinces as to Calcutta. However, no good line of communication exists at present between Ranchi and the Central Provinces. There is, indeed, a route from Ranchi to Sambalpur which is used by pack animals and small country carts. It would be necessary to improve this route so as to provide a good road from Ranchi to the station of Kalunga on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway—a distance of about 90 miles. There is also a road from Ranchi to Chaibassa which cuts the Bengal-Nagpur Railway system at Chakardarpur, about 70 miles east of Kalunga. This road is not, the Chief Commissioner understands, completely bridged. The improvement of these two roads would bring Ranchi into fairly close communication with the main line of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. The distance from Purulia to Nagpur by railway would be considerably longer than it is from Purulia to Calcutta. Upon the whole, however, the Chief Commissioner is of opinion that communication might be effected in a fairly satisfactory way between the Central Provinces and Ranchi.

8. For the above reasons the Chief Commissioner thinks that the three districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Palamau, together with the Native States in Chutia Nagpur, could be conveniently and efficiently administered by this Administration and he is of opinion that they might be added to the Central

Provinces. The addition of these tracts would make the area and population of the Central Provinces and Berar as follows :—

			Area in square miles.	Population.
British Territory	...	...	123,232	15 616,148
Native States	...	...	45,489	2,997,812
	Total	...	168,721	18,613,960

The land revenue and rates would be Rs. 2,04,01,664.

9. I am now to refer to the proposal to transfer the Sambalpur District and the five adjacent Uriya-speaking States from the Central Provinces Administration to that of Bengal. As the Government of India have noticed the existence of one Uriya-speaking district in a Province, of which all the other districts are either Hindi or Marathi-speaking, has caused serious inconvenience. This inconvenience is felt particularly in connection with the administration of the police. In his note of the 5th of October 1901, which was forwarded to the Government of India with Mr. Laurie's no. 9701 of the 8th idem, Sir Andrew Fraser wrote: "What I am convinced of is that Uriya, and not Hindi, ought to be the Court language of Sambalpur, and that in that case, Sambalpur ought to be joined to Orissa, to which it really belongs." While the Government of India sanctioned the restoration of Uriya as the Court language of the district, they were unable to agree to the amalgamation of the district with Orissa, on the ground that it would have added to the overwhelming charge of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. Endeavours have been made, in accordance with the suggestions of the Government of India, to encourage the study of the Uriya language among the officials employed in the Sambalpur District. The proposals of the Chief Commissioner upon this subject were approved by the Government of India, in their letter no. 366 of the 27th February 1903, but Mr. Hewett does not feel at all assured that they will be successful in securing a complete knowledge of Uriya even among the higher paid officials brought into Sambalpur from outside. The difficulty of maintaining an efficient Uriya-speaking police force in Sambalpur under present conditions is very great. In April 1903, the Chief Commissioner received a representation from the Inspector-General of Police regarding the difficulty of administering the police of the district under the orders re-introducing Uriya into the Police Department. A complaint made by those who applied to the Government for the restoration of the Uriya language was that Uriyas could not enter up police diaries in Hindi, and that Hindi-speaking men from other districts colud not enter them up in Uriya. It was ascertained by the local officers that the police imported from outside, not having learnt Uriya at school, found it impossible to acquire sufficient proficiency in writing the character to enable them to enter up the police records in that language. The Chief Commissioner had therefore, somewhat reluctantly, to determine that an entirely Uriya police staff should be employed in the Uriya-speaking tracts of the district, and steps are now being taken to carry this decision into effect. The district became notorious in 1900 for the serious state of crime in it, and, although matters are better now, the Chief Commissioner fears that the police administration of the district cannot be efficient if the force is to consist entirely of local men not liable to transfer for employment in other districts. As has been stated above, the Chief Commissioner apprehends that the difficulties of having a Uriya-speaking class of officials in other departments may prove to be greater than was anticipated, and he thinks that the transfer of Sambalpur from the Central Provinces is urgently demanded on the ground that, now that Uriya is the official language of the district, the difficulties of administering it effectively as a district of the Central Provinces, are practically insuperable.

10. On the other hand, the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, while he admits that the position of the district as possessing an official language distinct from that in use elsewhere in the Central Provinces, gives rise to difficulties which hamper good administration, is opposed to the transfer to Bengal on the following grounds :—

(1) that the character and state of development of the people of the Sambalpur District resemble those of the people of Chutia Nagpur for whom the Bengal form of administration is considered to be too highly developed, too legalized and too impersonal;

(2) that Sambalpur is reached by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, and consequently that the head-quarters of the district are considerably nearer to Raipur and Nagpur than to Cuttack and Calcutta;

(3) that the transfer of the district, with the exception of the Phuljhar Zamindari and the Chandarpur tract, will not completely effect the object of the Government of India, *viz.*, that practically all Uriya-speaking people should be united under one administration.

The Commissioner of the Chattisgarh Division has expressed his agreement with the Deputy Commissioner. The latter, while he puts forward the resemblance between the people of Sambalpur and those of Chutia Nagpur as a reason for not transferring the district to Orissa, admits that it has many affinities with Orissa in the language and manners of its people, and it is the case that it was principally recruited by emigrants from Orissa although a certain part of the population traces back its origin to Chutia Nagpur. Mr. Hewett has not a personal acquaintance with either the people of Chutia Nagpur or those of Orissa, but it certainly appears to him that the inhabitants of the Sambalpur District may be generally described as being more closely allied, by reason of their origin, habits, and customs, to the people of Orissa than to the people of Chutia Nagpur. There is very little in common between the people of Sambalpur and the population of the rest of the Central Provinces. That district contains only 63,000 Gonds among its aborigines. There are 105,000 Gondas out of 156,000 in the British districts of the Central Provinces, 87,000 Koltas out of 88,000 in the same area, 76,000 Sawaras out of 102,000. There are only 4,373 Muhammadans in the whole district.

With reference to the second argument of the Deputy Commissioner that Sambalpur is nearer to Raipur and Nagpur than to Cuttack and Calcutta, the Chief Commissioner would remark that there is practically no difference between the length of the journey from Sambalpur to Calcutta and of that from Sambalpur to Nagpur. A journey to the head-quarters of the Commissioner of Chattisgarh (Raipur) is of course very much shorter than one to Cuttack can ever be made, but the present time (about 33 hours) occupied in a journey to Cuttack from Sambalpur will, it is hoped, be reduced before long so as to make the journey less than 24 hours. The Deputy Commissioner supports his argument, that the object of the Government of India, *viz.*, that practically all Uriya-speaking people should be united under one administration, will not be completely effected by the transfer of the Sambalpur District less the Phuljhar Zamindari and the Chandarpur tract and the five adjacent Feudatory States, by statistics regarding the Uriya-speaking population that would then remain under the Central Provinces Administration. He urges that 45,772 of the residents of the Phuljhar Zamindari or 9-20ths of the population, are returned as speaking Uriya; that there are a considerable number of Uriyas in the Feudatory States of Bastar, Sarangarh and Raigarh, and that the Raipur District contains 85,027 Uriyas. Although the Phuljhar Zamindari contains a population nearly half of which speak Uriya, it distinctly belongs to the Hindi-speaking tract of Chattisgarh. The proportion of the population speaking Uriya in the Raigarh State is 15 per cent. and in the Sarangarh State 24 per cent. The Bastar State contains 18,000 inhabitants who speak Bhatri, a corrupt form of Uriya, but they are a very infinitesimal portion of the 307,000 inhabitants of the State. The 85,000 Uriya-speaking persons of the Raipur District only constitute 6 per cent. of the total population of the district. Most of them are located in the Khariar Zamindari. This Zamindari is in the south-east corner of the district: it covers an area of 1,489 square miles, and contains a population of 77,304 of whom 4-5ths speak Uriya. The hills which separate the Patna State from the Khariar Zamindari form a natural boundary, and the Chief Commissioner is strongly opposed to separating the Khariar Zamindari from the rest of those in the Raipur District. The Zamindari of Khariar is the admitted head of these Zamindars.

It would, it appears to the Chief Commissioner, be impossible to revise existing areas of territorial jurisdiction so as to bring all the Uriyas, whether they are in a minority of the population or not, under one administration. Where they are in a distinct minority, they must remain under the administration

which is considered suitable for the majority of the inhabitants of the particular tract. The Chief Commissioner has no doubt that, whatever territorial re-distribution is made, the Feudatory States of Bastar, Sarangarh and Raigarh, the Phuljhar Zamindari and the whole of the Raipur District should remain under the Central Provinces Administration.

In the proposals that were made in paragraph 17 of the letter of the Government of India to the Government of Bengal, it was suggested that the Chandarpur tract, in which is included the small Malkharoda Estate as well as the Phuljhar Zamindari should be excised from the district and retained in the Central Provinces. Chandarpur is a portion of the Chandarpur-Padampur estate. Chandarpur has an area of 255 square miles and Padampur one of 78 square miles. Chandarpur has a population of 67,592, of whom only 2,431 were returned as speaking Uriya: while Padampur, which is separated from Chandarpur only by a narrow strip of the Raigarh State, has a population of 19,728, most of whom are Uriyas. The Chief Commissioner is of opinion that it is undesirable to split up this estate so as to retain a portion of it under the Central Provinces and transfer the other portion of it to Bengal. He therefore considers that the whole of the Chandarpur-Padampur estate should be retained under the Central Provinces Administration.

11. I am now to refer to the attitude of the people affected by the proposed transfer of territory from the Central Provinces to Bengal. The Chief Commissioner has received a copy (which is enclosed) of a memorial addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy from some inhabitants of the town of Sambalpur, asking that the district may be re-annexed to Orissa. This view was also that of a public meeting held at Sambalpur in January last. The Deputy Commissioner suggests that the attitude of those who attended the meeting was probably influenced by a fear that Uriya might again be abolished as the Court language were the district to remain in the Central Provinces. Mr. Hewett is not of opinion that this was the motive which led the people to express an opinion in favour of the transfer. He is inclined to think that there is a distinct wish in Sambalpur, as elsewhere among the educated classes, that all the Uriya-speaking peoples should be brought together under one administration: and if this is not feasible, that the single Uriya-speaking district of Sambalpur should not remain under an administration the rest of the territories under which are occupied by peoples who speak either Marathi or Hindi. In July 1901 a deputation of the residents of Sambalpur was received by Sir Andrew Fraser, and the abstract of their opinions recorded was to the effect that "if it was thought impossible to have Uriya as the language of one Central Provinces district they would prefer to be transferred to Orissa. They would like to remain under the Central Provinces, but not at the sacrifice of their language." The feeling at the present day is, Mr. Hewett thinks, stronger than this. The Uriya-speaking population of intelligence and education would prefer to be brought together under one administration. In the opinion of the Deputy Commissioner the feeling in the Sambalpur District as opposed to that of the town, is against the idea of transfer to Bengal, and he attributes this feeling to the possibility that the people of the district do not possess pleasant and favourable reminiscences of their previous connection with Orissa. Mr. Hewett doubts whether there is any very strong feeling on the subject among the village population of the Sambalpur District, and he does not think that the explanation which the Deputy Commissioner offers in support of the view that the people are opposed to a transfer to Bengal can be sustained. The period for which the Sambalpur District was subordinate to the administration in Orissa was not long, and it is more than 40 years since the district was incorporated with the Central Provinces. It does not seem to him likely that there is any traditional feeling that the administration of the district before it came under the Central Provinces and while it was administered from Cuttack was prejudicial to the interests of the people.

12. The Chief Commissioner has received expressions of opinion from all the Feudatory Chiefs whose territory it is proposed to place under the Bengal Government, except the Chief of Rehrakhol, which is by far the smallest of the five States in population. It appears to the Chief Commissioner that there

is in the first place a general prejudice against a change being made, on the ground that these Chiefs have been well looked after in the Central Provinces and have been happy in having their interests safeguarded by the constant care and attention of a Political Agent belonging to the Central Provinces Commission. They regard themselves as of higher status than the Chiefs in the Tributary Mahals of Orissa, and they fear that they may suffer some loss of dignity if they are transferred to the charge of the administration which now supervises those Chiefs. They also claim for themselves that their system of administration is better than that in the States which lie across the Bengal border. Among the Uriya-speaking inhabitants of these States there appears to be a very general desire that all Uriya-speaking tracts should be united under one administration. Three alternatives suggest themselves, by which this end can be attained, *viz.*, (*1*) the formation of a separate province, (*2*) the inclusion of all Uriya-speaking tracts in the Central Provinces, and (*3*) the inclusion of all Uriya-speaking tracts in Bengal. There seems to be a general opinion in favour of the first alternative. The third is not favoured except, perhaps, by the people of Kalahandi, who are reported not to have a very decided opinion either way. The widow of the late Raja (the State is now under Government management) would like to remain under the Central Provinces Administration. The majority of the Chiefs and inhabitants of the Native States concerned seem to prefer to remain under the Central Provinces Administration if a separate Uriya province cannot be created. This is the view of the Chiefs and people of the Patna and Sonpur States.

The Feudatory Chief of Bamra has expressed a strong opinion against the transfer of his State to Bengal. He represents that it has been continuously under the Central Provinces Government, that it has made rapid progress under the friendly advice of the European Political Agents, that the Government have maintained its dignity and honour, that, inasmuch as a native of India in the Provincial Service is the Assistant Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals in Orissa, his State will lose in status by being placed under this officer, that the State is close to Raipur, the residence of the Political Agent, and that Ranchi or Cuttack is a great distance farther off, that the State is mostly populated by aboriginal tribes who will not benefit by the proposed transfer to a more civilized Government.

13. The Chief Commissioner thinks that the opinion of the inhabitants of the States concerned might be modified if they could look forward to being placed under the supervision of a Political Agent of the status of the Political Agent of the Feudatory States in these Provinces. The Chiefs consider that their dignity is enhanced by the appointment of a member of the Central Provinces Commission to be Political Agent: and the inhabitants of the States have profited enormously by the advance in good government which has been secured in recent years through the constant care and supervision of this officer. The appointment of an officer of high standing to be Political Agent has not only enabled this result to be obtained, but has also relieved this Administration of much detailed work. The Chief Commissioner is of opinion that the States of Patna, Kalahandi, Sonpur, Bamra and Rehrakhol should be transferred with the district of Sambalpur, but he ventures to hope that if the transfer is effected, it may be possible to meet the wishes of the Chiefs by giving them a Political Officer of the status of the officer with whom they have hitherto been connected in the Central Provinces.

14. The addition of the Chutia Nagpur territory referred to in paragraph 8 of this letter, and the transfer of the Sambalpur District (less the Phuljhar and Chandarpur-Padampur tracts) and of the Feudatory States of Rehrakhol, Bamra, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi, will leave the following areas and population under the Central Provinces Administration :—

	Area in square miles.	Population.
British Territory	119,459	14,975,905
Native States	35,618	2,049,392
Total ...	155,077	17,025,297

Mr. Hewett thinks that it should be possible for a Chief Commissioner to be able to administer this area and this population without any loss of the personal rule which a Chief Commissioner is expected to exercise. At the same time he finds that his duties as chief controlling revenue authority, and as the highest Court of Appeal in revenue matters in the Central Provinces and Berar, the land revenue in which provinces exceeds 160 lakhs, impose on him a large amount of detailed work in connection with the land revenue administration which does not fall on the local Governments of larger provinces. This kind of work tends to increase year by year, and there is an undoubted danger that its volume may before long swamp the Chief Commissioner, and leave him with too little time to devote to the administration of the province in other branches. It may therefore become necessary before very long to ask that the Chief Commissioner may be relieved of revenue case work by the appointment of a Financial Commissioner to undertake this duty and the detailed work in connection with the land revenue and other sources of State income.

Annexure.

To the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The humble memorialists of Sambalpur beg to approach you with the following statements on the question of annexation of the district to Orissa, hoping they will be placed by you before His Excellency the Viceroy while considering the case now before His Excellency.

When this district was annexed to Chota Nagpur, Hindi was for sometime the court-language. This arrangement was found unworkable owing to the mass not understanding the language, and Oriya, the language of the district, was introduced as court-language. This arrangement continued for over 40 years or so, but owing to the interested proposals of some officers who thought the mastering of the Oriya language, on their transfer to the district, an unpleasant and burdensome task, Hindi was introduced as court-language in the year 1896. This event, lending support to the unwillingness of the non-Oriya officers to learn Oriya, opened a wide gulf between the rulers and the ruled, as the former, not being able to understand the people, began to lose all sympathy for them—a state of things wholly undesirable for the efficient administration of a people.

This administrative difficulty was sought to be overridden, in the year 1880 or thereabout, by the Central Provinces Administration by trying to teach Oriya to the officials of the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts and Hindi to those of Sambalpur District with a view to inter-transfer of the officials of the Chhattisgarh Division. This measure proved a complete failure after an experiment of a decade and it was consequently abandoned and a retrial of the same measure is not expected to meet with success. On a mature consideration of these difficulties and taking the free opinion of the Local Board, District Council and Municipal members and the leading Zamindars of the District who expressed their wish to have the district annexed to Orissa rather than run the risk of losing their language which will be their inevitable fate in no distant future if they remain under the Central Provinces administration, as appears from the wilful disregard of the Police Department of the order of the Government of India in maintaining Hindi as the language of that Department till now on the plea that the non-Oriya officers of Police will not, even in three years, be able to learn the language of the people with whose daily dealings they are intimately concerned and also after careful and disinterested personal local inquiry in villages, Sir Andrew Fraser, the then Chief Commissioner, recommended to His Excellency the Viceroy, the reinstatement of Oriya as the court-language of the district, and His Excellency was graciously pleased to do so and now entertains a desire to unite the district with Orissa with a view to remove these difficulties once for all for which the memorialists are thankful to His Excellency.

The humble memorialists further submit that there is a circular of the local Government requiring the non-Oriya officers transferred to this district

to learn Oriya, but owing to their inability to learn that language properly, the circular is practically a dead letter. The officials of this district who are transferred to other districts also prove a failure, with a few exceptions, owing to their inability to learn Hindi properly. This is a state of things wholly undesirable in the interest of the public service. Any argument in favour of the feasibility of this difficulty being removed is simply ignoring facts and deserve proper consideration under the present administrative circumstances of the district.

The district, being the only Oriya-speaking district in the Central Provinces, has lost the purity of its language in the western part of the district and suffered, to a great extent, social degradation. The language and the social condition of the neighbouring districts being quite different from those of the district, it can make no improvement in these respects so long as it remains in the Central Provinces; whereas, it being detached from Orissa, the trunk of which it is a limb, is debarred from getting the advantages which it would easily have done had it been a part and parcel of Orissa with which the district has a closer connection in matters linguistic, social, moral and religious. The advancement of education is deplorable in the district on account of the importation of non-Oriya officers to the Education Department notwithstanding several memorials from the people. The memorialists, therefore, submit that though there may be slight difficulties in the way of incorporating the district with Orissa, they would be considered insignificant in comparison with the manifold blessing that would be conferred on the people of the district if it be incorporated with Orissa, which would place the people on a better footing to get back what they have lost and preserve their entity which is sure to be extinct if their language is wrested away from them under colour of administrative disadvantage.

The memorialists further submit that at the desire of the Government of India there was recently a public meeting in the Sambalpur High School presided over by Mr. Barclay, the senior Extra Assistant Commissioner. In this meeting nearly 400 persons consisting of the residents proper of various classes were present and they unanimously expressed their desire to have the district annexed to Orissa. This desire was expressed by the people on a full understanding of the proposals of the Government of India as embodied in Mr. Risley's letter to the Government of Bengal, which were explained in the meeting. This desire was also expressed by the leading men of the district who attended the Utkal Union Conference held at Cuttack in December last and by the deputation which waited upon the Chief Commissioner in the year 1901 to pray for the restoration of Oriya as the Court languages of the district.

The memorialists humbly pray that their argument may be weighed and the district be annexed to Bengal as part of Orissa Division for which they shall ever in duty bound be thankful to His Excellency.

The humble memorialists of

Sambalpur beg to remain,

SIR,

Your most obedient servants,

CHANDRASHEKHARA BEHARA,

Pleader, Municipal Member, and others.

Dated Sambalpur, the 9th March 1905.

P.S.—The numerously signed copy has been submitted direct to the Private Secretary to His Excellency the Viceroy.

Enclosure 4 in No. 2.

Letter from F. J. Monahan, Esq., I.C.S., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No $\frac{10\text{--}Fo.}{1309}$ *P., dated 6th April 1904.*

(Extract).

I AM directed to make the following reply to your letter no. 3681, dated the 3rd December 1903, in regard to the proposed redistribution of territory between Bengal and Assam. The annexures to this letter contain opinions that have been expressed on this question by the Assam Association—an institution of recent birth presided over by the Raja of Gauripur; by two gentlemen representing the interests of the Assam Valley, Raj Jagannath Barua Bahadur, and Srijut Manik Chandra Barua and by two gentlemen who are well qualified to speak on behalf of the people of the Surma Valley, Raj Dulal Chandra Deb Bahadur, and Babu Kamini Kumar Chanda. Of these four Indian gentlemen, the first two are private proprietors, interested in the tea industry; the third and fourth belong to the legal profession but take an active interest in public business as Chairman and Vice-Chairman, respectively, of the Sylhet and Silchar Municipal Committees. The Assam Valley and Surma Valley Branches of the Indian Tea Association have generally intimated their approval of the scheme that has been put forward by the Government of India, adding, however, a strong recommendation that the change should not have the effect of depriving this Province of the name of "Assam' for which its tea has gained a world-wide currency. The Chief Commissioner holds that it would be very greatly to the advantage of Assam could a union be brought about between it and the neighbouring districts of the Chittagong Division. Assam is a small province; its Administration could without difficulty deal with a more extensive area, and the enlargement of the unit of government would conduce to the material interests of the people by affording them a wider scope for development. Chittagong may be expected to grow into a considerable town, and to offer opportunities for industry and investment which are not likely, for many years to come, to be available in the rural districts of Assam. The union would not bring either tract of country into connection with conditions which are very divergent from its own. So far as Mr. Fuller is informed, the people of the Chittagong Division do not differ materially from those of the conterminous Assam district of Sylhet. In both localities Musalman interests are of much importance. Musalmans are proportionately less numerous in Sylhet than in Tipperah, Chittagong, and Noakhali, but they constitute more than half of the population. In both localities much of the land is in the hands of petty proprietors; and Chittagong, like Sylhet, includes a considerable area which is temporarily settled, and which owes to a similar chain of circumstances its exception from the permanent settlement of Bengal. The Native State of Hill Tipperah marches with Sylhet along the whole of the southern border of this district—a distance of over 100 miles. The Raja of Hill Tipperah owns extensive properties in Sylhet; there are numerous Tipperah villages on the Assam side of the border, and a large number of time-expired tea-garden coolies have crossed the border and have settled in Native territory. There is a very close connection indeed between the State of Hill Tipperah and the Sylhet district. It may be mentioned that the indigenous people of the State are of the same race as the Garos and Cachâris of Assam, which are supposed to have constituted the original population of the greater part of the Assam Valley and of a portion of the Surma Valley also. Further south, there is again very marked similarity of conditions between the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the South Lushai Hills: and access to the South Lushai Hills lies through Chittagong by the Karnafuli river. The principal argument for the union of Assam and Chittagong is, however, the completion of the Assam-Bengal Railway. The magnitude of

this undertaking and its costliness must render its interests an object of special solicitude to the State. Nearly five-sevenths of its length lie within the borders of Assam, and it is to Assam that it must look for the traffic which is to justify its construction. Its effect on the conditions of this province, and specially on the interests of the tea industry, will be almost revolutionary. The journey from Upper Assam to the sea-board, which has hitherto taken a week, will now be accomplished within two days; and the opening of a land route between Upper Assam and Bengal will not only facilitate the importation of labour, but will stimulate unindentured immigration, and promote the colonisation of the large tracts of fertile waste that are now awaiting the plough. But the future of the line is most intimately connected with the future of the Port of Chittagong, and it can hardly be doubted that Chittagong will receive more attention when it is the only maritime outlet of a province than when it has to share the consideration of government with so prosperous and well-established a port as Calcutta. The development of Chittagong will powerfully affect the interests of the districts that surround it, stimulating commerce and industry and adding to the wealth of the people. It seems clear that in material interests these districts would profit very substantially from union with Assam. One of the principal objections which are brought to this union appears to be that it will connect the Chittagong Division with a "backward" province, and Mr. Fuller observes that it is conceded by the Government of India that this objection is in some measure well founded. But he ventures respectfully to doubt whether the people of this Province are in so low a stage of development as is imagined. Mr. Fuller's experience has given him a tolerably intimate acquaintance with the people of two other Indian provinces,—the United Provinces and the Central Provinces,—and during the two past touring seasons he has marched over the greater part of Assam and has been able to acquire a good deal of information, first hand, respecting the condition of the people. He has found no reason to suppose that the inhabitants of the Assam and Surma Valleys compare at all unfavourably in intelligence, in manner of life, and in general prosperity with the rural classes of Upper or Central India. It is to the people of the Assam Valley that the reproach of backwardness is not infrequently applied. Mr. Fuller has found them to be intelligent, well dressed, and well mannered, and he has been much struck with the progressive ideas of some of their leading men, who have invested money in tea gardens or have in other lines found an alternative to Government service. Men with considerable means are no doubt few in number. But this may be ascribed to the restrictions that a *raiyatwari* system of settlement has imposed upon the investment of money in land in respect to the inhabitants of the Surma Valley, there is even less ground for an opinion that they lag behind the generality of Indian peoples. Educational statistics show that, population for population, twice as many children are at school in the plains districts of Assam as in the United Provinces or in the Punjab, and very many more than in the Central Provinces. Schooling is generally more popular in the Brahmaputra Valley than in Sylhet: but the numbers attending school in Sylhet are only 20 per cent. less than in Bengal, and are much larger than in the Patna Division of Bengal. Moreover, if we turn, to the spread of English education as indicated by matriculating at a University, this Province can show better results, for its population, than either the United Provinces or the Central Provinces. In its local press—with three English and seven vernacular newspapers—Assam is certainly not behind Upper and Central India, though it without doubt falls short of Bengal. The country is very well supplied with embanked cart roads, the aggregate length of which is nearly 4,700 miles (in addition to over 3,000 miles of hili bridle path), and from what the Chief Commissioner can learn it seems doubtful whether districts such as Mymensingh, Tipperah, or Noakhali can exhibit, proportionately, so large an expenditure upon public works. Local affairs are administered by Local Boards, which exhibit quite as much useful vitality in the discharge of their duties as those of which Mr. Fuller has had experience elsewhere. The towns are managed by Municipal Committees, and in some cases their members have taken the opportunity of their office to render most useful public services. Briefly, Mr. Fuller can only find two respects in which this Province is really "backward." In the first

place, its urban population is very small. But the absence of towns is a well-known feature of Eastern Bengal, and in this respect Assam loses nothing by comparison with adjacent Bengal districts. In the second place it does not spend so largely upon litigation as is the practice across the border. Civil litigation in the Brahmaputra Valley districts is certainly unimportant. But the annual returns show that in the districts, for their population, cases are and not much less numerous than in Behar. In Sylhet, the people litigate much more freely, and a tendency to speculate upon the decisions of Courts of law is growing so rapidly as to have attracted the regretful notice of the local press. Fewer suits are instituted than in the adjacent districts of Bengal, but their number closely approximates to the average for Bengal as a whole. But if in respect to civil litigation Assam can maintain some comparison with other Indian provinces, the pettiness of its criminal business is beyond doubt. In the Brahmaputra Valley, especially, the amount of crime is quite insignificant. The union would not of course involve any change whatever in the law and procedure of the Chittagong Division. The law would be administered and the business of Government would be carried on by precisely the same class of officers as are employed in the discharge of these functions at present. Mr. Fuller would extend to the districts of the Chittagong Division the rule which now excludes military uncovenanted officers from holding, in the Sylhet district, posts the tenure of which in Bengal is confined to members of the Indian Civil Service. The jurisdiction of the High Court would remain unaffected. In superior revenue administration a Chief Commissioner would be substituted for the Board of Revenue. It must be conceded that a Chief Commissioner might possess less revenue experience than a member of the Board of Revenue. But this would not invariably be the case. The Chief Commissioner would certainly spend a portion of each year in the Chittagong Division; and it need not be assumed that he would be unable to obtain a grasp of the local revenue system, especially as some of its leading features are not dissimilar to those which are met with in Sylhet. A more difficult question is that connected with future legislation for the united districts. The laws of Assam are made by the executive authority of the Government of India. It would seem unfair to subject the people of Chittagong to a change in the present procedure, under which their laws are made in Legislative Council: but the Chief Commissioner sees no objection to the transfer of legislative authority over the plains districts of Assam from the Executive to the Legislative Council of the Government of India. Indeed, he is, on general grounds, unconnected with the proposed redistribution of territory, disposed to advocate this reform. There is no apparent reason why the people of Assam should be denied the benefit of having alterations in their law discussed in Council and examined and criticised in Select Committee. If this course be followed, the only change which would be suffered by the people of Chittagong would be that their laws would be made in the Imperial Legislative Council instead of in the Legislative Council of Bengal, and the Chief Commissioner hopes that in these circumstances the Government of India would accord to it the privilege which is enjoyed by the Central Provinces of sending a representative to the Imperial Legislative Council. The population of the Province, including Chittagong, would very nearly equal that of the Central Provinces as it stood before their limits were extended over the Berars. This concession would compensate the people of Chittagong for the loss of its "fractional interests in the Bengal Council." Of the Indian gentlemen of the Surma Valley who have been consulted one is in favour of the union; the other is opposed to it, but his objections are directed with more force against the inclusion of Dacca and Mymensingh in the scheme of redistribution than to the incorporation of Chittagong. The representatives of the Assam Valley are apprehensive that in a larger province the particular interests of their class may receive less attention. But their fears mainly arise from the prospect of the union including the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh; and the results of Mr. Fuller's personal enquiries give good grounds for the opinion that a scheme which is limited to the union of Chittagong with Assam would have many local interests in its favour and none at all strongly opposed to it. I am now to turn to the larger scheme, that under which the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh would be included in the union, as well as those of

the Chittagong Division. These two districts contain over six and a half million souls, and their inclusion would have the effect of nearly trebling the existing population of this province. But there is no reason to apprehend that, so extended, the Province would be beyond the capacity of a local Administration, though a material increase in the head-quarters staff would of course be necessary. It is, no doubt, in the interests of good government that the new Province should be sufficiently extensive and important to be self-contained and to support services of its own; and the people gain some substantial advantages from citizenship that extends over a good-sized territory. In Dacca the new Administration would find a capital with a historical name and much present importance. The tea industry would continue to be its most important commercial interest: but it would be also very largely concerned with the trade in jute. Regarding however the question from the point of view of the people of the existing Province of Assam—and Mr. Fuller is bound to represent their interests—the inclusion of Dacca and Mymensingh is open to some objection, and Indian public opinion in the Assam Valley is greatly opposed to the project. The town of Dacca is difficult of access from the Assam Valley, and no development of railway communications which is in present contemplation seems likely to bring Dacca as near to it as Shillong is at present. There is no community of feeling between the Assamese and the people of these districts,—indeed, it is hardly too much to say that they are strongly antipathetic. For many years the Government service in Asssm has been almost monopolized by immigrants from Dacca and Mymensingh, who generally have drawn their income from the Province but have not made their home in it, and the people of Assam are only now beginning to gather a substantial share of the loaves and fishes of office. At the time of the creation of the Province education was very much less extended than in Bengal. The Assam Valley districts did not come under British rule until two generations after the battle of Plassey. To have limited Government employment to natives of the Province would have been injurious to the public service; and the conduct of Government affairs has been greatly advantaged by the enlistment of better qualified men from Eastern Bengal. But it is only to be expected that local feelings should be opposed to the grant to outsiders of what are, rightly or wrongly, regarded to be the prizes of life, and it is possible that Assam would have advanced more rapidly than has been the case had the employment of foreigners been prohibited, on the lines that have been followed for many years past in the Central Provinces. These remarks are offered in order to explain the existence of an antagonism beween Assamese and Bengali, which is at first sight inexplicable, as the Assamese indubitably owe to Bengali schoolmasters the advance they have been making of recent years in English education. As has been indicated above this advance is satisfactory, and the Assam Valley can now provide qualified candidates for almost all—if not for all—of the posts that fall vacant locally. Nevertheless, the apprehension remains that if Eastern Bengal comes under the same Adiministration, people from Eastern Bengal will secure more than their fair share of posts under Government, and fears have been expressed to this effect very strongly by the Assamese gentlemen whose opinions are submitted. The Chief Commissioner thinks that it would be more than reasonable to secure to the Assamese a definite share of posts under Government, and he believes that if this course were followed Assamese and Bengalis might in time become very good friends although the former may take some time to forget the injurious references that have recently been made to them by Bengalis who were publicly opposing the union of Eastern Bengal and Assam. There is, however, a further objection to the wide extension of the provincial boundaries, that with larger and more complicated interests to be considered it is likely that the Administration will pay less attention to the districts that now constitute Assam—in fact, that Assam would be lost in Eastern Bengal. This apprehension is entertained very strongly by the Assamese gentlemen who have been consulted, whose opinions on the point possess some special interest in the stress they lay on the benefits which the people of this Province owe to the separation of their country from Bengal some thirty years ago. It is some answer to this objection that the popularity of the Assam Valley districts will secure them against neglect, and that the new Province would certainly not be so large that individual districts would be lost

within it. But it is of course improbable that with a much larger province to administer, the Chief Commissioner will give as much personal attention to Assam Proper as it receives at present, and a similar consideration has influenced the local opinion of the Surma Valley against the larger scheme of redistribution. Generally, then, the larger scheme of redistribution would not appear to be materially disadvantageous to the interests of Assam, though it is the case that in these interests, the union of this Province with Dacca and Mymensingh is certainly not so desirable as its union with Chittagong. It does not lie with this Administration to discuss in detail the effect of the change on the people of these districts of Bengal. But it may be permissible to observe that Chittagong seems likely to benefit materially from it much more largely than Dacca, while suffering less than Dacca in change of association and in matters which are the subject of sentimental considerations. Reference has been made incidentally above to the great benefit which would accrue to this Province from an arrangement that would enable it to maintain separate services of its own. At present, as regards the Civilian members of its Commission, its Commissioned Medical Officers and its District Superintendents of Police, it is manned by loan from Bengal on terms which appear to have been unnecessarily disadvantageous to its interests. The practice has been that on vacancies occurring in Assam the Bengal Government nominates to them but without reference to this Administration: the nominees are at liberty to return to Bengal after five years' service in this Province: on the other hand, it has not been open to this Administration to revert officers compulsorily to Bengal at any time in their service. By the reversion of officers to Bengal, Assam has constantly been sustaining a loss of much useful experience, and those who prolong their sojourn have always the chance of reversion before them, and can hardly be expected to take as much interest in the Province and in the people as if Assam was their official home. Mr. Fuller thinks it right, however, to add that this apprehension has been very commonly belied, and that a number of the officers that have migrated from Bengal have thoroughly identified themselves with this Province and with its interests, and have indeed regarded with some distaste the possibility of returning to their former Province. Those who have reverted have, generally, been impelled by the prospect of pecuniary loss; and the majority of officers now serving in Assam have no desire to leave the Province so long as it offers them pay and appointments on the Bengal scale. Assam is sometimes regarded as so remote, unhealthy, and unpopular as to be, in fact, a penal settlement. Mr. Fuller believes this view to be incorrect. However distant the plains districts of Assam may have been in the past, the Assam-Bengal Railway has brought most of them within a day or two of Calcutta. The climate is decidedly less feverish than that of the Central Provinces, and is, for an Indian climate, by no means unfavourable to Europeans. A large European society offers amenities which are lacking in most Indian districts. The people of the country are pleasant to deal with, and the work is generally more diversified than that which falls to the lot of a Bengal official. Apart from the chances of dealing with frontier tribes, the temporary land revenue settlement and the connection of Government with the tea industry provides interests which are lacking in the older province, and the dealings of officers with the managers of tea gardens afford special opportunities for the exercise of tact and firmness. Assistant Commissioners in charge of subdivisions profit greatly by being invested with much wider executive functions than they enjoy in Bengal, and, judging from the career in Bengal of officers who have had Assam experience, it appears that the advantages of this training are fully appreciated. These explanations are submitted in order to show that there is nothing in the conditions of Assam which should render it a hardship to localise its services, except the existing lack of suitable prospects. The union of Assam with the Chittagong Division and with the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh would create a province of 18 district charges, seven Judgeships, and three Commissionerships. The population would be very much larger than that of the Central Provinces as they stood before the addition of the Berars. But the cadre of superior executive appointments would lack a Judicial Commissionership and a fourth Commissionership to be equal to the Central Provinces standard. It would, however, suffice no doubt for the constitution of

a separate service. But the position is complicated by the inclusion in the Assam Commission of nine military officers—generally of good ability—most of whom are in its higher grades, none of whom can be expected to retire for another ten years, and some of whom will not retire for fifteen years. Not only will these officers enjoy a practical monopoly of some of the most popular districts, they will block promotion for many years to come; and it would be unfair to bind down to Assam any but the most junior of the Civilian members of the Commission unless some special concessions are granted them. But however this may be, with the wider prospects offered by a larger province there will be less temptation to revert to Bengal; and this result, it may be remarked, will be secured, though in a less degree if the union extends to the Chittagong Division only. A reference may be permitted to a still larger scheme which was outlined by His Excellency the Viceroy in the course of speeches recently delivered by him at Dacca and Mymensingh. It is suggested that Assam should be united not merely to Chittagong and to districts lying on this side of the main stream of the Brahmaputra but to the greater portion of Eastern Bengal, the union resulting in the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship with, it is presumed, a Legislative Council. The considerations which apply to this proposal chiefly affect the interests of Bengal, and it does not seem fitting that Mr. Fuller should discuss them in detail. It seems probable that the districts of Eastern Bengal would profit very materially from an arrangement which would bring them into some prominence, and would secure them more attention than they receive at present, although severance from Calcutta will probably be very distasteful to them. From the Assam point of view, I am to remark that many of the Eastern Bengal districts which would fall into the new Province are exceedingly unpopular, and have for some time past been administered by the Government of Bengal with little or no European agency. This remark also applies of course to such districts as Mymensingh and Noakhali. These districts are, however, balanced by Chittagong and Dacca, whereas the country beyond the main stream of the Brahmaputra does not contain (except perhaps Serajganj) a single station in any degree desirable. But I am to observe that, so far as the people of this Province are concerned, opposition to so extensive a change is likely to be conciliated by the prospect of the establishment of a Legislative Council. And undoubtedly a Lieutenant-Governorship is a more popular form of government than a Chief Commissionership—not, in Mr. Fuller's opinion, because it is, generally, more effective for good, but because it is considered to reflect more dignity upon those who are connected with it. Lastly, I am to urge respectfully that whatever be the scheme finally adopted, the name of Assam may not be abolished from the title of the Province. The Chief Commissioner quite agrees with the strong opinions expressed by the Tea Association on this point. It is not too much to say that the name of Assam is known throughout the world, and that it has gained a much wider currency than most other terms of Indian geography. I am to suggest that the title of "Dacca and Assam" would be suitable, even if the new province extends over Eastern Bengal.

Annexure 1.

Letter dated Gauripur, the 15th February 1904, from Raja Prabhat Chandra Barua, President, Assam Association, Gauripur.

With reference to your letter no. 32-For.—62-74-P., dated Shillong, the 8th January 1904, asking me to offer my suggestion and comments as President of the Assam Association from the Assam point of view on the subject of the proposed extension of the territorial jurisdiction of Assam, I beg to submit herewith the full proceedings of the meeting held on the 14th February 1904, at Gauripur, for your kind perusal and information.

I beg to add here also that the resolutions I submit herewith are in conformity with those of its Branch Associations at different places of Assam, which had been duly invited to submit their opinion.

Annexure 2.

Proceedings of the meeting of the Assam Association held on the 14th February 1904.

A public meeting of the Assam Association was held this evening, the 14th February 1904, to discuss and consider on the subject of the desirability or otherwise of the expansion of the territorial jurisdiction of Assam by incorporating with her certain districts of East Bengal as proposed by the Government of India, whereon the President of the said Association was asked by the Chief Commissioner of Assam, in his letter no. 32-For.—62-74-P., dated the 8th January 1904, to submit his opinion from the Assam point of view. The meeting was thoroughly represented by all sections and classes of people, among whom the following gentlemen of note were present :—

Srijut Raja Prabhat Chandra Barua, of Gauripur, President.
„ Abhaya Nath Chakarbutty, Assistant Secretary.
Srijut Amrita Bhosan Adhikery, Joint Secretary.
Babu Dijesh Chandra Chakrabutty, M.A., B.L.
„ Jogendra Nath Dutta, B.A.
„ Tarini Sankar Majumdar, B.A.
„ Ishan Chandra Roy.
„ Damodar Dutta Choudhury.
„ Har Kumar Gupta.
Srijut Satish Chandra Barua.
„ Purna Narain Barua.
„ Rudra Kanta Barua.
„ Jadab Chandra Chakarbutty.
„ Nityananda Mojumdar.
Munshi Ayenal Hawk Ahammad.
„ Abdul Gani Ahammad.

The President on opening the meeting asked the Secretary to read out the Proceedings of the last meeting, which having been read out by Srijut Amrita Bhosan Adhikery, Joint Secretary, Mr. Risley's letter was placed for the public discussion. Srijut Abhaya Nath Chakarbutty, Assistant Secretary, read out the letter and explained its objects very concisely both in English and Bengali, after which an elaborate discussion followed regarding the advantages and disadvantages to Assam of the proposed territorial changes from Assam point of view. The resolutions of the meetings of the several Branch Associations held at different places, *viz.*, (1) Goalpara, (2) Barpeta, (3) Gauhati, (4) Tezpur, (5) Nowgong, (6) Golaghat, (7) Dibrugarh, were also read before the meeting. And with reference to, and in conformity with, the majority of these resolutions, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted :—

Resolutions.

(1) That the Association is of opinion that, even in the event of the proposed changes taking place, the new province thus constituted cannot have a self-contained Civil Service which will attract its members and that the Association is at one with the arguments advanced by Sir Henry Cotton, the late Chief Commissioner of Assam, in his official minute of the year 1897 on the subject of annexation of Chittagong Division to Assam.

(2) That the Division of Chittagong need not be added to Assam to give the province a port, inasmuch as the improved means of communication between Assam and Chittagong is offering her the same advantages whether Chittagong is within the province or not.

(3) That the meeting is of opinion that the Bengal form of administration is too highly developed, too legalised, and too impersonal for such a backward province as Assam, and it apprehends that the cause of Assam and the interest of her people will greatly suffer if the highly-advanced districts of Dacca and Mymensingh be annexed at present to her territorial jurisdiction when her people have not attained to such a position as to stand without the protection, special privileges, and parental care of the Government.

(4) That the meeting apprehends that by the proposed territorial change the historic name of Assam will be obliterated for ever, her language suffer, and the removal of the seat of Government to a place outside Assam proper and further away from the geographical centre will necessarily make her lose the amount of care and attention which it at present receives from the Government.

Amongst the Branch Associations, the Dibrugarh Branch suggested that Chittagong may be added to the advantage of Assam, and in the meeting of Gauripur it was suggested that, if territorial redistribution is necessary at all for the efficient form of government in Assam and to lighten the excessive burden of Bengal Government it may be better effected by annexing Rangpur, Kuch Behar, Jalpaiguri, and some parts of Bogra district to Assam, as the inhabitants of those places are identical in race, religion, and language with those of Lower Assam, which is contiguous to them.

With regard to the latter, it was resolved that the above two suggestions be circulated to all the District Associations for their opinion, and that the matter may be brought forward in a meeting, the date of which to be fixed later on, after the replies from the branches received.

Annexure 8.

Letter dated Jorhat the 10th February 1904, from Raj Jagannath Barua Bahadur, President, Jorhat Sarbajanik Sabha.

I have the honour to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of your letter of the 8th January, asking for an expression of opinion of the Sabha on the proposed territorial changes.

The Jorhat Sarbajanik Sabha have, in a general meeting, carefully considered the proposals, and I desire, on behalf of the Sabha, to make the following observations.

The province of Assam proper, before her separation from Bengal, occupied a most distant corner of the territories of the Bengal Government, when the supervision from the seat of Government was necessarily of a most nominal character, and the interest taken for the improvement and development of the province was markedly inadequate. To remedy this state of things a Chief Commissionership was formed in 1874, with the view that the seat of Government being in Assam proper, a close supervision could be exercised, and all means for improving the backward condition of the province would be adopted with an intimate knowledge of the local conditions. As Assam proper was too small an administrative unit, the two districts of Sylhet and Cachar having great deal of similarity were brought in, as they lay in the immediate neighbourhood. The Chief Commissionership has been in existence exactly 30 years, and the whole attention of the Local Government has been bestowed on the affairs of the province. It must be thankfully acknowledged that great improvement has been effected in communications, in education, in cultivation, and in various other ways; but great deal yet remains to be done to remove the application of the

word "backward," which has been constantly used by our friends in Bengal, and even rightly by Government. Assam came into the hands of the British Government in 1826, and she was almost neglected for fifty years, and now, when the Local Government has settled into working order and has taken her fairly in hand, and when its undivided attention is still necessary to help her and to bring her on to the level of her sister provinces, it is proposed to extend the territories and bring in other highly-educated and advanced districts. The result will be that Assam proper will secure only a small fraction of the Chief Commissioner's attention, his very seat will be removed, and the people will have to meet a keen and unequal competition of highly educated, enterprising, and advantageously situated districts, while they are not yet prepared for the same. In fact, Assam will most likely share so much attention of the proposed new Local Government as she did of Bengal Government in the olden days. The Government of India point out three advantages. First, the Assam-Bengal Railway, being in the territories of one Administration will open up the province and contribute towards her development. This Railway is under one management, and whether it goes through the territories of one Local Government or two, it will do its inevitable work in industrial and commercial development. The Assam-Bengal Railway will take down tea and bring up imported and local goods without in any way being affected on account of passing through the districts of one or two Local Governments. We have never heard of the East Indian Railway suffering anything or failing to do useful service owing to the fact of its passing through the territories of four Local Governments. The second advantage pointed out is that the Civil Service will be a complete service and will require no help from Bengal. The system which has been hitherto followed, at least since the equalisation of salaries with those of Bengal officers, has almost stopped the return of Assam officers to Bengal, and even if the proposed additions are made it is doubtful whether a self-contained service can be formed without, in the same way, borrowing officers from Bengal, and that probably on a larger scale than before. The third advantage is said to be that Chittagong, as a port, being the natural outlet for Assam and East Bengal, a separate Local Government will take more interest in its development and progress. The Sabha would humbly submit that the improvement and advancement of ports do not mainly depend upon the interest felt by a Government as they do upon the increase of traffic brought by improved communications; and as these have been already completed the growth and development of the port are a matter of course and will come on under any Local Government. The port of Karachi is an example in this respect and is progressing despite all the jealousy in Bombay. So these advantages, the Sabha would venture to say, do not appear to be real or of a solid character.

There is, however, no doubt that the Bengal Government has to administer the affairs of 74 millions of people, and it is desirable, if practicable, to lighten the burden. To do this, the Hindi-speaking province of Behar may be joined with United Provinces, but if this makes the United Provinces almost as large and as heavy as Bengal, the best way to meet the difficulty is to add Orissa, the Ganjam district, and all the Uriya-speaking tracts, together with Chota Nagpur, to Central Provinces. In that case Central Provinces will have to deal with people speaking two languages, Hindi and Uriya, while Bengal will have to do with two, namely, Bengali and Hindi. The Government of India appear to attach great importance in not separating Orissa from Bengal, on the fact that the former has been associated with the latter for a century, although Orissa speaks a different language, and she is to some extent ethnologically different from Bengal. The Chittagong and Dacca Divisions are integral portions of Bengal proper from time immemorial and have been so treated ever since British Government has been established. In race and language they are intimately connected with the main portion of Bengal. Besides, the people are strongly opposed to their separation. We would venture to suggest that Chota Nagpur, Orissa, and all the Uriya-speaking districts be added to Central Provinces. It will reduce the population of Bengal by about 10 millions—very nearly what the present proposals contemplate. Moreover, to unite under one Administration all the Uriya-speaking people will bring in nearly 9 millions more population to Central Provinces, and the entire population in Central Provinces will then amount to about 22 millions in British territory.

If this humble suggestion is adopted, no disturbance in Bengal proper is necessary. Bengal can give up Behar or Orissa, but she rightly objects to lose a portion of her homogeneous territory. When the Government of India do not propose to separate Orissa from Bengal owing to a political association with Bengal for a century, there is certainly very much less ground for cutting up Bengal proper into two portions, the people of both portions having been not only politically associated from the earliest historical times, and also forming one people both by language and race. The Sabha would also beg leave to draw the attention of Government to the suggestion already made in various quarters that the heavy work done by the Lieutenant-Governor may be very much lightened by providing him with an Executive Council. This, together with the reduction of 10 millions of population above indicated, will bring permanent relief to the Bengal Government.

If, however, the Government are determined to add the Chittagong Division to Assam, the Jorhat Sarbajanik Sabha would most respectfully urge that the name "Assam" should be retained for the new province. It would be highly inconvenient and inexpedient to apply a non-territorial and fictitious name, such as Eastern Provinces or North-Eastern Provinces, which none but the educated few will understand or make use of. It does not appear to the Sabha how the well-known and easily pronounced name "Assam" may tend to lower the status or the civilization of any people. It is well known that Bombay is the name of a small island, and it has given its name to the Presidency. Having given the name to a Provincial Government for thirty years we shall be heartily sorry to have the name set aside for an unreal and fictitious appellation. The system of government and of judicial administration cannot be lowered by retaining the name, and they will go on in their usual style with any name. The second point to which the Sabha would particularly draw the attention of Government is that, in case of the addition of the above division being made, all the inferior appointments in Assam proper should be entirely reserved to the Assamese, and at least about 75 per cent. of the superior appointments be likewise reserved to the Assamese. This provision is necessary in the interest of the Assamese, who have, for obvious reasons and lack of facilities, not yet come up to the level of people in advanced districts of Bengal and who for the above reasons still require a little paternal care and special treatment.

As regards the addition to Assam of the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh, the people there are likewise vehemently opposed to such a measure, and the Jorhat Sarbajanik Sabha also believe that they represent the feeling of the Assam people when they say that they are also equally opposed to such an addition. When the question of recognising the Assamese language was under consideration and when the appointments in the services of Assam are claimed by Bengalis, it was argued all along that the two languages were one and the two people were one, but now, when the question of uniting a portion of Bengal with Assam has arisen, the Assamese language is declared to be an entirely different language and the Assamese people are relegated to the level of Lushais and other hill tribes. Such being the feeling on both sides, it is earnestly hoped that Government may be pleased to recognise this state of things and make no addition of territories to Assam, and the Jorhat Sarbajanik Sabha would respectfully submit that it will not be sound statesmanship to disregard the strong public feeling on this subject.

Annexure 4.

Note by Srijut Manik Chandra Barua, dated Gauhati, the 27th February 1904, on the question of the proposed amalgamation of Assam with a portion of Bengal.

The question of the amalgamation of Assam with a portion of Bengal, which has so much convulsed the minds of the people of Bengal, has also caused some agitation here. The territorial re-distribution based upon administrative convenience is a matter which Government alone can decide. But the public have, we believe, a right to say whether the change contemplated will interfere with their

cherished rights and privileges and thus place them at a disadvantage. Ample and exhaustive representations have been made by our Bengali friends on the subject, and to which it will, we think, be both superfluous and impertinent for us to allude. But there is one argument used by them which we cannot pass unnoticed. It so revolts against all common sense, and it so infringes every canon of decorum, that we wonder that it should have been used by people foremost in intelligence and civilization, and who profess to be the leaders of such a grand movement as the Congress. Indeed, it is impossible to conceive an argument more selfish, more narrow-minded, more dishonourable, or more dishonest. What do our Bengali friends mean by saying that Assam is a backward province, the people are not enlightened, and therefore they do not like to be mixed up with the savages? Do they not remember that, about 30 years ago, Assam was a part and parcel of Bengal, and that it was under the same Lieutenant-Governor? Do they not also remember that when that high-minded ruler, Sir George Campbell, introduced "Assamese," the language of the people of Assam, into Assam, a hue and cry was raised by the Bengalees, saying that "Assamese" was not a language, and that it was a mere jargon of Bengali, and do they not now, in the same breath, say that "Assamese" is quite a separate language? Did they not also say which they now deny, that in manners and customs the people of Assam did not differ from those of Bengal and that the object of Government was only to "divide and rule"? Did not the "Hindu Patriot" exclaim the Assamese language as the "Assam Bengali," and did not the "Amrita Bazar Patrika" write long leaders denouncing what Sir George Campbell had done? Was not Maharaja Sir Jotindro Mohon Tagore, K.C.S.I., a class friend of the late Anandoram Dhekial Phukan, and was not the Maharaja all admiration for the sterling qualities of head and heart of Mr. Phukan? Did not that highly-distinguished officer, General Henry Hopkinson, C.S.I., who was very friendly towards the Assamese, declare that this Assamese genius—Anandoram Dhekial Phukan—was a more extraordinary man than even Rammohon Roy? Has the Civil Service been able to produce a greater scholar than the late Anandoram Borooah? But it is convenient now to forget all these things, as it is easy for a witness in a court of justice to say that his memory has failed when it is not convenient for him to answer a question. We have, however, such implicit faith in the impartiality and generosity of our benign Government, that we are sure that it cannot for a moment countenance such an argument. Is it not practically saying this—that because the Assamese are backward, let them remain so and let them be trodden down by their more advanced neighbours?

The use of such a monstrous argument has led us seriously to consider what steps we should take to protect ourselves, and to see whether the amalgamation will completely swamp us and deprive us of those special concessions and privileges which the paternal Government has so long been kind enough to confer on us. This necessarily takes us back to the consideration of the question why Assam was separated from Bengal in 1874. It was no doubt owing to the fact that the province had not received that amount of attention from the Governor which was necessary for the proper development of the province and the progress of the people. It is quite true that the first Chief Commissioner, Colonel Keatinge, with Mr. Luttman-Johnson as the Secretary, abolished the only second-grade College (then called a high school) at Gauhati; but one of his distinguished successors, namely, Sir Henry Cotton, restored it with much better provisions, both for its maintenance and for the convenience of the students. On the other hand, the opening of the daily steamer service, the despatch service, the Assam-Bengal Railway, the Dibrugarh-Sadiya Railway, the Jorhat State Railway, the Tezpur-Balipara Tramway, the construction of the Dhubri-Gauhati Railway, and the improvement of the other means of communication generally have marked an era of progress and prosperity in the province. All kinds of education have been greatly encouraged; very liberal and special grants have been made towards the same. The representative institutions, *viz.*, the Municipalities and the Local Boards, have been the means of teaching people self-help and self-government. The revenue administration has received a kind, considerate, and sympathetic attention from the present far-sighted ruler. Opportunities have frequently been given to the people to approach their Governor to represent matters of public interest or their grievances. A fair share of Government appointments

(though still not quite adequate) has been given to the children of the soil. "Assamese" has been recognised as a second language in the Calcutta University Entrance Examination. These are only some of the chief advantages that have accrued to the province by its separation from Bengal. But we must remember that only a beginning, and in some cases a small beginning, has been made, and much still remains to be done. The great problem of working out the potential assets of the province, by adopting means to reclaim the vast areas of uncultivated waste land, with a view to making her more an exporting than an importing country, and to placing the tea industry on a firm footing by the supply of cheap local labour, has not had a trial. The excellent circular regarding the preference to be given to the Assamese in all appointments in the province, which if carried into effect, will secure to the people almost all they want, has only lately been issued, and it remains to be seen how the several District Officers take up the matter. The vexed question regarding the status of the domiciled people has not yet been settled; nor any proper definition of the term "domiciled" has been given. Unless this is satisfactorily done, they cannot be classed with the indigenous people and treated as such. To mature and complete the projects will, we fear, require half a century more. But to take the province back and thrust it on Bengal so soon will bring its progress to a standstill, and nullify the good that has been derived owing to its having received increased and undivided attention at the hands of the Chief Commissioner. If, however, adequate provision can be made by the Government (which no doubt they can easily do) to secure to the people the following concessions and advantages, it is quite immaterial to them whether they are under a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant-Governor or a Governor:—

(1) That 80 per cent. of the appointments in the Provincial Civil Service, the Subordinate Executive Service, the Ministerial Service, the Police and the Education Departments (all Inspecting Officers, *i.e.*, Deputy Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors and all teachers below the second in the high schools should be Assamese) be exclusively reserved for and given only to the indigenous people to the exclusion of the foreign element, including the domiciled people.

(2) That facilities be given to the indigenous people to enter, in large numbers, the Forest Department, the Postal Department, the Telegraph Department, and the several Railways in the province.

(3) That in the six Valley districts, the Vice Chairmen in the Municipalities and Local Boards be either Assamese or European gentlemen, and the Overseers, Accountants, and other servants and as well as the contractors, be, as far as possible Assamese.

(4) That the second grade College at Gauhati be raised to a first grade one with a law class attached to it, that the present liberal scale of scholarships be maintained, and that a better hostel be secured.

(5) That the spread of education be liberally encouraged, and that inducement be offered to authors to write good books in Assamese.

(6) That the people should not be deprived of the privileges of the control of the Calcutta High Court.

(7) That Military Officers in civil employ be not only retained in the province; but placed on the same footing with that of their Civilian brethren.

(8) That whenever any Member is required to be sent from Assam to the Viceregal Council, a competent Assamese be selected for the purpose.

(9) That in the event of a Local Council being constituted, Assam proper should be fairly represented in it.

(10) That a first grade Judge (instead of a second grade one, as is the case now) be entertained, that his jurisdiction be extended to the Mikir Hills and Shillong; that all sessions cases, including those that were tried before by the Deputy Commissioners under the special powers, be tried, as now, by jury, and that two Subordinate Judges be appointed for the province.

(11) That the District Superintendents of Police be abolished and that the Deputy Commissioners be placed in charge of the same.

The following utterances made by His Excellency the Viceroy, in his speech at Mymensingh, have, however, thrown us into deep anxiety and alarm, and we would, therefore, implore our benign ruler to adopt adequate and timely means for our safety, so that we may live as a nation, speaking our own language and doing our work in the province. If the Assamese could remain as a nation from the earliest period of the British Rule down to the year 1874, *i.e.*, for nearly half a century, when the province was under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, surely they can, with better reason, stand so now: the only encouragement and support they require is the fostering care, attention, and help from the paternal Government. Generally speaking, the Muhammadans are in a minority, and how they have prospered and advanced under the British rule?

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"Probability would seem to point entirely in the opposite direction, and to suggest that Assamese, whether it be a dialect of Bengali or whether it be a separate language, as to which the experts appear to differ, will be the one to disappear."

* * * * * * *

"For so far from a single Bengali being taken away from his present place or town or district or division, he would remain there precisely as before, with the sole difference that the Bengal people, instead of being the predominant element in *one* Local Administration, would in future become the predominant element in *two*."

Annexure 5.

Note by Rai Dulal Chandra Deb, Bahadur, Government Pleader and Chairman of the Municipal Committee, Sylhet, dated the 22nd March 1904.

1. The questions referred to are—

(1) The desirability of transferring to this province—

(*a*) the Chittagong division;

(*b*) the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh;

(2) the expediency of creating a Lieutenant-Governorship with East Bengal and Assam.

2. Before I proceed to discuss these points I consider it necessary to say a few words on certain broad propositions of facts which are intimately connected with the subject. These propositions are as follows:—

(*i*) The separation of Assam from Bengal in 1874 was not due to any excess work of which the Government of Bengal was to be relieved but to the expediency of creating therewith a new province for the development of its material resources and for the material and intellectual improvement of its people. Any territorial additions that may serve as an auxiliary to the furtherance of this grand object may be acceptable to it, but if they tend to impede or interfere with it, they cannot be accepted as welcome consistently with the primary object of its constitution.

(*ii*) The essentials in the formation of a unit of administration are the unity of interests and the unity of manners and customs of the people representing it, but a diversity of interest begets a multiplicity of administrative difficulties and retards its progress and improvements.

(*iii*) The smaller the area of a unit is, the more effective is its administration. Hence all measures and reforms undertaken in a smaller province are more speedily carried out than those undertaken in a comparatively large province.

3. Judging by these axioms or propositions, I beg to submit that Chittagong Division, if added to Assam, may always act as an auxiliary to the development of its material resources. The Assam-Bengal Railway line which runs through Assam and Chittagong Division connects this province with the Chittagong port. It is this port through which this province can carry on its trade with foreign countries, and so its resources are likely to receive a fresh impetus to their development if the said port acts in harmony with its requirements. In these circumstances, it is desirable that the whole of the Chittagong Division should be added to Assam, so that the Chittagong port may be placed under the Administration of this province.

4. The districts of Dacca and Mymensingh, on the other hand, have nothing in them which can help the development of the resources of this province, and so they cannot consistently with the primary object of its constitution be incorporated with it. It might be contended that the annexation of the Chittagong Division will tend to import into this province the same code of law, both civil and revenue, under which the administration of these two districts is carried on in Bengal, and so there can exist no reasonable objection to their transfer to Assam, but I think that although there may exist a common code of law, there are other circumstances which differentiate the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh from the Chittagong Division. The points of differences may be described as follows:—

I.—Dacca and Mymensingh are not so connected by means of communication with this province as the Chittagong Division is. There is no railway communication between these two districts and Assam and the great river Megna separates them from the greater part of this province. These two districts cannot, therefore, conveniently form a part of Assam Administration.

II.—Education is more highly advanced in the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh than it is in the Chittagong division and the Surma Valley. It is in these two districts that graduates and undergraduates may be counted by hundreds and more than hundreds. In case of their incorporation with Assam, the whole province will be over-flooded with the Dacca graduates and undergraduates, and the appointments at the disposal of this Administration will be more than insufficient to meet their demand. It will then be absolutely impossible to maintain the equilibrium in the disposal of Government appointments, and the result will be that the educated natives of Assam will fall in the background in this respect.

III.—The educated people of Dacca and Mymensingh hold an intermediate position between the landlords and the cultivating tenants. They depend entirely on Government service and different professions for their livelihood. The Bengal Government, with a very large number of appointments at its disposal, could not supply all their wants, and so it will be impossible for the Assam Administration, with a limited number of appointments at its disposal, to meet all their demands and keep them content. In my opinion the Assam Administration cannot conveniently govern a district where the bulk of the middle class people mean to live on Government service.

IV.—In a social point of view it is not desirable that the people of Dacca and Mymensingh should be placed under the administration of this province inasmuch as they look down upon the people on the east of the river Megna as the aborigines of India. Such discordant elements, if placed side by side with each other, are not likely to work well and friction is likely to be the result. The Government will frequently meet with the difficulty to deal with them in the administration of the province.

V.—One of the reasons assigned for the incorporation of the Chittagong Division and the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh with Assam is to organise a self-contained and independent service for this province. I do not think it impossible to organise such a service if it be meant for the Executive branch only, but as for the Judicial branch, it is not possible that such an independent service can be organised with a total number of Judicial officers consisting of eight District and Sessions Judges only. A service which may most probably be represented by not more than one first-grade District and Sessions Judge cannot attract men of ability and superior culture, and I do not think that the proposed territorial expansion, if carried out, will serve to create a self-contained and independent Judicial service of its own.

5. The formation of a Lieutenant-Governorship with Assam and East Bengal will no doubt enlarge the unit of Administration, and its administration cannot, therefore, be so effective as it ought to be in order to adapt itself to the present circumstances of the province. I am, therefore, of opinion that time has not yet come to confer on this province the same form of administration that is concomitant to a Lieutenant-Governorship.

6. For the reasons stated above, I am of opinion that—

(*a*) the Chittagong Division should be annexed to Assam;

(*b*) the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh should not be incorporated with it;

(*c*) time has not yet come to form Assam and East Bengal into a Lieutenant-Governorship.

Annexure 6.

Note dated the 31st March 1904, by Babu Kamini Kumar Chanda, Pleader and Vice-Chairman, Municipal Committee, Silchar.

The districts of Sylhet and Cachar were transferred to Assam in 1874. The people of these districts were strongly opposed to it. In the opinion of the educated community separation from Bengal has during these 30 years deprived these districts of larger life, and of participation in general progress and culture, of Bengal. They are also unable to enjoy rights and privileges which have now from time to time been secured to Bengal. It is hardly necessary to enumerate them here, but there can be no question that Sylhet and Cachar along with the other parts of Assam, are denied privileges and advantages which people in Bengal enjoy. In social matters, too, while the eastern districts of the province have come closer to the western and more advanced districts through intimate relations, political, administrative, and commercial, with Calcutta, Sylhet and Cachar continue to be as isolated as ever.

2. But in spite of these serious drawbacks, we have become content with our present position, owing to the special and compensating advantages we enjoy in the matter of education and public service and some other matters probably, as compared to what we might have possibly enjoyed had we continued to be in Bengal. These special advantages are unquestionably due to the smallness of the area of Assam, which also makes it possible for the head of the Administration to be in touch with the leaders of public opinion and of the people in the province, and without which, in the absence of the more perfected machineries of administration existing in Bengal or Bombay, the Assam Government would be considerably weaker than what it now is. From this, it follows that the distinctive features of Assam will, in my humble judgment, disappear if the area and the population under the Administration are increased. The transfer of other districts to Assam will also deprive us of the special advantages which are looked upon as compensation for the loss we have sustained by being cut off from Bengal. The proposed addition of Bengal districts to Assam would therefore take away the chief source of its strength and would probably require very comprehensive changes in the administrative machinery involving heavy expenditure which the province will be unable to bear.

3. Assam, even as it is at present constituted, contains communities of very conflicting interests. "There is probably no Local Government," as the Hon'ble High Court observed in their minute of 30th June 1896, "which comprises so many heterogeneous elements as that of Assam. To say nothing of the British interest in tea, coal, railway, and other industries, the province of Assam at present contains a more varied native population than probably any other province in India." There is no doubt that the addition of the Chittagong Division will very greatly increase the already existing conflicting interests in Assam and certainly enhance administrative difficulties. I believe the differences in the dialects in the province will also become more numerous.

4. The two grounds which might be thought to weigh in favour of the proposed scheme in the consideration of Assam, namely, the desirability of having the Assam Bengal Railway under one Administration and of having a separate port (Chittagong) for Assam, do not seem to me to be very convincing. If I mistake not, the most important Railway lines in India, namely, the East Indian Railway, the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, the North Western Railway, the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railway, and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway, all cover the jurisdictions of more than one Local Administration, and this fact has not, so far as my limited knowledge goes, been ever cited as in any way a grave disadvantage ; while the port of Karachi, which naturally should be the port of the Punjab, is under the administration of the Bombay Government. I do not, therefore, see how the proposed transfer of the Chittagong Division can be said to be called for in the interest of Assam.

5. I would also doubt if it would be possible or desirable to create self-contained services for Assam by increasing the area in the manner proposed—even by transferring Dacca and Mymensingh : the province would, I am afraid, become less attractive for the services than it now is.

6. From the above considerations it will be seen that, in my opinion, the arguments against transferring Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam are stronger.

7. For the same reason, I am of opinion that the proposed Lieutenant-Governorship is also objectionable. Besides the considerations of cost which are too serious to be ignored, it would be detrimental to the interests of the present districts of Assam, owing to the headquarters of the Government being situate in Dacca, which would naturally receive a greater portion of the attention of the head of the administration which we now enjoy. Besides the Province as proposed under the scheme would comprise a good many unhealthy and unpopular districts unrelieved by a fair proportion of attractive ones and will therefore be avoided by good officers and there will be a feeling of discontent among officers who will then be permanently posted here.

8. The Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner invited my opinion from the provincial point of view. My opinion is therefore necessarily based on somewhat narrow and parochial grounds, though if I were to consider it from even the view point of the whole of my race and nation I would be still more strongly opposed to it.

Enclosure No. 5 in No. 2.

From W. C. Macpherson, Esq., C.S.I., Offg. Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department , No. 2556-J., dated Calcutta 6th April 1904.

(Extract)

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your letter No. 3678, dated 12th December last, on the subject of the desirability of reducing the territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, with the object of lightening the excessive burden now imposed upon that Government by the increase of population, the extension of commerce and industrial enterprise and the growing complexity of all branches of the administration. The Lieutenant-Governor does not propose to discuss at length the necessity for the reduction of the area of this province. He accepts in the fullest manner the view which forms the

basis of the proposals of the Government of India, namely, that the province of Bengal, as at present constituted, is too large a territory for one Government to administer. Sir Andrew Fraser is informed that this opinion has been held by almost every one of those of his predecessors who have felt the pressure of work in recent times. His Honour has also consulted many officers and others who take an intelligent interest in the administration of the province. He finds that all those who are best entitled to be heard, concur in this opinion, which is entirely in accordance with his own experience so far as that experience goes. There is no other Local Government in India which controls so large an area or anything like the number of people that there are in Bengal, and there is nothing in the circumstances of Bengal which should make the government of that province easier than that of other provinces. There are indeed features of the Government of Bengal which make it more difficult to administer than would be the case with another province of even the same area and population. Thus, for example, the special position of the Lieutenant-Governor in Calcutta adds greatly to the difficulty of administration. His numerous official and social functions, the fact that he is a member of a Council of His Excellency the Viceroy as well as President of the Bengal Council, the constant criticism to which acts of administration are subjected, and the constant demands for explanation, occupy a great deal of time. Questions connected with the Port Trust and the great commercial interests of Calcutta, and work connected with the supervision of the Corporation, the important scheme of improvement in the city and the municipal interests of the Capital of the Empire, make great demands on his time and energy. University and other educational matters, medical and municipal administration, questions connected with communications by river as well as by road throughout the province, are all exceptionally heavy. In this province as in other provinces, there are all the great departments of administration to control and for many of them the control of the Lieutenant-Governor must be much more than general. He must determine the policy to be adopted, and consider the suitability of details to the special circumstances of each district. He must in many cases take the initiative; and in all he must hold the balance between the competing claims of different districts. In all these departments his work directly increases with the size of the province and the number of districts with which he has to deal ; for much of his work requires, or at all events is improved by, an extended knowledge of the circumstances of each district. It is unnecessary to mention these departments in detail. They are such as every Government has, more or less according to the size of the province, to control. But the great demands which Calcutta makes on the time and energy of the Lieutenant-Governor constitute a special element of difficulty in obtaining the local knowledge which is necessary for efficient control. With the rulers of other provinces, His Honour shares the increase of work caused by the greater attention which must now be paid to plague, famine, irrigation, police and other subjects, while the difficulties in maintaining touch between the Government and the people are specially great, partly at least on account of the permanent settlement. Other special difficulties are found in respect of the relations between landlord and tenant, and of those sudden movements among the ignorant and excitable classes, on whom sometimes most serious impressions are made in a reckless manner. The Lieutenant-Governor has made special effort to become acquainted with this province during this cold weather; and he has been much encouraged by the kind permission of His Excellency the Viceroy to leave Calcutta as much as possible for this purpose. He must necessarily, however, speak with diffidence owing to his limited experience of Bengal, but so far as he can judge, he strongly concurs in the view that relief ought to be given to the Bengal Government by substantial reduction in the area of the province. The proposals of the Government of India are based mainly on this necessity for reducing the area of the province. They deal indeed with the expediency of bringing all Uriya-speaking races under one administration, and in this respect they do not aim purely at reduction; but in other respects, as far as Bengal is concerned, they deal mainly with the desirability of reducing its area. These proposals are based, however, not only on the desire to improve the administration of Bengal, but also on the expediency of making

Reduction of area necessary.

Proposed additions to the Central Provinces and Assam.

any transfer which has to be made to the Central Provinces or Assam on the ground that these two provinces are both "young and growing Administrations capable of sustaining a heavier charge. Both will profit rather than lose by an increase of responsibility." It seems to the Lieutenant-Governor that there must be a distinction drawn between the Central Provinces and Assam in this respect. It is true that the Central Provinces administration is capable of sustaining a heavier charge; but it is also true that the Central Provinces Commission is a self-contained and efficient Commission, as it stands at present, and does not absolutely require to be increased. It was so even before the districts of Berar were added; and it is certainly so now. This is by no means the case with Assam. The Assam Commission is too small to allow of that division of the administration into departments, which is necessary for efficiency and therefore for sound government. The Commission is also too small to allow of regular and equal promotion. There is constant ground of complaint amongst the officers who find themselves shut out from the prize ordinarily open to their brother officers in other provinces. The most serious result, however, of the smallness of the Assam Commission is this: that officers cannot be recruited direct from home for that province, but have to be supplied from among the officers who have been allotted to Bengal. That is to say, Bengal officers of the Civil Service and of the Police are transferred to Assam after a certain course of training in Bengal. They go there for a fixed period of service; and they have the option of returning. Assam is not the province in which they start and whose traditions they learn in the early part of the service; neither is it the province to which they feel themselves devoted for life. The result of this, on the one hand, is that Bengal does not give its best officers to Assam; and, on the other hand, that the officers who go to Assam do not feel that they are bound by the discipline of the service there, nor are they animated by the hope of promotion within the province. There is no doubt that this has been a great source of inefficiency in the service of Assam; and it is not surprising that there have been great complaints of failure, but rather that there has been so great a measure of success in connection with such a system. It is necessary to mark this distinction between the Central Provinces and Assam; because the question must of necessity be considered from a wider view than that of the interests of Bengal alone, though that is the aspect of the question with which it is the duty of the Lieutenant-Governor mainly to deal. The Central Provinces have for years possessed a Commission, the officers of which are recruited from home precisely like the officers of any other province, and have their whole career from start to finish within the province in precisely the same degree as the officers of any other province. The districts of Berar have also only recently been added to the Central Provinces; and there is certainly now no necessity at all for increasing the Central Provinces Commission by the addition of any more territory. Assam, on the other hand, has not a Commission the officers of which are recruited from home; but its officers are selected by the Bengal Government and sent from Bengal; and it is absurd to expect them to regard Assam with the same feelings as officers entertain for the province in which they must work out their whole career. It seems hardly necessary to consider the insinuation so widely made by the opponents of this "partition scheme," that the object is to benefit the Indian Civil Service, or any other class of officers, European or Native, by providing more high appointments for them. The primary object is to improve administration in Bengal by reducing its area, and so making it a more reasonable charge of one Local Government. The next object is so to select the districts to be separated from Bengal, that the final scheme may be such as best to secure the interests of the people generally and the efficiency of administration. It is this last consideration which has led the Government of India to decide not to increase the area of the United Provinces; and it is the same consideration which induces the Lieutenant-Governor to advocate an addition to the area of Assam rather than to that of the Central Provinces.

I am now to consider, in the first place, the proposal which is made in the sixth paragraph of Mr. Risley's letter of the 3rd December, namely, the proposal to transfer the Chutia Nagpur division, or part of it, to the Central Provinces. The proposal is that the whole division (except the district of Manbhum and

Proposals regarding the Chutia Nagpur Division.

possibly part or the whole of Hazaribagh), with its tributary mahals, should be transferred to the Central Provinces. The Lieutenant-Governor is not in favour of this proposal. He has carefully considered the various opinions which have been submitted to him, and he has visited all parts of the division, with the result that he thinks the proposed transfer wholly inexpedient. The first argument which presses itself on his attention against the proposal is that the division is separated from the Central Provinces by a range of hills running from east to west along the whole of the south of the division. Chutia Nagpur is practically inaccessible from the direction of the Central Provinces. It is not, however, true that it is inaccessible from Bengal. The Railway already runs through the Singhbum and Manbhum districts; it already runs into the Hazaribagh district; and it already connects the East Indian Railway with Daltonganj, the centre and capital of the Palamau district. The Railway from Katrasgarh to Gaya will also run right across to the north of the Hazaribagh district. This extension is now under construction. The only district in the division which is not connected with the line of rail is the Ranchi district; and in respect of that proposals for a light railway are under consideration. All this railway connection is from the Bengal side either on the north-west from Behar or on the east from the direction of Calcutta. It would be impossible to get round by rail to the Central Provinces from the greater part of the division without going a long way towards Calcutta. The second argument which suggests itself, on the very face of the proposals, is that it is not proposed to transfer the whole of the Division. The Government of India have already indicated that the Manbhum district ought not to be transferred from Bengal; because it is a Bengali-speaking district. Doubt has also been expressed in Mr. Risley's letter, as to whether the whole or at least some part of Hazaribagh ought not to be left with Bengal, partly perhaps on account of its affinity with Behar characteristics, but mainly on account of the "existence in that district of some of the most valuable present or prospective coal-fields of Bengal (*e.g.*, Karharbari and Karanpura)." A glance at the map, however, will show that the Karanpura, Ramgarh and Bokara coal-fields are all situated in the south of the district: they extend from west to east on the south of the district along the Damuda valley. On the other hand, the Karharbari coal-fields are to the north-east of the district. Clearly then, if the coal fields all along the south of the district and also those on the north-east are left to Bengal, the handing over of the rest of the Hazaribagh district to the Central Provinces would produce geographical confusion. There is no doubt therefore in the mind of the Lieutenant-Governor that the Government of India ought to decide not to transfer any part of the Hazaribagh district, both because that district is very similar in character to Behar districts and the Sonthal Pergunnahs, and also because of the coal interests in that district. There is a third district of this division in respect of which the Lieutenant-Governor has no doubt that it ought not to be transferred to the Central Provinces. That is the Palamau district, which is connected by the Barun-Daltonganj Railway with the neighbouring district of Gaya: *i.e.*, with the Patna division. Palamau is on the north-west of the division and is within a few hours' run by rail of the East Indian Railway; but to enable any one to pass from Daltonganj to the Central Provinces, he would have either to go round by Allahabad to Jubbulpore or by Assansole and the Bengal-Nagpur Railway to Raipur. Here also there is very close affinity between a considerable portion of the district and the neighbouring districts of Behar; and here also there is the existence of the Daltonganj coal-fields, which has been mentioned by the Government of India as a possible argument against the transfer of this district. There is no doubt that Manbhum ought not to be transferred, and there is little doubt that Hazaribagh and Palamau, for almost equally strong reasons ought not to be transferred; and therefore if there were no other reason against the rest of the division being transferred, there would be, at all events, a strong administrative objection. The administrative objection is this, that for the remaining two districts of Ranchi and Singhbhum it would be impossible to have a Commissioner within what is now Bengal area. It would be necessary to attach these two districts to a division in the Central Provinces. It would not very much matter whether they were attached to the Jubbulpore or to the Raipur (Chhattisgarh) division. There are as like parts of the one division

as there are like parts of the other; and the distance from either is practically prohibitive for anything like administrative efficiency. There is no direct route—and it may be said that for all practical purposes there never will be a direct route—across the range of hills which separates these districts from the Central Provinces. It would therefore be necessary for any one going from them either to Jubbulpore or to Raipur to make a long circuit by the East Indian Railway and Bengal-Nagpur Railway on the one side, or by the East Indian Railway *vid* Allahabad on the other. There are other reasons against the transfer of the Chutia Nagpur division to the Central Provinces. One of these is that the circumstances of this division have of late attracted the closest and most careful attention of the Bengal Government; and the measures which have been adopted for bringing this part of the country under sound administration seem now to be passing on to a successful issue. It would apparently therefore, be a mistake to transfer the division to a Government that has hitherto had no concern with the great questions at issue. In this respect the Lieutenant-Governor is not prepared wholly to accept the view that the Bengal administration has proved unsuccessful in regard to the people of this division. There have been undoubtedly agrarian disputes, discontent and unrest for some time; but it can hardly be said that there have been a "series of outbreaks in recent years." The Kol rebellion of 1831 and the disturbances of 1858 are matters of somewhat ancient history. At the same time it must be admitted, and the Lieutenant-Governor would not minimise the fact, that there has been agrarian trouble since 1831, though it has really culminated in actual outbreaks. The difficulty of dealing with the people is largely due to their nature and character, which is at once conservative and excitable, and also to the heritage of trouble which the Bengal Government has had to take over. This was briefly described in the recent letter of the Revenue Department, No. 3400, dated 24th November last, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Legislative Department. The Lieutenant-Governor does not consider it necessary to repeat that description here. It is enough to say that the agrarian questions which attracted attention from time to time were most seriously and effectively approached in 1901. In that year, with a view to stopping agrarian disputes, it was resolved, practically as the result of the *quasi*-agricultural but largely religious rising of the Mundas in 1899-1900, to effect the survey and settlement of Munda tract in the Ranchi district, which extends over about 1,850 square miles. It may be mentioned in passing that this tract is really the only disturbed tract in the division; and it was determined to effect the survey and settlement of this tract, to safeguard by legislation the rights of these people, and to secure finality for the record of rights. Accordingly the Chutia Nagpur Tenancy Act of 1903 was passed. But this Act though introduced to bring peace and order into the district, is not regarded as a final settlement of land questions in Chutia Nagpur. It is proposed after the completion of the present survey and settlement proceedings, that the whole law bearing on the subject should be reconsidered in the light of the further experience supplied by the settlement operations now in progress. In the meantime so successful have these operations been that it is proposed to extend them over the whole of the Ranchi district and indeed over the whole division. It seems to the Lieutenant-Governor that it is not expedient to hand over the carrying out and completion of this work to another Government than that which has appreciated the difficulties which have called for these efforts, and has so far successfully carried the work through. On all these grounds the Lieutenant-Governor is opposed to the transfer of any of the British districts of the Chutia Nagpur division to the Central Provinces. It remains, however, to consider the

Feudatory States of Chutia Nagpur.

question of the Feudatory States attached to that division. There are four of these, namely, Gangpur, Bonai, Karsawan and Seraikela on the east of the division, of which the language is mainly Uriya. The Lieutenant-Governor would propose to retain these four States in Bengal. On the other hand, there are five Native States, namely, Jashpur, Sarguja, Udaipur, Korea and Changbhakar which are on the south-west of the Chutia Nagpur division. These the Lieutenant-Governor would propose to hand over to the Central Provinces. This measure would not be unwelcome to some of the principal Chiefs concerned; and it would, in the

opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, be decidedly sound for administrative reasons. In the Central Provinces there are 14 Native States in the Chhattisgarh division which are under the Political Agent of Raipur, who is subordinate to the Commissioner. This arrangement has been one which has worked most successfully in regard to the administration of the Native States. When for any reason it is impossible to carry on the administration through the ruler of the State himself, an officer of Government is appointed as manager; and the State is more directly under the Political Agent. But, even apart from such exceptional cases, every State is under the influence of the Political Agent, who does not unduly interfere with the administration of the State, but visits it every year, is on terms of kindly familiarity with the Chief, and assists him with advice in regard to his administration. The Lieutenant-Governor is strongly of opinion that a similar system should be introduced for the Feudatory States of Bengal. He has clear evidence of the necessity for this in the condition of things in these States; and he is maturing proposals for the appointment of a Political Agent. The administration of the Native States in the Central Provinces is more efficiently conducted; and yet the Chiefs are on better terms with the officers of Government in that province than in Bengal. The appointment of a political Agent in Bengal is very desirable. Now it would greatly facilitate sound administration of the Native States if Bengal were to hand over the five Hindi-speaking States to the Central Provinces, in exchange for the five Uriya-speaking States, which are to be transferred from the Central Provinces under the scheme sketched by the Government of India. The result would be that the Political Agent of Raipur would get rid of his remote Uriya States, and would no longer have the necessity for administering the Native States in two languages, namely, Hindi and Uriya. He would have one belt of Hindi-speaking Native States extending from Bastar on the south to Jashpur on the north, all along the west of the Chhattisgarh division. On the other hand, the Political Agent appointed to administer the States of Bengal would have a belt of Uriya-speaking States extending from Kalahandi on the south to Gangpur on the north, all along the east of the Chhattisgarh division, that is to say all along the west of Orissa. This proposal involves no change in the administration of the British districts of Chutia Nagpur, but only secures the consolidation of the Native States into two large groups, each speaking one language: the Hindi group to belong to the Central Provinces and the Uriya group to Bengal. I am now to pass on to the proposals regarding Orissa, made in paragraphs 10 to 16 of Mr. Risley's letter of the 3rd December. The proposals are based mainly on the idea that it is desirable to unite under one administration

Proposals regarding Orissa.

all Uriya-speaking races. The Lieutenant-Governor is able from his own experience to give strong support to this proposal. In the Central Provinces there is at present only one district, the district of Sambalpur, in which (with the exception of Phuljar and Chandarpur, two zemindaries where Hindi or Chhattisgarhi is spoken) the Uriya language is the language of the people. Besides this there are five Feudatory States in which Uriya is the recognised language. These all are on east on the Central Provinces and join the Orissa country. There is no difference whatsoever between the character of Uriya States on the Central Provinces side of the border and the Uriya States belonging to Orissa; and it would in every way be advantageous that all these States should be under one authority. The Lieutenant-Governor's opinion that there should be a Political Agent over all the Uriya-speaking States has just been set forth; and it is unnecessary to say more on that subject. As to the Sambalpur district, the greatest administrative inconvenience has been experienced, inasmuch as there is no other part of the Central Provinces where Uriya is spoken. It is necessary therefore for the officers of Government who are sent to administer the Sambalpur district to acquire the Uriya language for their service in that district only. Native officers have to acquire the language as well as Europeans; they are very much averse to coming down to Sambalpur for a short term of service when that requires the acquisition of a new language; and Sambalpur has become mainly on that account what may be called a penal district in the Central Provinces. Again the subordinate staff has to be manned by persons talking Uriya; that means that it is pactically impossible to transfer officials with any freedom from Sambalpur to any other part of the province, or from any other district to

Sambalpur. The natural result is that the administration of the Sambalpur district, in respect at least of its subordinate officers, is both more inefficient and more corrupt than that of any other district in the province. It was this great administrative difficulty which led to the abolition of Uriya as the court language in Sambalpur, and the substitution of Hindi, by one of the Chief Commissioners. Experience proved almost immediately that this was a measure that could not be supported. The people in the interior know Uriya, and do not know Hindi. They stand by their mother tongue; and they felt the pressure which was brought to bear upon them to adopt Hindi as a great grievance and oppression. The Revenue, Criminal and even Civil administration suffered mainly from the fact that it was conducted in a language practically unknown to the people. Sir Andrew Fraser, therefore, when he was Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, obtained the sanction of the Government of India to restore the Uriya language in Sambalpur, and proposed as the best means of meeting the administrative evil, of the gravity of which he was thoroughly sensible, to transfer the Sambalpur district to the Orissa Division. He holds the same views still, and believes that it is quite impossible to administer well a small area, which is even less than an entire British district, where a separate language is spoken from the rest of the Province to which it belongs. He therefore fully supports the proposal to include Sambalpur and the five Uriya-speaking States of the Central Provinces within the Orissa Division. He does not know the Uriya-speaking parts of Madras to which reference is made in Mr. Risley's letter; but if their circumstances are in any way the same as those of the Sambalpur district, which have been indicated above, he would strongly support the proposal to amalgamate them also with Orissa. Being thus led by experience to support the proposal that there should be an united Orissa that is to say, that all the Uriya-speaking districts and States should be brought together under one administration, the next question that the Lieutenant-Governor has to consider is, under what Local Government this Uriya-speaking division should be placed. His Honour would strongly deprecate the proposal which has been made in some quarters to make Orissa into a separate province. He would oppose that proposal simply because the province would be too small for efficient administration. There is not, even when the whole Uriya people are brought together, area or population for more than one civil division. It must be distinctly borne in mind that the British territory is to be differentiated entirely from the Native States in respect of administration. The Feudatory States, under a certain degree of supervision, administer themselves; it is altogether an unsound policy to interfere constantly with their administration. The Chiefs should be taught to understand their responsibility for the administration of their States; efforts should be made to render them capable of fairly efficient administration; and the supervision that is exercised over them should be only such as is necessary to keep the British Government in touch with their administration, and to enable the high officers appointed for the purpose to give them sound advice and help them to avoid gross misrule. For this purpose it is only necessary to have one Political Officer for all these Native States taken together and to place the Political Officer under the Commissioner of the Division. This gives full, interesting and most useful employment to the Political Agent, as the Lieutenant-Governor's experience in the Central Provinces has shown him. It also gives interesting and valuable work to the Commissioner, as five years' experience in Chhattisgarh has shown the Lieutenant-Governors that the work of the Commissioner in respect of the Native States is quite light and forms scarcely so much burden as his concern with the administration of one British district. Apart from the Native States, the Commissioner of Orissa has at present three districts (Puri, Cuttack and Balasore) of rather less than average size, and the small district of Angul under a Deputy Collector. The addition of Sambalpur would give him one more district. The Lieutenant-Governor is not certain what would be involved in the proposed additions from Madras; but in any case there is no doubt whatsoever that if the Commissioner were assisted, as he ought to be in the interests of the States themselves, by a Political Officer in charge of the Feudatory States, the additions which are proposed in Mr. Risley's letter would still leave the Orissa Division a comparatively light division. The Commissioner will easily be able to deal with the additions to his

work which these proposals involve; and it would be ridiculous under these circumstances to propose to constitute Orissa into a separate province. Setting aside, then, the proposals to constitute Orissa into a separate province, there remains the question, to which Province it ought to belong. The alternatives set forth in Mr. Risley's letter are the Central Provinces and Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor does not hold very strong views on this question. It is not necessary for the Central Provinces to have Orissa so as to become an efficient and self-contained administration. Neither does it seem necessary for that Province to have Orissa with a view to obtaining access to the sea; for as has been stated in Mr. Risley's letter, there is no port of any importance on the Orissa Coast. On the other hand, there is no doubt that a certain measure of relief would be obtained by Bengal in the transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces. This relief, however, would not be great. The questions connected with the Orissa districts are not difficult; and the Feudatory States are managed by their own Chiefs; they require only supervision. If, therefore, a material reduction of area in Bengal is made on the Assam side, which seems to the Lieutenant-Governor of much more importance than any transfer of area to the Central Provinces, this relief does not seem to be required. As regards the feeling of the people on the subject, there is no doubt a division of opinion. It is admitted that until recently the general opinion of the people, as expressed in the representations of their leaders and of the more educated section of the community, was almost unanimously in favour of remaining in connection with Bengal. The contrary opinion has now found expression. There is no doubt that a certain amount of jealousy exists between the people of Orissa, including such Bengalis as have been long domiciled there, and the non-resident Bengalis. This, however, is mainly due to the fact that the Bengalis have from their superior education, been able to secure a number of important posts in the division and are viewed as successful interlopers. On the whole, even now, however, educated opinion would probably be more afraid of an invasion of Maharatta officials than of Bengalis. The former are not less capable or less pushing than the latter, and have a great capacity for securing lucrative and important posts. In any case this feeling does not extend to the uneducated classes; they are generally indifferent; but it is somewhat curious to find that the Collectors of Balasore and Puri are both of opinion that the people would like to be joined to the Central Provinces. The Lieutenant-Governor has had an opportunity of touring through the Orissa division and has discussed the question with a large number of people of different classes. His opinion is that, on the whole, the people would rather remain under the Administration of Bengal than be transferred to the Central Provinces. The main reason for this apparently is that they have a constitutional objection to any change. They have been under Bengal for a century. But it must also be borne in mind they are nearer to Calcutta than to Nagpur, and they will remain nearer to Calcutta even when there is a through line of railway by Sambalpur to Cuttack. On the whole, however, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that the Uriyas do not consider the question as to whether they are to be under Bengal or the Central Provinces as of chief importance. The one thing which they all desire is that they should be allowed to retain the use of their own language, and that they should be brought together into one division, because they have learned to regard that as essential for the preservation of their language. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that too much weight cannot be attached to this expression of opinion as far at least as the Sambalpur people are concerned; for it has been called forth among the people throughout the whole interior of that district by the deplorable experience of having all the work of the district affecting their land tenures and agricultural interests, all police work, and the administration of justice, conducted in an unknown tongue. Generally speaking, the Lieutenant-Governor would support the proposal of the Government of India to retain Orissa as part of Bengal. He believes that this is more in accordance with the wishes of the people; and he is clearly of opinion that the work devolving on the Government from Orissa is not such as to make it any great relief to have that division transferred. The next question that comes up for consideration is the proposal to transfer certain districts from the east of Bengal to the province of Assam. There was, first of all, a proposal made in 1896 to

Proposals regarding the transfer of certain districts to Assam.

transfer to Assam the districts of the Chittagong Division. The province of Assam was constituted in its present form in 1874, when the eleven districts comprising it were separated from Bengal and erected into a separate Chief Commissionership. The districts of Sylhet and Cachar, which border on the Native State of Hill Tippera and the Bengal district of Tippera, were among these districts. In the ethnological character of their population as well as in their history, these districts form an integral portion of Eastern Bengal. Along with the districts of the Chittagong Division, they form the eastermost portion of what has always been known as East Bengal. The proposal of 1896 was to transfer to Assam the districts of the Chittagong Division so as further to relieve the pressure of Administration in Bengal. The question was thoroughly examined in the discussions of 1896. The main contention of those who favoured the proposal was that it was desirable in the interests of the districts themselves, and also in the interests of Assam. It was maintained that Bengal was too large a province for due attention to be given to its various parts, that the Chittagong Division had been neglected, that it had specially suffered in connection with the development of its port, that its natural connection with the Assam country had been strengthened by the development of trade and would be made still stronger by the railway, and that the interests of these districts demanded their separation from Bengal and transfer to a province where they would receive proper attention. At the same time it was maintained that the Government of Bengal required the relief that was thus proposed. On the other hand, there were those who objected strongly to the change. Apart from the natural and inevitable objection to change of any kind there were strong arguments adduced against the proposal. It is not necessary to discuss these in detail at the present moment; the most important of them will be dealt with later. It is perhaps sufficient to point out that the most powerful of these arguments owe their weight to the fact that the proposal did not go far enough. The scheme as then framed meant the severance of three more districts from Eastern Bengal, leaving still more than one-half of that area under Bengal. It meant the transfer from Bengal of an area the administration of which could not be adequately provided for in Assam, because that province would still be too small to have a satisfactory constitution. It meant that the transferred districts would be merged in Assam; would lose certain important privileges, and would be in danger of falling back into a less advanced stage of government and civilisation. It was understood to mean that these districts would no longer look to a centre of enterprise and commerce as their capital, but to a remote station in the hills. It also meant in regard to Bengal that the relief was quite inadequate and hardly worth the trouble of the transfer. This was the manner in which the proposal was criticised by those who then opposed it. It was too small a measure. The then Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Alexander Mackenzie) expressed the opinion that the popular opposition was not very real; that the people generally did not care whether the transfer was made or not; and that if it was thought advisable for administrative reasons to transfer the division, there was no sufficient reason why the Government of Bengal should oppose the transfer. It is not the same proposal that now calls for consideration. It is a proposal to transfer a larger area from Eastern Bengal to Assam, or, as the proposal is set forth in Mr. Risley's letter No. 3808, dated the 23rd December last, to construct a new province to be called the "Eastern Provinces," or the "North Eastern Provinces of India," with perhaps its capital at Dacca, and including a considerable portion of Eastern Bengal and the present province of Assam. The Lieutenant-Governor has received a very large number of petitions, memorials and telegrams protesting against this proposal of the Government of India, but he has also received some strong opinions in its favour. He had visited Dacca just before the proposal reached him. He has since discussed the matter with those most interested, and he has made every effort to arrive at a sound decision regarding this important question. He considers that a great deal of the opposition to the proposal is based upon misconception, and that much of it is based also upon somewhat narrow views of self-interest which have led some men of education and of leading to organise very strong and strenuous opposition. There is no doubt that, as first stated, the proposal was misunderstood. The

Proposals regarding Eastern Bengal now made.

conception of it which took possession of the minds of many of the leaders of Bengali opinion was that it was intended to hand over a certain portion of Bengal to the "backward administration" of Assam, and so prevent the further progress and enlightenment of that section of Bengal for many years to come. The feeling was that the transferred districts would be swallowed up and merged in Assam and lose their own identity. It was also asserted, and no doubt believed, that that section of Bengal would lose of necessity the laws and privileges to which the educated section of the community attach very great importance. It was on this account, and when he found that this was the view held by many intelligent men, that the Lieutenant-Governor addressed to the Government of India Mr. Macpherson's letter no. 5063-J., dated 21st December last, which called forth Mr. Risley's letter of the 23rd December, to which reference has already been made. The Lieutenant-Governor supports the proposals of the Government of India, in the first place, because he is clearly of opinion that a reduction of the area of Bengal is necessary to render the administration of that province reasonably efficient. A counter-proposal has been made by a number of those who are opposed to the transfer of any part of Bengal to Assam, *viz.*, that Bengal should be administered by a Governor, or Lieutenant-Governor, with an Executive Council, instead of being administered as at present by a Lieutenant-Governor. His Honour does not believe that this proposal is at all a sound one. It is not by any means clear that there is any tendency in administration by a Governor in Council towards bringing the Government more in touch with the people, or towards enabling it to overtake more work or undertake a heavier charge. The advantages of a Council to a Governor who has no knowledge of Indian affairs may be real; but the division of responsibility would not tend in the case of the Lieutenant-Governor of a province, either to increase of efficiency or to easy and prompt discharge of public business. The Lieutenant-Governor is maturing a scheme, in consultation with the Board of Revenue, for associating its Members more closely with himself in the administration of the province. They concur with him in expecting good results from this scheme. But this is altogether a different thing from having an Executive Council with its division of responsibility and risks of friction and delay. This proposal for an Executive Council has, however, been condemned by His Excellency the Viceroy, in his speech at Dacca on 18th February, after "the Government of India have most carefully considered this matter." It does not, therefore, seem to the Lieutenant-Governor to be necessary to discuss the proposal at greater length. It is not necessary for the Lieutenant-Governor to take any exception to the suggestion that is contained in Mr. Risley's letter that the administration of Bengal requires considerable attention and improvement. It has been said in reference to this matter that what is more required than a reduction of territory is more efficient local administration. In regard to this, and especially in respect of the districts of Eastern Bengal, the Lieutenant-Governor has not the least hesitation in assenting to the statement that the improvement of local administration is an urgent necessity. There is no doubt whatever in his mind that the districts of Eastern Bengal have suffered very largely from neglect in the past, that they are under-officered, and that the marvel is not so much that the administration is not as efficient as it should be, as that it is as efficient as it is. It seems to His Honour absolutely essential to divide the district of Mymensingh into two districts; and other changes in and additions to the local staff demand early and careful consideration. The question of breaking up certain districts and subdivisions and increasing the staff appointed for the administration of these districts will continue to receive the Lieutenant-Governor's attention unless and until any of these districts are removed from under his charge. But this does not affect the statement, which he repeats is undoubtedly correct, that the area under his jurisdiction is too large, under the altered circumstances of the country, for one Local Government properly to administer. There are certain objections to the transfer of districts from Bengal to Assam which require but little consideration. There are on the other hand, objections which the Lieutenant-Governor regards as of great importance. Among the latter are the objections—

Alternative proposals to have an Executive Council.

(1) that the jurisdiction of the High Court is a privilege which the people greatly value;

(2) that there is in Assam no Legislative Council ; and

(3) that the jurisdiction of the Board of Revenue for cases affecting the interests of the agricultural community ought to be retained.

In regard to the High Court there can be no doubt that the people very greatly value the existence of an independent tribunal for the trial of cases of a civil and criminal nature. The Government of course also highly values this tribunal.

The High Court.

The mischievous idea which some men try to propagate that the Government resents the interference of the High Court with executive matters, and desires to undermine its authority and curtail its jurisdiction, is altogether without foundation. It is merely an illustration of the unscrupulous manner in which the opposition to the Government proposals has sometimes been conducted. The High Court owes its existence to the genius of the British Government in India, which desires that the administration of India should be in accordance with justice and righteousness, and which has accordingly established an independent judicial authority for the disposal of judicial business. There is no inclination on the part of the Government to set aside the authority on the High Court; and the proposals which have been made do not in any way touch the question of its jurisdiction. That jurisdiction, as a matter of fact, exists throughout the present province of Assam, and it will not be affected in any of the districts which may be transferred to Assam by the fact of that transfer. In regard to the Legislative Council, the Lieutenant-Governor feels that he is in an exceptionally favourable position to understand the feeling of the people, inasmuch as he has had experience of a province where there is no Legislative Council. The mere matter of legislation he regards as less important perhaps than other functions of a Council. It matters less whether legislation is carried on in the local Council or by the Government of India, provided that it is carried on in public and is not effected by Regulations proposed by the Head of the Local Government and approved by the Government of India without any opportunity for public criticism and the expression of public opinion. At the same time, the Lieutenant-Governor recognises the reasonableness of the fear

The Bengal Council.

lest the transferred districts should lose the benefit of progressive legislation, or even have their laws replaced by Regulations, if they had no Legislative Council. Of course there never has been any intention to substitute Regulations for legislation; but there has been some ground to fear that this might be done. The Lieutenant-Governor understands that the Regulations of 1879, 1883, 1886, and 1891 regarding such important matters as Land Revenue, Rural Police, and Local Rates, which are in the Assam Code, apply to Sylhet and Cachar which are districts of Eastern Bengal now incorporated in Assam. The knowledge of this fact has led to the suspicion among the leaders of the people in the districts now proposed to be transferred, that legislation in the local Council conducted *coram populo* may give place to legislation by Regulations drawn up by the Chief Commissioner and approved by the Government of India without being subjected to public criticism. There must be a distinct and definite assurance that the new Province will not be legislated for by Regulation; or the transfer will be regarded as a retrograde and calamitous measure. The local Council, however, is not only valued for legislation ; it is valued for the right of interpellation. The Lieutenant-Governor has learnt how much importance the people attach to this privilege; and he has also learnt to attach great importance to it himself. He considers that there is no other equally effective means of calling the attention of the Government to abuses than the means afforded by this privilege. He values it highly in respect of the information which it gives him of the grievances and sentiments of the people in all parts of the province. There is no doubt that the non-official members are regarded as the proper persons to ventilate grievances even when the grievances do not affect either these members personally or even the parts of the country which they are appointed ostensibly to represent; and it is of the greatest value to the Local Government that there should exist a means of calling attention in a public and effective manner to any grievance which the people actually feel. No doubt the privilege of interpellation is occasionally abused; but, on the whole, the non-official members of the Local Council realise the responsibility that rests upon them, and use that

privilege in a valuable way. It would be undoubtedly a retrogade step to deprive of that privilege people who have enjoyed it in the past. The Lieutenant-Governor cordially accepts the views of Lord Lansdowne set forth in his Council in introducing the rules framed under the Statute of 1892. He declared that it is "impossible to overestimate the value" of the right to criticise the financial administration of the Government. And he regarded the new rules which gave the members of Council not only power to assist the Government in the work of legislation but also the right of "asking for information or inquiring into matters of public interest" as "a very serious and far-reaching step." These measures, as His Lordship said, brought the Legislatures "into closer touch with the rest of the community," and were "for the advantage of the Government as well as the people of this country." These views are quoted in some of the memorials which have been received; and the Lieutenant-Governor attaches great weight to them. His Honour would therefore strongly urge not only that the hope be held out that the new province shall have a local Council, but also that the provision of the local Council be made an essential part of the scheme of the formation of the new province. The objection about the Board of Revenue is also one with which the Lieutenant-Governor thoroughly sympathises. It is not presumably alleged that a Chief Commissioner is, on the average, a less competent officer than a member of the Board of Revenue; and it must be borne in mind that while the two members who constitute the Board are spoken of as the Board of Revenue, it is really one member that in almost every case does the work of the Board. The Land Revenue and Cess work is done by one member, and the Excise, Income Tax and Miscellaneous Revenue work is done by another. It is not, therefore, in

The Board of Revenue.

the constitution of the Board that we find its superiority over a Chief Commissioner, as the ultimate authority with regard to land questions. There are, however, two points in respect of which the loss of the Board of Revenue would be a real loss. The first is that a Chief Commissioner may be an officer wholly trained in another province and under other conditions. The Land Revenue Member of the Board of Revenue, on the other hand is "an experienced member of the Indian Civil Service, expert in revenue matters, and bearing ripe local knowledge." Unless, therefore, provision is made for a revenue court or authority corresponding to the Board of Revenue in the new province, there will be a real grievance. The second point is this, that before the Board, parties may appear in person or by Counsel, whereas before the Chief Commissioner the ordinary rule is that they appear only in the papers. While Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, Sir Andrew Fraser endeavoured to make it a rule, in important cases, to hear the parties either in person or by Counsel; but he found that this involved a very great burden, and occupied so much of his time that it was very difficult indeed to grant what he then believed to be a very valuable privilege to persons appearing before him in revenue cases. Had he remained in the Central Provinces he has no doubt that he would have proposed to have a Financial Commissioner appointed to hear revenue appeals; and he believes that this is certainly feasible as well as desirable, now that the Berar districts are included under the administration of the Central Provinces. He thoroughly sympathises with the people in their belief that it is a matter of great importance to them to appear either in person or by Counsel before the highest Revenue Court of Appeal; therefore he would regard it as a retrograde measure to separate any districts of Bengal which have hitherto enjoyed this privilege and transfer them to a province where it does not exist. On these grounds the Lieutenant-Governor would strongly recommend that the new province should be given certainly

The new province should be ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor.

both a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue or Financial Commissioner. On these grounds it is very important to have the new province of such a size as to have a complete administration of its own. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that the new province should be of sufficient size and importance to have a Lieutenant-Governor and Council as well as a Financial Commissioner. The Government of India's original proposal is in this aspect of the case too small. That proposal is too small in the interests of the new province; for unless there is in the new province a fully equipped, self-recruited and self-contained Commission, it is impossible to expect to secure that improvement in administration which ought to be one at least of the objects of these proposals. As will

appear later, many of the objections to the scheme based on inefficiency of administration will disappear if the province is made large enough. It is also essential in the interests of the transferred districts that the area transferred should be sufficiently large. It has been urged, and with great reason, that it cannot be to the advantage of advanced districts in Bengal to be transferred to Assam so as to be absorbed by the latter province. If it were to be the result of the transfer of such districts as Dacca, Mymensingh or even Chittagong, that they would be entirely absorbed in the Assam province, the proposals could not be accepted as likely to advance the interests of these districts. On the other hand, if a sufficiently large area is transferred from Bengal to exercise its legitimate influence over the administration of Assam there can be no more reason for believing that the interests of these districts will suffer from association under one Local Government with the more backward districts of Assam than they suffer now from association under one Local Government with the more backward districts of, for example, Chutia Nagpur. This reasonable view found very early expression in the discussions which have arisen in connection with these proposals. The discussion was originated by the publication of Mr. Risley's letter of the 3rd December. That letter was published in the *Gazette of India* on Saturday, the 12th December last. On that date the Hon'ble Maulvi Seraj-ul-Islam, Khan Bahadur, who represents the Chittagong division in the Bengal Council, put a series of questions regarding what he called consistent representations in the papers to the effect that the transfer of the Chittagong division to Assam was about to take place; and he asked whether the Government could give any information on that subject, "regard being had to the strong feeling of opposition which the proposal has evoked from the people of the Chittagong division." The answer to this question referred the Hon'ble Member to Mr. Risley's letter which had been published that morning in the *Gazette of India*. He had not seen the letter, but on perusing it and finding that a larger area than the Chittagong division was to be transferred from Bengal, he wrote a note on the 15th December to the Lieutenant-Governor. In that note he pointed out that while the people were not in favour of the transfer from under the Government of Bengal, yet the modified proposal was by no means so contrary to their view of their own interests as the transfer of the Chittagong division alone would have been. He says: "I deem it my duty to submit for His Honour's consideration that the disadvantages and drawbacks apprehended by the people from the proposed transfer might be greatly minimised if Dacca and Mymensingh were also included in the new province, otherwise it would be difficult to obtain the object which Government has in view, *viz.*, to have a self-contained and independent service. The mere addition of the Chittagong division to Assam without Dacca and Mymensingh would not, I am afraid, be sufficient to secure an efficient administration. . . . I would therefore most respectfully urge on His Honour to recommend that in the event of the Chittagong division being transferred to Assam as proposed, Dacca and Mymensingh would be also included in that province. I would also take the opportunity of making another suggestion for the consideration of Government, *viz.*; that the reconstructed province be called by some name other than Assam; this will have the effect of removing any sentimental objection that the people of Eastern Bengal may have on the score of being called 'Assamese.'" In this note there is no doubt that the Hon'ble Member expressed his own views, and cannot be regarded as committing anybody else; but at the same time the Lieutenant-Governor found that a large number of persons hold precisely the same view. Indeed, until opposition to the scheme was organised by those who felt that they had certain personal interests conflicting with this scheme, this was by no means an uncommon view for the Lieutenant-Governor to hear. At a conference at Belvedere, for example, on 26th December last, at which sixteen leading zamindars and landowners (both Hindu and Muhammadan) from Dacca and Mymensingh districts were present, it was stated that "it was universally felt that, if the Government eventually transfer the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam, the districts of Faridpur and Backergunge should also be transferred at the same time. There are many zamindars of Dacca and Mymensingh who hold lands also in the other two districts; and it would for obvious reasons be exceedingly difficult for them to manage estates lying outside their own province.

The unity of Eastern Bengal.

The real fact is that Eastern Bengal would be injuriously affected by being broken up into two parts and being divided between two Governments. Eastern Bengal, as Mr. Gait's Census Report for Bengal shows (paragraphs 143 to 165), consists of the following districts:—Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Backergunge, Khulna, Noakhali, Tipperah and Chittagong; that is to say, it consists of the whole of the Chittagong division together with whole of the Dacca division and the district of Khulna. In regard to the district of Khulna there may be some doubt as to whether it must of necessity be associated with the other districts of the Dacca division. There is no doubt that it formed part of the old Dacca division or district as shown in Major Rennell's map, which was dedicated to Warren Hastings in 1780. But it has long been regarded as part of Central Bengal, and is now a district of the Presidency division, and has lost touch with the neighbouring districts of Eastern Bengal. There is, on the contrary, great community of interest among the districts of the Dacca division; all the chief zamindars have their property scattered over two or three of these districts. Sitanath Roy and his brothers, for example, are very large zamindars and bankers and very influential opponents of the present scheme. Sitanath Roy himself is the author of one of the ablest papers against this scheme. These gentlemen called on the Lieutenant-Governor to discuss this scheme. They informed him that they would feel very strongly the separation of Dacca and Mymensingh from the rest of Bengal, because they would find that their property was thus placed under two different Governments. They stated that they had large property in Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Backergunge and Tipperah; that they had also recently acquired property in Ranchi, and have considerable property in Calcutta. The bulk of their property, however, is in the first four districts mentioned and particularly in Dacca and Faridpur. The two principal arguments based on personal interest which they used against the transfer of the Dacca and Mymensingh districts to Assam were first that, in view of the amount of immoveable property they have in Faridpur and Backergunge, the separation of Dacca and Mymensingh from the rest of the Dacca division would be a serious inconvenience and disadvantage to them, and secondly, that they have a large commercial connection between Dacca and Calcutta, in which city they have their principal place of business. Their statement as regards their immoveable property is quite in accord with that of a large number of zamindars whom the Lieutenant-Governor has seen in connection with this matter. The zamindars of Dacca and Mymensingh have large interests in Faridpur and Backergunge, and on this account, if on no other, it would be a great pity to separate the first two districts from the rest of the division. The close agricultural connection between the two northern districts of the division and the two southern districts renders it inexpedient to divide the former from the latter. It need not be stated that administratively there is a serious objection to breaking up the division, and that the interest of the Government is in this respect on all fours with the interest of the people. There is another very important consideration which leads the Lieutenant-Governor to support the view that Faridpur and Backergunge ought to go into the new provinces along with Mymensingh and Dacca: that is, that the boundary proposed in Mr. Risley's letter is not a suitable boundary. If the whole of the Dacca division were added to the new province, the boundary of the province below Goalundo would for the most part be a small but well-defined river in the course of which there are rarely any changes. That is a far more suitable boundary than the Padda and the Megna, the channels of which are constantly changing and giving rise to disputes as to jurisdiction. Such disputes give trouble between districts in the same province, and are likely to lead to more serious complications between districts belonging to different provinces. It is also extremely desirable that the new province should have full control of the Padda and the Megna rivers with a view of their improvement as navigation channels. The principal outlet for the commerce of Dacca and the other important ports of Eastern Bengal rests in the waterway which these rivers afford. The idea which, for the above reasons, at first commended itself to the Lieutenant-Governor was to have a new province consisting of the Dacca division, the Chittagong division and the present province of Assam; and, in

calling for opinions on the proposals contained in the Home Department letter of 3rd December, His Honour asked that this enlarged proposal might also be considered. Eastern Bengal, as formerly constituted consisted of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur Backergunge, Sylhet, Cachar, Noakhali, Tippera, and Chittagong. Khulna is not included in this list, for reasons which have been already stated. Of these nine districts which undoubtedly constitute Eastern Bengal, two, *viz.*, Sylhet and Cachar, have already been incorporated in Assam. What the Lieutenant-Governor proposed was to transfer also the remaining seven (or rather eight, when the Chittagong Hill Tracts are included) and incorporate all of them with Assam in the new province. Further enquiries and consideration now lead him to propose that, in addition to these nine districts, the districts of Rangpur, Bogra and Pabna should also be transferred. He would propose this partly for the sake of making the relief of Bengal more adequate, but also because these three districts, though technically belonging to North Bengal, have more in common with Eastern Bengal, and could be best administered from Dacca. In their most important characteristics they are homogeneous with the districts of the Dacca division. They resemble them in the character of their population which is so largely Muhammadan, and in the character of the country and of the rivers with their great *chur* formations. The character of the country has itself profoundly affected the character of the people, and has given rise to a very special class of problems. Besides these considerations, there is the matter of boundary: at present the boundary between Pabna on the one side and Dacca and Mymensingh on the other is giving rise to trouble, and it will always continue to do so. Landowners in the Dacca division have also lands in these districts. In a word, these three districts, practically if not technically, belong to Eastern Bengal. On all these grounds it is desirable that they should be under one and the same Local Government with the rest of Eastern Bengal. What His Honour recommends then is to constitute a new province, comprising the Chittagong and Dacca divisions and the districts of Pabna, Bogra and Rangpur, now belonging to Bengal, and also the present province of Assam. This would be a large and important province, which might well be called the "North-Eastern Provinces." Of that province the Lieutenant-Governor would strongly recommend that Dacca should be made the capital. This he recommends both on account of the historical importance of Dacca, and also on account of its present position and importance. There is no doubt that something may be said in favour of making Chittagong the capital, inasmuch as it has a port so close to the sea; but, on the other hand, Dacca has a very important trade, a very capable and intelligent population, and historical associations with government which are superior to anything that can be advanced on behalf of any other part of the new province. It is the centre of a large and prosperous population where the most important of the citizens of the new province will undoubtedly reside. On this account the Lieutenant-Governor would propose that it should be at once decided and declared that the capital of the new province shall either be at Dacca itself or (should a suitable site not be found at Dacca) in its immediate vicinity. This would be entirely in accordance with the objects and principles of the proposals of the Government of India. One of the principal results of the adoption of this enlarged scheme is that the interests of the transferred districts should obtain greater attention than they have received in the past; obtain, that is to say, the attention which they require and deserve. There have been widespread complaints both by the officers and people of these districts that hitherto the interests of Eastern Bengal have in many respects received less attention than those of other parts of the province of Bengal. The want of efficiency in its administration is not only attributed to imperfect supervision by the Government of Bengal, but also to the want of an adequate staff to carry it on locally. With some show of reason, it is alleged that the staff of an Eastern Bengal district is much inferior to the staff of a Behar or even Orissa district. Other charges of neglect are made. It is pointed out that though Dacca is within two hundred miles of the capital of the province, yet the journey between the two cannot be accomplished ordinarily in less than twenty-four hours, though it might have been reduced to one of eight hours by the expenditure of a not unreasonable amount of capital. Chittagong has complained that it has been neglected by the Government of Bengal. This

Enlarged proposals made by the Lieutenant-Governor.

is alleged to be at least equally true of the Dacca division; and the neglect in regard to both has led to this important result that little attempt has been made to improve the communications between that port and the commercial centres of the Dacca division. No attempt has been made to use the Megna river, which is the main line of communication, as a navigable channel for large ships. Commerce has held its own despite of neglect; but the neglect has been the subject of bitter complaint. In regard to agriculture the same complaint is made. Though it has for years been recognized that jute, one of the chief crops of the division, has deteriorated, no serious attempt has been made to ascertain the cause of the deterioration and to discover a remedy. There have been experiments made; but until last year these have been in Burdwan, and not in Eastern Bengal. Education has made very considerable progress in Dacca, and within the last two or three months a very great impulse has been given to it on account of the interest that the people themselves take in the subject. But apart from the pushing forward of certain colleges and institutions for higher education, there has been a failure to give that attention to education which the interests of the agricultural community demand. Were these seven districts round Dacca a part of a new province of which Dacca was the capital, their interests could not be neglected as they have been under Bengal. It may be said that all this may be altered under the Government of Bengal, if that Government would but give enough of attention to Dacca. It may also be reasonably said that there has been great financial pressure until quite recently, and that this partly explains apparent neglect. But the fact remains that more attention has been given to Central Bengal, including Calcutta, to Behar, and more recently to Orissa and Chutia Nagpur, than has been given to Eastern Bengal. Let Dacca be made the capital of the new province, and this neglect, which forms a strong ground of complaint on the part of both officers and people, will undoubtedly disappear. It cannot but be that if Dacca were restored to its original position as the capital of Eastern Bengal by being made the capital of the new province its interests would be greatly benefited. This which is true of the Dacca district is equally true of the whole division, and in almost equal degree of the three neighbouring districts of the Rajshahi division. Faridpur and Backergunge as well as Mymensingh ought to go with Dacca to the new province. They have both suffered equally with Dacca and Mymensingh from neglect in the past. They were both carved out of the old district of Dacca. The revenue system of the people, as well as that of the Government, is similar to that of the parent district. Their interests are interlaced; the zamindars of one are the zamindars of the other; and the local opposition that would be called forth by the transfer of the Dacca and Mymensingh districts to Assam would be much more real than the opposition to the transfer of the whole division. Similarity of circumstances and community of interests bind also to this division the other three districts abovenamed, at present belonging to the Rajshahi division. The people of this homogeneous tract will perhaps to some extent feel the objection which all people—and specially oriental people—feel to any change; but if the whole tract goes together, and Dacca, which is the centre of it, is made the cold weather capital and so receives the consideration to which its ancient history and modern progress entitle it, the opposition will be very much appeased; and there is little doubt that a few years will show that the change has been entirely to the advantage of all these districts. The explanations contained in Mr. Risley's letter of the 23rd of December, and in the Viceroy's speeches during His Excellency's tour in Eastern Bengal, show that the real design of the Government of India was to create a new province in which Eastern Bengal would have an influential and prominent part. This has greatly altered the attitude of the public towards these proposals, especially the attitude of the residents in the districts concerned. There are now a large number of persons who strongly support the expanded scheme of the Government of India; and there are many more whose support of it would undoubtedly be openly given, if it were not that they are pledged to carry out the opposition which has been organized against that scheme. The Lieutenant-Governor has most convincing proof that strong pressure is still brought to bear on those who are lukewarm in the matter, or who even favour the scheme, to take up an

Reception of these enlarged proposals.

attitude of opposition. It is notorious that those who have spoken out in favour of the scheme have been so treated that many who share their views have kept silence. The Lieutenant-Governor has no desire to minimise the opposition originally raised against the scheme when it was unfortunately understood to aim at merging some of the advanced districts of Bengal in an altogether backward province. Of course, the objection to even this view of the scheme touched only the educated section of the community. The common people really took no interest in the matter until strenuous efforts were made to rouse them to opposition. Their opposition to the scheme was evoked and organised mainly by certain influential persons, chiefly resident in or closely connected with Calcutta, who felt that their personal interests were at stake. But at the same time it was an opposition which demanded careful and considerate attention because it was based upon real injury which many believed that they were likely to suffer from such absorption in Assam. Much consideration has been given to their views, not only by the Lieutenant-Governor, but also by the Government of India; and there is no doubt that matters stand on a very different footing now, since it has been proposed to transfer the whole of Eastern Bengal to the new province, and to constitute that province in such a way that there will be a Lieutenant-Governor, that there will remain both a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue, that the High Court's jurisdiction will be maintained, and that none of the privileges will be lost which belong to these districts as at present governed. It may be a subject of surprise that opposition has not, under these circumstances, entirely ceased; but the reasons for this are not far to seek. It could hardly be expected that even the change which has been made in the proposals of the Government could win over entirely those who were opposed to the original proposal. It must be borne in mind that one very strong force not only in Bengal but generally in India is the influence of the legal profession, and the legal profession in Calcutta has thrown itself strongly into this opposition. This is the invariable experience wherever there is any proposal to subdivide; even when it is proposed to divide one district into two, or one subdivision into two, the Bar at the head-quarters will generally be found in opposition to such a course. The reason is manifest, that they have personal interest which are touched thereby; and consciously or unconsciously they are generally led by the feeling of personal injury to oppose such a proposal. It is precisely so in regard to the present movement. There are members of the Bar, members of banking firms and others, who, with their head-quarters in Calcutta, have also their connection with the districts to be transferred. These are they who are strongest in their opposition, and they have spared neither money nor time in organizing this opposition. There is no blame that can attach to them for organizing the opposition as they have done; but when the true value and weight of the opposition has to be gauged, and when it has to be decided how far that opposition represents the interests of those who are resident in the locality concerned, it is necessary to remember that it owes a great deal both of its origin and strength to those who are non-resident, and whose interests are in Calcutta. Before proceeding to discuss the objections which have been brought against the scheme now under discussion, I am to invite attention to the opinions of Sir Henry Cotton and the High Court regarding the proposal made in 1896 to transfer the Chittagong division to Assam. It is important to consider them, as copies of them were obtained by the leaders of the opposition to the present proposals; and they have much quoted in the discussion which these proposals have evoked. The minute recorded by Mr. (now Sir) Henry Cotton on 26th January 1897 seems to deserve attention not only because it contains the expression of the views of an officer who possessed great experience of Bengal, but also because it indicates some of the principles which ought to govern the attempts to constitute a new province. It is true that Sir Henry Cotton had only just been appointed to Assam when he penned this Minute. This undoubtedly weakens the force of his statement so far as they concern Assam. This may be illustrated by the manner in which he treats the contention of his predecessor, Sir William Ward, that "the proposal to transfer the Chittagong division is especially desirable, as with the enlargement of the province of Assam, it will be possible to take a substantial step towards the creation of separate services for the province in the different branches of the general administration in substitution

Sir Henry Cotton's Minute of 1897.

for the present very unsatisfactory system of borrowing officers temporarily from Bengal." On this point Sir Henry Cotton is at variance with his predecessor on two grounds, *viz.*, (1) that it is not "desirable to establish a self-contained service for Assam," and (2) that "even with the Chittagong division thrown in, Assam would be too small a province to support a self-contained service." If Sir Henry Cotton had had experience of the conditions of service in Assam, it is impossible to believe that he could have enunciated the former of these two propositions. It seems a self-evident statement that it must be most prejudicial to administration to have officers lent by a neighbouring province for periods which are practically terminable at their will. They are men selected from among the officers of another province by the head of that province who would not of course, send away his best. It is distinctly contemplated that they may return to their old province when they think that their own interests are served by so doing. They have no permanent connection with, no real interests or ambitions in, the province to which they have been sent. Their early training has not been gained in it; and it is not the province to which they belong. It is unnecessary to say that in this respect Sir Henry Cotton differs not only from his predecessor in office but also from all those who have had (as he had not by that time had) experience of the system in question. Sir Henry Cotton's second proposition, however, is correct; and that is a point which the Lieutenant-Governor would emphasise. Even with the addition of the Chittagong division, Assam would not be large enough to have a self-contained service. This is true. Unless more districts than those of that division are added to the districts of Assam to constitute the new province, the scheme will fail in what must be regarded as one of its important purposes, *viz.*, to give the new province a self-contained and therefore efficient service. What is necessary for efficiency is that officers should be recruited directly for Assam, just as they are, for example, now recruited for the Central Provinces. It was not always so in the Central Provinces. There was a time when there were a large number of Military officers there whose presence prevented the recruitment of Civilians. A few of the latter were got from other provinces; and (with the exception of a few specially selected and sent to hold high office) they were as a body much inferior to any equal number of officers who might have been selected by haphazard. It was not until officers were sent direct to the province to begin and finish their career there that really good men were obtained for the service generally. Sir Henry Cotton goes on to make further criticisms on the proposals of 1897, which the Lieutenant-Governor much more readily accepts. He speaks of the constitutional privileges enjoyed by the people in Bengal, and unknown to the people in Assam. Among these he instances the Board of Revenue where experienced officers dispose of revenue questions after hearing parties or Counsel He also instances the privilege of representation in the Local Council of Bengal and insists that the deprivation of that privilege would be a "very serious and just cause for complaint." Enough has been already said to show how thoroughly the Lieutenant-Governor concurs in Sir Henry Cotton's views in respect of these two important privileges. Sir Henry then proceeds to consider the judicial aspect of the question. In this connection he first objects to Sir William Ward's proposal for "the appointment of a separate judicial Commissioner of Assam, and the consequent exclusion of the Civil and Criminal jurisdiction of the High Court." In regard to this point also the Lieutenant-Governor cordially agrees with Sir Henry Cotton. To those who are accustomed to having a Judicial Commissioner as the highest Court of appeal, this Judicial authority may not, and does not, appear to be wholly unsatisfactory. But to those who have been accustomed to look to the High Court, the cheaper and undoubtedly inferior agency of a Judicial Commissioner cannot be acceptable. The Lieutenant-Governor, therefore, regards it as an essential part of the present scheme that the authority of the High Court should be maintained. Passing from this subject with an allusion to the opinion which had been expressed by the High Court, Sir Henry Cotton goes on to speak of the separation of the Chittagong division from the rest of Bengal in terms which lose at least much of their force when applied to the present scheme. According to this scheme the area to be transferred is not that division alone but all the districts of Eastern Bengal, except the two (Sylhet and Cachar) which have already been incorporated with Assam; and the captial is not to be

"Shillong, an inaccessible spot," but one of the great towns of Eastern Bengal. I am now to invite attention to the opinion expressed about the same time (June 30th, 1896) by the High Court. The Hon'ble Judges confine themselves to the "judicial aspect" of the scheme. It is unnecessary to discuss that part of their Note in which they deal with the first branch of the question, *viz.*, the "law to be administered;" for their doubt and uncertainty as to that are due to the fact that the scheme then under consideration gave no hope of a Legislative Council. As already stated, the Lieutenant-Governor is quite prepared to accept the statement that the transfer of the Chittagong division "to the Government of Assam as at present constituted would not fail to be a retrograde and mischievous step in regard to the Legislative needs of the districts transferred." All this ceases to apply to the present scheme. What the Judges have to say, however, about the second branch of the question, *viz.*, "the judicial agency," is somewhat important as indicating matters which demand special attention in any such scheme as this. The Judges begin by saying that it may be presumed that "as in Sylhet, the existing Judicial Agency will be maintained in the three districts in question." "In Sylhet, these officers are, as it were borrowed from the province of Bengal; and after a certain period of service under the Government of Assam, they revert to Bengal. If this system is to apply to the districts proposed to be transferred, the Judges fear that they would suffer from the transfer, as the province of Bengal will not willingly lend the best and most experienced officers; and the Civil Judicial Agency would thus tend to deteriorate." The Judges go on to illustrate this. Here there is, as regards the administration of civil justice, a clear statement of the evils which have affected every branch of administration in Assam from the manner in which its officers are recruited. These evils are not only not inherent in the scheme, now under consideration; but that scheme in its modified and enlarged form is devised to put a stop to them throughout Assam. The system has been prejudicial to Assam. The Lieutenant-Governor has no hesitation in adding that it has been, in less degree, but yet very seriously, prejudicial to work in Bengal. The officers who come back to Bengal, as they usually do, after years of service in Assam, are necessarily found, for some time to be more or less ignorant of Bengal conditions and methods, and not as valuable or useful officers as they otherwise might have been. What are the facts at present? There are at this moment in Bengal eleven Civilians of twenty years' standing and upwards who have spent five years and upwards of their service in Assam. And, apart from the Chief Commissioner, there are only four Civilians in Assam of service exceeding nineteen years. This is surely not good for either province. The Hon'ble Judges next go on to point out the disadvantage of having Military men as Magistrates of Districts and Commissioners, and the difficulty of having a separate judicial service in Assam where so few higher appointments are available. Their remarks on this point are undoubtedly of weight. But in regard to the first point the state of things now is very different from what it was then. A glance at the Civil List of Assam will show that (exclusive of the Provincial Executive and Judicial Services of 49 officers, of whom, of course none are military) there are now 42 officers in the Commission. Of these, 31 are Civilians, 1 is a Barrister, and only 10 are military men. Of these ten, one is the Political Agent in Manipur; and of the other nine, three are on leave, two are employed in the Khasi and Naga Hills, two are Deputy Commissioners in Dibrugarh and Nowgong, and two are Assistants in Dibrugarh and Silchar. They are thus apparently confined to the kind of tracts for which the Honourable Judges think them most suitable, and are not sent to the "more settled districts." Besides this, they are still being steadily reduced in number. Of the nine above referred to, seven were appointed between 1886 and 1892, and only two have been appointed since. The Lieutenant-Governor understands that they are not to be recruited at all in future. As to the second point, it has only again to be remarked that one of the advantages which the Lieutenant-Governor claims for the present scheme is that it provides an adequate career for the officers to be employed in the new province, and obviates the difficulty which is undoubtedly felt in providing a separate judicial service for a small province. The Lieutenant-Governor has thought it worth while, carefully and at

The High Court's opinion.

some length, to consider these opinions of Sir Henry Cotton and the Calcutta High Court, because they are entitled to respect, and also because they throw light on several important points connected with the present scheme. They contain weighty arguments against the smaller scheme then under consideration. But these very arguments are not only of no weight against the present scheme but some of them at least, as has been clearly enough shown, also strongly indicate the expediency of the enlarged scheme which the Lieutenant-Governor now submits. This scheme was mentioned in at least one of the memorials presented to the Viceroy, when His Excellency visited Eastern Bengal in February last. His Excellency referred to it as "deserving of attentive consideration," and indicated the grounds on which it might be regarded as more acceptable, in his speeches delivered at Dacca and Mymensingh. I am now to turn to consider briefly the arguments against the proposed incorporation of certain districts of Eastern Bengal in a new province which are contained in the memorials which have been presented by various Associations. Some of these arguments have been already fully discussed and require little or no further treatment. Nothing more need be said of the objections regarding the jurisdiction of the High Court. It is not any part of the Government proposal to interfere with that jurisdiction. Neither need anything more be said regarding the anticipated loss of the Board of Revenue or of the Legislative Council. These objections have already been fully considered; and they cease to have any effect in view of the larger scheme which has been set forth above. Similar to this is the argument that "the newly organised province will not have a judicial and executive staff of its own; and hence the people of the new province will not have the services of good officers; as then the new Government shall have to borrow the services of such officers from the Bengal Government," and as another memorial adds, "the new province will still have to borrow its judicial officers from Bengal; and Bengal is not likely to part with its best officers to lend them to a different province." This has already been considered. The enlarged scheme entirely provides for this difficulty, and the argument indeed indicates the necessity for some such scheme at all events in the interests of the present province of Assam or at least of its most advanced districts. Again the oft-repeated remark that the district in which the memorialists reside is "nearer Calcutta than Shillong" proceeds entirely on a misconception of the scheme; for Shillong will not be the capital of the new province but only the summer residency of some of its officers. It is greatly to be regretted that all these arguments have been repeated again and again in the memorials, and also in the speeches at the public meeting held in Calcutta on the 18th March last; despite the fact that they have been authoritatively answered in the speeches of His Excellency the Viceroy delivered during his visit to Eastern Bengal in the end of February. It is very striking also that hardly any reference has been made in the speeches delivered at the Town Hall or in the latter memorials to the larger proposal to add the whole of the Dacca division, as well as Chittagong, to the new province. It was referred to by one speaker as "the once repudiated but now apparently accepted scheme," and as a "scheme which had never been officially put forward" although the Viceroy had spoken of it as "deserving of attentive consideration," and has shown that the expansion of the scheme, so as to allow for the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship instead of a Chief Commissionership, would remove the principal objections to the scheme. The fact is, that it has been recognised (as one of the speakers admitted) that "this alternative scheme would no doubt remove some of the objectionable features of the original scheme"; and it has not suited the purpose of those, who have been mainly responsible for the agitation, to admit this fully and turn to the consideration of that other scheme. There are other arguments contained in the memorials, and also in the speeches which have been delivered at the public meetings held to protest against the scheme, which are not so manifestly disposed of by the enlargement of the scheme and which have not been already so fully discussed in the present letter. These now call for consideration. The first of these is that the transfer to Assam "will greatly affect the prestige of the inhabitants of these districts b separating them from the influences and associations which they ha

Arguments contained in the memorials against the scheme.

Assam a backward province.

so long enjoyed under the Bengal province, and in joining them to a province under a Chief Commissioner instead of a Lieutenant-Governor, which is admittedly backward in its administration, in its educational development and in its want of civilisation." The point is that Bengal is a "forward province" and Assam a "backward province"; that the former is under a Lieutenant-Governor and the latter under a Chief Commissioner; that the former has made more progress educationally and in civilisation than the latter; and that consequently there is "loss of prestige" in being joined to Assam. There is no doubt whatever that this view is held by a large number of persons concerned. It is undoubtedly also true that it is pressed by a number of persons who are interested in opposing the scheme, but do not attach any weight to the argument. As the scheme was first presented, it undoubtedly conveyed the idea that a portion of Bengal was to be swallowed up in Assam. It is extraordinary what an impression this has created, and how difficult it is to get rid of that first impression. Among some of those with whom the Lieutenant-Governor first discussed the matter, there was no doubt a feeling that Assam was more or less a land of *Rakshas*, hobgoblins and various terrors; and the strange similes used in describing the transfer to Assam would be really incredible to one who had not heard them. These views form the basis of the first agitation; and those who are interested in working that agitation did their best by exaggerated expression of these views to affect the popular mind. It did not seem to occur to those who argue in this way, that to be under the same Local Government with the backward district of Assam no more necessitated the adoption of the same backward position, than to be under (as they are now) the same Local Government as the Sonthal Parganas, or the wilder parts of Chutia Nagpur; nor has it been easy to overcome this first prejudice, and to make them understand that in the new province the Eastern Bengal districts will have preponderating influence. Closely connected with this view is what may be called the argument from linguistic unity. The ground of administrative expediency on which it has been declared altogether inexpedient to have a very small part of a province with a language of its own, has been misinterpreted into an assertion of the necessity for having all who speak the same language under the same Government. This latter proposition had not been, and cannot be, accepted in India. As to the matter of administrative difficulty, there can, of course, be none in a large area like Eastern Bengal retaining fully its own language while forming part of a province, the other parts of which may speak other languages. Nor is there any reason why the people of Eastern Bengal should be held to be divided from the language and literature of Western Bengal, because they are under another administration. Another phase of the same argument is the strong assertion frequently made of the inexpediency of dividing the Bengali race. It is clear that this is rather an argument against prevention of unification than against division. The unity of the "Bengali race" may be a thing which some desire; but it is clearly not a thing which already exists. For it is said that "the leaders of society in all parts of Bengal are exerting their influence to promote intermarriage between the *Kayasthas* who prevail in West Bengal and those of North Bengal; and it was expected that at no distant time a fusion of the different branches would take place. But if the proposed change is to be carried into effect, there will be a rupture of social ties, and all efforts in the direction of social reform and union will come to an end". This is part of an argument which states that social relations are practically impossible between persons occupying different provinces. Strange to say, this argument is supported by a reference to the restricted intercourse between Brahmins and *Kayasthas* occupying different parts of the same province. Thus it is said, "though marriages among different sections of the same caste are allowed, such marriages should on no account be outside the respective limits of the different provinces; for instance, though there are higher classes of Brahmins, Vaidyas, Kayasthas, and Nabashakhs in different provinces such as Bengal proper, Orissa, and Bihar, marriages are absolutely unknown among people of the same caste inhabiting the different provinces. A marriage between an Orissa and Bihar Brahmin or Kayastha boy and a Bengal Brahman or Kayastha girl can never take place. Though these Brahmins and Kayasthas now residing in

The argument based on unity of language and of race.

different provinces trace their descent to the same ancestors respectively, on account of their residing in different provinces, social relations between people of the same caste are now out of the question; even a Bengali or Orissa Brahmin would not take food cooked by a Behari or United Provinces Brahmin. So the Committee (of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce) apprehend, and it is the most serious of many evils that would follow, that, in the case of the inhabitants of East Bengal being severed from their brethren in Bengal and annexed to Assam, the former would within measurable distance of time, be denationalised; they would not only be looked down upon as inferior, but ignored altogether." It is manifest that this is a statement altogether without foundation in fact. Mere administrative division does not produce social division, any more than administrative unity produces social union. Orissa and Bengal, though under the same province, are quite apart, and will remain so until the tendencies towards unification, arising from the progress of education and the ever-increasing facilities for communication, break down the barriers which separate them. Another argument which has been used and which has undoubtedly carried great weight with the educated classes, is the loss of educational advantages which it is alleged will result from separation from Bengal and incorporation in the proposed new province. The influence of the University of Calcutta is one of the educational losses which is mentioned; but unless and until the new province has so developed as to possess a University of its own, there will be no interference with the influence of the Calcutta University. The principal arguments in this connection are, however, three: first, that Assam has not anything like as efficient an educational department as Bengal; secondly, that Assam is too poor to support colleges of the same degree of efficiency as Bengal can afford; and thirdly, that there are certain high class institutions in Calcutta for the teaching of science, medicine, and engineering, to which admission is sometimes limited, and very probably foreign students would more readily be excluded than those belonging to the province. In regard to the first argument it is perhaps enough to say that the inferiority of the Assam educational department is due to a cause (namely, the smallness of the province) which the present scheme is designed to obviate. If the new province is large enough to have a proper administration of its own, there is no reason why its education department should be in any way inferior to that of Bengal. On the contrary, the Lieutenant-Governor is strongly of opinion that the Bengal Education Department is very inferior to what it ought to be, and that its inferiority is due in a large measure to the fact that it is (like the province to which it belongs) far too unwieldy to be easily efficient. As to the question of colleges, the efficiency and excellence of these institutions, depend on two things, namely, on the interest of the Local Government and on local effort. Local effort is assisting in establishing a College at Dacca which will probably be inferior to none in the Bengal province. Let local effort be continued within the new province, and there can be little doubt that education of all grades will greatly improve; for it may be regarded as certain that the Government of the new province will have more leisure to take an interest in the development of educational institutions. As to the third point, I am to say that as regards the Medical College the existing practice is to select candidates for admission strictly according to their standing in the University examinations. Scholarships are similarly awarded on the result of the annual test examination held in the College. Although undoubtedly the great bulk of the students naturally come from Bengal, there are students from all parts of India and even from Ceylon. As regards the Sibpur Engineering College, it may be noted that very probably the Dacca School of Engineering will be raised to an Engineering College. This is proposed even at present; how much more likely would this measure be pressed if Dacca were the capital of the new province. In that case, even if it were not considered desirable to carry instruction in the Dacca institution as far as it is now carried at Sibpur, students from Dacca would only require to come for a finishing course at Sibpur. Arrangements can perfectly easily be made for this, and should be made. Even now Assam and Burma students come to the Sibpur College, and no trouble has been experienced in the matter on either side. It is precisely the same in regard to science. The Local

Loss of educational advantages.

Government of the new province would either fully equip its own Scientific College, or would send its highest students to colleges in Bengal which are connected with the same University to which its own colleges were affiliated. Scholarships have only to be allotted on a reasonable system to prevent any hardship or injustice. The alleged fear of educational retrogression is a mere bugbear. This is also the case with the objection raised in regard to facilities for employment. The advantage of the people generally cannot reasonably be sacrificed for the sake of securing employment to certain classes or certain individuals; but it is reasonable to say that the Government of India ought to interfere to prevent the restrictions existing under certain Governments in regard to the employment of other than specified classes from operating unjustly. But this is a matter which is of much wider application than to the subject immediately under consideration. As to that narrower matter, it is hardly to be conceived that reasonable people believe that the transfer of certain districts from Bengal to a new province would lead the Government of Bengal to exclude any class inhabiting these districts from spheres of activity within Bengal which had been hitherto open to them. Another argument which is in some respects connected with the above, is that "the assets of the richer districts of Bengal will be utilised for the improvement of Assam." This is not a very valid argument in view of the fact that after all these richer districts of Bengal have long been in association with poorer and more backward districts, and that as a matter of fact there has been very serious ground for asserting that they have not even been treated with the same attention and consideration as these poorer and more backward districts. The object of the argument is to make it appear that the purpose of the Government of India in putting forward its proposals is to make Assam a self-supporting province at the expense of Dacca and Mymensingh. It is hardly necessary to deal further with this statement. Another argument which has been used very extensively is that Eastern and Western Bengal have taken their stand together on social and political questions, and that they are represented by the same press, and follow the same leaders, in Calcutta. No doubt there is some truth in this; and it is not wholly to the advantage of the people of Eastern Bengal. It must be remembered that among the people of the Dacca division and the three neighbouring districts which practically belong to Eastern Bengal mentioned above, there are 10,443,091 Muhammadans and only 4,814,129 Hindus. Almost all the Muhammadans and a very considerable minority even of the educated Hindus have little sympathy with the political life and work of Calcutta. By many the influence exercised by the press and the leaders of Calcutta is felt to be of a somewhat tyrannical character. The organisation of the opposition to the present scheme is an excellent illustration of the disadvantage that may result from the subordination of Bengal to Calcutta. It is not necessary to enter into details regarding the methods adopted by those who organised the agitation; for these were sufficiently exposed by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speech of the 20th February last at Dacca. It may, however, be added that the manner in which any man of influence who either publicly favoured, or even professed indifference to, the present scheme, has been attacked in the press and subjected to annoyance in society, is most deplorable. Several gentlemen of high position, while expressing to the Lieutenant-Governor in private their thorough acceptance of the scheme as likely to be most advantageous to the districts concerned, have asked him to excuse their desire not to make their views public. They have pointed out how effectively they can be injured in public esteem and subjected to annoyance among their own people by these "leaders of educated opinion," should they presume to differ from them. This difficulty exists more or less all over India; but the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that the tyranny of the professional wire-puller is far more manifest in Bengal than in any part of India with which he is acquainted. The Lieutenant-Governor does not desire to introduce political considerations into this discussion; but he mentions these patent facts as indicating the difficulties experienced by those who would otherwise have expressed their approval of the scheme. It is noteworthy in this connection that the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce mention incidentally (in their letter of 19th

Loss of facilities for employment.

Assam a poor province.

Unity in political and social questions.

ultimo that they "have been informed by some large holders of land in Faridpur and Backergunge—members of the Chamber—who also possess extensive interests in landed property in Dacca and Mymensingh, that they see no objection to the proposed transfer except possibly the loss of the control of the Bengal Board of Revenue. The Committee, however, presume that this possible objection will be met by suitable arrangements in the new province. Their letter was written after consideration of "the recent utterances of His Excellency the Viceroy" and of the letter of 23rd December 1903 from the Government of India (Home Department) to this Government. It is, therefore, to be noted that the large holders of land in the Dacca Division, who are members of the Chamber of Commerce, have intimated their acceptance of the expanded scheme which the Lieutenant-Governor asked them to consider. Among their wealthier classes there are found undoubtedly some who have a considerable objection to being separated from the capital of the province. There is much in Calcutta which is attractive for some whose homes are in the interior; and with their objection to all change, and especially to a change which seems to deprive them of the amenities of life in the capital, the Lieutenant-Governor has very considerable sympathy. At the same time it must be borne in mind that the advantages of Calcutta which these gentlemen fear to lose are for the most part merely the advantages that belong to a capital city. They are connected with some of the many institutions which are centered in Calcutta, because Calcutta is the capital of the province. Their connection with the capital leads them to feel that separation from it would mean loss to them. This is undoubtedly in a sense true; but the great balance of advantage rests in making the capital of the new province the centre of the local districts themselves. If Dacca is made the capital of the new province many of the advantages now associated with Calcutta will be found there. The old position of Dacca was one of great influence; and if that influence were restored by making it again the capital of Eastern Bengal, there is no doubt that much that some among the wealthier classes of Eastern Bengal fear that they may lose, would be found in their new capital, and, as regards those of the seven districts round Dacca would be far more than made up to them. The weight and influence which the magnates of Eastern Bengal would enjoy in the new province and in its capital would be much greater than they can enjoy in Calcutta. The connection which now binds to Calcutta some of the people of the districts which it is proposed to transfer will in future bind them to Dacca; and in Dacca itself will be gathered together many of those centres of attraction and of interest which now draw them towards Calcutta. Those special advantages which Calcutta has, as the capital of the empire, would also be still available to the inhabitants of Eastern Bengal, even though they should belong to a new province. It is very strange that the idea never seems to have suggested itself to the people of Eastern Bengal that Dacca might be the capital of the new province. They seem to have at once concluded that they were merely to be added to Assam, that the capital of the enlarged Assam would continue to be at Shillong, and that they would be as much absorbed in Assam and Sylhet as Cachar had been. The different position which they would hold if the whole of Eastern Bengal were added to Assam, so as to constitute a new province, does not seem to have occurred to them. When, however, it was suggested to them, it was at once admitted on all hands that the proposal was entirely altered in character; and although the modified proposal has not generally been formally accepted, yet the opposition to it has certainly altered in vehemence and greatly diminished in extent. But for the determination of those leaders who are interested in keeping up the close connection with Calcutta, and but for the fact that those who indicated any change of view were promptly denounced as traitors to the cause, there can be little doubt that the expanded proposal would have been accepted by a very influential section of those who originally opposed the scheme. Another objection to the scheme which has been strongly urged by certain memorialists, is that the commercial interests of the Eastern districts will suffer from their disconnection with Calcutta. As has been already indicated there are some influential money-lenders with their head-quarters at Calcutta, and with

Separation from Calcutta.

Commercial interests.

much of their money-lending business connection in the Dacca division. These men strongly oppose the scheme, and are among the principal organisers of the opposition. They have spent their money freely in organising the opposition; and they have utilised all their influence with their constituents for the same purpose. It is no doubt true that they will be inconvenienced by a change which brings a considerable number of their constituents within another province. But the Lieutenant-Governor feels himself quite unable to attach any importance to this consideration. The question of the effect of the proposals on commerce and trade stands, of course, on an altogether different footing. If it could be believed that the commerce and trade of the districts of the Dacca division would suffer from the adoption of the proposals which His Honour has submitted, he would regard this as an exceedingly strong objection. He does not however believe that this is the case. He believes that it is quite possible that the trade of Dacca, as well as that of Chittagong, may be benefited by the change. But he cannot conceive of the possibility of any damage being done to trade or commerce from the formation of the new province on the lines which he has indicated. The Bengal Chamber of Commerce have submitted their own opinion, and the opinions of subsidiary Associations, on this question. The Lieutenant-Governor fully concurs in the opinion of the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce that "no change in the seat of the administration will divert trade from its natural channel. Trade will always follow the cheaper route regardless of the jurisdiction under which it is carried on." The Calcutta Baled Jute Association express the opinion that "the suggested transfer of certain districts to Assam, and the change of Government thereby entailed, would have no appreciable effect on the jute export trade of this province, unless such transfer should expedite the bridging of the Megna and the connection of the Dacca-Mymensingh section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway with the Assam-Bengal Railway, thus providing through railway communication to Chittagong." That is to say, the only effect would be advantageous to the jute trade. The Indian Jute Mills Association "are not disposed to take exception to the proposals so far as the jute industry is concerned;" for "the jute export trade like every other export trade must and always will follow the cheapest route to the sea-board." The Indian Mining Association consider that "so far as they are able to judge the effect on the coal mining industry will be practically nil. The Indian Tea Association state that "from the standpoint of the tea industry no objection can be taken to the proposed changes." Thus there is an absolute consensus of expert opinion that in respect of commerce and trade, no disadvantages will result from the proposed changes but only possible advantages. Finally, there is the natural objection which should not be forgotten, namely, the sentimental objection to a change of province. By speaking of it as sentimental, it is not intended to treat it as in any way trifling. Sentimental objections are of great weight; and it is in view of the great weight that ought to attach to a sentimental objection, as well as in view of other important considerations which have been set forth already, that the Lieutenant-Governor would strongly urge that the whole of Eastern Bengal as now understood (namely, the Dacca and Chittagong divisions and Sylhet and Cachar, and also the districts of Pabna, Bogra, and Rangpur) should be brought together under one province; and he believed that if this be done, the sentimental objection will, within what must be regarded as a very short time in the history of a people, be overcome; and the people will rejoice not only in the benefits, but also in the dignity of belonging to the new province. The Lieutenant-Governor does not consider that it is necessary to discuss this question further. He has endeavoured to give as clearly as possible a statement of the reasons which induce him to deprecate the proposal to transfer any of the British districts of Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces, to accept the proposals regarding Orissa, and strongly to support, in an expanded form, the proposals of the Government of India regarding Eastern Bengal. He has fully considered the arguments which have been used against the proposals which he would recommend for adoption; and he now submits them in the full conviction that if they are accepted they will result in great advantage to the districts concerned. The effect of the proposals of the Lieutenant-Governor

Natural objection to change.

Constitution of the new Province.

on the area and constitution of the new province and of Bengal may be shown in the following brief statement:—

	Area in square miles.	Population.
New Province—		
Assam	56,243	6,126,343
Dacca Division	15,040	10,793,988
Chittagong Division	15,859	4,911,056
Districts of Pabna, Bogra, and Rampur ...	6,691	4,429,175
Total ...	93,833	26,260,562
Bengal—		
Bengal (at present) including Feudatory States	189,837	78,493,410
Add—		
From Central Provinces	13,722	1,608,391
„ Madras	20,994	2,861,244
Total ...	224,553	82,963,045
Deduct—		
(*a*) Eastern Bengal	37,590	20,134,219
(*b*) Hindi-speaking Feudatory States of Chutia Nagpur	11,604	583,177
Balance ...	175,359	62,245,649

In regard to these proposals it is only necessary to say that the Lieutenant-Governor cannot advocate, as from his own experience, the additions from Madras, and would only accept them because his experience regarding Sambalpur leads him to believe that they would be in the best interests of the administration of the tracts in question, and because he believes that these additions would not make Orissa too heavy a charge for one Commissioner, nor affect appreciably the work of the Local Government in connection with that division. As to the new province on the North-East of Bengal, the Lieutenant Governor believes that it would be far more easy to administer it efficiently than it can be to administer the present province of Assam. He believes that it should be ruled by a Lieutenant-Governor, and that it will be of sufficient size and importance to justify this. And he is persuaded that the transfer to the new province of the eleven districts of Eastern Bengal will be of great and lasting benefit to the people of these districts. Bengal, reduced in accordance with His Honour's proposals, will be considerably less than under the scheme summarised in paragraph 28 of the Home Department letter of 3rd December last. And the Lieutenant-Governor is of opinion that far more real relief will be afforded to the Government of Bengal by the transfer of the whole of the Dacca division and the other three districts which practically belong to Eastern Bengal, along with Chittagong, than by the transfer of a part of the former division and a part of the Chutia Nagpur Division. He regards the proposal to transfer any part of the British districts of the latter division to the Central Provinces as impracticable; but, apart from this, he believes that the relief given by such a measure would be much less than the burden which would still remain on Bengal if part of Eastern Bengal, with its special problems and difficulties, were left connected with this province. Finally, the Lieutenant-Governor believes that, with the greatly increased facilities for communication, and with the valuable assistance rendered by the High Court in judicial administration and by the Board of Revenue in matters connected with revenue generally and especially the Land Revenue, the charge of Bengal, when reduced from nine to six or seven divisions, will not be too heavy a charge for a Lieutenant-Governor. The portions of Bengal to be transferred are one division which is the most remote of all, and another division with three adjoining districts which has special problems of its own and is in many respects the heaviest of all. His Honour, therefore, cordially accepts the indication given by the Government of India of their readiness to relieve him, and earnestly hopes that the ultimate relief will be not less than what he has proposed.

Annexure 1.

From W. Parsons, Esq., Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 491—1904, dated Calcutta, the 19th March 1904.

I am directed by the Committee of the Bengal Chamber of Commerce to acknowledge receipt of your letters no. 118-J. of 6th January 1904, no. 211-J. of 9th January 1904, and no. 521-J. of 19th January 1904. The first of these letters covers copies of letters no. 3678 of 3rd December 1903, and no. 3808 of 23rd idem, from the Secretary to the Government of India, in the Home Department, on the subject of the proposed transfer of certain districts of this Province to Assam and the Central Provinces, and requests an expression of opinion on the part of the Chamber on the proposals made in the letters, especially with reference to the effect that they may be expected to have on commercial interests. Your letters no. 211-J., and no. 521-J., request the Committee of the Chamber to ask the Indian Tea Association, the Indian Jute Mills' Association, the Calcutta Baled Jute Association, and the Indian Mining Association to consider the question and furnish His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor with their opinions as to whether the proposals are likely to affect the industries they respectively represent, and, if, so in what manner.

2. The proposals of the Government of India are dealt with at considerable length and in very close detail, and the arguments for and against them are very clearly elaborated in Mr. Risley's letter of 3rd December 1903 to the Government of Bengal. Briefly summarised, they may be stated to include the transfer of the Chittagong Division, Hill Tippera, Dacca and Mymensingh, with possibly the districts of Faridpur and Backergunge to Assam, or whatever the proposed new Province may be called and the transfer of Chota Nagpur to the Central Provinces, while on the other hand Sambalpur and certain Feudatory States now under the jurisdiction of the Central Provinces Administration and the Ganjam district with the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency tracts, now under the jurisdiction of the Government of Madras, would be transferred to Bengal. Without following Mr. Risley too closely in his ethnological arguments for the consolidation of the Uriya-speaking populations under one Government, the Committee are inclined to agree with the Government of India as to the advisability of retaining Orissa under the Bengal Government, and also bringing under that Government Sambalpur and the Feudatory States from the Central Provinces and the Ganjam district with the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency tracts from Madras. The Committee do not anticipate that any such change would prejudicially affect mercantile interests, while it would probably remove the difficulties referred to in Mr. Risley's letter, which are said to have been for years a source of anxiety and trouble to the Central Provinces Administration and to the Government of Madras.

3. The most important of the proposals of the Government of India have still, however, to be considered, and these are more difficult to deal with from every point of view. The Committee of the Chamber only propose to consider this question in its bearing upon the interests of commerce. Other influential bodies, representing native opinion, have submitted their views, which the Committee notice are mostly in opposition to the proposals of Government, and no doubt due weight will be given to their representations. In the opinion of the Committee, no change in the seat of the Administration will divert trade from its natural channels. Trade will always follow the cheaper route, regardless of the jurisdiction under which it is carried on. A question of greater importance to the merchants of Calcutta than changes in the demarcation of administration boundaries is that in their competition with other ports their lines of communication from the interior should be of the highest efficiency. The course of trade and traffic is more or less regulated by merchants themselves, and established centres of commerce with the facilities they offer become difficult to disturb. In the event of the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh together with Chittagong to a new Province the Committee do not consider that such a transfer would of itself constitute Chittagong the port and natural commercial

outlet of the new Province. This could only be decided by the course of trade itself.

4. The Committee have noted carefully the recent utterances of His Excellency the Viceroy, which appear to point to the creation of a new Province under the rule of a Lieutenant-Governor assisted by a Legislative Council and have also before them the letter of 23rd December 1903, from the Government of India to the Government of Bengal, in which it is definitely stated that the jurisdiction of the High Court will remain unaltered under the statutes which confer upon the Governor-General in Council the power to alter the limits of Provinces and which expressly provide that no such alteration shall of itself affect the law in force in the territories concerned. Under these circumstances, while the Committee would oppose the transfer to the Central Provinces of the Chota Nagput Division, which appears likely ere long to become a very large Mining and Industrial centre more likely to develop satisfactorily under the Government of Bengal, they would not object to the transfer to a new Province of the Chittagong Division, Hill Tippera, Dacca and Mymensingh, together with Faridpur and Backergunge. The Committee understand that the people of Faridpur and Backergunge are much more akin in race, language and customs to the people of Dacca and Mymensingh than they are to the people of the districts of Nadia or the 24-Parganas or other districts in Western Bengal, and they do not attach much importance to the argument of the river forming the natural boundary between the two Provinces.

5. The Committee consider that the fears they have seen expressed that the districts which it is proposed to transfer to a new Province are likely to suffer by their association with Assam, are more or less exaggerated, and they are of opinion that Assam is much more likely to derive benefit from its association with Dacca and Mymensingh. The Committee have been informed by some large holders of land in Faridpur and Backergunge—members of the Chamber—who also possess extensive interests in landed property in Dacca and Mymensingh, that they see no objection to the proposed transfer except possibly the loss of the control of the Bengal Board of Revenue. Presumably, Revenue Officers of experience would be appointed in the Province, who will be equally competent to deal with Revenue matters. The Committee would, however, as previously indicated in the course of this letter, strongly object to the proposals generally unless it is made absolutely clear and unless definite guarantees are given, that the jurisdiction of the High Court over the transferred districts will not be interfered with in the slightest degree.

6. The Committee would also strongly protest against any proposal which would have the effect of handing over the port of Chittagong to the Assam-Bengal Railway with the view of securing artificial at the expense of natural development. They are unable to concede that Chittagong is the natural port of Assam. If it were, it would have been a much more important Port years ago than it is at present. The natural port of a territory drained by large navigable rivers is one where the river, the rail and the ocean traffic can be economically interchanged. The port of Calcutta for instance is accessible to the whole of the inland water-borne traffic of the Delta and the Ganges, Brahmaputra and Surma Valleys. At a moderate cost distances can be greatly reduced and a much greater area can be opened up by the improvement of the tributary rivers. The Committee would strongly deprecate any attempt to force trade in the direction of Chittagong by the expenditure of State revenues in creating and maintaining what would be distinctly unfair competition between the Assam-Bengal Railway and the existing means of communication both by rail and river between the jute and tea districts and Calcutta.

7. I have the honour to enclose, as requested by you, copies of letters from the Committee of the Calcutta Baled Jute Association, the Indian Jute Mills Association, and the Indian Mining Association, conveying the view of these Associations respectively, for the information of Government. The General Committee of the Indian Tea Association hope to be able to furnish their views shortly, and a copy of their letter will be forwarded to you as soon as received.

Annexure 2.

From the Assistant Secretary, Calcutta Baled Jute Association, to the Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, No. 483-T., dated Calcutta, the 27th January 1904.

I am directed by the Committee of the Calcutta Baled Jute Association to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 81—1904, dated 12th instant, forwarding copies of the papers noted in the margin with regard to the proposed transfer of certain districts of this province to Assam and the Central Provinces. You enquire whether the proposals contained therein are likely to affect the industry with which the Association is specially concerned.

Letter No. 3678, dated the 3rd December 1903, and No. 3808, dated 23rd idem, from the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal.

In reply, I am directed to say that the Committee have given the proposals their most attentive consideration, and have arrived at the conclusion that the suggested transfer of certain districts to Assam and the change of Government thereby entailed would have no appreciable effect on the jute export trade of this province, unless such transfer should expedite the bridging of the river Megna and the connection of the Dacca-Mymensingh section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway with the Assam-Bengal Railway, thus providing through railway communication with Chittagong. The provision of this bridge would doubtless be a very costly undertaking, but its construction would probably be pushed on or at any rate demanded more strongly by a new Provincial Government anxious to develop the trade of Chittagong, than by the Government of Bengal, with whom, it may be presumed, the rival interests of Calcutta weigh more appreciably.

Apart from any question of partition, the bridging of the river Megna must, the Committee think, eventually become an accomplished fact, and Calcutta, it is only natural to suppose, will lose the export trade in Naraingunge jute as also that from Assam itself. But, on the other hand, the jute crop area will no doubt expand, and there will in that case be sufficient jute for both ports. To sum up, the export jute trade of Calcutta will not, so far as the Committee are able to judge, be adversely affected by a transfer of certain of the jute growing districts to Assam, but only by the provision of unbroken railway communication between the Naraingunge-Mymensingh district and the port of Chittagong.

Annexure 3.

From the Assistant Secretary, Indian Jute Mills Association, to the Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, No. 13-D., dated Calcutta, the 29th January 1904.

I am directed by the Committee of the Indian Jute Mills Association to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 81 of the 12th January, with reference to the changes which the Government of India suggest should be made in the territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. You forward copies of the official papers connected with the subject, and invite the Committee to state their views upon it for the information of His Honour.

2. In reply, I am to say that the Committee have thoroughly examined and considered the proposals in so far as they relate to the industry with which this Association is concerned. And it is the opinion of the Committee that the interests of the industry will not be in any way materially affected should the changes be eventually made. It may be desirable to indicate, very briefly, the reasons which have led the Committee to this conclusion. In the first place it should be noted that the Calcutta Jute Mills consume in the manufacture of jute yarns, jute cloth, and jute bags quite 50 per cent. of the available jute crop. The prospects are that the manufacturing industry will continue to increase in the future as it has increased in the past. It will, consequently, require to secure a greater proportion of the total jute crop, leaving less jute for export in the raw state. That being the position it may be taken for granted that, as heretofore,

the bulk of the crop will be attracted to Calcutta, regardless of any re-arrangement, or re-distribution, of the provinces in which it is grown.

3. On the other hand, it is to be expected and hoped that the area under jute cultivation will expand as time goes on. In that event the quantity of raw jute for export will suffer less diminution. There are evidences that Chittagong will be able to offer cheaper facilities for export than can be afforded by Calcutta. Consequently, a considerable proportion of the trade may be diverted, to that port. But, that proportion will manifestly be so diverted, whether Chittagong and the growing area be subject to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, or to the Chief Commissioner of Assam. For the jute export trade, like every other export trade, must and always will follow the cheapest route to the sea-board.

4. In these circumstances the Committee are not disposed to take exception to the proposals so far as the jute industry is concerned. There is, however, one point—it is perhaps a point of detail—to which they would wish to direct the attention of His Honour. It has reference to the jute forecasts. At present the forecasts are issued by the Government of Bengal. But under the new arrangements a large section of the growing area would be transferred to the Administration of Assam. It may be presumed, therefore, that that Administration would also publish forecasts. Such an arrangement would be most strongly deprecated by the trade as being distinctly inconvenient. In order to overcome the difficulty the Committee think that the forecasts for the whole of the growing area might be under the control of one officer. At the present stage it is perhaps premature to suggest the Administration to which this officer should be subject; but in the opinion of the Committee he should be, if possible, attached to the Imperial Government.

5. I have stated that the Committee have confined their consideration of the proposals to the effect which the latter may be expected to have upon the jute industry. But, without departing from that principle, the Committee venture to remark that the division of Chittagong and the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh—with a population nearly double that of Assam as at present constituted—might be almost large enough and of sufficient importance to warrant their being grouped together into a separate province. The Committee fully recognize that this suggestion at once raises many of the difficulties—such as those affecting the position of the Covenanted Civil Service—which now seem to be experienced in Assam. But at the same time they think it might be worthy of consideration.

Annexure 4.

From the Assistant Secretary, Indian Mining Association, to the Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, No. 75-R., dated Calcutta, the 23rd February 1904.

I am directed by the Committee of the Indian Mining Association to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 81—1904, dated 12th January, with enclosures, in connection with the proposed transfer of certain districts of Bengal to Assam and the Central Provinces. You request an expression of opinion as to whether the proposals are likely to affect the coal mining industry.

In reply, I am to say that the Committee have given the question of the proposed transfers their attentive consideration, but, so far as they are able to judge, the effect on the coal mining industry will be practically *nil*. I am to add, however, that the proposals to change the name of a Province so well known as Assam does not, in other interests, seem advisable.

Annexure 5.

From W. Parsons, Esq., Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 550—1904, dated Calcutta, the 30th March 1904.

In continuation of my letter No. 491—1904 of 19th March 1904, I have the honour to forward, for the information of the Government of Bengal, copy of

letter No. 205-O. of 26th March 1904, from the Secretary, Indian Tea Association, conveying the views of that body on the subject of the proposed transfer of certain districts of this Province to Assam and the Central Provinces.

Annexure 6.

From H. M. Haywood, Esq., Assistant Secretary, Indian Tea Association, to the Secretary, Bengal Chamber of Commerce, No. 205-O., dated Calcutta, the 26th March 1904.

I am directed by the General Committee of the Indian Tea Association to acknowledge the receipt of your letter No. 81, dated the 12th January 1904, with reference to the proposed transfer of the jurisdiction over certain Bengal districts to Assam and the Central Provinces.

2. These proposals, briefly stated, provide : (1) for the transfer to the Chief Commissioner of Assam of the jurisdiction over the Chittagong Division (including Hill Tippera), and the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh, and (2) for the transfer of Chota Nagpur to the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces. On the other hand, they comprise the transfer to Bengal of the jurisdiction over (1) Sambalpur and certain Feudatory States from the Central Provinces, and (2) the Ganjam districts and the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agency tracts from the Madras Government. As regards population, the net loss to Bengal would be about eleven millions, and the net gain to Assam about eleven and-a-half millions.

3. For the information of the Government of Bengal you ask whether, in the opinion of this Association, these changes would be likely to affect the tea industry. The Committee have submitted your letter and the papers accompanying it to the members of the Association and to the Assam and Surma Valley branches. Judging from the replies received the balance of opinion is that viewing the question from the standpoint of the industry, no objection can be taken to the proposed changes. This opinion is, I am to say, also shared by the Committee who have themselves attentively examined and considered the whole scheme.

Annexure 7.

From Babu Sita Nath Roy, Honorary Secretary, Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Calcutta, the 3rd February 1904.

Adverting to the letter addressed by the Government of India to the Government of Bengal, formulating a proposal for curtailing the territorial jurisdiction of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, by transferring portions of it to adjacent provinces, I, on behalf of the Committee of the Bengal National Chamber of Commerce, beg to offer their respectful protest against that portion of the scheme which advocates the severance from Bengal of two of the most flourishing, cultured and progressive districts, namely, Dacca and Mymensingh, and of the Chittagong Division as a whole, and their enforced annexation to a backward province like Assam, and to submit the following observations in support of their protest.

Before going into details and trying to meet the various arguments in favour of the scheme, the Committee beg leave to observe that the mere formulation of a proposal of the kind has been enough to startle the whole of Bengal and to create feelings of profound alarm and dismay among all classes of the people and a sense of despair at the helplessness of their situation, and the Committee therefore earnestly and respectfully pray that before arriving at a final determination of the question raised, both His Excellency the Viceroy and His Honour the

Lieutenant-Governor will be graciously pleased to consider the views of the various public bodies in the metropolis and in East Bengal, and to give due weight to the feelings of the various classes affected by the proposed transfer.

The principal object aimed at in proposing the transfer of an area comprising a population of eleven millions is said to be to lighten the excessive burden now imposed upon the Government of Bengal by increase in population, the expansion of commercial and industrial enterprise and the growing complexity of all branches of the administration. The remedy suggested is, however, in the nature of a mere makeshift ; for as the population in Bengal seems to increase by about 10 per cent. every 10 or 12 years, and as the resources of the country are being opened out more and more every day, and as railways are rapidly extending into the interior, it is possible, by the time the next census is taken, the contracted province in spite of the transfer will have resumed largely its numerical strength, and the commercial and industrial enterprise instead of contracting will expand all the more, with the result that all branches of the administration will become all the more complex, and the Committee apprehend that the same difficulty will have to be confronted and the Government will again have to look out for some relief for the head of the local Government to further dismember Bengal and to sever and transfer the Rajshahi division (including Malda and Gaur, once the seat of the old Hindu Kings) and annex it to Assam. If relief is to be given in this way, there is no knowing how often this Presidency will have to be dismembered and where the line has to be drawn.

Adverting to the alleged difficulty of governing outlying districts, such as Orissa, Dacca, Chittagong and Ranchi, from such a distant centre as Calcutta, and the consequent mishaps said to have followed and as likely to follow, pointed allusion has been made in Mr. Risley's letter to the memorable Orissa Famine of 1866. With reference to the above the Committee beg leave to observe that the condition of things has within the last thirty-eight years been altogether changed and the so-called outlying parts, such as Cuttack, Chittagong and Dacca, have, by the establishment of railway and steamer communications, been brought into close contact with, and made easily accessible from, Calcutta, the seat of Government ; the town of Dacca being now only 14 hours' journey and the western part of the district only 6 hours' journey from it, while Chittagong and Cuttack are 24 hours and 10 hours distant respectively. These distances are certainly not greater than the distances which separated Khulna, Jessore, Krishnagar, Murshidabad, and even Midnapore and Hooghly from Calcutta before the opening of railways ; and even now such favoured districts (especially in portions unconnected by rail) as Nadia, Murshidabad, Rajshahi and Malda, are at a much greater distance than the western part of the district of Dacca.

The Committee apprehend that the difficulty and the evils complained of as due to the administration of the outlying districts like Dacca and Chittagong from Calcutta instead of being removed will be aggravated by annexing Dacca, Mymensingh and Chittagong to Assam, the seat of Government of which during the greater portion of the year is at Shillong, for the journey from the above districts to Shillong cannot be performed under six days, involving considerable hardship and expense.

It is said that on account of the vast size of the territory under his administration the Lieutenant-Governor is unable to pay more than a single hurried visit to such important places as Dacca, Chittagong, Cuttack and Ranchi within the five years of his administration, and that he is able to visit only a portion of his vast charge. But so far as Dacca and Chittagong are concerned their respective distances having been considerably abridged by the opening of railway and steamer communications, they have been fortunate enough in receiving two or three visits from every Lieutenant-Governor.

With reference to the statements "There is reason to believe there is no portion of Bengal.....regrettable.

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"It would be.....local administration."

It is incomprehensible how the drawbacks of an imperfectly supervised administration can be removed by annexing Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam. The panacea for these drawbacks and for the absence of close and intimate touch between the officers and Government and the people, lies not in transfer but in the close supervision of the outlying districts by the district officers and in directing those officers to visit and visit more frequently these outlying parts and other places in their charge and to cast off all reserve and aloofness and mix freely with the people. At present the tour of a Magistrate in the interior is undertaken more to complete the regulated number of days a district officer has to spend in the mufassal than for gathering information or for learning the wants and requirements of the villagers. Irrespective of the unwillingness of the district officers themselves to visit unimportant outlying parts, the Committee believe that the imperfect supervision of those parts is due partly or rather mainly to the fact that some of those districts such as Mymensingh are each of them too large and heavy a charge for one single district officer, and the remedy lies in splitting each of these districts into two portions and converting each portion into a district with a District Magistrate over it.

The Committee are not aware of the findings of the Police Commission, but it cannot be said that Dacca, Mymensingh and Tippera are more criminal than Faridpur, Backergunge and Pabna, the number of rioting and murder cases being more numerous in Faridpur and Backergunge than anywhere else.

It will be evident from the following figures that the number of criminal cases instituted every year, even in the metropolitan districts, such as the 24-Parganas, Hooghly and Burdwan, exceed, considering their relative areas and populations, those instituted in Dacca and Mymensingh respectively, and the numbers of dacoity cases being much greater in the former than in the latter districts.

It is a matter of some surprise that in places such as Budge-Budge, Ulubaria, Belgachi (which is only a few minutes walk from the Government house), Khurda and other adjacent places dacoities attended with violence should be committed.

Surely these are not places which can be said to lack proper supervision: on the contrary these are the places where close touch between the district officers and the people under their charge may be presumed to exist:—

Name of District.	1901. Total number of cases instituted.	Dacoity about 350.	Rioting 2,068.	Area in square miles.	Population.
Faridpur	2,171	12	131	2,231	1,937,646
Backergunge	3,869	...	119	3,645	2,291,752
Tippera	1,764	...	94	2,499	2,117,991
Mymensingh	7,501	11	78	6,332	3,915,068
Dacca	2,638	...	68	2,782	2,649,522
Nadia	2,889	...	64	2,793	1,667,491
24-Parganas	3,704	32	60	2,108	2,078,359
Burdwan	2,655	16	...	2,689	1,532,475

That with the increase of population, the spread of education, the growing expansion of trade and commerce, the problems of administration may grow in number and complexity, may be conceded, but it is merely a temporizing policy to give relief to the administration by a reduction of territorial jurisdiction and not by necessary organic change in the form of government.

The Committee venture to think that the true remedy lies in altering the machinery of Government, in creating an Executive Council for assisting the Lieutenant-Governor, and to devise other means which will lighten the Lieutenant-Governor's burden without diminishing his responsibility.

While the whole Indian Empire with an area of about 1,700,000 square miles, comprising various races, creeds and classes with conflicting interests and involving much more onerous responsibilities, has been so long well and successfully administered by the Governor-General, assisted by an Executive Council of six members, there is no reason why Bengal should not be efficiently managed if assisted by an Executive Council of two or three members to whom special departments may be assigned.

It is unnecessary at this stage to discuss in what form the machinery of Government may be altered, but the Committee beg to submit that an organic change in the form of government has become a matter of paramount necessity.

If the Government differs from this view and chooses to adhere to its proposal of the reduction of territorial jurisdiction, the Committee believe that the transfer of Orissa and of a small portion of Chota Nagpur to the Central Provinces would be a lesser evil and certainly less objectionable.

The population of Orissa and the Jungle Mehals attached to it under the Commissioner of the Orissa Division is at present 6,290,000 and their territorial area is 24,000 square miles, and the number of Uriya-speaking people in Sambalpore and certain adjacent Feudatory States under the Central Provinces is 1½ millions, while the number of the Uriya-speaking people in Ganjam under Madras and the Ganjam Agency Tracts are 1,275,000 and 87,000 respectively, and in the Vizagapatam Agency Tracts the Uriya-speaking people number 409,000. Thus on the whole the aggregate number of the Uriya-speaking people comes up to 9,561,000.

It may be an advantage to the Orissa people themselves, and it appears some of them expressed a desire, that the scattered units of their race, now placed under three different Administrations, should be welded together and placed under one Commissioner and the whole of Orissa bodily transferred to the Central Provinces, where as a whole by virtue of their preponderating number they are sure to receive greater attention than they are said to do from the Government of Bengal.

As for the disadvantage of Orissa or the Central Provinces having no port of its own, admitting it to be true that every administration in India requires a port of its own, the Committee beg to point out that if Ganjam and a portion of the district of Vizagapatam with the town of Vizagapatam were with Orissa added to the Central Provinces, then the Central Provinces will, besides having the port of Chandbally, have an excellent port, a fine harbour and an outlet for the surplus produce of the Provinces in Vizagapatam (but if on account of the language difficulty Vizagapatam were excluded) or at least in Ganjam.

It is said that Orissa has been for close upon a century under the Government of Bengal, that it is difficult to ignore or break the prescription of a century, and that the educated and commerical classes in Orissa are opposed to any transfer. Admitting the force of the first part of the argument, the Committee beg to observe that the same argument should apply with still greater force against the transfer of East Bengal, particularly of Dacca, which was the capital of all Bengal during the Hindu and Muhammadan rule at a time when Calcutta and the surrounding districts were swamps. In fact the name of Bengal, as the Committee will presently show, is derived from *Bango*, as East Bengal is still called in common parlance.

Without going into further details the Committee respectfully beg leave to observe that if it is sought to give relief to the Bengal Government by reduction of territory alone, such relief by the addition of Orissa would be an advantage to the Central Provinces, as it would gain so much in size and population and render the administration thereof independent.

If the principal and only object be to give relief to the Bengal Administration, that object could be easily obtained by transferring, as suggested before, the whole of the Uriya-speaking area and portions of Chota Nagpur to the Central Provinces. But over and above that, other arguments have been brought forward to justify the transfer of East Bengal to Assam. The first

is the erection of Assam into a vigorous and self-contained Administration. The second is that it has no service of its own, and is dependent on foreign service, and whatever that may mean, it is too small to attract men of merit and ability and that its officers have at present not a very wide and interesting field of work open to them.

Adverting to the above the Committee beg to observe that there has not been a distinct and separate Civil Service in any province under a Chief Commissioner, that in all such provinces it has always been the practice to indent upon adjacent provinces for their officers—nay it has also been the practice to recruit Chief Commissioners from other provinces; but however that may be, so long as an officer, whether in a province under a Lieutenant-Governor or a Chief Commissioner, works meritoriously, his work is bound to be appreciated. There is no bar to his attaining the highest position in the service, as has been observed in several instances, where Chief Commissioners serving in such backward provinces as Assam and the Central Provinces have on different occasions risen, by dint of merit, to Lieutenant-Governorships in other provinces.

Hitherto there has been no bar to the promotion and transfer of meritorious officers from one province to another. Instead of Assam being dependent on Bengal for its officers, Bengal has not been slow to borrow its heads of Government or its highest officers from Assam, as happened in the cases of Sir Steuart Bayley and Sir Charles Elliott; as for other higher officers, a number of them has from time to time been transferred; for instance, the Hon'ble Mr. L. Hare, Mr. Luttman-Johnson, the late Commissioner of the Dacca Division, Mr. Greenshields, the present Commissioner of Chittagong, and Mr. Douglas, District and Sessions Judge. Instead of the Civil Service in Assam being made exclusive and independent it is rather to its advantage that the meritorious officers of the service should have openings for promotion in other provinces.

However, if it be conceded that Assam should have an independent service of its own, there is no reason why Assam with an area of 56,000 square miles (53,000 British territory) and a population of 6,126,000, with its flourishing tea plantations, with its yet not fully developed mineral resources, should not be able to have one, while much smaller areas, such as the Straits Settlements and Ceylon (the latter having an area of 25,365 square miles and a population of 3,576,990) have always been well administered by their own service, they having never experienced the slightest difficulty in having their service recruited, though the respective salaries of the different grades of officers in the above two Colonies are comparatively smaller, the pay of the highest office, *viz.*, the post of the Ceylon Colonial Secretary being Rs. 24,000 a year. However, the Committee beg leave to submit that it is neither judicious nor expedient to ignore the interests of millions of people for the purpose of providing a wider and more interesting field of work for the service, for opening out better prospects for it and for improving its status.

Irrespective of the consideration of the efficiency of the service it is indeed an extraordinary proposal that to better the condition of a province comprising a much smaller population and for opening its resources, the interests of a population numbering over eleven millions should be ignored. The principle of the greatest good of the greatest number seems to have been lost sight of. The Committee beg leave to show how the interest of eleven millions of people would in every respect be prejudicially affected.

Speaking first from the national and social points of view, the Committee beg to state that from the earliest period of which there is any historical record, the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh were comprised in Bengal and formed an integral part of it; that in the earliest period the province of Bengal was divided into three divisions, *viz.*, Banga, comprising the present districts of Eastern Bengal, Raur, comprising the modern Central Bengal, the greater portion of which was swamps and jungles, and Barindra, comprising Northern Bengal of the Rajshahi Division; that the seat of Government during the reign of the Rajas of the Sen Dynasty had always been in Bikrampur, Rampal, where traces and relics of the palaces of the Hindu Rajas, *viz.*, Adishur and

Ballal Sen, are still to be found; and that during the sovereignty of the Hindu Rajas extending over all the three divisions named above, it was from Bikrampur, Rampal, that the whole of Bengal used to be governed, and as such it was Bangal comprising East Bengal which gave its name to the whole Province of Bengal. Even during the early period of Muhammadan sovereignty in Bengal, the seat of Government for several years was at Dacca, which was then called and is still called in all important documents Jahangirnagar after the Emperor Jahangir.

From the Shastric point of view as well from European evidence it is abundantly clear that Dacca and Mymensingh were the real Banga or Bengal. All authorities agree in thinking that Dacca represented the whole of Bengal at a time when the very name of Calcutta was unknown.

The Committee need not dilate on the past glory and traditions and achievements of Dacca or Sonargong (a place very near the town of Dacca), it having been during the Hindu and Muhammadan periods the most flourishing commercial mart in Bengal where Portuguese and Dutch merchants used to carry on an extensive trade.

Apart from its political and commercial importance, the predominance of Dacca from social and religious points of view is well known. During the Hindu period when Kings Adishur and Ballal Sen reigned in Rampal Bikrampur, it was the home of Kulin Brahmins, Kayasthas and Baidyas and the principal seat of Sanskrit learning. It was at Bikrampur that the five pure Brahmins accompanied by the five Kayasthas (the respective ancestors of the present Brahmins and Kayasthas in Bengal), on the invitation of King Adishur migrated from Kanauj and settled, and as such it was here that King Ballal Sen regulated the different systems of castes and established different grades among the three upper classes of Hindus in Bengal, and regulated the order of precedence among them which is still respected and observed by the Hindus throughout the province, and it was from here that the higher classes of Brahmins and Kayasthas gradually migrated to different parts of the province. Under these circumstances by divorcing Dacca, Mymensingh and Chittagong from the rest of Bengal, the Government would be tearing away the most vital part, the head as it were from the trunk.

With reference to the social and religious aspects of the question, the Committee beg to state that they have already shown that Bikrampur in Dacca was and is still the home of all Kulin Brahmins and Kayasthas and that every Kulin Brahmin in Bengal traces his descent to some one in Bikrampur, and that Dacca and Mymensingh have always been the principal seats of Sanskrit learning, and that there are in the Dacca and Chittagong Divisions not less than 800 indigenous Sanskrit *tols* kept and maintained by pandits without any aid from Government for teaching Philosophy, Literature, Grammar, Smritis where students are taught, boarded and lodged at the expense of the teachers. It is therefore that the pundits of East Bengal, equally with those of Nabadwip in the district of Nadia exercise a predominating influence in all matters concerning religion and society, that is, in regulating all religious rites and ceremonies and all social rites and usages. From time immemorial the various classes of the Hindus in Bengal proper have always been governed by the same customs and usages, the same rites and ceremonies, the same rules, both written and unwritten, in all social and religious matters, and there have always been free intercourse and free intermarriages (subject to some exceptions which are being daily removed) between the several parts of Bengal proper. But though marriages are allowed among the different sections of the same caste inhabiting different parts of Bengal proper, such marriages, specially among Kulin Brahmins, must not be promiscuous, but be confined to the clans to which the parties belong, and as such Kulin Brahmins often experience great difficulty in marrying their children. Though marriages among the different sections of the same caste are allowed, such marriages should on no account be outside the respective limits of the different provinces; for instance, though there are higher classes of Brahmins, Baidyas, Kayasthas, and Nabashakhs in different provinces, such as Bengal proper, Orissa and Behar, marriages are

absolutely unknown among people of the same caste inhabiting different provinces. A marriage between a Orissa or Behar Brahmin or Kayastha boy and a Bengal Brahmin or Kayastha girl can never take place. Though these Brahmins and Kayasthas now residing in different provinces trace their descent to the same ancestors respectively, on account of their residing in different provinces social relations between people of the same caste are now out of the question ; even a Bengali or Orissa Brahmin would not take food cooked by a Behari or United Provinces Brahmin. So the Committee apprehend, and it is the most serious of many evils that would follow, that in the case of the inhabitants of East Bengal being severed from their brethren in Bengal and annexed to Assam, the former would within measurable distance of time be denationalised ; they would not only be looked down upon as inferior but ignored altogether, with the result that a few years hence all intercourse and marriages would be absolutely prohibited and Hindus in Eastern Bengal find insuperable difficulty in marrying their children, as the area of their selection will be very much narrowed and circumscribed. From the above it will be abundantly clear that the question of separation is not a question of sentiment alone, but it is a question that will vitally affect the Eastern districts socially.

The Committee now crave leave to point out the evil results that would follow from the linguistic and educational points of view. Bengali has been the mother-tongue of about sixty millions of people inhabiting Bengal proper ; it is even the mother-tongue, so to speak, of all the Muhammadans inhabiting Bengal proper, and as such it is a language or dialect which is spoken by far a much larger number of people than any other language in India. Of all the vernacular languages, Bengali is the most complete and perfect and has a literature of its own, perfect in all branches, and is being further enriched every day. Its greatest living poet, Babu Nobin Chandra Sen, and its greatest orator, Rai Kali Prasanno Ghosh Bahadur, hail from Chittagong and Dacca, respectively, and many eminent men of letters besides belong to Eastern Bengal. From a common language, a common metropolis, a common administration, a common University, common social ties and commerce and religion and several other things in common between Western and Eastern Bengal, the inhabitants of both parts, men of culture, men of light and leading, freely mix on a common platform in the metropolis, imbibe and impart thoughts, and gather ideas and informations. Consequently it would be nothing short of a calamity to dismember Bengal proper, to forcibly disrupt immemorial ties and to divide the Bengali-speaking race into two sections, absorbing and merging one section into a backward race inhabiting Assam.

Mr. Risley in his letter says " The true criterion of territorial jurisdiction should be sought not in the race but in the language," and in another portion speaking of Sambalpur he himself admits " that even those among the people of Sambalpur who are most attached to the Central Provinces would prefer to sever connection with the province to giving up their mother-tongue."

On the above grounds Government has displayed the most earnest solicitude, as befits it, to unite the scattered units of the Uriya-speaking population at present placed in four different provinces and under three different Administrations, and weld them together into a homogeneous whole and place them under one Administration. But the above argument and the salutary principle embodied therein seem to have been entirely lost sight of and ignored in the most unexpected proposal formulated of handing over the cultured and progressive people of East Bengal to the people of Assam with whom they have nothing in common being altogether different from them in language, partly in religion, in religious and social rites and customs and usages, in manners and even as a race.

The Bengalis of the severed districts will in the beginning experience great difficulty in carrying on intercourse and in transacting the ordinary business of life with the Assamese at Shillong and other principal towns in Assam whose language is different from that of the Bengalis ; even the Bengali language spoken at Sylhet and Cachar is the worst form of a provincial dialect which is not ordinarily intelligible to the rest of Bengal. But the

Committee are not aware of the reasons which led the Government to make such a statement as the following :—" The two latter districts will constitute a projection from the main body of Bengal obtruding itself * * * * from which they will be separated by no ties, either of origin, language, religion or administration."

There is no doubt that if the severance is effected, the Bengali language, the most perfect and developed in India, instead of developing further, instead of receiving further vitality, will be stunted.

Next the Committee beg leave to point out that from the educational point of view the consequences would be serious. Nowhere in India (barring of course Calcutta) has education made greater strides than in East Bengal, nowhere have the civilizing influences of Western education and culture and their impact been more keenly felt and appreciated than in East Bengal.

The Committee rightly believe that some of the most prominent men of Indian society whom East Bengal has produced, whether as poets, orators, lawyers, scientists (among whom the most notable is Mr. J. C. Bose, C.I.E., a scientist of European reputation), medical practitioners (the first and at one time the most noted Covenanted Medical Officer having been the late Dr. Goodeve Chakravarty, M.D.), Covenanted and Statutory Civilians, hosts of Judicial and Executive officers, would not have obtained eminence in their respective spheres, if they had not been brought up and received their early training in the best educational institutions in the metropolis, which in their cases was rendered possible by their parents being connected with Calcutta through business, Government service, commerce and diverse other means. It is not only that the training here under experts in different branches of education is the very best in India, but that free intercourse with the cultured men, men of light and leading in the metropolis, gives an impetus to healthy effort, and their precepts and examples exercise a salutary influence, which undoubtedly go to mould the character of young students and infuse them with enthusiasm.

It is rightly apprehended that in case of East Bengal being cut off from Calcutta and forming into a separate province, not only would the education of its inhabitants, under an independent and distinct educational service of its own (as a separate and exclusive service in all branches has been so much aimed at), deteriorate, not only would they receive an inferior sort of education, but they would be positively debarred and cut off from all the facilities which they now enjoy of having education in higher branches in the Medical College here and in the Sibpur Engineering College.

Moreover, considering the small resources of the proposed new province, the Committee cannot believe that the Government would feel disposed to provide sufficient grant for education in its various branches, such as Engineering, Technical, Agricultural, Commercial, Medical, proportionate to the growing requirements of an advanced people.

It is well known that there are two second grade colleges in Assam, there being no college at all teaching up to the B.A., M.A., or B.L. standards. Besides the private colleges, though there is only one such Government College at Dacca, it is not fitted up with such a fully equipped Laboratory as the Presidency College and the Medical College in Calcutta possess.

At present the best professors are available for Dacca, and students from East Bengal, if so inclined, may easily have admission in the Presidency College and the Sibpur Engineering College ; but if East Bengal is to be ceded to Assam, and as it is to have an independent educational service of its own, all the colleges and schools in the new province must be manned by inferior officers ; for with one college there, the Education Service in the new province cannot have sufficient inducement to attract and retain men of superior attainments of the type of Sir Alfred Croft, Messrs. C. H. Tawney, J. Sutcliff, Sir John Eliot, the Hon'ble Mr. Pedler and the consequence is obvious.

It may be urged that the boys of the new province will be able, if so inclined, to get admission as they do now in the Presidency, Medical and Sibpur

Engineering Colleges respectively, but the above colleges do not and cannot take in an unlimited number of boys. So far as the Calcutta Medical College and the Sibpur Engineering College are concerned, they always restrict admission to fixed numbers of boys and preference is always given to inhabitants of the Province, outsiders being as a rule excluded.

Under the circumstances it is plain enough that the new province not having a fully equipped college like the Calcutta Presidency College, nor having a Medical or an Engineering College at all, its boys will be altogether debarred from acquiring education at least in the higher branches in Medicine and Engineering.

Then as to the pecuniary loss that will be entailed. This is one of the most serious aspects of the question and as such deserves careful attention.

The indigenous industries have been starved and practically gone. There is no trade or commerce in the hands of the middle class of people, and the only means of sustenance open to them is employment under Government in its various departments, both here and in the mufassal.

The people of East Bengal are now freely employed in different capacities both in Calcutta and the 47 districts that now comprise the territory under the administration of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, as well as in private firms and estates, both European and Indian, here and in the three Provinces of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.

It is well known that there is no district in Bengal, barring Hooghly, which furnishes such large contingents of Judicial and Executive officers as Dacca, while most of the ministerial officers in the several districts from Jessore, Khulna downwards, are largely recruited from Dacca, Bikrampur. Now with, the circular recently issued by the several Provincial Governments, enunciating the board principle that all offices in each province should be exclusively reserved for, or at least preference should be given to its own people, the Committee apprehend that the people of the severed districts will in future be cut off from all offices in Calcutta and the rest of Bengal, an outlook which is indeed sad and gloomy, for it will be nothing short of drying the fountain source of livelihood to several lakhs of people. The fact is, the area of their employment will be considerably restricted and curtailed.

It is a matter of regret that the Government has taken no account of the legislative difficulty and the consequent hardships that must attend such a change as proposed.

At present all legislative measures relating to land revenue and other matters regarding Civil and Criminal administration or law affecting Bengal, are first introduced in the Local Council and there thoroughly discussed in all bearings by official and elected members, both of whom are thoroughly conversant with the land and revenue systems of the Province (with the system of land-tenure) with all local laws, and what is more, with the language, customs and usages of all classes of people. This is a procedure which, while inspiring confidence among the governed, takes away much from the sting of all undesirable statutes. But all this will be changed, so far as East Bengal is concerned. Henceforth all new legislation, all modification of old statutes, would be undertaken in the Supreme Council, by members ignorant of all local laws, language, customs and usages of the Province, and where the people of the Province may not be represented at all, or if represented at all, they, the 11 millions with the 65 lakhs of people of Assam proper, will be represented by one solitary member, a privilege to be shared alternately with the Central Provinces.

Henceforth all necessary legislation for Eastern Bengal will be moulded according to the advice of the Chief Commissioner, who himself is ignorant of the system of land tenure, customs and usages prevalent in Bengal, who, with his predilections for personal rule and for Assam regulations, will surely not be a safe guide for the highly legalised, advanced and cultured districts like Dacca, Mymensingh and Chittagong.

In connection with the above, the Committee beg further to point out that to people brought up under a different system and tradition living in regulation districts and governed by statutes which, before being enacted, are thoroughly discussed in open Council both by officials and elected members, nothing can be more alarming than the prospect that henceforth they would be liable to be governed by regulations which are drafted by the Chief Commissioner and not discussed in Council at all but become law after receiving the mere assent of the Executive Council. In illustration the Committee beg to cite the Assam Land Revenue Regulation, I of 1886 (*vide Gazette of India*, 13th March 1886, page 127) which applies to Sylhet and Cachar, two regulation districts which were once part of Bengal.

Apart from the difficulties indicated above, it is inconceivable that the people of Eastern Bengal should, for no fault of theirs, by a mere stroke of the pen, be made to lose a valued privilege, namely, of returning two members to the Local Council. It is no small misfortune that the people should have no voice in their legislation.

Another grievance is the loss of the jurisdiction and control of the Board of Revenue. Nothing is more prized in this presidency than land, and it is the principal wealth of the different classes of the people here, all classes being in some shape or other connected with and interested in land, whether as zamindars, different grades of middlemen, such as tenure-holders or under-tenure-holders, occupancy raiyats or simple raiyats. All this is due to land here being permanently settled with the Government revenues unalterably fixed. Therefore, thousands and thousands of cases relating to partition of estates, registration of the names of proprietors of estates and cases relating to sales of estates for default of Government revenue and other revenue cases often arise, which are hotly fought out before different grades of Revenue officers, their ultimate appeals lying to the Board of Revenue which is presided over by senior and experienced Revenue officers well versed in Revenue laws and with the system of land tenure prevalent here. There the appeals are regularly argued on fixed hearing days by barristers and vakils and then disposed of before the parties or their lawyers.

It is well known that the five districts proposed to be transferred are permanently settled, while lands in Assam, with the exception of lands in two or three districts, are temporarily settled, that is for 30 years; and that being so, it is of no great consequence to Assam landholders, if they may be so termed, whether their cases are heard (as is the practice now there) *in camera* by the Chief Commissioner in the total absence of the parties or their lawyers, none of them being allowed to appear before the Chief Commissioner and to be heard; but whatever be the practice in Assam, it would be positive wrong and a great hardship, and indeed it would be a question of life and death to the people of Eastern Bengal, if revenue cases relating to permanently-settled estates, involving very large interests to the extent of lakhs and lakhs of rupees, were henceforth to be disposed of by the Chief Commissioner *in camera* in the absence of parties or their lawyers.

Loss of the Jurisdiction of the High Court.

True it is that the jurisdiction of the High Court would be continued for the present, but Government does not give any guarantee that the jurisdiction of the High Court would never be withdrawn from the ceded districts, and even were it to give such a guarantee, the Committee do not know whether it would be binding upon the future Government, which may, on the ground of administrative convenience, withdraw the jurisdiction of the High Court from the five districts. The Committee apprehend that time may come when with much further increase of work in the High Court, with arrears accumulating, instead of appointing additional Judges, Government may attempt to relieve the High Court of its heavy burden, by taking away the ceded districts from its jurisdiction and appointing a Judicial Commissioner at Dacca, as was once proposed by Mr. Melitus, a proposal which is sure to have great weight in a province, where most of the districts are non-regulation districts.

The High Court has a noble tradition of its own. No other Court in India is so much respected and reverenced and relied upon as the High Court, and in fact it has come to be regarded as the bulwark of the rights and liberties of the subject races, and it has tended more than anything else to attach people to British rule.

Under the circumstances, it would be a most ill-advised step to deprive a highly cultured people accustomed to the highly legalised form of procedure (incidental to the High Court) of the jurisdiction and the consequent powerful protection of the High Court.

The Committee believe that the secession of the five districts, where criminal and civil functions are not combined in the same officers, will produce great inconvenience and confusion in the administration particularly of civil justice. While the Government is so keen about giving Assam the benefit of a self-contained administration and an independent service, the Committee cannot comprehend how the Government, if the present law procedure and law courts are to remain in force in the ceded districts, is to maintain a separate Judicial Service for the above five districts alone. It does not seem likely that the Government of Assam would organise two different branches of Judicial Service; even if it were to do so which is most unlikely, would not the Judicial Service, with no higher openings, with all the avenues to higher posts in the adjoining Province cut off, with the prospects of promotion and transfer confined to the limited five districts, be recruited by men of inferior attainments and judicial acumen?

As it will not be possible to maintain a separate Judicial Service for such a small area, the Committee apprehend that the difficulties of the Assam Government in the administration of civil justice will go on multiplying. It will have to depend, as at present, in the case of Sylhet and Cacher, on imported judicial labour from Bengal, which must of necessity be of an inferior kind, and as such the administration of civil justice in the five districts must suffer.

Then, with reference to the administration of criminal justice, there is the risk, as pointed out by the talented editor of that well-known Law Journal the *Calcutta Weekly Notes*, of the whole of the criminal administration of the ceded districts being changed at the pleasure of the Chief Commissioner. For instance, section 30 of Criminal Procedure Code empowers the Chief Commissioner of Assam to invest any Magistrate of the first class to try all offences not punishable with death. Section 34 of the same Code empowers such Magistrate to pass sentences of imprisonment or transportation up to seven years. After this it would be an anomaly to say that the law, the administration of justice, the form of government will remain the same, and the people cannot be blamed if they be alarmed at the prospect before them of the trial by Jury or with the aid of Assessors being replaced by trial by Deputy Commissioners or Assistant Magistrates alone, whose decisions cannot inspire the same confidence, cannot command the same respect as the decisions of Juries.

Inconvenience, Hardship and Pecuniary Loss.

Several of the Zemindars of Dacca and Mymensingh have extensive zemindaris in other districts, especially in Barisal, Faridpur and Pabna and so have the zemindars in Calcutta and in other parts of Western Bengal extensive estates in Dacca and Mymensingh particularly, and even there are estates bearing *touzi* numbers on the Revenue Rolls of Dacca or Mymensingh Collectorate, large portions of which are situated in other districts, as, for instance, in Backergunge, Faridpur and Pabna and elsewhere; consequently it would be a positive disadvantage to such to have their estates in two different provinces under two different Administrations, which will entail upon them the necessity of maintaining fully equipped establishments, not only at the head-quarters of the districts, where their estates are situated, but at the respective capitals of the two provinces.

Now as to trade and commerce. While the different bodies, *viz.*, the mercantile community, the Port Trust, the East Indian Railway and various other

bodies too numerous to name, were deeply agitated and justly alarmed at the prospect of the Luff Point Scheme being carried out, which was only meant for furnishing facilities for shipment of a portion of the coal trade, it is somewhat incomprehensible that Government should formulate another scheme which when fully developed will be a direct menace to the trade of this port and which will surely undermine its prosperity. While the Government, the Calcutta Port Trust and the mercantile community (the European capitalists in particular) have sunk crores of rupees in railways, in Flotillas, in Docks, Jetties, Buildings, Godowns, in Mills and Presses, and in other various ways and shapes which have contributed so much to rear and develop this port and to make this port what it is now, while with the gradual opening of the undeveloped resources of this country, with the growing expansion of its trade and commerce, with the increasing expansion of railway communications, its prosperity is being further developed, and while this port has been for over a century the chief outlet for all the import and export trade of this Province and of Northern India and the capacity of this port to meet the requirements of them is unquestioned, it is incomprehensible that Government should try to create and develop another port at such a short distance from this port and try to force trade from this port by the enforced severance of some of the most flourishing districts (whose chief wealth lies in producing an abundant supply of jute and rice) from this port and placing them at the disposal of the rival port.

The Committee apprehend that the direct result of this move would be to divert the whole of the jute trade of East Bengal namely, of Mymensingh, Dacca, Narayanganj, Tippera, Chandpur and Madaripur to Chittagong, and it is not unlikely that in course of time the major portion of the rice trade of Backergunge would also be diverted there. The following figures will show the respective aggregate quantities of jute and rice that are annually imported into Calcutta from the several jute and rice-producing districts in Bengal, as well as the respective quantities of jute and rice imported annually from the districts proposed to be transferred to Assam:—

	Rice. Mds.	Jute. Mds.
The total import into Calcutta for 1900-1901—	1,60,97,146	2,67,73,633

Imported into Calcutta during 1900-1901 from the districts proposed to be severed.

	Rice. Mds.	Jute. Mds.
Backergunge	38,53,836	...
Faridpur	11,88,888	33,28,492
Dacca	...	85,28,578
Mymensingh	...	22,80,778
Tippera	...	5,15,998
Total ...	1,46,53,846	50,47,724

The Committee apprehend that in case of the possible diversion of 1,46,53,846 maunds of jute and 50,47,724 maunds of rice to Chittagong the consequence would be serious to this port.

Chittagong as a port has some undoubted natural advantages over Calcutta; but if over and above those natural advantages Government creates advantages and facilities for and forces them upon the former, it will do so at the expense of the latter; for to the extent Chittagong prospers and develops, Calcutta will suffer; in fact the prosperity of the port of Chittagong can only be fostered at the sacrifice of that of Calcutta. Formerly seeds and wheat from the Punjab and the United Provinces contributed much to the prosperity of Calcutta, but with the opening of direct railway communications between the Punjab and the upper portions of the United Provinces on the one hand and Karachi and Bombay on the other, those articles of commerce

which once used to come from the above two tracts have disappeared from the Calcutta market, and at present the prosperity of Calcutta is mainly due to jute, tea, coal and rice.

With tea gone or about to go, with jute and rice of the eastern districts threatened deportation to Chittagong, with collieries of Ranigunge, Burrakur and Chota Nagpur awaiting competition from the yet not fully developed coal fields of Assam proper, there will not be much of export trade left to sustain the prosperity of this port, and it seems unlikely that import alone, however large, will be able to maintain it in its pristine glory, and there is no knowing whether part of the present import to this port may not be diverted to Chittagong. It is a well known principle of trade that export and import are inseparately connected together; wherever there is a large export import follows as a matter of course.

With the exception of two or three European firms, the shippers and the millowners here do not as a rule buy jute in the interior, but are dependent for it on the middlemen, European or native, who supply the Calcutta market from the principal jute marts in East Bengal, and so far as the native middlemen are concerned, they are also residents of that part of the country. It is well known that the whole of the very extensive jute trade carried on at Hatkhola, Ultadingi and Chitpur (the three principal marts of jute trade in Calcutta) as well as the rice trade of Baliaghatta and Komartolly (where about 40 lakh maunds of Backergunge rice are annually imported) are almost exclusively in the hands of East Bengal merchants and traders. But those merchants and traders having from generation to generation carried on business here and being firmly established here by investing capital in property and in other ways, and being dependent on and assisted by the European merchants here, it is to their interest that their connection with Calcutta should continue. But if the jute and rice-producing districts were severed from Bengal and merged into a different province, and if Chittagong were offered greater facilities and its port fully equipped, the Committee apprehend that on account of its several undoubted natural advantages, on account of its nearness to the great jute and rice-producing districts and the consequent lesser freight that is charged in the carriage of jute to that port, which is only 8 miles distant from the river, and on account of the channel between that port and the river being free from all risk of navigation, and the pilot charges and port charges there being less, it is most likely that in a few years hence the jute trade of East Bengal and major portion of the rice of Backergunge would be diverted to Chittagong.

At present ships have to be specially chartered by Messrs. Ralli Brothers and M. David and Company for shipping Narayanganj jute from the port of Chittagong, but these ships for want of import come there with ballast. But once the export trade in Chittagong is fully developed, once the large European firms are firmly established there, the import of salt, piece-goods, kerosine oil, corrugated iron sheets and a number of other articles necessary for the proposed new province, that is for Assam and Eastern Bengal, will follow there as a matter of course. In fact, the whole supply of Eastern Bengal and Assam, so far as the above imported articles of commerce are concerned, will, a few years hence, be met through the Chittagong port, and not through this port. Theoretically it sounds well that Chittagong being the natural outlet for the export and import trade of Assam and East Bengal, in the interests of those parts the port of Chittagong should be fully developed, but the Committee apprehend that the equipment and development of that port and the enforced annexation of the jute-growing districts to it will be the ringing of the death-knell of the Calcutta port, it will be dealing a death blow particularly to the numerous mills, presses and the carrying companies here, for the time is not far distant when mills and presses will be set up on the banks of the Karnafuli river. This change may or may not affect English commerce in India, but it will prove the ruin of those who have a large invested capital in Calcutta. Native capital is very limited in extent, and the loss of the present capitalists will mean the ruin of the native trade.

The proposal, if carried out, would cause material loss and injury to all classes of merchants here (to the European capitalists in particular, who have sunk crores and crores of rupees) to the Calcutta port and to the Calcutta Corporation; for with the inevitable depreciation of landed properties here the revenue of the Corporation will be considerably affected. The transfer is evidently contemplated for improving the efficiency of the services in Assam, or rather for bettering the prospects of the service-holders and for more fully developing the resources of Assam, but it is more than problematical whether the inhabitants of the severed districts will at all participate in the benefit of the exploitation of Assam or in the improved efficiency of the services.

The Committee would now beg leave to conclude by saying that the annexation of the Eastern districts, particularly of Dacca and Mymensingh, to Assam, instead of conducing in any way to the gain of those districts, would most prejudicially affect their interests in all conceivable ways, and that the prospect of being transferred from a highly progressive and cultured province like that of Bengal to a backward and primitive province like that of Assam, of breaking off with old associations, of the enforced disruption of immemorial ties, of being cut off from their kith and kin, and, lastly, the prospect of being lowered in the estimation of their brethren in other parts of India by being merged into a people placed on a much lower plane of civilisation and with whom they have nothing in common, cannot fail to produce deep pain, sorrow and discontent amongst the several millions of His Imperial Majesty's subjects living in Eastern Bengal, who yield to none in the deep attachment, loyalty and allegiance which they, in common with others, owe to His Imperial Majesty. The Committee therefore fervently pray that His Excellency the Viceroy and His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will be graciously pleased to show some consideration to the feelings of a loyal people and abandon the proposed scheme.

Annexure 8.

From Maharaj-Kumar Prodyot Coomar Tagore, Honorary Secretary to the British Indian Association, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, No. 337, dated Calcutta, the 19th February 1904.

In reply to your letter No. 335-J., dated the 16th ultimo, I have the honour to submit the following observations of the Committee of the British Indian Association on the proposed scheme for the Partition of the Province of Bengal

2. The Committee of the Association do not hesitate to admit that with the progress of civilising institutions the Government of Bengal has been burdened with heavier responsibilities and larger duties than before. But with the increase of the burden there has been more than corresponding increase of the strength and cost of the administration, while the development of the Postal service, the establishment of a complete network of railways and telegraph lines, the improved means of communication opened out by steam service and good roads, and the great help in local administration afforded by honorary agency, have not only annihilated time and distance and brought the distant parts and outlying districts of the Province within easy reach of Calcutta and under the immediate and personal influence of the Head of the Government, but also materially lightened the duties of administration.

3. Schemes for reducing to an ideal standard of excellence long-existing irregularities in social or administrative matters for the purpose of securing uniformity symmetry or harmony, however specious they might appear, are oftentimes opposed to the true interests of the community for whose benefit they are designed. The unification of the standards of weight and measure would lead to the greatest convenience in trade, in scientific operations, and in international transactions; but although there are bewildering differences and irregularities in the standards of weight and measure even in different districts of Bengal, any attempt to reduce them to a uniform standard would create an amount of confusion and disturbance of existing relations that can hardly

be conceived. In the case of a change in the territorial jurisdiction of an administration which has existed for a long time the result would be not less disastrous. It would rudely rend asunder social relations which have bound the people of the different districts by a common tie, it would nip in the bud social reforms which the spread of education and increased facilities of intercourse between different communities have rendered possible, it would seriously depress the laudable emulation which stimulates the people of different districts to come to the front in patriotic works and in matters of public beneficence, and it would accentuate all the evils of the transfer of a portion of a population from a highly advanced, legalised and impersonal administration. It would, in short, violently dislocate existing social relations and arrangements, and extinguish hopes and aspirations which the spread of education and benefits of good government have engendered in more than half a century.

4. Considering the restricted powers which Parliamentary Statutes have conferred upon the Government of India in the matter of redistribution of territories, the Committee of the Association are hardly able to foresee to their fullest extent the legal and the political effects of the transfer upon the people of the districts concerned. But of the rights and privileges of which they would be deprived by the proposed measure, the loss of none would be more grievous than that which entitles them to get their requirements met and their grievances remedied by a local Legislative Council, makes them eligible to seats in that Council, and enables them to submit their wants and grievances to the Government by means of interpellation in Council.

5. Not the least untoward consequence of the proposed dismemberment of the province would be to place a number of landlords and their tenants under different administrations, to deprive landlords and other persons who have banking business with capitalists of Dacca and Mymensingh of the benefits of transactions which long acquaintance and established confidence have placed on a satisfactory basis, to divide the energy, co-operation and resources which are at present brought to bear in the accomplishment of a common object, and to devote a part of the revenues of some of the advanced districts of Bengal to meet the wants of a separate Administration.

6. The Committee of the Association do not deem it necessary to go over the grounds on which Mr. Risley supports the proposed measure. It has been clearly shown by the Press that neither on ethnological, linguistic nor educational grounds, nor on the ground of physical isolation of some of the districts, can the proposed measure be logically defended, and that arguments which are used to support his position regarding some of the districts concerned lead to quite an opposite conclusion when applied to others

7. Holding the above views on the proposed measure, the Committee of the Association do not think that a larger reduction of territory by separating all the districts of the Dacca Division from Bengal and constituting them along with other districts into a separate Province would be less objectionable in the eyes of the people.

Annexure 9.

From the Honorary Secretaries, Bengal Landholders Association, to the Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Calcutta, the 1st March 1904.

On behalf of the Bengal Landholders' Association we have the honour to submit the following observations on the proposals contained in Mr. Risley's letters No. 3678, dated the 3rd December 1903, and No. 3808, dated the 23rd January 1904, copies of which were kindly sent to us with your letter No. 436-J., dated the 16th January 1904.

Owing to the importance of the subject we felt it necessary to ascertain the opinion of the districts directly concerned, and there has therefore been some delay in sending this reply, for which we beg to be excused.

His Honour allowed us opportunities at two conferences held at Belvedere, to express our views, and we were encouraged by his sympathy and kindliness to place them fully before him. At those conferences the districts proposed to be severed from Bengal were largely represented, and His Honour ascertained for himself as to what we thought of the proposals contained in Mr. Risley's letters. It will therefore be unnecessary for us to deal with them at any length. We must also confess that His Excellency's recent utterances in East Bengal have had the effect of considerably discouraging us, and although we are by no means convinced of the utility of the proposals put forward by the Government of India, we find it somewhat difficult unreservedly to deal with them.

While we freely admit that the Government is the best judge as to whether it is overburdened with work or not, we are not prepared to concede that the administration of Bengal is at present too heavy a burden for one Lieutenant-Governor, but venture to think that the burden of that office, since its first creation in 1854, has been considerably lightened, and many of the difficulties which existed in the earlier years have been removed. The whole system of government has been better organised, remote parts of the province have been made more easily accessible, distances between the capital of Bengal and its various districts reduced, postal and telegraphic communication extensively increased, and it is far easier now to supervise and control the work than it was ever before. The introduction of advanced administrative principles, such as that of a local legislature in which the right of representation by election has been recognised, as also of local self-government, must have afforded some relief, and we believe that the spread of English education and a " wider diffusion of the native press," strangely charged by Mr. Risley with tending to increase litigation, have actually proved helpful to the work of administration and removed some of its burdens.

If, however, greater relief is urgently required, to afford it by transference of territory, speaking with all humility, is merely a makeshift. It would be a far more " statesmanlike and farsighted handling of the question " to effect such organic changes in the system of government, as would be able to cope with what has been described as the " growing complexity of the work." The experiment of cutting down the province of Bengal has been tried before now without much apparent success. The present proposals if given effect to might secure some temporary relief, but we consider that the districts proposed to be severed have a right to complain, if they are placed under what is admittedly " the most backward local administration." They have a right to expect the continuance of their constitutional privileges and the benefits they enjoy under the " best developed and most legalised local government " and naturally view with apprehension the contemplated transfer to Assam.

Accepting the proposition that the relief of Bengal is an urgent administrative necessity, we pray that such relief may be rendered by the exercise of the authority given by the Charter Act, 16 and 17 Victoria, C. 95, by the appointment of a separate Governor for this province, with an executive council. The appointment of a Lieutenant-Governor seems to have been intended as a temporary measure. It has been said that an executive council affords doubtful help to the Governor of a province and that secretariat government is undesirable. We feel that it is now too late to minimize the value of such a system of government. It has been tried for a considerable time with great success, and has been found to be a safeguard against individual idiosyncracies. Such a change in the form of the government as we have ventured to suggest, can, we believe, be effected without any considerable disturbance of the present system.

We may also be permitted to suggest, if the Government be unwilling to accede to our prayer for a Governor and Executive Council, that those districts in Bengal, the work of which may be found to have grown, may be subdivided and the system now obtaining may be extended for their relief. His Honour is in constant touch with his Divisional Commissioners and Collectors, his tours are more frequent now and, as supplementary to the tours of the district and divisional officers, are generally considered adequate. We also consider that owing to the permanent settlement the Government of Bengal is also otherwise to utilise the time and services of its officers, which it would have been bound to employ

for the purposes of land revenue settlement and administration. The complexity of the administration of Bengal and its difficulties compare very favourably with those of the other provinces, and are almost negligible when compared with those of the Government of India, and we respectfully submit that it has not been shown that relief cannot be given in the manner we have ventured to suggest.

We also submit that it is a just grievance that the districts which now enjoy the benefits of a local legislature should be deprived of them. It is but poor compensation to offer to them the right to share a seat on the Legislative Council of the Governor-General with the Central Provinces, furnishing a member alternately with that administration. They now enjoy the privilege of having His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor sitting as a member of that Council when it holds its sittings in this Province. There are also an additional non-official member for Bengal and a representative from the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce. The Bengal Council has large legislative powers, including the power to repeal, or amend, so far as it may concern this Province, any law or regulation made by any other authority in India, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General. These are substantial constitutional privileges which should not be interfered with.

Mr. Risley's letters do not contain or foreshadow the scheme for placing the eastern districts and Assam under a Lieutenant-Governor, and we do not intend to deal with it at this stage. The Government and people are greatly concerned in the question of an economical administration of this country, and we apprehend that a new administration would impose a very heavy financial burden, which we are ill able to bear. Besides any scheme which may result in dividing the Bengali people is unacceptable to us. May we not reasonably ask that the people speaking the same language, and having the same traditions and sympathies, should continue under the same administration. Divergent influences will be at work if we be placed under two Governments, and create differences.

It has been said that the objections which were raised to the absorption of Sylhet and Cachar in Assam have proved unfounded, but we do not find it asserted that those districts have improved. At any rate we find Act VIII of 1869 (B.C.) still in force in Sylhet, and the protection given to persons having an interest, which is voidable upon a sale for arrears under the Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1885), not extended to that district. On the other hand section 70 of the Assam Land and Revenue Regulation, 1886, makes an important change in the Revenue Sale Law. Under Act XI of 1859, there is a difference between the effect of the sale of an entire estate for arrears of land revenue and a share of an estate. In the one, the sale enables the purchaser to avoid all encumbrances, except those specified in section 37 of the Act. In the other the purchaser takes the property under section 52, subject to all encumbrances created by the defaulter. Section 70 of the Assam Land Revenue Regulation has made the effect of a sale for arrears of land revenue uniform. Such changes, made suddenly and without open discussion in Council, and introduced by a Regulation, draw no attention until actually applied in practice, and even experts in land laws find it difficult to follow them or understand their immediate significance. While Sylhet was overlooked at the time of the Bengal Tenancy Act, it became in 1886 subject to a regulation at variance with the law obtaining in Bengal. Such and other examples may be given to illustrate, amongst other things, that the districts, severed from what may, for convenience, be referred to as Bengal proper, gradually get a different system of land laws under a different system of revenue administration.

Such changes have been characterized by the highest tribunal in Bengal as "retrograde and mischievous."

We also find that Sylhet, which is the largest town in the Province of Assam, presents a melancholy spectacle, the population having decreased at each successive census, and the town being full of deserted bustis and houses falling into ruins (Report on the Census of Assam for 1901).

The following figures also are not without their significance:—

Population of Sylhet.

In 1872	16,846
„ 1881	14,407
„ 1891	14,027
„ 1901	13,893

So far as the district of Sylhet is concerned, although the total population had increased by 87,255, or 4 per cent. during the 10 years preceding 1901, the greater portion of the increase was due to immigration from other parts of India, and the increase in the general population was very small: the number of persons censused in 1901 outside tea gardens being only 35,270 more than in 1891; and the increase in those born in the district was very little more, the rate being only 1·9 per cent. It is officially admitted that this stagnation is difficult to explain.

These facts do not show that Sylhet has made much progress under Assam.

As regards the High Court, we apprehend that its jurisdiction would be gradually encroached upon. As a chartered Court it has special privileges, and is justly held in high esteem in this country for, amongst other things, its independence of the Executive Government.

No doubt there is no guarantee now of the continuance of its jurisdiction, but any attempt to reduce its sphere of work and influence is not likely lightly to be undertaken.

The Board of Revenue consists of senior members of the Indian Civil Service, possessing vast experience and intimate knowledge of the land laws of this province. The Board has an invaluable collection of records and a staff of officers familiar with them. The eastern districts of Bengal give rise to complicated questions of riparian and other rights with which the Board has for a series of years been accustomed to deal. No officer, however able, can be expected satisfactorily to deal with them without considerable previous training. The right of appearing before the Board by trained lawyers and of an ultimate appeal to His Honour, are privileges which are justly prized. No doubt an "inexpert tribunal" may become efficient in time, but the people at whose cost the necessary experience has to be attained may with justice object to it. No doubt also "the Board of Revenue can always be consulted," but to arrive at judicial findings upon extra-judicial references is an inexpedient and undesirable course, and has always been discouraged.

Assam is not now able to maintain "a self-contained and independent service, and it is very doubtful whether, with the districts proposed to be added to it, would be in a better position. If it is not intended to interfere with the jurisdiction of the High Court, the judicial officers of the enlarged province would be placed under a dual control, which is admitted to be a disadvantage. The disadvantages of having two different languages in two different circles of a small province, would necessitate keeping two different sets of officers each in a small circle of its own, one of the very things which, it is said, needs remedy.

The argument that the Brahmaputra river furnishes a geographical boundary does not commend itself to us, as it is a shifting boundary, marked on sand, and cannot be adopted for defining administrative limits.

It is said that "there is no portion of Bengal where the drawbacks of an imperfectly supervised administration are more evident than in the outlying districts on its eastern border." As allusion has been made to the Police Commission in reference to the above, we presume that it is directed to the criminal administration of the eastern districts.

The official reports do not show against Dacca or Mymensingh a large percentage of crime, but in fact those two districts compare very favourably

with the 24-Parganas. The percentage, taking the years 1898, 1899, and 1900 is approximately shown below :—

	Per 1,000 Population.
Dacca	1·5
Mymensingh	1·5
The 24-Parganas	7·6

The heaviest criminal district appears to be the 24-Parganas. There is also nothing, so far as we can see, to complain of in the percentage of convictions in the eastern districts.

The facts, therefore, do not bear out the charge that the eastern districts of Bengal suffer from an "imperfectly supervised administration" with regard to crimes. We do not agree that Dacca and Mymensingh are "elements of weakness" in the administration of Bengal. We consider them particularly helpful, and they are undoubtedly sources of strength to the whole of the province. There is a very large number of zamindars in Dacca and Mymensingh, all of whom, with perhaps a few exceptions, object to being separated from Bengal. The interests of the people are not advanced by a "considerable zamindar" or two being recognized as "magnates" in a "self-contained" and prospectively "progressive province." The improvement in their status, we humbly venture to think, is a matter hardly worthy of serious consideration.

No one objects to the Chittagong port being improved, but we fail to understand why it should not be possible for the Bengal Government to help its growth. If the India Government allows a sufficient sum to Bengal for that purpose, it is not likely to be diverted. The diversion of special funds cannot be justly charged against the local Government. Imperial requirements have necessitated such diversion. It has not been asserted by any one that the administration of Bengal is perfect, but we respectfully, yet firmly, protest against charging it with inefficiency. To create doubt, distrust, and anxiety in the minds of people contented with the present state of affairs, is certainly undesirable. We do not apprehend that any portion of Bengal is likely to be so lost in Assam as to lose its identity, but it is a questionable policy which seeks to bring together alien races. We find it stated in Government reports that "the Assamese are a distinct people, who, far from regarding the natives of India proper as being closely allied to them, look upon them with undisguised jealousy and suspicion—a Bengali-Hindu, of whatever caste, standing on much the same footing for all social purposes as a European or Muhammadan. The manners and customs of the Assamese are different from those of Bengal; their language is different . . . . . even their caste system differs in many important particulars."

One of the avowed objects of British rule in India is to create amongst us a national feeling, and to make us fit for representative government, so as to relieve the burden on its shoulders. To divide one race into two and place it under different administrations, is just the thing which would make that object difficult of accomplishment. It is well-known that the cry of "Behar for the Beharis" has somewhat strained the feelings between Bengal and Behar, and in Assam there is the cry of "Assam for the Assamese." We must not be understood to say, or suggest, that Bengal is entitled to preference, or that it is in any way unjust that Behar should first of all consider the claims of the Beharis, and Assam of the Assamese. On the other hand we freely admit that each province should prefer its own people. It is for this reason, amongst others, that we ask that Bengal should not be divided. Mutual jealousies should not be created by dividing the people, rather they should be encouraged to preserve the same traditions, the same racial feeling, to cherish the same ideas, and be guided by the same aspirations. The history of Bengal is the history of one people, and it is too much to ask our governors to sympathize with us in our desire to preserve our historical unity, even as a subject race? If in the excitement of the moment some of us may have been so bold as to speak of a Bengali nation and protest against its division, it should be possible to sympathize with the sentiment. However lightly such phrases may be treated, the fact remains that the contemplated division of this people has given rise to much anxiety and is viewed with great alarm.

The districts proposed to be severed, we believe, will suffer in every way. It is unnecessary to deal at length with the educational, social, and commercial disadvantages likely to result from the proposed partition of Bengal. It would be a long time before those districts could possibly get the same educational advantages as they now enjoy. The Government has found it difficult to maintain the advantages formerly enjoyed by such colleges as Dacca, Krishnaghur, and Hooghly, or keep up their position and prestige, and it is unlikely that the finances of the enlarged province, be it called Assam or by any other name, would enable it to support an efficient educational service and medical and engineering institutions. It is possible now for a large number of students from the eastern districts to avail themselves of the educational institutions of the metropolis, because their parents or relatives find work or employment in Western Bengal, but with a divided country the area of such work or employment would be gradually decreased.

Social disadvantages are difficult for the Government to understand and easy to overlook. Persons reputed to be familiar with those matters and who may enjoy the confidence of the Government, may be found to state that such disadvantages are not likely to arise, but we venture to submit that public opinion on such matters ought to be accepted in preference.

The scheme propounded by Mr. Risley in his letters has been almost universally condemned. His reasons for keeping together Orissa and Bengal do not seem to apply to the case of the eastern districts. Arguments advanced in one portion of the letter, apparently lose their value in another. What he approbates in the case of Chota Nagpur, he reprobates in the case of Assam. We hope to be excused for saying that ethnologicial, geographcal, and linguistic considerations seem to serve or fail him arbitrarily. That the scheme has met with widespread opposition cannot be denied, nor does the agitation lose its value or significance by being merely called artificial. Public bodies have no right to exist, if they cannot help to elicit and express public opinion, and they would be wanting in their duty to the people and Government if they did not take steps for that purpose. Our association has been in close touch, and is intimately associated, with the districts concerned, and we are in a position authoritatively to place before His Honour their opinion, that Bengal should not be divided as proposed. We feel it our duty also to state that with the exception of perhaps of an interested few, there is no divergence of opinion between Hindus and Muhammadans on this question, and we may be permitted humbly to point out that there may be personal interests at stake, if individuals are found to support the proposal which has been so widely condemned.

Annexure 10.

From Nawab Syed Ameer Hussain, C.I.E., Honorary Secretary, Central National Muhammadan Association, Calcutta, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Calcutta, 17th February 1904.

IN reply to your letter no. 437-J., Judicial Department, dated the 16th January 1904, inviting an expression of opinion from the Central National Muhammadan Association on the proposed transfer of some of the Bengal Districts to Assam, I beg, by the direction of the Committee of the Association, to state that in their opinion a readjustment of the territorial limits of Bengal, either on the smaller or the larger scale suggested in the letter, is neither necessary nor desirable.

As to the proposed transfer of Chittagong Division alone, it appears to the Committee that the main object with which the proposal is put forward will not obviously be attained by it. To take away from the Administration of Bengal a population of 4,911,056, and at the same time to give to it an accession of territory with a population of 4,469,635, would afford no real relief to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and, having regard to the strong reluctance of the people of the Chittagong Division to be placed under the Assam Administration, is not worth attempting.

My Committee are of opinion that no portion of the Bengali-speaking race should be separated from Bengal without the clearest necessity for such separation, and they think, in the present case, such necessity does not exist. The principle here advocated is recognised in Mr. Risley's letter, as the proposal for the transfer of certain tracts from Chota Nagpur and Madras to Bengal, is almost exclusively based on the advantage of uniting the whole of the Uriya-speaking people under one Administration. It appears to my Committee that if Bengal requires relief, that may be afforded to it by the transfer of the whole of Orissa to the Central Provinces, and as pointed out in Mr. Risley's letter, its past history, its language, its traditions, and the nature of its revenue settlement all connect it more intimately with that province. One of the arguments for not transferring Orissa from Bengal, as stated in Mr. Risley's letter, is that " the prescription of a century is difficult to break," and I beg to point out that it is still more difficult to break the prescription of many centuries. As to the difficulty of communication with the Central Provinces, it may be confidently expected that this difficulty will, in course of time, disappear.

By the severance of the whole of Orissa and a portion of Chota Nagpur from Bengal, leaving things as they are in all other respects, the latter province will obtain all the relief it is proposed to be given to it, by the combined transfers of the Chittagong Division, and the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam. As has been pointed out by Mr. Risley in his letter, the net result of the suggestions contained therein, is to reduce the population of Bengal by 10,992,926, and almost the same result is obtained by merely severing Orissa and portions of Chota Nagpur from Bengal. Judged by the standard of education, civilization, language, habits, past traditions, nature of revenue settlement, and a hundred other matters more or less important, the people of Dacca, Mymensingh, Tippera, Noakhali, and Chittagong have infinitely more in common with Bengal than Orissa and Chota Nagpur, and it appears to my Committee that if relief be indeed needed, it ought to be in directions other than those indicated in Mr. Risley's letter.

The Committee of the National Muhammadan Association, which has its branches all over Bengal, are not, however, in favour of any change in the territorial limits of that province at all. The facilities of communication that are developing year after year, are bringing the outlying portions of the province in closer touch with those charged with its administration, and it appears to us that the task of government is daily becoming more easy than difficult. If, however, it be considered necessary for efficient administration to divide the responsibility that now rests on the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal alone, my Committee are of opinion that the better course would be to turn Bengal into a Governorship with an Executive Council like that in Madras and Bombay. This will be a step forward, whereas the change proposed is undoubtedly a backward move.

The people of the Chittagong Division, of Dacca and Mymensingh, have hitherto looked to Calcutta for inspiration and guidance. The best Colleges and the best Madrasas are in Calcutta, and students from those quarters are flowing here in daily increasing numbers. Their connection with Calcutta has therefore been very intimate. These may be mere matters of sentiment, but in the consideration of the present question, even mere sentiment should not be ignored, but should be allowed its full legitimate weight. Besides the administration of Bengal is carried on on more enlightened principles than that of Assam, the former being adapted to the higher education and civilization of the people under its care. A scheme to bring under the same laws and govern on the same lines a people who have taken the fullest advantage of the benefits of the British rule and who have reached a high level of civilization under its fostering care, and another just emerging from a state of primitive culture, is one of great difficulty and distinctly to the disadvantage of the former. That the people of Bengal should object to be placed under the Government of Assam, is most natural. A vigilant press, a strong public opinion, a local Council, for making laws, with a number of non-official members, partly elected, to represent the various interests of the province, the right of interpellation so

useful in bringing about a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, a Board of Revenue presided over by two senior members of the Civil Service thoroughly familiar with the most intricate revenue problems, are assets that no people will willingly part with. Government is fully aware of the feeling that the proposal has evoked in the affected districts, and it seems to my Committee that, even assuming the existence of certain administrative conveniences, they are far outweighed by more important considerations to the contrary. As regards the assurance that the jurisdiction of the High Court will remain unaffected, it seems to my Committee that in the natural course of things, this assurance cannot hold good for many years, and that a severance being once effected, the establishment of some Court inferior to the High Court, for the judicial administration of the larger Assam, would only be a question of time. Finally my Committee beg to suggest that should the Government be determined upon making the proposed transfer, a determination that my Committee will very much deplore, the least it can do to compensate the people for their losses, is to found a Lieutenant-Governorship for the reconstituted province of Assam, with a Council similar in constitution with that in Bengal, and a Board of Revenue charged with the Revenue Administration of the province.

Annexure 11.

To the Hon'ble Sir Andrew H. L. Fraser, M. A., LL. D., K.C.S.I., Bar-at-Law, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The humble memorial of the Inhabitants of the District of Dacca.

Most respectfully sheweth,—

1. That your memorialists received with feelings of alarm and dismay the proposal of the Government of India contained in the letter of Mr. Risley, dated the 3rd December 1903, regarding the partition of Bengal and the incorporation of this district together with some others into the Administration of Assam.

2. That after a consideration of the said proposal in all its bearings, the people of this district were convinced, that the scheme, if given effect to, would prejudicially affect the manifold interests of the people, curtail their rights and retard their future progress.

3. That the people of the district, representing all sections and interests of the community, held meetings in all important centres and passed Resolutions regarding their respectful but emphatic protest against the said scheme and duly communicated their humble protests to Government.

4. That a memorial from the people of this district embodying the reasons of their objections to the Government scheme was in course of preparation, when it was announced that His Excellency the Viceroy would shortly visit Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh, and the people waited to learn from His Excellency the definite views of Government on the subject. That your memorialists ,therefore, postponed the submission of their memorial till after His Excellency's visit.

5. That your memorialists have since had the opportunity to peruse the speeches of His Excellency the Viceroy at Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh, and according to the command of His Excellency they have carefully and attentively studied the three speeches, as a whole, in order to ascertain His Excellency's views regarding the proposed transfer.

6. That your memorialists observe with regret that His Excellency has not been pleased to give any definite assurance which would allay their fears and anxieties and secure to them their present rights and privileges.

7. That your memorialists are therefore obliged to submit their objections to the original scheme and such possible variations of it as have been vaguely hinted at by His Excellency in his speeches.

8. That conceding, without admitting, that the relief of the overburdened Administration of Bengal is necessary, the question is in what form such relief should be given, which, while effecting the desired object, is not likely to be injurious to the best interests of the people.

9. That adverting to the letter of Mr. Secretary Risley, your memorialists find it stated, without assigning any reasons, that relief to the Government of Bengal " can be afforded, not, as has been suggested on several previous occasions, by organic changes in the form of government, but only by actual transference of territory." The views of the Government of India on the subject have, however, been explained by the Viceroy in his speech at Dacca, in which His Excellency has expressed a strong disapproval of the suggestion of helping the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal with an Executive Council. With the utmost deference to the opinion of His Lordship, your memorialists beg to submit that relief to the Government of Bengal can best be afforded by creating an Executive Council, the members of which could take up departments and free the Lieutenant-Governor of the greater portion of his minor work.

Executive Council.

10. That such division of work, your memorialists beg leave to submit, has the sanction of the practice of all civilized nations, and the responsible heads of Government are always assisted by councils or cabinets; it has, moreover, the weight of the authority of the whole course of Parliamentary Legislation with regard to the Government of India. A glance at the history of such legislation will show that, so far back as 1793 by the Statute passed in the 33rd year of the reign of His Majesty King George III, the whole civil and military government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa was vested in a Governor-General and three counsellors and similarly the Governors of Madras and Bombay were aided by three counsellors each, and the Governor-General and his counsellors in Bengal were given authority to supervise the government of the other Presidencies. This system of providing Executive Councils for the Governors of the different Presidencies and for the Governor-General was confirmed by Statute 3 and 4 William IV, c. 85, and other successive Statutes. Statute 21 and 22 Vic., c. 106, also provides for a Council for helping the Secretary of State for India, and sec. 20 of the said Statute authorizes the Secretary of State to divide his Council into Committees for convenient transaction of business. The members of an Executive Council, who are all taken from the most experienced officers, can not only advise but render substantial help to the head of the Government, and make the work of government greatly lighter. If there have been occasional differences of opinion between the Governor and his Council, it does not in any way detract from the merits of the system. A Council, moreover, "is a check" in the words of Sir William Lee-Warner, "upon the dangerous system of over-centralization." The institution of an Executive Council has, therefore, notwithstanding difference of individual opinions on the subject, been adopted and tried for over a century and has been, to quote again the words of Sir William, "justified by its results." The people of Madras and Bombay do not object to it, and, your memorialists believe, would be very sorry to lose it; and your memorialists submit, with respect, that it does not deserve that condemnation which has been passed upon it by His Excellency the Viceroy at Dacca.

11. Your memorialists would, in this connection, bring to Your Honour's notice the opinions of Sir Charles Stevens and Sir Charles Elliott, two retired distinguished officers of Government, who are reported to have been recently interviewed, and have given their opinions in favour of an Executive Council being given to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to help him. And your memorialists understand, that Sir Antony MacDonnell, once our Lieutenant-Governor and a great statesman, also recommended the introduction of an Executive Council in Bengal.

12. Your memorialists would also ask leave to draw Your Honour's attention to the legislative enactments of the British Parliament, which have provided for and directs the establishment of a Governor and Council for Bengal, and

which have only been kept temporarily suspended, and which deserve the foremost consideration of the Government on an occasion like this.

13. Your memorialists find that so far back as 1833 the Statute 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85, sec. 38, directed that the territories subject to the Government of Fort William in Bengal shall be divided into two distinct Presidencies, one to be called the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and the other the Presidency of Agra; and sec. 56 provided, that these Presidencies should have Governors and Councils similar to those of Madras and Bombay, and sec. 71 provided that both the civil and military services would remain the same and would not be divided by reason of the constitution of two separate Presidencies. This direction of creating two Presidencies was kept suspended for financial reasons by Statute 5 and 6 Will. IV, c. 52 (1835), and a Lieutenant-Governorship was temporarily created for the North-Western Provinces. In 1853, Statute 16 and 17 Vic., c. 95, sec. 15, again confirmed the said suspension of the creation of the two Presidencies, and the arrangements for a Lieutenant-Governor for the N.-W. P., and provided in its 16th section that the Governor-General shall cease to be the Governor of Bengal, and that a separate Governor of Bengal shall be appointed as provided in Statute 3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85, and unless and until such Governor be appointed there will be a Lieutenant-Governor for Bengal. The provisions of the Indian Councils Act (1861), 24 and 25 Vic., c. 67, declare that the Governor-General in Council will have no power to repeal or amend the provisions of the aforesaid Statute 3 and 4, Will. IV, c. 85, or of Statute 16 and 17 Vic., c. 95. It appears, therefore, that Parliament has given the imperative direction of creating a Governor and Council for Bengal, but has temporarily kept it under suspension. If then the time has come for giving relief to the Government of Bengal, it should be done in the way laid down and directed by the provisions of the Parliamentary Statutes mentioned above.

Statutes providing Governor and Council for Bengal.

14. That your memorialists venture to observe that the object of providing better government for the people and establishing a greater touch between them and the Government can be attained by granting relief, not to the head of the Government, but to the subordinate staff. It cannot be expected that, even if the population under the Administration of Bengal be cut down to 67 millions, or even to half the present number, a Lieutenant-Governor would be in a position to pay a visit to all the districts that would still remain under him, during the peroid of his incumbency, or that he would be able to give a more personal attention to the details of the Administration or to the working of his subordinates. Then, again, if out of the nine Commissioners of Divisions that are now under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, two be taken out, there will be seven left to look after 67 millions which will give nearly ten millions to each in the average. This will hardly decrease the work of the Commissioners.

15. That your memorialists believe that the alleged want of touch between the Government officials and the people in the outlying districts of Bengal has been over-stated, and so far as the district of Dacca is concerned, it is without any foundation at all. Dacca has always received a very great amount of attention from the heads of Government. It has received three Viceregal visits and every Lieutenant-Governor has paid at least one visit and some have paid even two or three during the periods of their incumbency; while there are even metropolitan districts which have not been favoured with the visits of some of the Lieutenant-Governors. Moreover, it is noteworthy that crime is not so prevalent in Dacca as in some other parts of Bengal.

16. That your memorialists most respectfully beg leave to observe that neither the scheme propounded in Mr. Risley's letter nor the more expanded scheme of cutting off a greater part of Bengal, which has been mentioned in the Viceroy's speech as a possible contingency, can effectually afford relief to the Government of Bengal, and secure to the people the rights and privileges which they have so long enjoyed. But that, in the humble opinion of your memorialists, the dimensions of unwieldy districts should be cut down, and that the districts, which are the units of the Administration, should be strongly manned by district and other officers, and it is such officers who have the opportunity, if they have time, to come into contact with the people, and exercise a personal rule, upon which His Excellency so strongly insisted in his late speeches. That

in the humble opinion of your memorialists all that is necessary for a good and effective Administration is, that the head of the Government should have time to exercise a general supervision over efficiently governed districts and Revenue divisions, and he may be helped in this work by an Executive Council as suggested above.

Executive Council more economic.

17. That your humble memorialists would draw Your Honour's attention to the fact, that the creation of a separate Lieutenant-Governorship with a Council, similar to that of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal which can to a certain degree secure to the people their present rights and privileges, would be far more costly than an Executive Council to help the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, together with all measures which may be necessary to strengthen the subordinate staff as suggested above.

Non-regulation territory.

18. That one of the most serious objections to the scheme propounded in Mr. Secretary Risley's letter is that in the event of this district being placed under a Chief Commissioner, it would lose the local Legislature and would be reduced to the status of a non-regulation territory, the people of it would have no opportunity for, or voice in the discussion of, their local laws, which will be passed by the Governor-General and his Executive Council; and with the local Legislature, the people would also lose the important rights of interpellation and discussion of the Provincial Budget.

Elective Council. Interpellation. Discussion of Budget.

19. That an expansion of the Legislative Council upon an elective basis was made, and the rights of interpellation and discussion of the Budget were given by Parliamentary Statute. His Excellency the Viceroy when he, as Under-Secretary of State, in 1892, introduced the India Councils Bill of that year, spoke in the House of Commons as follows :—

"The Bill was intended to widen the basis and expand the functions of the Government of India, to give further opportunities than at present exist to the non-official and native elements of Indian society to take part in the work of Government, and in this way to take official recognition of the remarkable development, both in political interest and political capacity, which had been visible among all classes of Indian society since the Government was taken over by the Crown."

20. Your humble memorialists submit that nothing can be more unfortunate for the people of this district than to be deprived of these cherished rights and privileges, which have been gradually and step by step granted and extended by a wise and beneficient Government in recognition of the claims of Bengal as the most enlightened and advanced Province in the extensive dominions under the sway of the Government of India, and to be relegated to a form of administration designed and fitted for primitive and aboriginal tribes in the lowest stratum of civilization.

21. That your humble memorialists observe with regret that the gravity of the loss which the separated districts would suffer by the deprivation of their aforesaid rights has been much under-rated both in Mr. Risley's letter and in the speech of His Excellency the Viceroy at Dacca. The importance of the right of the discussion of the annual financial statement, aud that of interpellation in the Legislative Council, cannot be better stated than in the authoritative language of Lord Lansdowne, the then Viceroy of India, who in introducing the rules framed under the Statute of 1892, stated in his Council on the 4th February 1893:—

"The privilege thus conferred upon the Legislative Council is, I venture to think, one of great importance. * * * The right to criticise the financial administration of a Government is one of which it is impossible to over-estimate the value, and I have never concealed my opinion that it was improper as well as illogical that that right should be frequently denied merely upon the technical ground that no Bill upon which a financial debate could be originated happened to be before the Council. * * * These financial discussions will now take place with regularity, and not upon sufferance, and I feel no doubt, that both the public and the Government of India will gain, the one by the

wider knowledge and insight into public affairs which it will obtain, the other by the increased opportunity which will be given to it of explaining its position and defending its policy." * * *

Lord Lansdowne.

"I will, however, venture to say that, even if the changes which we have been able to introduce were to stop short with those which I have now explained,—and I don't suggest for a moment that this is likely,—a very material advance will have been made in the direction of increasing the usefulness of the Legislative Councils. Their functions have, until now, with the solitary exception to be found in those occasional discussions of the Budget, which I have just mentioned, been strictly and narrowly limited to those of assisting the Government of India in the work of legislation. They have been absolutely precluded from asking for information, or inquiring into matters of public interest. In advising Her Majesty's Government to allow us to exceed these limits, we feel that we have taken a very serious and far-reaching step. We have taken it under a deep sense of the responsibility which we have assumed; we are fully aware that we are effecting a radical change in the character of these Legislatures; but we are profoundly convinced, that the time has come when it is desirable to bring them into closer touch with the rest of the community, and that the reform which we are about to introduce is one which will be for the advantage of the Government as well as the people of this country."

Constitution changed.

22. That the loss of a local Legislative Council would, your memorialists crave leave to submit, amount to the total loss, to eleven millions of people, of all voice, with respect not only to the laws which would hereafter be passed concerning them, but also regarding the modification or repeal of laws which have hitherto governed them. Such a vital change in the constitution of the country should not be made, your memorialists humbly submit, for the administrative re-arrangement of territories.

Seat in Legislative Council.

23. That the Government of India, in Mr. Secretary Risley's letter, expresses the opinion, that the loss of the districts sought to be transferred in the aforesaid letter "would be more than compensated if Assam were to share a seat in the Legislative Council of the Governor-General with the Central Provinces furnishing a member alternately with that Administration," and His Excellency the Viceroy in his speeches has propounded the same view. Your humble memorialists crave leave to submit, that apart from its being only of a periodical nature, the privilege would be of little advantage to the people of the new Administration, for their representative in the Supreme Legislature would have nothing to do with the passing of their local laws, which, under the Statute of 33 and 34 Vic., c. 3, would be passed by the Governor-General with the aid of his Executive Council, with only such light as might be afforded to them by the report of the Chief Commissioner, and could not be discussed in the Governor-General's Council for making Laws and Regulations.

24. That the Government of India, in Mr. Secretary Risley's letter, dated the 21st December 1903, assure the people that the "Statutes which confer upon the Governor-General in Council the power to alter the limits of Provinces expressly provide that no such alteration shall *of itself* affect the law in force in the territories concerned. It follows that the scheme under consideration will involve *no change in the system of administration of the districts* transferred." * * And His Excellency the Viceroy has also said the same thing in his speeches.

Laws liable to change.

25. That although the proposed transfer may not *of itself* affect existing laws and regulations, yet the Statutes referred to give the Administration to which the transferred districts would be annexed, the full power of altering, modifying or superseding such pre-existing laws or regulations. And your humble memorialists cannot but regard it as an altogether radical change in the system of their Administration which would make their laws and regulations, which have received full discussion both at the hands of the public and in the Legislative Councils, liable to be changed or superseded at any moment by the Governor-General and his Executive Council, simply on the report of the Chief Commissioner without their having any voice in the matter.

Sylhet Laws changed.

26. That your humble memorialists find that many of the Regulations and Acts which applied to Sylhet, while it was part of Bengal, have ceased to have operation there; and they have been replaced by laws which are greatly prejudicial to the interest of the people. Laws relating to such important subjects as alluvial increments, settlement, partition, sales for arrears of revenue, public demands recovery, opening or closing of separate accounts for payment of revenue, have all been repealed by Regulation I of 1886. And the nature and extent of the change may easily be conceived when it is seen that the whole law of the Province relating to rights in land resumption, survey settlement, record of rights, land registration, partition and union of estates, house tax, recovery of arrears of revenue and other public demands, and the procedure to be adopted in these matters are all contained within the compass of the aforesaid regulation containing only one hundred and fifty-nine sections. That your memorialists understand that this important change in the laws of Assam was affected notwithstanding the solemn assurance of Lord Northbrook to the people of Sylhet, when it was annexed to Assam, that its laws would not be affected, and the protests of the people of that district when the change was made. The people of Sylhet did not acquiesce in these changes, but in 1882 and 1884 strongly protested against them (*vide* copy of their memorial which was presented to the Governor-General of India, given in the appendix herewith annexed); but no heed was paid to their protests. If they have been quiet since, it is only on account of the utter helplessness of their position and not because they have been happy under the new Administration.

Lord Northbrook's assurance overlooked.

Sylhet's protests unheeded.

27. That your humble memorialists are afraid, that by the proposed transfer the progress of this district so far as legislation is concerned, will be altogether retarded. Owing to the absence of any Legislative Council, the laws will not receive any development according to the growing needs of the people, and will tend to continue in the same state. Then, again, as the Province of Assam is composed of numerous tribes and peoples, having different interests, for whom it is impossible to legislate separately, the tendency to provide one uniform law for the whole Province will necessarily sacrifice the needs and requirements of the more advanced portion of the community to the exigencies of the more backward population.

Laws stereotyped.

28. That your Honour's memorialists understand that many Acts, which have been passed in Bengal, since Sylhet was transferred to Assam in 1874, and which are now in operation in the Regulation Districts of Bengal, have not been extended to that district. For example, the Bengal Tenancy Act VIII of 1885, which was introduced into Bengal after a great deal of public discussion and deliberation, and which has created so many important rights in favour of the rural population, has not been extended to Sylhet; and it is still governed by the old Tenancy Laws. On the other hand, your memorialists find that the "Local Rates Regulation III of 1879" has been made applicable to Sylhet, along with the other temporarily-settled parts of the Province of Assam, evidently with the object of providing one uniform law, both for the permanently and temporarily-settled tracts. These "local rates," which are a heavy tax, assessed on every acre of land, on permanently-settled estates, in addition to the Revenue, are levied from the land-owners and are recovered by the same process as Land Revenue, and these "local rates" press heavily on the land-owners of Sylhet and are evidently a violation of the Permanent Settlement. Another violation of the Permanent Settlement was made by what is called the "Jhum" Regulation III of 1891 passed with respect to Sylhet, which has extinguished all rights in respect to certain assets which were assessed in the Permanent Settlement of estates, and has made provisions for their commutation.

Permanent Settlement violated.

Dacca permanently settled.

29. That from the assumption of the Dewani by the East India Company, Dacca has all along formed part of the Regulation territories. The lands of this district are permanently settled, and its Land Laws have received a high state of development from a continuous course of progressive legislation. There cannot be the slightest doubt that this progressive development will receive a serious check, if it be not absolutely stopped, in consequence of its being made a part of a backward Administration. In the cause of progress, it is absolutely necessary that this district should be retained as a part of the

Regulation territories, and your memorialists beg to enter their respectful but firm protest against their being dragged down to the level of less advanced people.

30. That Your Honour will also kindly notice that there are many zemindaries and other revenue-paying estates borne on the Revenue-roll of Dacca, which have got their lands scattered over neighbouring districts, such as Pabna, Faridpur, Backergunge, etc, and your memorialists beg to submit that it would be not only anomalous, but highly inconvenient, to subject them to different sets of Land Laws in two Provinces.

Board of Revenue.

31. That in the event of their district being separated from Bengal, Your Memorialists would lose the advantage of the Board of Revenue. The lower Revenue authorities always receive their orders and instructions from the Board of Revenue, whose members are selected from among the most able and experienced officers of a big service, relating to partition, settlement, land-revenue, cesses, court of wards, and all other departments of revenue. Besides, this being a permanently-settled tract, the landed interest is the most important in this district, and questions of great complexity frequently arise for decision which are fought up to the Board of Revenue, by the litigant parties in the Metropolis, they can obtain the best legal advice available in the country, and the services of the Advocate-General and other eminent counsel for representing their respective views before the Board. If, however, the district be transferred to the Assam Administration, where the Chief Commissioner hears and disposes of all Revenue matters *in camera*, they would be deprived of this legal aid, and even, if he were disposed to hear counsel, as your memorialists have been assured, the present Chief Commissioner now does, it would be impossible to obtain counsel at Shillong, Chittagong or elsewhere except at a ruinous cost.

32. That, again, if the powers of the Board of Revenue to hear appeals and revisions, be vested in the Chief Commissioner of Assam, who would have his head-quarters at two, if not at three places, people would have to attend at those places at great inconvenience and cost. Zemindars and other substantial landholders would have to retain agencies at all the seats of the Government of the new Province, at considerable expense, in addition to the agencies which they now have at the Metropolis, which also will have to be retained on account of the High Court. As to the middle and poorer classes, who cannot maintain any agencies, the cost, trouble and fatigue of going to Shillong, which cannot be reached under six days, and of going to Chittagong, which is also at a considerable distance from this district, will be simply prohibitive as regards obtaining any redress in Revenue matters. And as the landed interest in this district is mainly composed of numerous small landholders, the proposed change would seriously affect the landed interest of this district.

Financial Commissioner.

33. That His Excellency the Viceroy has been pleased to assure the people that, in the newly-contemplated Province they would either have a Board of Revenue, or its equivalent, in the shape of a Revenue or Financial Commissioner; and they have been further told that, as in the Board of Revenue only one of the members hears appeals, there would be hardly any difference between a Board of Revenue and a Financial Commissioner. Your memorialists most respectfully beg to state that the real importance of a Board of Revenue consists, firstly, in its members being selected from among the most talented and experienced men of a big service; thoroughly conversant with the laws and practice of permanently-settled territories; secondly in its being situated in the Metropolis where the best legal aid is available; thirdly, in the fact that one set of agencies can do the work both in the High Court and the Board of Revenue. Under the circumstances, a Financial Commissioner would be hardly a proper substitute for a Board of Revenue.

High Court.

34. That although the jurisdiction of the High Court would be retained at present, His Excellency points out that its removal is not an improbable contingency on account of the congestion of its work. The probability of such a course being adopted would be greatly enhanced by this district being made part of a separate province. Your Memorialists are so fully sensible of the immense benefits which have accrued to them, through their local, Judicial

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tribunals being subject to the High Court of Calcutta, that they cannot but regard with dismay the prospect of the loss of that protection of their rights and liberties which has always been afforded to them by the High Court. A substituted tribunal, they venture to submit, will necessarily fall far short of that high level of efficiency, learning and independence which characterize the High Court of Calcutta. Deterioration in the Higher Appellate Court would necessarily react upon the Subordinate Judiciary which, it is apprehended, would gradually lose the efficiency and independence for which they are at present so popular.

Civil Justice.

35. That, with the change proposed, the administration of civil justice in these districts, it is submitted, is sure to undergo a change for the worse. In the system of administration at present in force in Assam, the functions of the Judge and the Magistrate are, except in a very few districts, frequently combined in a single official. The administration of justice in Assam is thus conducted at present on lines radically distinct from the system in force in Bengal. The addition of these districts would, it is submitted, instead of creating an independent and efficient service in Assam, only create complications and introduce confusion by subjecting the new Province to a dual system, at least so far as the administration of civil justice is concerned. The new Province would still have to borrow its Judicial officers from Bengal, and

Assam service.

Bengal is not likely to part with its best officers to lend them to a different Province. If, on the other hand, instead of borrowing Judicial officers from the Bengal service, the future Government of Assam confines its choice in this respect to its own service, the result in that case will be even worse. Of all the questions which a Judicial officer in Bengal is called upon to decide, those relating to land tenures are the most difficult and intricate. The complexity of the Bengal land-tenure system and the intricacy of the Rent Law of Bengal are such that they very often tax to the utmost the capacities of the most able and experienced Judicial officers. The Civilians of Assam, trained in the far simpler law and usages prevailing in that Province, will find the task of grasping these intricate questions one of extreme difficulty and, as a necessary consequence, the efficiency of the Judicial service would greatly suffer by the change.

Criminal Justice.

36. That your memorialists are afraid, that the administration of criminal justice would be affected in an even more injurious manner by the proposed separation. In this connection, your memorialists venture to draw Your Honour's attention to secs. 30 and 34 of the Code of Criminal Procedure. The former of these sections provides, among other things, that the Chief Commissioner of Assam may invest the District Magistrate or any Magistrate of the first class, with power to try as a Magistrate all offences not punishable with death. By the latter section, the Magistrates so empowered, are also given the power to inflict any sentence except a sentence of death or of transportation for a term exceeding seven years, or imprisonment for a term exceeding seven years. The people of this district have long enjoyed the privilege of trial by jury. The proposed transfer would expose them to the risk of

Trial by Jury.

being deprived of this valued and cherished privilege at the mere will of the Chief Commissioner. The change is thus viewed by your memorialists with dismay as foreshadowing the destruction of a right which is an effectual guarantee against prejudices or errors on the parts of Judicial officers.

37. That the combination of Judicial and Executive functions in the same officer, which the people regard as a crying evil in the criminal administration of India, would instead of receiving a check, rather receive a wide extension if the sections referred to above be put in operation.

38. Criminal justice has, for a long time past, been administered in this district on precise and strictly legalized methods. The executive officers in Assam very often receive their initial training in non-Regulation tracts and many of the wildest and most uncivilized parts of India. They will necessarily fail to discharge their duties satisfactorily when transferred to these districts, and the amalgamation of these districts with Assam would necessarily result in bringing about a uniformity throughout the Province in criminal administration which would be greatly disadvantageous to these districts.

Division of Bengali-speaking community united by common ties.

39. That by far the most objectionable feature in the scheme formulated by the Government of India, is the proposal of dividing the Bengali-speaking community into two parts and putting them under two Administrations. Speaking the same language, possessing a common literature, united by social and educational ties, welded together by the same laws and Government, and having common hopes and aspirations and common political interests to support, they form a unit which it would be highly unjust to divide.

Common political interests.

40. That being under the same form of Government, and governed by the same laws, the people of Eastern and Western Bengal have always had a common cause, and a common interest, and their leading men have always acted in unison in all matters of public interest. And politically it would be a great misfortune for the Eastern districts proposed to be separated to lose the powerful support and co-operation of the enlightened and influential men of West Bengal, in all matters which would hereafter concern them.

Creation of tow units.

41. That with reference to the observations made by His Excellency the Viceroy in his speeches to the effect that the people of Bengal would suffer no loss by the creation of two different units in two centres, and that the people of East Bengal, by reason of their numbers and their intellectual superiority would, instead of being an appanage to a backward Province, occupy a dominant position in the newly-created Administration, your memorialists beg leave to observe that the severance of that intimate relationship by which they are now connected with the Metropolis would undoubtedly retard the advancement of the people of these districts in every respect by depriving them of the guidance and co-operation of the people of West Bengal, who would always have the advantage of having the most enlightened and influential men among them. The Metropolis is in every country the centre of civilization; and it is undeniable that, in proportion as the ties by which East Bengal is bound to it are relaxed, it will lose the inestimable advantage of those incentives to progress of which this close connection with the centre of enlightenment is the source.

Common press.

42. That your humble memorialists beg leave to draw Your Honor's attention to the fact that Dacca has not got an independent and powerful press of its own to advocate its interests. There are in it four newspapers with small circulation, which can hardly make their voice heard. All the principal organs of public opinion are established in the Metropolis, and the cause of Dacca along with that of the rest of Bengal is advocated by them. In case of its transfer to a different Administration, Dacca would, no doubt, be looked upon as a stranger, and would lose touch with the press of Bengal, which is one of the strongest safeguards of its rights and liberties. The discussions in the press of a different Province would hardly be taken notice of by the authorities of the new Province.

Unity of language.

43. That your memorialists find from the letter of Mr. Risley that the Government of India attach very great weight to unity of language as a ground for a claim to be put under the same Administration. They have evinced a great solicitude for collecting together, under one Administration, all sections and tribes speaking different dialects of the Uriya language. On the ground of common language they have proceeded so far as to add a considerable burden to the administration of Bengal, the relief of which is the declared main object of Government, for the proposed re-distribution. Your memorialists submit that the linguistic consideration affords even stronger ground against the separation of these districts from the rest of Bengal. Bengal has got a literature of its own, while Uriyas do not possess one worth the name. The Bengali literature dates its origin in very ancient times and has received an enormous development and is now the common property of the whole of Bengal. Enlightened men of letters, in both Eastern and Western Bengal, have

Common literature.

alike enriched it by their contributions, and they are all labouring towards the further development of their common language and literature. They meet in a common field in the Metropolis, and the mutual interchange of thoughts and ideas has a great effect on the improvement of their common language. Then, again, the fostering care of Government which has provided the country with so many institutions and facilities for the propagation and spread of education,

has had a good deal to do towards its improvement and the maintenance of a common standard. Your memorialists apprehend that the incorporation of their district in an Administration, where the standard of education is low, and the educational machinery weak, the same high standard could not possibly be maintained. The Assamese have got a hybrid language with no literature of its own. It has, however, been recognized as the language of the Court and in the University; and the closer connection with people speaking an inferior language, which a common Administration would naturally establish, and the dissociation with Western Bengal would have the effect *gradually* but *surely* of deteriorating their language and literature. And your memorialists cannot but view the change as a national calamity.

Social ties.

44. That your memorialists also humbly draw Your Honour's attention to the social ties that exist between the inhabitants of this district and those of other districts of Bengal. In ancient times King Adisur had established his Kingdom in Vikrampur, in the southern part of the district of Dacca. He invited five Brahmans and five Kayasthas from Kanouj, and settled them in his dominions. The descendants of these Brahmans, who form the Kulin Brahman Somaj, in course of time spread over the districts north, south, and west of it. The Kulin Brahmans of all the districts of Western Bengal, are connected by inter-marriage with those of Eastern Bengal. Then the five Kayasthas, who came to Bengal at the time of Adisur, were the forefathers of the great Somaj of *Bangaja Kayasthas* which has its principal seats in Dacca, Backergunge and Jessore. Pratapaditya, the King of Jessore, well-known in the history of Bengal, once the head of the Somaj, came from a family of the *Bangaja Kayasthas*. These *Bangaja Kayasthas* of Dacca are settled and have their connections not only in the Eastern districts of Backergunge, Faridpur, Mymensingh, Jessore and Khulna, but also in parts of the 4-Pergunnahs, and other districts. The leaders of society in all parts of Bengal are exerting their influence to promote inter-marriage between these Bangaja Kayasthas and the Dakhin Rarhi Kayasthas, who prevail in West Bengal, and the Utter Rarhi Kayasthas of North Bengal, and some unions have already taken place, and it was expected that at no distance of time a fusion of the different branches would take place. But if the proposed change be carried into effect there will be a rupture of social ties, and all efforts in the direction of social reform and union will come to an end. These objections have been emphasized by the opinion of the Kayastha Somaj of Calcutta consisting of prominent members of all the three Kayastha communities. These Brahmans and Kayasthas, together with the Baidyas, form the gentry of Bengal. Your memorialists would also bring to Your Honor's notice that from the time of King Adisur, Vikrampur has been the principal seat of Sanskrit learning. To this day, many renowned Pandits maintain *Tols*, in which they instruct pupils in the different branches of Sanskrit learning. These Pandits are held in veneration in all parts of Bengal and are invited in all important ceremonies. They exert an important influence over the religious and social life of the whole Bengali-speaking community. The whole of this community is united by various social and religious ties; and it would be in the highest degree undesirable and inexpedient to divide this community.

Social degradation.

45. That your memorialists beg to bring to Your Honour's notice that the land beyond the river Meghna has always been looked down upon as the land of the aborigines. Sir William Hunter in describing the Dacca district says: "This tract of country formed the easternmost district of Bengal. * * Eastwards, the broad stream of the Meghna always served as a barrier against the wild aboriginal races, whose names are preserved in the dynasties of Tipperah and Cachar." Your memorialists humbly submit that the inclusion of the district into the Administration of Assam, and its permanent administrative association with tracts which have always been looked down upon in a social point of view, will be considered as degrading in the eye of Hindu society, and they will, in course of time, lose all touch with their kith and kin in the other districts of Bengal. The tract a person resides in has always a determining effect in the eye of Hindu society as to his social status. Their ideas of caste and social disabilities vary greatly from those of Europeans, by whom they are very imperfectly understood. Your memorialists would ask

permission to cite as instances of social rupture and severance in the fact that the Brahmans of Bengal, and of Orissa, or of Behar, and the North-Western Provinces, have no inter-marriages, and would not even touch each other's food, although originally they came from the same stock. Your memorialists earnestly solicit Government not to adopt a step which cannot but have the effect of such a rupture of immemorial social ties.

Education will suffer.

46. That upon a careful consideration of the question, your memorialists believe that the cause of education of this district would greatly suffer by the proposed change. The level of education in Assam is low, much lower than in Bengal. There are no Colleges in the whole Province, which can impart professional education. Only two second-grade Arts Colleges have been recently established. In the newly-proposed Province there would be no properly-equipped Colleges or institutions which could adequately fulfil the educational requirements of the people, whom it is proposed to separate from Bengal. The salaries of the supervising, inspecting, and teaching staffs in Assam are much lower than in Bengal, and cannot be expected to attract superior men. The Director of Public Instruction in Bengal receives a pay of Rs. 2,500 a month, while the same officer in Assam gets only Rs. 1,250. The pays of Principals and Professors of Colleges, and Head Masters of Schools in Assam are proportionably lower than in Bengal, and it cannot be expected that, with such comparatively low pay, men of equal abilities and attainments with those serving in Bengal could be obtained for the newly contemplated Province. In this connection, it may be pointed out, that an appointment in an Assam district is far less attractive to a Graduate of the Calcutta University than one in Bengal on the same pay. There is at present only one officer of the Imperial Educational Service in Assam, and in the event of Dacca being transferred, it would add only three others. Moreover, in the new Province, there would be wanting those general scholarships awarded on the result of the Entrance and First Arts Examinations which are a source of emulation to students in Bengal.

47. That His Excellency has been pleased to say:—"The ideal of educational advancement is the multiplication of centres of tuition and learning, so that boys and young men may be well taught in reasonable proximity to their homes. It cannot be doubted, that if a new province be created, there would be an immense development of local institutions, and that this would be a source of untold benefit to the people." Your memorialists beg most respectfully to submit that there would be no prospect of the condition of the Dacca College being improved, or of an increase in the efficiency or the number of local institutions, comparable to progress of education in Bengal in a new province, which must necessarily be poorer than Bengal. Your memorialists are informed that in Assam the expenditure of the Education Department largely exceeds the income. Your memorialists believe that the transfer of their district would not in any way improve the state of the funds and that sufficient funds would not be available to the newly-contemplated Province to effect such improvements as to make Dacca an educational centre that would be able to keep pace with the rest of Bengal. If the Dacca College has been hitherto starved under the rich Bengal Administration, your memorialists can entertain no hope of its further development under an Administration which cannot meet its ordinary administrative expenditure. Nor do your memorialists believe, that the experiment of making the Dacca College a residential one, would impart a greater impulse to the spread of education in the district. The local private College which is a second-grade one, has already got a far larger number of students than the corresponding classes of the Dacca Government College, and the increased cost, in the newly-contemplated residential College, would compel a large number of students, the great majority of whom are poor, to resort to private institutions. Your memorialists further believe that there is no prospect even in the distant future of Dacca being converted into a centre of tuition, where its young men could obtain the benefit of such well-furnished libraries or well-equipped laboratories, or the advantage of the teaching of such distinguished men of learning, as Calcutta will possess. The people of Dacca would have to send their sons, all the same, to Calcutta for receiving education in the Presidency and other Colleges of the Metropolis, which are in a far more efficient state than the Colleges at Dacca. Many

inhabitants of Dacca, who on account of employment, business relations, or for many other reasons now live in Calcutta, find it convenient to educate their children in the Calcutta Colleges. But in the event of Dacca being incorporated into a new province, its connections with Calcutta would gradually lessen, and a great many people who would be under the new conditions of service, or from other circumstances, oblige to reside within the new Province, would find it extremely costly and inconvenient to send their sons for education to Calcutta. Your memorialists have attempted to show above, that the inhabitants of Dacca, who would, on the creation of a new Province, have to seek employment mainly within its limits, would have to educate their boys in its schools and Colleges, most of which are in the first stage of their existence, and which, owing to the very backward state of education in Assam, will take a very long time to develop into anything like first-class institutions.

48. That your memorialists beg to bring to Your Honour's notice that Colleges for teaching Medicine and Engineering are situated in Calcutta alone. There is no prospect of Dacca having such well-equipped and well-manned Colleges within a measurable distance of time. That those Colleges admit only a limited number of students, and in the event of Dacca being placed in a new Province, the students from Dacca would not have the same claim to be admitted to those Colleges as the students of Bengal, who would naturally be given a preference. Moreover, the authorities of those Colleges would be justified in giving such preference, as the new Province would not contribute in any way towards the maintenance of those Colleges.

49. That your memorialists beg also to invite Your Honour's attention to the fact that the incorporation of Dacca into the Province of Assam, by weakening the ties which now bind it to Calcutta, will seriously retard the progress of education among the people of this district; for the vast majority of its students will no longer be stimulated in their intellectual efforts as they are at present by healthy competition with the young men of West Bengal, and their ideals will necessarily be lower than they are at present.

50. That your memorialists understand that in order to raise the status of the people of Assam and to secure to them a good share of the employments in their own country, the Government of Assam has been obliged to shut altogether the door of competition and to make the appointments by nomination; and as the educational standard is very low, appointments in Government service have necessarily to be made on very low educational qualifications. The high attainments which keen competition makes it necessary in Bengal, for obtaining appointments under Government, are not at all required in Assam. If therefore, our district be transferred to Assam, there will be wanting that *stimulus* which leads many people to give high education to their children and the deterioration of education will be a necessary consequence of the transfer.

Loss of service.

51. That connected with the above considerations is a matter of the most vital importance to the well-being and future prospects of the inhabitants of this district to which the attention of Government is earnestly solicited. The middle-class population of Dacca is composed of numerous small land-holders who have to supplement their income from land from other sources, and, consequently, from the earliest times they have had recourse to service and especially to employments under Government. The descendants of the industrial classes, whose industries have died out on account of competition with the Western nations, have also taken to service as their vocation. In order to fit them for Government service, these people give to their sons the best education available in the country. Thus the educated men of this district have always supplied large contingents to all Departments of Government service: whether Judicial, Executive, or Ministerial. It has always been recognized by Government that the district of Dacca has supplied it with numbers of intelligent, able and faithful servants in all its Departments. Your memorialists understand that the people of this district alone hold more than one-tenths of the posts in the Subordinate Judicial and Executive services in the 48 districts in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, which form the Administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, not to speak of the innumerable ministerial appointments which they hold in all these districts. By the intended separation the young men of this district would be deprived in

future of their claims to appointments not only in the remainder of the territories under the rule of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, but also in Assam.

Restrictions on employment.

52. That there has been a tendency, in the different local Administrations, to limit appointments to candidates living within their respective jurisdictions and to shut out outsiders. Thus the Bengalees are debarred from obtaining any appointments under the Government of the United Provinces. Then, again, your memorialists understand, there is already a Resolution promulgated by the Chief Commissioner of Assam, which forbids appointments in any divison or district being made from inhabitants outside the limits of such division or district. By this Resolution, the inhabitants of Sylhet, who form the most advanced portion of the territories under the Administration of Assam are debarred from getting appointments in the division consisting of the Assam Valley Districts. If the people of Sylhet, which has been incorporated with, and has formed an important portion of the Province of Assam for the last 30 years are thus shut out from obtaining employments in the Assam Valley Districts, the inhabitants of this district, being incorporated with Assam, cannot hope to obtain any employments within the limits of districts now comprising the Assam Administration. Their claims would be equally superseded in Bengal if they are severed from it, and they would be limited within their own district. A large portion of the young men of this district would therefore starve for want of employment, and the transfer would be a real calamity for the young generation of this district. The attention of His Excellency does not seem to have been drawn to the aforesaid limitations.

Commerce.

53. That your memorialists do not also see that the commercial interests of this district would, in any way, be advanced by the proposed change, or that the inhabitants of the district would derive any benefit thereby. The opening of the Assam-Bengal Railway line has not, in any appreciable degree, drawn away the trade of this district in that line. Only one or two European firms of Narainguge, who make direct shipments to foreign countries, send their goods in that line, but by far the great majority of European and all the native merchants and traders have their business relations with, and send their goods and merchandise to, Calcutta. They are, as a rule, financed by Calcutta capitalists, and they find the Calcutta port a more convenient outlet for their goods. The reduction of freight, which may be an advantage at the Chittagong port, will only bring some profit to the very few European firms who will send their goods to Chittagong, but it will be of no benefit or advantage to the people of this district who are the growers of the produce. On the other hand, the great majority of merchants and traders, who have established connections with Calcutta, will be injuriously affected by the separation.

54. That your memorialists venture to submit that it will appear to Your Honor from the above that examined from all standpoints, whether political linguistic, social, educational or commercial, the proposed scheme of transfer to Assam is objectionable and calculated to ensure to disadvantage and deterioration of all the interests of the people of this district, and cannot be productive of any corresponding advantage which may counterbalance the disadvantages or loss which must inevitably follow such a course.

River boundary.

55. That the Government of India is of opinion that the Government of Assam should be separated by a clear geographical line of demarcation from Bengal, and that the main channel of the Brahmaputra forms such a definite and intelligible boundary. Your memorialists submit, however, that neither the Bramhaputra, nor the Jamoona, as it is locally called, nor the Padma, can ever form a definite boundary between two Provinces or districts. The Jamoona, which was a mere rivulet at the time of Major Rennell's survey, about the end of the eighteenth century, is now the main current of the Bramhaputra, while its old channel is very nearly dried up. Both the Jamoona and the Padma are constantly shifting their channels, and the uncertainty of their course is so great as to be a fruitful source of litigation between rival claimants of *chars* or islands constantly thrown up by them, and the district authorities are frequently called upon to adjust the boundaries of their respective districts. Indeed, alluvion and dilluvion have been so constantly going on in these rivers, that in the course

of half-a-century, they have almost totally effaced and obliterated all old landmarks, and their destructive work is still going on with unabated fury. If such rivers be fixed as boundaries between any two Provinces, the result to the landed proprietors on the two banks will be disastrous. The fixing of such a boundary will cause great confusion and endless and often fruitless litigation. Your memorialists pray that Your Honor will not lend your support to a measure which is fraught with such serious consequences.

Reasons for division discussed.

56. That adverting then to the reasons assigned by the Government of India for the division of Bengal, your memorialists find it stated, that "the spread of education and the wider diffusion of the Native Press tend to increase litigation, to demand more precise methods of administration, to give greater publicity to the conduct of officials, and, in every way, to place a heavier strain upon the head of the Government and upon all ranks of its subordinates." Your humble memorialists venture to submit that the spread of education and the diffusion of the Press instead of increasing litigation have the effect of diminishing it. The educated people are, as a matter of fact, always averse to litigation. Moreover, the following figures taken from the Judicial and Administrative Statistics of British India for the year 1901-02 establish the fact, that in Bengal, which is the most advanced Presidency in India, the proportion of litigation, whether civil or criminal, is far less than in the other Provinces.

	Number of civil cases per thousand of population.	Number of criminal cases per thousand of population.
Bengal	8·8	24
Bombay	10·4	103
Madras	9·1	80
United Provinces	11·4	26
Punjab	12·2	45

The following figures, taken from the same Statistics, show that the number of newspapers in Bengal is also lower than in the other Provinces:—

Bengal	102
Bombay	209
Madras	107
United Provinces	113
Punjab	124

Considering the fact that the population of Bengal is the largest among all the Provinces in India, the number of newspapers must be considered as insignificant. It will further appear, on a reference to statistical figures that, while Bombay had 202, Madras 79 and the Punjab 87 newspapers in 1897, and each of them has made more or less progress in five years, Bengal having 121 newspapers in that year has gradually lost 19 such papers for want of encouragement and support.

Work of Government more easy now.

57. That your memorialists submit respectfully that the work of government has, in recent years, become less difficult and heavy than it used to be in former times. The widespread railway and steamer communications have annihilated distance, and have brought the different parts of the Province much closer to, and within easy reach of the seat of, Government. The introduction of self-government, in Municipal and local Administrative bodies, have lightened the work of district officials. And your memorialists believe that the work of supervision by the head of the Government may be considerably lightened by the introduction of an Executive Council, as suggested in a previous part of this memorial without having recourse to actual transfer of territory.

58. Then, again, if the spread of education, which a beneficent Government is giving to the people, has necessitated more precise methods of administration and caused a greater scrutiny into the conduct of officials, the cutting down the rights and privileges of some of the most advanced districts and reducing them to the level of a non-regulation territory, your memorialists venture to submit, is hardly the method which should be adopted to meet the demands of a progressive community.

Distance from Metropolis.

59. That one of the reasons which appears to have strongly weighed with the Government, for retaining Orissa in the administration of Bengal, is that it has been connected with Bengal for nearly a century and "the prescription of a century is difficult to break," and that it has been recently connected by railway which has brought Cuttack within twelve hours of Calcutta. If these reasons have prevailed in the case of Orissa, similar reasons of far stronger nature exist why this district should not be separated from Bengal. Dacca has been an integral part of Bengal for centuries. Moreover, the district of Dacca has been connected with the Metropolis by railway and steamer for many years. The city of Dacca is now within 14 hours of Calcutta, which may be reached from the southern and western parts of the district within nine or ten hours. And there is a short railway line in contemplation of the District Board of Dacca, joining Aricha opposite Goalundo, with the city of Dacca, which, if constructed, will bring Dacca city within 8 or 9 hours of Calcutta. Under the above circumstances, there exist very strong reasons for not separating Dacca district from the Government of Bengal.

Assam service.

60. The object of creating a self-contained, independent and efficient service for Assam, which has been put forward as a strong reason for incorporating this and other districts into its Administration, could not, your memorialists apprehend, be attained by the proposed scheme. The addition of 10 or 15 officers will not give the Assam service an independent status. The Assam Government would have to maintain, as pointed out above, a dual service. The conditions of the Administration and the laws of the two portions of the proposed Province are so widely different that the Government of Assam would not be able to carry on the work of the Districts transferred from Bengal, by officers trained up in Assam proper except at the sacrifice of efficiency. The officers employed in the transferred Bengal districts would have to be retained there, and their prospects and emoluments will be very limited. The districts proposed to be transferred are some of the heaviest in the Administration of Bengal and the officers in these East Bengal districts are known to be extremely hard-worked. The sanitary conditions of these districts are also inferior to those of the districts of West Bengal, Behar or Orissa. All things considered, the service proposed to be created is not likely to draw to it men of superior talents and attainments, and thus constituted, the proposed Assam service is not likely to be as or nearly as efficient as the Bengal service, and your memorialists submit that they cannot but be losers by the proposed change. Besides the scheme propounded by the Government of India cannot avoid the necessity of borrowing officers of the Subordinate, Judicial and Executive services from Bengal, as Assam cannot supply men of the requisite knowledge and attainments for these services.

Relief suggested.

61. That if the Government of India should, after all, decide to grant relief to the Government of Bengal, by actual transference of territory, your memorialists beg to suggest that Orissa, and the less advanced parts of Chota Nagpur, excluding Manbhum, which is a Bengali-speaking district, may be separated from Bengal, without disadvantage to them. Orissa, as it appears from Mr. Risley's letter, has no objection to be separated from Bengal or to be put under any other Administration provided the whole of the Uriya-speaking people be placed under the same Government. They have greater affinities with the people of the Central Provinces, and geographically Orissa should more properly form a part of those Provinces. Your memorialists beg also to submit that a Lieutenant-Governorship may also be created in the Central Provinces, with the addition of Orissa, and parts of Chota Nagpur.

That, in conclusion, your humble memorialists pray—

(*a*) that Your Honor will be graciously pleased to take their very hard case into your favourable consideration, and recommend to the Government of India that in any case of re-distribution of territories the whole Bengali-speaking people may be placed under one Administration keeping intact all their existing rights and privileges.

(*b*) Your memorialists also pray that this humble memorial of theirs may be submitted to the Government of India with Your Honour's favourable recommendations.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

ANANDA CHANDRA ROY,

President, Peoples' Association, Dacca, and

Secretary, Landholders' Association, Dacca,

Pleader and Zemindar.

Dacca, the 4th March 1904.

Annexure 12.

To His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council.

The humble Memorial of the Zemindars, Talukdars, and other proprietors of land in the District of Sylhet.

Most respectfully sheweth :—

1. That your memorialists have come to understand that the Chief Commissioner of Assam has submitted the Assam Land and Revenue Draft Regulation to Your Excellency in Council for sanction, they therefore beg leave to offer the following observations by way of their objections to the measure.

2. That at the outset, your memorialists beg most respectfully to state that the principle of legislation adopted in the draft Regulation appearing to your memorialists to be highly detrimental to the rights and privileges of the people of this district they forwarded, through the Deputy Commissioner of this district, a memorial which was signed by 9,000 people to the Chief Commissioner of Assam for submission to Your Excellency in Council, under Your Excellency's orders conveyed in telegram, dated the 17th March 1882. That in that memorial they strongly remonstrated against the policy adopted by the Chief Commissioner in legislating for this district, but, your memorialists regret to say, that their memorial is still lying at the office of the Chief Commissioner who has, for reasons best known to him, not submitted the same to Your Excellency in Council. They therefore append hereto a copy of the said memorial for Your Excellency's perusal and consideration, and they venture to express a hope that Your Excellency's liberal Government will be pleased to disallow the unprecedented legislation of such an old and advanced district as Sylhet.

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The most distinguishing feature of the Bill is that it prescribes one uniform Code for the whole Revenue system of the Province. This could have been advantageously and equitably effected, had there existed only one land system in Assam, but, on the contrary, a diversity of land-tenures prevails in the Province. Estates under Permanent Settlement exist only in the districts of Sylhet and Goalpara, temporarily-settled estates in Cachar and Jyntiah, the Ryotwary tenures in Assam proper and Ellam estates and Government land in Sylhet. The rights, titles, interests and liabilities attached to these tenures are so very distinct in each case, that each class of tenures requires a distinct and separate legislation. The Code, your memorialists submit, is therefore objectionable on the ground of the principle on which it is based, as it throws the whole Revenue system of the Province into a state of uncertainty and confusion.

The second distinguishing feature of the Code is, that it aims at a codification of the laws relating to the right possessed by the landed community. As

regards other Provinces of the Indian Empire, codification has been made in the Punjab, Oudh, Central Provinces, N.-W. Provinces and British Burma, but the only Province among them all, where the system of Permanent Settlement prevails, is the Province of Benares comprised in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh. With reference to the Land Revenue Code of that Province, it appears that no attempt is made therein to codify the laws bearing upon the rights and titles of the landed community. It simply deals with the law of Procedure and Administration. The principle of codification adopted in this Code appears to have been borrowed from the Burma Land and Revenue Code, but the circumstances of that Province are not on all fours with those of the Surma Valley District and Goalpara, and, consequently, its adoption in these districts, your memorialists submit, involves an incongruity of principle for which no justification could be urged.

The third distinguishing feature of the Code is that it curtails the rights and privileges of the landed community of Cachar and Jyntiah. It is true that these communities are offshoots of Sylhet, but, during the native rule, they had attained to the character of a well-organized body of landed proprietors with the rights and titles attached to them and to their estates. The estates they held were transferable and heritable in their nature, and the State had no other claim upon them than what it had in the shape of Land Revenue. They were then an organized body of landed proprietors and not a mere set of tenant possessing the right of occupancy. This was the state in which the British Government found them when it assumed the charge of administration of these territories. And since that period lands have been from time to time settled with the holders for a term of years, but the system of temporary settlement did not interfere with their proprietary right in land. These estates descended from father to son by the general law of inheritance and the holder thereof continued as heretofore to transfer the lands under the sanction of time-honored custom. These tansfers and devolution of properties are recognized by the Civil Court and their validity was never questioned or disputed. The Code in question brings the owner of these estates under the category of tenants with transferable and heritable right, but your memorialists submit these rights are mere personal and do not attach to the estates. The status of land-holders may be acquired or forfeited by the act or omissions of the holders, and therefore no stability or permanency of a transferable and heritable character attaches to the land. The Regulation under comment will cause a disturbance in the permanency and stability of the proprietary right which the people possess in the land on the authority of local customs and uusges, and confusions and instability will be the result. Your memorialists consider that their proprietary right should be recognized by Legislative enactment, and they should be retained in the position in which they hitherto were under the common law of the land.

The fourth distinguishing feature of the Code is that it is opposed to the sound principles of legislation. It undertakes to extinguish the vested rights which have been legally acquired by the people. The functions of the Legislature, it may be admitted, are unbounded, supreme and extensive, but, however unbounded they may be, the prerogatives and powers of a civilized Legislature are restricted by the rules of equity, good conscience and morality. In the legitimate exercise of its functions, a civilized Legislature should have a proper respect for the right of property and cannot ignore the circumstances of the country and the condition of the people. But the Code in question utterly ignores all such respect for the right of property. Possession, it may be observed, is one of the points of laws which constitutes ownership. It is sanctioned by the common law of England and respected by the Indian Government and Legislature. Under the Bengal Regulation and Indian Limitation Act, an uninterrupted possession for 60 years or upwards creates in favour of the person, who holds the land, a title to the same as against the State. This characteristic of ownership is wholly overridden in the Code under consideration. Your memorialists do not mean to say that the Legislature have no right to repeal this provision of the Limitation Law. As the Supreme Legislature of the Realm they can repeal any law that they may deem ill-adapted to the circumstances of the country and condition

of the people. They do not question the power of the Legislature to repeal one law and substitute for it another. If a new enactment be deemed necessary for the altered circumstances of the country, no principle of jurisprudence stands in the way of its introduction, but such enactment, it is understood, must have a prospective application ; to give it retrospective effect would be subversive of rights of property. In the Code in question, a mere provision has been introduced that notwithstanding anything contained in the Indian Limitation Act, the Government shall have power to resume and assess all lands which have not been already assessed. The land is in the possession of a person as a part and parcel of his permanently-settled estate for 60 years or upwards. The Bengal Regulation and the Indian Limitation Act lay down the law that Government shall not resume and assess any land of which it was not in possession within the last 60 years. The long and uninterrupted possession has ripened into a valid title and the owner is certain of his right in this respect as of any other right which we might have acquired by purchase, gift or inheritance. These lands have descended from fathers to sons and they have naturally become accustomed to regard it as their birth-right. Now, if these holders be ousted from all excess lands, as they are likely to be, under the operation of this proposed Regulation, the effect on their minds would be most shocking and confounding. It is further to be observed, that under the existing Registration Law, the registration of a conveyance of a less consideration money than Rs. 100 is optional, and the people relying upon this provision of the law did not register all the conveyances of small value. Now, if by a Legislative enactment unregistered conveyances for less than Rs. 10 are declared invalid, putting in question the title of the conveyances and this enactment has retrospective effect, the result would be to nullify all past conveyances and to create in the minds of the people a share of distrust in the Legislature and a want of confidence in the *bonâ fides* of their proceedings. Your memorialists now sincerely submit that such species of Legislation would lay the axe at the root of Society. That what is proposed in the draft Assam Code is in contravention of the theory and spirit of Legislation which pervade all enactments of the British Government in India, and no such principles obtain and no Act or Regulation enacted in any Province of the Empire. Whenever an enactment is made which subverts or overturns an existing practice or law, it is always justly provided that its provisions will not affect existing rights and liabilities created under the old law.

Under these circumstances, your memorialists submit that the provisions which empower Government to resume land, although such a proceeding may be barred by the Limitation Act, may be removed from the Code.

The fifth distinguishing feature of the Code is that it repeals all the existing laws in the Province and invests the Chief Commissioner with the power to frame rules in their stead. The people of the Province hitherto possessed a systematic body of laws regarding resumption, settlement, partition and Courts of Wards with their elaborate principle and procedure. They knew their position and increased their rights and privileges under the law. To invest the chief executive authority of the Province with discretionary power in respect of matters which hitherto formed a subject of written laws would be to place them beyond the pale of all laws. This is a state of things which would be quite suitable for a Province inhabited by unruly savages. Sylhet, your memorialists submit, was always considered as one of the advanced districts of Bengal. The people—at least the major portion of them—are as educated, enlightened and polished as those of any other Bengal district. To deprive them of laws is to place them in the category of half-tutored savages. The Acts and Regulations of Government always aim at elevating a people in the scale of civilization and place within their reach improved means of security and comfort. By their being included in the Assam Province, your memorialists are forced down to a lower level and placed in the footing of the population of Assam—a state of things which, according to the assurance held out by Lord Northbrook, would never come to pass as regards Sylhet. Taking their past political relation, their education and civilization into consideration, your memorialists humbly and respectfully pray that as regards the provisions under comments, Sylhet might be exempted from its operation. Your memorialists take leave most emphatically to state

that great wrong and injustice will be done to them if they are placed on the footing of the subjects of a non-Regulation Province.

The sixth distinguishing feature of the Code is that it repeals the laws applicable to opening of separate accounts and the registration of under-tenures. The practice of opening separate accounts is a great protection to the proprietors in a district like this, where the number of joint estates is disproportionably large. This boon has been duly appreciated by the people at large. During the last three years, there have been opened 1,016 separate accounts at the district head-quarters, over and above those which have been opened at the sub-divisional head-quarters. Your memorialists submit that if this practice be done away with, many estates will fall into arrears through the dissensions and disputes of the co-sharers. The result would be that they would be put to sale. Considering the great number of Mehals that every year fall into arrears in Sylhet and the condition of the Sylhet landholders, your memorialists are of opinion that in the Lower Provinces of Bengal and Assam, if one district requires these provisions more urgently than another, it is Sylhet. They cannot persuade themselves to believe that the provisions have been omitted only to lighten the labours of Revenue officers.

From the circular addressed by the Chief Commissioner to Deputy Commissioners and Sub-divisional Officers, it appears that the system of common and special Registry has been omitted, because, it is believed, that the sections of Act XI of 1859 relating to Sub-Registry are scarcely made use of, and that Talukdari and other tenures (the third exceptional class mentioned in sec. 37 of Act XI of 1859) are very rare in Assam. Your memorialists submit that whatever may be the case in other parts of the Province, common and special Registry are not uncommon in Sylhet, and the number of Talukdari and other tenures referred to above, is very considerable in this district, if not very large. Then, again, it is not denied, that there are other kinds of tenures that should be registered under the provision of the said Act XI. With the material progress of the district even the increase of tenures of the description mentioned in the said exception in sec. 37 of the said Act is only a question of time. Entertaining their views with regard to the new draft Code relating to law in the Province of Assam, your memorialists humbly and respectfully submit that their application to the district of Sylhet will act more injuriously as regards the right and interest to the people thereof. They, therefore, pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take their statements into consideration and grant them such relief as to your Excellency might seem just and proper.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

Annexure 13.

To the Hon'ble Sir Andrew H. L. Fraser, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

The humble memorial of the residents of the district of Mymensingh.

Most respectfully sheweth—

That your humble memorialists deem it their duty at the every outset to give expression to the deep feeling of alarm and dismay which the proposal of transferring Mymensingh, Dacca, and other districts of East Bengal to the Administration of Assam has created among all classes and sections of His Majesty's subjects residing in this district. Your memorialists beg also to submit that the said proposal is viewed by the people concerned as seriously detrimental not only to their own well-being, but to the well-being of the whole of Bengal, as destructive of many important advantages, rights, and privileges, which the people of these parts have enjoyed for over half a century and as an utterly uncalled for and retrograde measure calculated to

lower their status and impede their progress in matters social, political, religious, intellectual, and educational.

2. That Your Honour's memorialists appreciate His Excellency the Viceroy's endeavours to ascertain the trend of public opinion on the proposed scheme and for coming down to these parts personally to speak to the people. It is at the same time your memorialists' duty to state more fully than they have hitherto got the opportunity of doing such objections to the scheme as they believe to be just and well founded, and as to which His Excellency's answers do not appear convincing to your memorialists.

3. That the letter of the Home Secretary, dated the 3rd December 1903, and the pronouncements of His Excellency at Chittagong, Dacca, and Mymensingh are the only matters which your memorialists have to go upon in judging of the aim and intention of the Government of India. They, however, beg leave to observe that while His Excellency defends the original scheme as propounded in the Home Secretary's letter, he at the same time notices sympathetically a great many objections urged against the scheme, and that while His Excellency thinks that some of these objections may be made to disappear by providing proper safeguards, the others, even according to His Excellency, cannot be removed except by a radical change in the scheme. For instance, while speaking of the Board of Revenue, His Excellency said that the loss of it to the people concerned by their proposed transfer to the Assam Administration might be compensated by the creation of a Revenue Commissionership; and similarly while speaking of educational difficulties likely to arise from the proposed transfer, he said they could be removed by special orders. But as to the deprivation of the local Legislative Council, His Excellency practically admitted it was a grievance incapable of being remedied under the present scheme, and at Mymensingh His Excellency plainly said that most of the objections urged against the scheme would vanish if a new province were created with a Lieutenant-Governor. Pronouncements such as these, coming from the Viceroy himself, have created an uncertainty as to the aims and intentions of Government which are very embarrassing to the memorialists for though they are opposed to any partition of Bengal, they do not know if it is necessary any longer to urge objections which the Government admits to be well founded and intends to remove. They have thus been placed in the unenviable position of having to urge objections, some of which may not apply to any new scheme that may be in the contemplation of Government, and not being able to know the nature and extent of such new scheme urge their objections to the same. After His Excellency's speeches at Chittagong, Dacca, and specially in this district, it seems, however, reasonable to suppose that His Excellency is at present only desirous of impressing the people with the necessity of partitioning the province of Bengal, and that if the people agree to it, he will endeavour to remove all the grievances of the people to be affected by the partition, which may be shown to be legitimate. But Your Honour's memorialists beg leave to observe that the question as to whether Bengal, and more especially Bengal proper, should be partitioned at all is so intimately connected with the question as to how to partition it that the two cannot, and ought not, to be considered separately. Your memorialists are confident that on a closer examination of the question, it will appear that it is far safer, for the people's welfare, that Bengal proper should be left as it is than that it should be divided in any way. Having, however, no other scheme of the Government before your memorialists, they will confine their remarks (1) to the question as to whether Bengal proper should be partitioned at all, and (2) to the question as to whether it should be partitioned on the lines proposed in the Home Secretary's letter. They will also crave leave to point out the misconception into which His Excellency seems to have fallen as to the exact nature of the popular objection to the proposed scheme of partition and the insufficiency of the reasonings by which the proposed partition is sought to be defended both on the original lines and the line foreshadowed by His Excellency.

4. That some misconceptions seem to exist in His Excellency's mind as to the character of the agitation to which the Government scheme has given rise. This is apparent from his speech at Dacca, where His Excellency read a portion

of a printed circular issued by the Secretary of the Mymensingh Association to leading men in the mofussil to show that the whole agitation was a got up one. It is evident that the entire circular, which is in Bengali, was not brought to His Excellency's notice, for in the opening paragraph of it the object of issuing a general printed letter was clearly stated to be the inability of the Secretary to answer separately all the numerous letters and telegrams received on the subject. Never in the history of Bengal has an agitation been more spontaneous and universal, nor has any proposal coming from Government created more widespread dismay and alarm. Every agitation, to proceed on constitutional lines, must have an organisation to lead it, and so far as the Mymensingh Association is concerned, it has, your memorialists confidently assert, been instrumental in preventing wild misconceptions regarding the Government scheme to some of which His Excellency alluded in his Mymensingh speech, from taking possession of the popular mind. It has striven all throughout to keep the opposition fixed upon those objections which it believed to be real and well founded, and your memorialists are glad to find that the force of some of these objections is admitted even by those who are in favour of the scheme, and that as to most of others they are entertained in common with many eminent men, such as the Judges of the Hon'ble High Court, Mr. (and now Sir) Henry Cotton, Sir C. C. Stevens, and the entire Anglo-Indian Press. To belittle an agitation of this description is to create in the minds of the people a belief as to the utter futility of all constitutional agitation and to sow the seeds of distrust and dissatisfaction broadcast in the land. It has, your memorialists beg to submit, been wrongly assumed that the opposition to the scheme is confined to the educated classes alone. There is hardly a single man in the district intelligent and capable of thinking who does not entertain a bitter dislike of the scheme, and as to unthinking and illiterate part of the population, if they are not as excited as they would be by such wild rumours as that they would be impressed as coolies in the tea-plantations, the credit is due entirely to the endeavours of the Association. It is, your memorialists submit, a sufficient commentary on the scheme that, though it is proposed to be launched entirely in the interests of the people of Bengal, it has not found a single supporter amongst its inhabitants, including among them persons of every rank and profession, quite capable of thinking for themselves and understanding their own interests. It should be observed that even the few gentlemen who have put forward an alternative proposal have done so from an idea which does not commend itself to your memorialists. They are, your memorialists have reason to believe, as strongly opposed to partition as the rest of the population, and the idea that seems to have prompted them to put forward the alternative proposal is that an irresistible Government is determined to take away all their cherished rights and privileges; that its determination is fixed and unalterable; that it is unwise to irritate the Government by any further criticism, and that it is now their interest, by submission and supplication, to have the evils of the scheme as much minimised as possible. Your memorialists, however, believe that the Government has still kept its mind open over the whole question, and will give due weight before arriving at a conclusion not only to all legitimate objections that may be urged, but also to the feelings and sentiments of the teeming millions, whose welfare is vitally affected by the proposed scheme.

5. Your Memorialists beg also to refer here to some other misconceptions which His Excellency seems to have fallen into as regards the popular objections to the scheme. There is not a single man in this district, so far as your memorialists are aware, whose objection to the scheme is based on the apprehension that the *raiyats* will be taken away from their "fields" and made to work as coolies on the tea-gardens of Assam; that they will lose the Bengal Tenancy Act or that the local road cesses of Bengal will be filched away and devoted to making roads in the jungly parts of Assam. They are fully aware that their transfer to the Assam Administration will not have the immediate effect of altering their laws. But they entertain the serious apprehension not by any means abated by His Excellency's utterances that under a Chief Commissionership their laws will have a tendency to be stereotyped or gradually supplanted by other laws in the framing of which the

popular voice will be entirely unrepresented or at least inadequately represented. In the case of Sylhet, for instance, though the people of that district possess a system of land tenures similar to that of Bengal, it has not been found practicable yet to introduce there the Bengal Tenancy Act, which has now been eighteen years in operation in Bengal; while, on the other hand, by a series of regulations passed under 33 Vict., ch. 3, many of the Bengal laws which the people of Sylhet carried with them have been repealed and other laws introduced affecting indirectly the Permanent Settlement itself. Your memorialists understand that all this was done in spite of the most solemn assurances given by the then Government to those who protested against the transfer of Sylhet from Bengal to Assam. Your memorialists are aware that the districts now sought to be transferred avert the fate of Sylhet so long as the said Victorian statute is not made applicable to them by a declaration by the Secretary of State for India in Council. They are, however, not in possession of the reasons which led the Secretary of State to declare the said enactment to be in force in Sylhet, and of reasons to apprehend that it may any day be declared to be in force also in the districts now sought to be transferred. At any rate, Assam as at present constituted is a scheduled district, and under sections 4, 5, 5A of Act 14 of 1874, any enactment in any part of British India may be made applicable to these districts by a simple notification by the Chief Commissioner with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council *with such restrictions and modifications as to them may seem fit.* This makes it clear that the making of laws for Assam, in the Supreme Legislative Council is never of imperative necessity in Assam and that what may be directly done under the powers conferred by 33 Vict., may be indirectly done under the powers conferred by the aforesaid Act 14 of 1874.

6. That in the Supreme Legislative Council, besides the single Member proposed to be taken to represent Assam, the only other popular Member expected to care anything for the needs and requirements of Assam, or take any interest in its affairs will be the Member for Bengal, and even this will remain the case only so long as Bengal will remember its affinity to these improtant districts. It is evident that a representation so inadequate will be anything but nominal, and will hardly meet the requirements of the people as advanced and progressive as that of any part of India. Your memorialists beg further to observe that under no scheme of partition can the legislative requirements of these districts be placed on a footing equal to what they have now got. The Bengal Legislative Council holds its sittings in the Metropolis, and even its official Members carry with them a healthy regard for public opinion and a breadth of view unknown in other parts of India. A vigorous Press, both Indian and Anglo-Indian, with knowledge and information, either push on a too conservative Government or stop the progress of a go-ahead one, providing thereby ample safeguards to the rights and liberties of the people. In the Supreme Legislative Council, while held in the Metropolis, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, with his wide knowledge of its affairs, sits as an *ex-officio* Member and assists in its deliberations. These advantages must be lost perforce to the districts separated from Bengal by any scheme of partition. It may be argued that the same disadvantages, if any, exist in all other provinces, except Bengal and therefore there would be no substantial grievance. To this your memorialists answer that they are now only considering the assumption that by the proposed transfer they will not be placed in a worse position than they occupy now, and that they see no adequate ground for depriving them of any of the advantages hitherto enjoyed by them in common with the rest of Bengal.

7. That by any division of Bengal proper, the portion detached from the Metropolis must lose the benefit of the energy, culture, and enlightenment of the residents of the Metropolis, and that so long as its High Court and University have their seats at Calcutta, there must be a dearth of local leading men capable of exercising any appreciable influence upon the administration of the detached portion. Nor do your memorialists see how the want of such men and of an independent and competent press can be removed within any measurable distance of time. It may be *feasible* for the Government to *frame* the official side of the administration as strongly as, or even more strongly than, it

exists in Bengal, but the difficulty your memorialists feel is on the other side, that is, the popular side of the administration. Government *cannot create* a strong people by a "stroke of the pen" as it can a strong administration. The spheres of activity of the best men of Eastern Bengal must ever continue to be in Calcutta, which is in so close proximity to it, and in this respect the position of the detached portion will certainly be more disadvantageous than that of the other provinces of India. His Excellency is justly anxious to see that the Assam Administration may not be dominated by a single industry; but, owing to the reasons mentioned above your memorialists apprehend that the domination of the tea-planters will extend without let or hindrance over the whole administration of the detached portion instead of being confined as it is to a smaller area.

8. That it has hitherto never been denied that of all the provinces Bengal is the most advanced in culture and enlightenment, and there can be no doubt it is due partially at least to their close proximity to, and connection with, the Metropolis. The slightest difference in manners, customs, dialect and language has a tendency to create social disunion and difficulties. It is not possible for one not belonging to the people to understand adequately how much both the Hindus and Mahomedans, specially the Hindus of East Bengal, must suffer socially, and how much the cause of their social, economic, and religious reform must suffer by being placed under a different administration from Bengal. It may be safely predicted that, if the proposed partition be carried out, social intercourse will practically cease, or be at least greatly hampered between the two divisions, and all combined action for social, economic, and religious reforms will become well nigh impossible. This practical cessation of intercourse between East Bengal and West Bengal must necessarily lead to a deterioration of the language of the former—a language which is being gradually improved and assimilated to that of West Bengal. In this respect, His Excellency seems to be labouring under a mistaken impression. What your memorialists urge is not their language will cease to exist but that its gradual improvement will be retarded, and that ultimately it will assume the form of an inferior dialect. It is this inferiority of dialect which formerly caused the people of West Bengal to look down upon East Bengal. Your memorialists naturally apprehend that the severance of this district from the Metropolis or, more properly speaking, from the Bengal Government with its seat in the Metropolis, will remove one of the most important factors in the advancement of their people.

9. That unity of language and purpose and aims under a common administration assisted by increased communication and the increased necessity of meeting one another on common platforms in pursuance of these aims and purposes have engendered a public spirit and a sense of nationality in the people of Bengal quite unknown before. The Bengalis are taking full advantage of it in every cause of reform, social, economic, and religious. This public spirit and sense of nationality are yet in their growth. To break them up and place them under two different administrations is to weaken their national life. Furthermore, the slightest difference in administration will operate as an obstacle to social intercourse.

10. In India one administration is so unlike another that Your Honour's memorialists are altogether in a state of uncertainty as to the means and methods by which Government intends to preserve to the people of this district all the advantages, rights, and pivileges hitherto enjoyed by them. It is however, clear they will be in the anomalous position of having their capital at Dacca or elsewhere, their port at Chittagong and their High Court and University at Calcutta. If the High Court jurisdiction is ever sought to be curtailed, the districts sought to be detached will be the first to suffer. As regards education, their rights can only be preserved by special orders of the Government of India, which must in their very nature be spasmodic and insufficient to meet their growing demands, and years must elapse before an injustice or inconvenience can be remedied. Any advantage, right or privilege that may be withheld at the time of the transfer may be lost for ever or take decades of years of constitutional agitation to be conferred back. So divergent are the views of Government

view, is larger than any other province in India, and that the inclination is natural to equalise the provinces in size and population, but your memorialists are unable to follow many of the reasonings by which the Home Secretary seeks to make out that such equalising has now become a matter of imperative necessity. The provinces in India have generally arisen out of circumstances connected with their political history and their very sizes and populations have also been determined except to a small extent by those circumstances. If Bombay or Madras contain not more than half the population of Bengal, the reason is, not because their respective Governors could not manage a larger population, but because political consideration did not admit of wider range of their powers. The homogeneity of population has also been a predominant consideration in altering or readjusting the boundaries of provinces. Never before this time, so far as your memorialists are aware, as the increase of a homogeneous population been seriously urged as a ground for dividing them under different administrations. The main ground on which Assam was first separated from Bengal were that it had very little in common with the rest of Bengal and was unfit for the highly organised form of Bengal administration, and also that it was a too heavy burden on the financial resources of the province. Its political history is also different from that of Bengal. So far as size is concerned, Burma is more extensive than Bengal and with a sparse population the difficulties of its administration are not less than Bengal. The form of administration in Bengal is so organised that personal supervision over the details of administration is scarcely necessary, and even when occasional the exigencies require such personal supervision, time can always be found to attend to them. Many of the difficulties experienced in former times have disappeared owing to the annihilation of space and time by steamer, railway, and telegraph.

15. It has not been shown that the work of the Bengal Administration is deteriorating in any department owing to the increase of population. On the other hand, there has been a steady progress and development in every department all throughout the province. Your memorialists have learnt with some surprise that the increase of native newspapers and English education have increased litigation. As a matter of fact, persons who have received English education are the most averse to litigation, and so far as the Mufassil towns are concerned, they are almost conspicuous by their absence as parties or witnesses in civil or criminal cases. Native press in the mufassil may be said to be practically non-existent and its circulation is extremely limited. Your memorialists cannot discover the remotest connection between the Native press and litigation. Litigation has undoubtedly increased, partly owing to the increase of population, partly to the greater uncertainty of law and its resuts, and partly to the greater regard which the people have learnt to pay to their individual right, but the memorialists are unable to see how the work of the head of the Administration has increased in consequence of the increase of litigation.

16. That in the opinion of your memorialists an undue amount of stress has been laid by the Home Secretary on the importance and necessity of greater personal rule. In the first place, your memorialists do not comprehend in what shape this greater personal rule will be likely to manifest itself in any portion of Bengal, or how, if relief to the head of the Administration be the real object, it can be afforded by simply substituting one kind of work for another. It is not easy to see what difference 5 districts out of 48, and $11\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people out of a population of 78, can make in the burden of the ruler. The time spent by the Lieutenant-Governor in touring in East Bengal is so exceedingly limited, that no other district is likely to benefit to any appreciable extent if, by the transference of the Eastern Districts, this little time be saved to the Governor, and your memorialists cannot agree to the proposition that the Permanent Settlement stands in the way of a closer connection between the rulers and the ruled. Any difficulty that may be experienced on this score is entirely due to the lack of sympathy on the part of local administrators, with the feelings and aspirations of the people, and of familiarity with their language. At all events, your memorialists fail to understand how, granting the existence of the difficulty, it would be removed by a partition of Bengal.

17. That if it be necessary to partition Bengal at all, it should be done with a due regard to the homogeneity of the people. In the readjustment recommended by the Home Secretary, he lays special stress on this point in regard to the Uriya-speaking population, but, strangely enough, it is entirely overlooked in the case of the more important section, *viz.*, the Bengalis. There are parts to which the knife may be applied with the willing acquiescence of the people, or with a minimum of pain, but any division of territory that involves the breaking up of a homogeneous population must cause the greatest anguish and be regarded as a great calamity. An organic change in the constitution of the Government of Bengal is another suggestion which finds universal recommendation from the people, both Indian and Anglo Indian. The provision of Lieutenant-Governorship was intended to be a temporary one, and there is no reason why Bengal should not have a Governor and Council like the sister provinces of Madras and Bombay. There are ample safeguards against the mischief of a divided Council, the occasions of which under existing circumstances must be few and far between, and occasionally it is rather beneficial than otherwise. No system of administration can be ideally perfect, and all that should be aimed at is such efficiency and organisation as is compatible with the peace and contentment of the people concerned.

With these observations, your memorialists humbly and respectfully pray to Your Honour to recommend to His Excellency that the idea of partitioning Bengal proper and of giving effect to the scheme of the Home Secretary, may be dropped, in deference to the wishes and sentiments of His Majesty's subjects inhabiting Bengal and in view of the grave and uncertain issues involved in the partition question.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Annexure 14.

From Anwar Ali Khan, President of a public meeting of the people of Chittagong, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Chittagong, the 3rd February 1904.

I have the honour to submit herewith a copy of the memorial of the residents of Chittagong assembled at a public meeting held on the 17th day of January 1904 that has been submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, and to request that you will be pleased to lay it before His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for His Honour's favourable and generous consideration.

Annexure 15.

To His Excellency George Nathaniel Baron Curzon of Kedleston, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The humble memorial of the residents of Chittagong assembled at a public meeting held on the 17th day of January 1904.

Most respectfully sheweth—

The proposal to partition Bengal and to form a new administration composed of the Chittagong Division, the districts of Dacca amd Mymensingh, and the present Province of Assam has caused much consternation in the minds of the people. The people of Chittagong therefore most humbly approach Your Excellency in Council to submit an expression of their views and feelings on

the matter of the proposed changes and to pray that Your Excellency's Government will be graciously pleased to take this representation into their generous consideration and adopt such measures as would allay the apprehensions and anxieties of the people.

2. The principal ground in favour of the proposed change is based upon the statement that the present charge of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is too big for one ruler to manage; and as transference of territory alone can afford a relief, Chittagong and the other districts should be separated from Bengal. The necessity of partition of Bengal is further emphasized in paragraph 23 of Mr. Risley's letter of the 3rd December last on the ground of the union of the Uriya-speaking people under Bengal. Your humble memorialists without entering into a discussion as to the existence of such necessity would respectfully point out that such an object could be attained by separating the Orissa Division and annexing it either with Madras or the Central Provinces, as the people of Orissa themselves voluntarily proposed such an alternative. But the best scheme to afford relief to the over-taxed administration of Bengal would be to have an organic change in the constitution by giving to it a Governor with an Executive Council.

3. Your memorialists would crave leave to state that the arguments urged in Mr. Risley's letter in favour of the retention of Orissa with the Government of Bengal appear to apply with the greater force in favour of the retention of Chittagong and the other districts with Bengal proper. If it is difficult to break the prescription of a century in the case of Orissa, stronger should be the difficulty to break the prescription of a century and a half in the case of Chittagong. It is one of the three districts ceded to the East India Company on the 27th September 1760. On November 8th, 1760, Mr. Verelst was appointed Chief of Chittagong and together with a Council managed the Company's affairs on the spot and Chittagong soon settled down into a well regulated English province. Furthermore, in dealing with the claims of Orissa, Mr. Risley gives prominence to the question of race and language—considerations which are ignored in the case of Bengal districts. The possible advantages by the proposed change do not appear to be of such a character and quantity as to reconcile the people to the sacrifice of their sentiments and old ties.

4. The port of Chittagong furnishes a chief argument for the justification of the scheme of partition. No doubt, the importance and necessity of a flourishing port would be quite a justifiable plea, if it were proved beyond question, from a statement of facts and figures, that the port of Chittagong could not become a flourishing port but for its separation from the Government of Bengal. On the other hand, with gradual completion of the Assam-Bengal Railway line, the port of Chittagong has been gradually attracting larger amount of traffic. Owing to its natural situation and connection, it is sure to draw towards it larger business in the usual course of time, irrespective of its subordination to a particular government. It is respectfully submitted that there are other local Governments under Your Excellency's rule which maintain more than one flourishing port; and it is not unlikely that an equally powerful body of merchants and tea-planters may combine to form a Chamber of Commerce or Trades' Association at Chittagong in no distant future to counteract the influence of the Bengal Chambers of Commerce. No reasons based upon facts have been assigned to trace the causes as to the hitherto undeveloped condition of the port of Chittagong under the administration of the Bengal Government, nor is it clear why the Government of Bengal, though dominated by the interests of a great port like Calcutta, could not properly promote the advancement of the port of Chittagong. Chittagong stands a much better chance of development with all the resources of Bengal to back it than under Assam with its straitened finance.

5. The plea of the inability of the present Government of Bengal to devote due attention to the Chittagong port does not justify a change. The Chittagong Division is smaller than the other revenue Divisions of Bengal, and the Commissioner of the Chittagong Division is therefore in a position to devote his

particular attention to the improvement of the port at his head-quarters station. The financial difficulties of the Chittagong Port Trust are due not so much to the inattention of the Bengal Government, as to the existing natural conditions of the port. The trade not having fully developed yet, owing to the incompletion of the Assam-Bengal Railway, there has not been ere now much business at this port; consequently there was only a small income. While, on the other hand, a large outlay of expenditure was necessary to furnish the port gradually with such improvements and appliances as would be requisitioned in order to meet the demands of increased traffic of a port that has been fast growing in importance. Now that more revenue will be forthcoming with the more expanded business, the Port Trust will not be in a difficulty to furnish funds for the improvement and maintenance of the port. The Divisional Commissioner with the help of the controlling and the guiding supervision of the Government of Bengal will, it is hoped, be quite capable to manage the affairs of the port very satisfactorily. If from its natural advantages and position, Chittagong has a brilliant future as a seaport town, the interests and valued privileges of its people, they pray, should not be sacrificed for the purpose of artificially maintaining the superiority of its powerful rival, despite the latter's natural shortcomings.

6. Both the local administrations of Bengal and Assam through which passes the Assam-Bengal Railway line are under the control of the Government of India; and as such, the local administrations may without conflict or hinderance easily manage the railway line and develop the material, resources within their respective territorial limits. Here also no particulars in detail beyond an assertion have been stated so as to justify an inference that the Assam-Bengal Railway line can be successfully managed only by its being placed under one single administration and not otherwise. Other flourishing railway lines extend over the territories of more than one local administration.

7. The case of the alleged prosperity of Sylhet and Cachar under the Assam administration and their complacent attitude towards it do not establish the futility of the objections against the separation. It has also not been shown that but for their transfer to assam, Sylhet and Cachar would be far worse off.

8. Thus the point urged in favour of the partition of Bengal on the ground of the improvement of the port and the Assam-Bengal Railway are not conclusive or convincing for the purpose of advocating the separation of Chittagong and the other districts from Bengal and their amalgamation with Assam as a case of extreme emergency to be countenanced at any sacrifice. A mere possible forecast of a flourising port and railway line under a new province is not a very cogent plea to deprive the people of their vested rights and pirvileges and all the advantages of an advanced and well-regulated administration.

9. Your Excellency's memorialists would now crave leave to discuss the points raised against the change and their disposition by Mr. Risley.

10. Mr. Risley has not in his letter touched at all the most important question of education. The future progress and civilisation of a people admittedly depends upon the character of the education that they receive. Unless the education is sufficiently high and sound, no people can expect to develop their intellectual powers and to utilise the material resources for their benefit. Calcutta was the capital of the British Empire in India as well as of the Local Government, is the centre of all culture, enlightenment and healthy activity that the West has been able to pour into the East. Consequently an education obtained in Calcutta cannot be at all compared with any that may be available elsewhere for its civilising and ennobling results. Moreover, the social and intellectual associations and surroundings and the high ideals of morality and intelligence obtainable in Calcutta exercise such an influence in the formation of character and habits and in the development of the intellectual faculties of the youthful generation as is to be found nowhere else in this part of India. Cut off from such opportunities and advantages, it may be easily imagined how narrow will be the education, really so called, of the youths of the new province.

11. Moreover, Assam with its comparatively limited financial resources will not be in a position to entertain professors and teachers on the same scale of pay as its neighbouring administration of Bengal. As a matter of course, then

the more brilliant intellects will be drawn to the Bengal Educational service, leaving only the mediocrities for the new province. Then, again, when the first grade colleges would be available within the territorial limits of the new province, the more brilliant students who happen to secure provincial scholarships will not be allowed as a rule to avail of them in Calcutta colleges to receive sounder education and they will therefore rust and settle down into mediocrities. Even if the scholars of the new provinces are allowed to draw their scholarships while studying in a Calcutta college, there will be difficulties in the way of such scholars. Under the newly-proposed scheme of converting the first grade colleges into residential colleges, the requirements of the newly-formed Bengal Government will be met before scholars from an alien province are admitted, and thus the Assam scholars will have little chance of admission into the Government colleges of Bengal.

12. It has been stated in reply that there is no fear of the removal of the jurisdiction of the High Court. No doubt, it might remain unaltered as now for the present since the "Government of India *as at present advised*, do not see the advantages of the appointment of a Judicial Commissioner" [*vide* Mr. Risley's. letter, paragraph 26 (ii)]. The file of the High Court of Calcutta is already congested, and within a short time it would more likely be considered highly essential to appoint more judges to meet the increased work, or to diminish its jurisdiction. Such a contingency happening, the Government of India, in order to serve the exigencies of the administration, might find it more advantageous to give to the new province an inferior judicial tribunal in the form of a Judicial Commissionership.

13. As regards the continuity of the existing laws and enactments, it is submitted that the Chief Commissioner, in order to bring into harmony the practices of the administration in the light of its own particular system of policy and administrative conveniences, might not unfrequently abrogate or nullify the provisions of enactments by means of Regulations. In Sylhet, the Civil Courts had, under the provisions of the Civil Procedure Code Jurisdiction, to direct partition of estates among co-sharers, but have been ousted of such rights by Regulation I of 1886. Similarly, the provisions of many Acts now in force may be modified by Regulations and Notifications. Many Acts and Regulations formerly in force in Sylhet ceased to have operation after the transfer.

14. It is respectfully submitted that it is not quite accurate to say that Chittagong has only a "fractional interest in the Bengal Legislative Council," and therefore the privilege of electing a respresentative to the local Council is a very small matter that could be easily overlooked.

15. In the local Councils, Acts are passed after a thorough and searching discussion by the honourable members, all of whom—official and non-official—are thoroughly acquainted with the conditions and needs of the province, and the interests of the people are thus under adequate safeguards. The Assam Regulations are, on the other hand, formulated by the Chief Commissioner and passed in the Supreme Legislative Council by Members who have very little special experience of the area concerned. The people have also very little opportunities to represent their views and point out the inconveniences of the proposed regulations or measures. Regulations thus passed and enforced are not likely to be free from defects. For want of a local Council the laws now in force will be stereotyped as has happened in the case of Sylhet. Even if the new province be given the privilege of electing a representative to the Supreme Legislative Council by rotation with the Central Provinces, it will practically remain unrepresented for the alternative period of two years. This small concesion is still open to objection; much more so, as one representative against the rest of the members. of the alien provinces will practically be of little appreciable benefit. The difficulties arising out of the want of a Local Legislative Council will be keenly felt when an existing law such as the Bengal Tenancy Act requires to be amended to suit the circumstances of the advanced and progressive Bengal districts. Owing to the complicated system of land tenures in Bengal, the Bengal Tenancy Act had to be discussed in the Supreme Council as well as in the Local Council. The danger of such Acts being amended at the suggestions of the Chief

Commissioner without the help of any members acquainted with the conditions of Bengal, is evident. Moreover, there will be the legislative difficulties of the new Government to frame different laws on the same subject to suit the different circumstances and requirements of the Bengal districts and the Assam districts. The excellence and necessity of the Board of Revenue are evident from the fact of their continuance in Bengal. The works done by expert officers of great experience who devote their time and attention solely to revenue matters will admittedly be of a superior quality to those done by the Chief Commissioner whose attention is engrossed in works of diversified nature. Transfer of local ministerial establishments and occasional consultation with the Board of Revenue of Bengal are not remedies sufficient to remove the defects in the revenue administration that will be brought into vogue in consequence of the change. The people will also be deprived of the highly qualified legal help, if the revenue matters are finally decided at a place other than Calcutta.

16. The proposed change, if carried into effect, will entail a dual control over the Judicial officers—one by the High Court of Bengal and the other by the Chief Commissioner. The Assam officers shall have also to be trained to master the double system of executive and revenue administration prevalent in the advanced Bengal districts as also in the backward Assam districts. If a separate service for the whole of the new province is created, the advanced Bengal districts will suffer when an officer trained in Assam districts is transferred to the former to take up a senior appointment, owing to his imperfect knowledge of the intricate systems of law and procedure prevalent in Bengal. There are many Military officers in the Assam service who could not be suitably entrusted to take charge of the well-regulated districts. Thus there should be required either to maintain two services—one for Bengal, another for Assam, or to place the Bengal districts now and then under charge of officials of limited and imperfect qualifications. Loan of officers from the Bengal Government will, it is apprehended, not be a satisfactory solution of the difficulties in the way of efficient administration. The past experience in Sylhet has shown that officers taken on loan have to revert to Bengal after a few years when they become senior in service, and thus men of ripe experience and ability are lost and the administration has to be carried on by means of officers of comparatively inferior standard.

17. After a brief survey of the points used in support of the proposed change, Your Excellency's memorialists are humbly of opinion that the people of Chittagong will not be sufficiently compensated by means of the supposed improvement of the port and railway for all the loss of ancient rights and precious privileges which they have so long enjoyed in contact with the metropolis of the English Empire in the East and under the most advanced Government in India.

18. If the proposed changes are necessary in the interest of Assam, that object may be secured by means of an arrangement which will not affect the rights and privileges of an ancient and well-regulated, and in fact, the first British district in the province. The revenues of the transferred districts will, it is feared, be hardly sufficient to recoup the deficits in the finance of the Assam administration and to spare for the amelioration of the Assam service in general. If, however, a standard of service, similar to that of Bengal, is intended to be maintained with the aid of contribution from the Imperial funds, it is humbly suggested that a new and improved service for Assam may be created by the amalgamation of Assam with Bengal without creating a disruption in the solidarity of Bengal proper.

19. All parts of Bengal have been for a long time under a highly-developed and well-regulated administration and such a form of administration has not been found suitable to the backward and less advanced Assam. Now if an integral portion of Bengal is amalgamated with the backward Assam, the advanced and progressive Chittagong and the other districts will naturally gravitate towards the lower level as an inevitable result of such an unequal combination. If will be difficult for the administrative policy of the Assam Government to keep itself ahead of the rock of its past traditions and predilections. It cannot be definitely assumed that the go-ahead Sylhet would

not have made greater progress if it had continued to remain under the advanced Bengal Government. The present prosperity of Sylhet is due more to the course of natural events than to the efforts of a Government considered to be suitable to its needs and requirements.

20. Your memorialists pray that in consideration of the above facts and circumstances and in consideration of the alarm caused by the proposed change, Your Excelleny in Council will be graciously pleased to reconsider the proposal of transferring the Chittagong Division from Bengal to Assam. And Your Excellency's memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pay.

I have the honour to subscribe,

Your Excellency's most obedient

and loyal servant,

ANWAR ALI KHAN,

President of the Public Meeting.

Chittagong, the 30th January 1904.

Annexure 16.

From Babu Kamala Kanta Sen, President of the Chittagong Association, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Chittagong, 15th May 1903.

I have the honour to submit herewith a memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India on the matter of the transfer of the Chittagong Division to the Assam Administration, and I pray that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal will be graciously pleased to forward it to the Government of India.

Annexture 17.

To His Excellency the Right Hon'ble George Nathaniel Baron Curzon of Kedleston, P.C, G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The humble memorial of Kamala Kanta Sen, President of the Chittagong Association.

Most respectfully sheweth—

That the rumour of the transfer of the Chittagong Division to the Assam Administration has caused a widespread anxiety to the people of the district. Their anxiety has been further increased by the pronouncement of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal on his recent visit to this town when he said that he had come to ascertain the public feeling on the matter of the transfer. Your Excellency's memorialist begs to submit that the address presented to His Honour by the District Board of Chittagong advocating the transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam has been a surprise to the people, and did not represent the public feelings of the people. The people consider that the transfer, if approved by Your Excellency's Government, will be a great misfortune to them, and therefore venture to lay before Your Excellency's Government his humble representation in the earnest hope that Your Excellency in Council will be graciously pleased to withhold sanction to it.

2. Your Excellency's memorialist craves leave, in the first place to submit that such a measure is likely to affect valuable rights and privileges. The people cannot expect a new Administration like that of Assam to give them the same rights and privileges as they at present enjoy under the advanced

Government of Bengal; and they consider a loss of even a single privilege to be a serious matter to them.

3. Your Excellency's memorialist submits that the people fail to understand why the Chittagong Division, more than any other Division nearer to Assam, is to be dealt with in this way. If the transfer is proposed on the ground that the jurisdiction of His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is a larger one, Your Excellency's memorialist submits that the giving of a small portion of the Province of Bengal like the Chittagong Division to Assam will not lighten the labours of His Honour's Government. If, however, the change has been desired by the Chief Commissioner for any convenience of his administration, Your Excellency's memorialist begs leave to point out that it is not desirable to deprive a people of their precious rights and privileges after almost a century and-a-half of an advanced British rule for an administrative convenience or a financial consideration.

4. Your Excellency's memorialist considers that the construction of the railway road has done much to remove the inconvenience which the Bengal Government might have felt in governing Chittagong before. The means of communication, both by water and land, have improved. Your Excellency's memorialist therefore earnestly desires that His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor may take this fact into his kind consideration.

"Chittagong was one of the first districts of Bengal which passed into the possession of the East India Company. The first connection of the English with Chittagong took place as long back as 1685 in the war between the East India Campany and the Emperor Aurangzeb. It is one of the three districts ceded to the East India Company on the 27th September 1760. On 8th November 1760, Verelst was appointed Chief of Chittagong, and together with a Council managed the Company's affairs on the spot." And "Chittagong soon settled down into a well-regulated English Province" (Dr. Hunter's Statistical Account). Your Excellency's memorialist submits that the people of Chittagong have therefore a claim upon the consideration of the Bengal Government as to whether Chittagong which came into the hands of the Bengal Government earlier than several other parts of Bengal, should be separated now from it, as the separation will place Chittagong relatively in a worse position than the rest of the province. It is also a fact that Chittagong is nearer the head-quarters of His Honour's Government than Shillong, and the journey to Calcutta is easier and less expensive, while that to Shillong will be a difficult one.

5. Your Excellency's memorialist further submits that the people of Chittagong and the people of Assam have nothing in common either ethnologically or politically or in matters of language, literature, and traditions. They are not aware of any benefit which they may derive by this change, but it is certain that they will lose the advantages of a local Legislative Council, a local representation to the Council, a Board of Revenue, an elective system in both the local-self and municipal government, a progressive system of education and, lastly, the most advanced form of government.

6. The Board of Revenue, composed as it is of the most experienced Revenue officers of Bengal, exercises a most salutary control over matters connected with Land Revenue and Sea Customs. Considering the growing importance of the port and the preculiarly complicated land tenures of the district, Your Excellency's memorialist considers that the loss of such a body as the Revenue Board is a serious grievance.

Your memorialist prays that, in consideration of the above facts and circumstances and in consideration of the alarm caused by the proposed change Your Excellency in Council will be graciously pleased to withhold sanction to the proposed measure.

And Your Excellency's memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

KAMALA KANTA SEN,

President, Chittagong Association.

Chittagong, the 15th May 1903.

Annexure 18.

To His Honour Sir Andrew Henderson Leith Fraser, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The humble memorial of the inhabitants of Feni Sub-division in the district of Noakhali,

Most respectfully sheweth—

That the news of the proposed transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam has caused widespread consternation, anxiety and alarm to the people of this sub-division, and they are extremely pained to think that the proposed transfer, if effected, will surely bring on great misfortune to them in various ways, and they will have to sever their tender association and affectionate ties with the main body of their mother-country—Bengal. Your Honour's memorialists beg humbly to submit that they have been intimately connected with the rest of the province from the very dawn of history in custom, manners, language and nationality ; and from time immemorial they formed and do even now form an integral and influential portion of Bengal proper, but by the proposed transfer they are unfortunately to be incorporated with a class of people with whom they have nothing in common, and in fact, between whom there is a wide gulf of difference in respect of race, religion, social custom and traditions. They therefore venture to lay before Your Honour this humble representation as a strong but respectful protest against the proposed measure, in earnest hope that Your Honour will be most graciously pleased to sympathise with their aggrieved feeling, and represent to the Government of India their serious discontent, anxiety and alarm at the news of the proposed transfer.

That Your Honour's memorialists most humbly crave leave to submit that they have been enjoying, under one of the most advanced administrations of the Empire, several valued rights and privileges which they have obtained after years of effort, but which they are now likely to lose, and therefore they consider the proposed transfer as a retrograde and revolutionary measure and detrimental to their best interests.

That Your Honour's humble memorialists beg leave to say that if the proposed measure be adopted, they will, no doubt, lose the benefits of a local Legislature, representation in its Council, a progressive system of high education, and a Board of Revenue—a serious and complete loss of which will be a national grievance to them. On the other hand, they do not reasonably expect any material advantage from the proposed annexation of their rich and advanced districts to a poor and exceedingly backward province.

That Your Honour's memorialists will no more have the advantage of the great metropolis of the Indian Empire as their own provincial capital, which also they think a serious loss to them in respect of their gradual progress towards civilization.

That Your Honour's memorialists respectfully venture to point out that by the opening of the railway their district is nearer to Calcutta than Shillong, and any inconvenience which Your Honour's Government might have experienced in the past, has been removed.

That amongst many of the various great disadvantages which will accrue to your memorialists, they beg to point out the inconvenience which will ensue to the people of this district, from being placed under two separate jurisdictions—one with regard to revenue and executive matters which will be vested in the Assam Government and the other with regard to judicial business which will remain in the High Court of Calcutta—this arrangement will evidently bring in its wake all the inconveniences, expense and troubles of having to transact business in two different and widely distant places of two different provinces. Moreover, Your Honour's memorialists with all reasonable probabilities apprehend that they will no longer equally and conveniently share the services of the judicial branch, which will remain under the different authorities of

different provinces, and that in view of the proposed transfer, the newly-organised province will not, the humble memorialists apprehend, have the Judicial or Executive Service staffs of its own, and hence the people of the new province will not have the services of good officers as then the new Government shall have to borrow the services of such officers from the Bengal Government—this will also be a loss to Your Honour's memorialists, which will affect their interests severely.

Under the circumstances, Your Honour's memorialists, most humbly pray that their grievances, as submitted in this humble memorial, will meet with Your Honour's favourable consideration and approval.

And Your Honour's humble memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

We have the honour to subscribe

Your Honour's most obedient

and loyal servants,

ABDUL MAJID and others.

Feni, the 30th January 1904.

Annexure 19.

To His Excellency the Right Hon'ble George Nathaniel Baron Curzon of Kedleston, P.C., D.L., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor General of India.

The humble memorial of the people and residents of the District of Tippera.

Most respectfully sheweth—

1. That the proposal for the transfer of the Division of Chittagong and the Districts of Dacca and Mymensingh to the backward Province of Assam has been received with great alarm and concern by the people of this district. They beg therefore to submit this humble representation with the earnest hope that it will receive Your Excellency's kind and favourable consideration.

2. That the transfer of the Eastern Bengal district to Assam will be highly detrimental to the interests of the people in various ways.

3. That the want of a Local Legislative Council in the Province of Assam is keenly felt by the people of these districts, on the ground that they will lose the right of representation to the Bengal Council which is at present enjoyed by them, and which is one of the most valued rights conferred by a Government upon citizens.

4. That your memorialists most humbly beg leave to submit that the prospect of a seat in the Supreme Legislative Council to be shared alternately with the Central Provinces is not regarded by the people as sufficient compensation for the want of a Local Legislative Council, as will be seen from the patent facts that in Bengal laws are passed after consulting public opinion, and in accordance with reasonable suggestions made by the public, modifications are introduced into the laws passed by the Bengal Council in consonance with recognised maxims of jurisprudence : and that, on the other hand, in Assam, laws are sometimes passed without consulting public opinion and even without the previous knowledge of the public whose interests are affected thereby, on account of the extraordinary powers of the Chief Commissioner to propose to the Governor General in Council drafts of any regulations, which, when approved by the Governor General in Council, are published in the *Gazette of India* and have the force of law.

5. That, owing to the want of a Local Legislative Council, the people of these districts will be placed under a decided disadvantage ; they will, as in the case of Sylhet, lose the benefit of subsequent amendments to the Bengal Council Acts which may hereafter be passed in conformity with the progress of the society and the country. That it is too much to expect the Chief Commissioner of Assam will accept all the amendments that may be passed by the Bengal Legislative Council.

6. That your memorialists apprehend that the transfer of these districts will tend to materially weaken the judicial agency, both Civil and Criminal, of these districts inasmuch as able and experienced officers will refuse to join the Assam Service owing to the want of a sufficient number of high appointments in the province. In the case of Subordinate Judicial Service, Bengal will naturally be unwilling to lend the service of officers of high ability and large experience to the Administration of Assam. That even the proposed creation of a separate Civil Service for Assam is not likely to attract able and experienced Civilians to the Assam Service owing to less favourable prospects for promotion than in the older Province of Bengal, and also owing to the unhealthy character of the climate of the greater portion of the province which is generally unsuited to European constitution.

7. That the loss of the Board of Revenue is regarded as very serious by the people of these districts. The Board is composed of the most experienced members of the Indian Civil Service, expert in revenue matters, and bearing ripe local knowledge, who decide cases after giving patient hearing to Counsels and Vakils. The advantage of hearing Counsels and Vakils is obvious, especially in revenue cases of the eastern districts of Bengal, including this district, where the system of land-tenure is very complicated. Although the Board is composed of officers expert in revenue matters, the law in Bengal allows a further right of appeal to the Bengal Government, which the people will lose, in case of the transfer of these districts to the Province of Assam.

8. That if these districts be transferred to Assam, the final authority in respect of revenue matters will be the Chief Commissioner of Assam, who is often selected from among members of the Civil Service spending their official career in remoter provinces, and who have no experience of the system of land-tenure in Bengal, and who, on account of unhealthy and unfavourable climate of the proposed Government seat in the town of Chittagong, will be compelled to hold his head-quarters at least for six months of the year in Shillong which is almost an in accessible place and where legal assistance of any sort will not be available owing to the absence of any bar. That your memorialists beg further to add that there is no likelihood of the people getting any advantage of legal assistance in Shillong, where the primitive system of Government yet obtains, and where, so far as your memorialists are aware, even the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure and the Law of Evidence are not yet in force.

9. That the Bengal Government and the Board of Revenue have the advantage of the assistance of legal advisers, the High Court Judges and experienced Secretaries, in deciding intricate questions of land-tenures and revenue matters. The Administration of Assam has no such advantage. Your memorialists apprehend that this would injuriously affect the vested rights of the zamindars and other landholders of these districts.

10. That the people of these districts apprehend that they will be placed at a very great disadvantage in regard to the admission of their boys to the Medical and Engineering Colleges, where owing principally to the influx of a large number of students, it has been the practice of late to admit a limited number of students ; and if these districts be transferred to Assam, Bengal students will, as a matter of course, be given the preference to the students of these districts.

11. That the cause of education will greatly suffer on account of the transfer, owing to the want of an Educational Service in Assam and the insufficiency of the educational grant which will, in all probability, be diverted to the advancement of the backward portions of the province.

12. That your memorialists crave leave to submit that the transfer of these districts will very likely retard their further material progress and further development of their resources, as it is very likely that the assets of the richer districts of Bengal will be utilized for the improvement of the backward and poorer districts of the Province of Assam, which is admitted to be too poor for the development of its own resources.

13. That your memorialists beg humbly to submit that railway and steamer communications have placed the districts proposed to be transferred within easy reach of the head-quarters of the Government of Bengal, and that these districts are nearer to Calcutta than to Shillong, which latter place may, without exaggeration, be said to be almost inaccessible from the Eastern Bengal districts.

14. That your memorialists apprehend that in the newly-constituted Province of Assam, as proposed by the Government, the influence of the tea-planters will be predominant to the great prejudice of the interests of the people.

15. That, in reference to the first argument put forward in Mr. Secretary Risley's letter to the Government of Bengal in support of the transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam, your memorialists beg humbly to submit, with due deference to the opinion expressed therein, that the existence of two flourishing rival ports under one Government is not unprecedented in India ; *e.g.*, the great ports of Bombay and Karachi under the Government of Bombay. That your memorialists beg leave to submit that the Bengal Government, with its large revenues, will very likely be able to contribute more towards the development of the port of Chittagong than the Government of Assam, even with its newly-acquired districts. That it will be only at the expense of the districts proposed to be transferred, *i.e.*, by diverting the revenues derived from these districts from their legitimate purposes, that the Assam Administration will be able to contribute fully towards the development of the port of Chittagong.

16. That in regard to the second ground stated in Mr. Risley's letter, your memorialists beg leave to submit, with due respect for the opinion expressed therein, that the Assam-Bengal Railway, even if placed under divided control, can be administered with equal regard to the interests of the province, having regard to the fact that the great East Indian Railway, although passing through Provinces placed under four different Governments, is being administered efficiently. That if the Eastern Bengal districts be transferred to Assam, the same difficulty, as is suggested in the case of the Assam-Bengal Railway, may arise in the case of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, a portion of which will run through Bengal, and a portion—from Dacca to Mymensingh— through Assam.

17. That, as regards the third ground contained in Mr. Risley's letter, your memorialists beg leave to submit that the system of settlement and land-tenures is not the same in most of the Eastern Bengal districts as in Sylhet and Cachar. Your memorialists humbly submit that Sylhet and Cachar would readily re-unite with Bengal if they were only given the option. The objections to the absorption of Sylhet and Cachar in Assam have not, as has been submitted in a subsequent paragraph, proved unfounded.

18. That the reasons which have induced the Government to bring all the Uriya-speaking population under one Administration, apply with equal force to the eastern districts of Bengal proposed to be transferred. That the people of these districts and those of Assam Proper have nothing in common either ethnologically or politically, or in matters of language, literature, or in religious observances, or in social customs.

19. That your memorialists most humbly beg to submit that the transfer of these districts to Assam will not, for practical purposes, materially lighten the labours of the Government of Bengal, having regard to the fact that two districts from Madras are proposed to be included in the Province of Bengal.

20. That the districts proposed to be transferred to the Province of Assam are the oldest districts of Bengal. To transfer these districts from the enlightened Province of Bengal, and to dissociate them from their oldest environments and surroundings, and to link them with people with whom they have

nothing in common, are naturally regarded by the people as a retrograde movement and highly prejudicial to their moral, social, intellectual and material progress and development.

21. That your memorialists beg leave to submit that the objections which are urged by the people are not merely sentimental, and that the grounds of their objection may be said to have been verified in the case of Sylhet, which, though one of the oldest districts of Bengal, has not yet got the advantage of Bengal Tenancy Act of 1885, and where military officers are sometimes posted as Civil Executive officers, and where the system of self-government is yet in a rather crude state, and where there is no District Fund and no District Board.

22. That your memorialists beg leave to point out that the people of the Chittagong Division never waived their objections to the transfer of the Division to Assam. That the memorial submitted by the District Board of Chittagong was signed by official members and by European tea-planters—who can never be said to represent the people of the district or the Division of Chittagong.

23. That the proposed change of the seat of Government of Assam during the cold weather and the change of the name of the Province of Assam, are regarded by the people as immaterial, having regard principally to the fact that instead of an advanced Government, the people will be placed under a relatively backward Administration.

24. That your memorialists therefore most respectfully pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to take this humble representation into your kind consideration, and to direct the withdrawal of the proposal for the transfer of the Eastern Bengal districts to the Province of Assam.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Comilla, the January 1904.

Annexure 20.

To the Hon'ble Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

May it please Your Honour,

I beg most respectfully to submit herewith a copy of the proceedings of a public meeting held at Ranchi on the 29th of December 1903 and a memorial adopted therein on the subject of the proposed transfer of the Chota Nagpur Division to the Central Provinces, for Your Honour's kind and favourable consideration.

PRATAP UDAYA NATH SAHI DEO,

Maharaja of Chota Nagpur, Chairman of the Meeting.

Ranchi, the 12th January 1904.

Annexure 21.

Proceedings of a Public Meeting held at Ranchi on the 29th December 1903.

MAHARAJA PRATAP UDAYA NATH SAHI DEO,
Maharaja of Chota Nagpur, in the Chair.

Resolution.

I.—That this meeting of the inhabitants of the town and district of Ranchi views with alarm the contemplated transfer of this district to the Central Provinces,

and is of opinion that the measure if carried out will be injurious to the best interests of the people of this district.

Proposed by—Maharaja Kumar Jagat Mohan Nath Sahi Deo.

Seconded by—Rev. Dr. A. Nottrott of the German Mission.

Supported by—Mr. John Leslie, Emigration Agent, and Babu Balkrishna Sahay, Pleader, Zamindar, Municipal Commissioner, and Member, District Board.

II.—That a memorial be submitted to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal direct as also through the Divisional Commissioner protesting against the proposed transfer.

Proposed by—Rev. E. H. Whitley of the Anglican Mission.

Seconded by—Mr. O. C. V. Johnson, Tea-planter.

Supported by—Lal Harak Nath Sahi Deo, Zamindar and Honorary Magistrate.

III.—That the memorial drawn up be adopted and the Chairman authorized to forward it.

Proposed by—Babu Jagat Lal Sahay, Pleader and Landholder.

Seconded by—Rev. S. Grosjean, S.J., Rector, Roman Mission.

Supported by—Lal Suruj Nath Sahi Deo, Zamindar, and Maulvi Fatehulla, Zamindar, Babu Hardat Roy, Merchant and Honorary Magistrate.

Annexure 22.

To the Hon'ble Sir Andrew Fraser, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

The humble memorial of the inhabitants of the district of Ranchi in the Chota Nagpur Division.

Most respectfully sheweth—

That your memorialists humbly beg to submit that the notification of the Government of India, No. 3703, dated the 11th December 1903, and published in the *Gazette of India* of the 12th idem, containing, among others, a proposal to transfer from Bengal the greater portion of the Chota Nagpur Division to the Central Provinces, has caused to the people of Chota Nagpur a considerable amount of alarm, and your memorialists beg to approach Your Honour with this humble memorial embodying some of the grounds on which the proposed transfer is considered detrimental to the interests of the people.

2. That in the said notification of the Government of India two arguments in favour of the proposed transfer have been advanced and your memorialists beg leave to make a few observations with a view to point out, as best as they can, that those arguments are not really supported by the actual facts relating to the country and the circumstances of its people.

3. That the first argument, as stated, is that in character and state of development the people of Chota Nagpur correspond much more closely with those in the Central Provinces than with the population of Bengal. But your memorialists venture to state that this is true only of a portion of the political States bordering on the Central Provinces and not of the districts directly under the British administration. The inhabitants of these (leaving Manbhum and Singhbhum out of account) are closely akin to the people of Bihar, and as a matter of fact too, they have always been looked upon as Bihar districts. The Hindu population of Chota Nagpur, so far as their spoken language, habits of life and social and religious customs are concerned, have no difference whatever with the people of the neighbouring districts of Bihar, such as Gaya, Monghyr and Shahabad. The force of this argument, your memorialists may

be permitted to say, is all the more weakened in the case of the district of Ranchi where the aboriginal population, namely, the Mundas and Uraons, numbering about six lakhs out of a total of eleven, have languages of their own, and follow peculiar social and religious customs, having thus very little in common with the people of the Central Provinces. It should also be added that in some important parganas of the district of Ranchi, namely Tamar, Bundu, Silli, Rahe, Barenda, and portions of Sonepur, and also in parganas of Gola and Changurrah in the district of Hazaribagh, the people speak the Bangali language and are closely akin to the people of Manbhum in all respects.

4. That your memorialists beg to submit that as regards the state of development, the people of several parts of Bihar and Orissa are very much on the same footing as those of Chota Nagpur, and if affinity in character and state of development of the people were a criterion in the decision of the question at issue, then a good portion of Bihar and Orissa might as well be annexed to the Central Provinces. The argument has not therefore any special application to the case of Chota Nagpur, and so far as the district of Ranchi is concerned, it has very little force indeed.

5. That the second argument used is that the Bengal form of Administration is too highly developed, too legalized, and too impersonal for backward tracts and primitive hill tribes, and that view is borne out by the experience of a series of outbreaks in recent years and by the difficulties met with in dealing effectually with the land tenures of this part of the Province. But your memorialists beg to submit that this argument hardly favours the theory of the transfer. The Bengal form of administration has for more than a century prevailed in Chota Nagpur, and no grievance whatever has been felt by the people of the too developed character of Administration. On the other hand, it was in such directions where the Bengal form of administration was not introduced to the full extent, that the people had a real grievance and the authorities finding that the country was fit for the more developed form of administration of Bengal, strongly recommended it and the Government also acted upon such recommendation. The introduction of the system of District Boards in Chota Nagpur is an illustration on this point, and your memorialists fail to see in what respect the people of Chota Nagpur have suffered by having been subjected to the Bengal form of administration. It is alleged that the view expressed in this argument is borne out by a series of outbreaks in recent years, but your memorialists beg to submit that the Bengal form of administration had not the remotest connection with the causes which led to these outbreaks which may almost all be traced to fanciful notions instilled into the minds of Mundas by designing people. The fact that these outbreaks were suppressed as quickly as they occurred shows that the present form of administration is not unsuited to the circumstances of this district. Your memorialists further beg to point out that whatever real grievance these aboriginal people may have had has probably been removed by the recent amendment of the local rent law. That the Bengal form of administration it is suited to the conditions of Chota Nagpur well as will appear from the fact that it is in contemplation of the Government to introduce, in the near future, a consolidated Rent Act for Chota Nagpur, incorporating as far as possible, the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act, and with this view survey and settlement operations have already been commenced, on the completion of which and after the passing of a rent Law on their basis there will, your memorialists venture respectfully to assert, be no difficulty whatever in dealing effectually with the land tenures of the country.

6. That in this connection your memorialists beg leave to point out that this district being separated from the Central Provinces by a long stretch of jungle and mountainous tributary States and the distance of Ranchi from Nagpur being far greater than its distance from Calcutta, one of the effects of the transfer will be that instead of receiving greater, it will receive less attention from the head of the Government.

7. That your memorialists now crave leave to proceed to a consideration of the grounds against the proposed transfer, some of which have been taken notice of in the notification of the Government of India. These grounds, your

memorialists beg to submit, are of a very weighty character and require a careful consideration. Although the notification referred to contains a discussion, pro and con, of some of these grounds such discussion has, your memorialists may be permitted to observe, been confined to some aspects only of the question, and is not therefore so thorough and exhaustive as it should be under the circumstances of the case, and your memorialists therefore beg to draw Your Honour's attention to the following grounds which, among others, may be urged against the transfer:—

(*a*) That although the notification of the Government of India clearly lays down that the fact of the stations of Ranchi and Hazaribagh possessing considerable climatic advantages will not exercise a determining effect in the decision of the Government of India, your memorialists cannot however lose sight of a point of such great importance and feel bound to draw Your Honour's prominent attention to it, your memorialists beg to submit it as an undisputed fact that officers of Government whose health and energies have suffered either by overwork or by the enervating climate of Lower Bengal, have eagerly sought a transfer to the attractive Division of Chota Nagpur, but the severance of such a healthy country from Bengal will very materially affect the well-being of the public service and consequently the efficiency of the administration itself.

(*b*) That the retention in Bengal of a part or the whole of the district of Hazaribagh has been considered necessary for its extensive coal-fields, but your memorialists beg to submit that if it is to be retained at all, the whole of it ought to be retained: the Karanpura, Bokaro and Ramgarh coal-fields extend from west to east of the district along the Damudar Valley, thus taking up a good portion of the southern half of the district and the retention of this portion in Bengal and transfer to the Central Provinces of the northern portion which is comparatively nearer to Bengal would result in anomalies in making a geographical division of the two Provinces. In the district of Palamau also there are the coal-fields of Daltongonj, Rajhara and Hutar comprising a large portion of the western half of the district, all of which have been brought within easy communication by the opening of the new Barun-Daltongonj Railway line. In addition to these fields there is also the coal-field of pargana Tori in the eastern portion of the district which is likely to be opened up by a railway in course of time. This coal industry is entirely carried on by the mercantile community of Calcutta, and its development is calculated to suffer materially by the transfer of Palamau from Bengal.

(*c*) That it may safely be said that the Chota Nagpur Division not only abounds in coal but also in other valuable and useful minerals, such as gold, iron, copper, mica, lead, etc., and some of these resources have already been developed and it may very well be hoped that others will be developed in course of time. The mica mining operations are being carried on in an extensive scale in pargana Koderma in the district of Hazaribagh and several capitalists of Bengal have invested large funds in this concern, but the severance of Chota Nagpur from Bengal and necessarily from Calcutta will go a great way to check the development of these resources.

(*d*) That one of the principal objections to the transfer is the immense distance of Nagpur from Ranchi. Nagpur will be practically inaccessible to the people of Ranchi by journey across the country covering a distance of nearly 500 miles and lying through dense forests and difficult ranges of hills,—a journey that may take almost a month to complete. As for the journey by railway, the distance from Purulia to Calcutta is 180 miles, whereas that from Purulia to Nagpur is 581 miles, thus making a clear

increase of 400 miles : this will not only entail additional time and trouble, but will affect materially the poor people of Chota Nagpur who find it difficult to meet even the cost of railway journey from Purulia to Calcutta. In this connection your memorialists confess that they fail to realize how by the proposed transfer, Government will, as has been suggested in the notification, be brought nearer to the people of Chota Nagpur.

(*e*) That the notification is silent on the question as to whether the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court will continue in Chota Nagpur in the event of its being transferred from Bengal, although in discussing the case of Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh, it clearly mentions that the said jurisdiction over those districts will remain unaltered. From this your memorialists apprehend that in the case of Chota Nagpur the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court will cease; and this will be looked upon by the people of Chota Nagpur as nothing short of a calamity. Ever since the establishment of the Supreme Court as well as of the High Court in Calcutta, Chota Nagpur has been under its jurisdiction, and to deprive it of that jurisdiction now would be to throw the country backward and subject the people to a retrograde measure seriously affecting their best interests.

(*f*) That the systems of land settlement and tenure in Chota Nagpur are widely different from those in the Central Provinces. Although there is a peculiarity in some of the tenures of Chota Nagpur, the tenures themselves have in the main a general resemblance with those in Bengal and Bihar. It is a permanently-settled tract of country and the incidents of revenue paying estates are exactly the same as those of similar estates in Bengal. As regards under-tenures they are very much akin to patni and mokarari tenures of Bengal and Bihar, except that certain jagir tenures are, according to a local custom, liable to resumption by the grantor on failure of male issue of the grantee. The Bengal regulations and land laws have all along been in force in Chota Nagpur, and its present rent law is based upon and is almost a reproduction of Act X of 1859 and VII (B C.) of 1869 which used to be the rent laws for the whole of Beagal before the passing of the present Bengal Tenancy Act. The consolidated rent law of Chota Nagpur which the Government contemplates to enact in the near future, will be based principally on the provisions of the Bengal Tenancy Act. In matters of land tenures and laws governing the same, Chota Nagpur has hardly any resemblance to those of the Central Provinces which are only a temporarily-settled area, and the fusion of these Provinces will, it is apprehended, be detrimental to the welfare of the people.

(*g*) That as regards trade and commerce, Chota Nagpur is intimately connected with Calcutta and with the districts of Bankura, Burdwan, Patna, Gaya and Tirhut and is totally unconnected with the Central Provinces and the proposed transfer is therefore calculated to seriously affect the material prosperity of the country.

(*h*) That in regard to the retention in Bengal of the district of Singhbhum there are weighty considerations which have been mentioned in the notification itself, and your memorialists do not consider it necessary to repeat them here, but your memorialists beg in this connection to point out that the proposal of transfer, excepting, as it does, the districts of Manbhum and Singhbhum and possibly the whole or part of Hazaribagh, affects only the districts of Ranchi and Palamau, and if it be found necessary to retain either wholly or partly, the coal-bearing district of Palamau as well, for reasons which have been urged in favour of Hazaribagh, there will then remain only the district of Ranchi of which the majority of

the population have, as shown above, little or no affinity with that of the Central Provinces, and your memorialists beg most respectfully to submit that the transfer of one or two districts will afford no appreciable relief to the Government of Bengal, whereas, on the other hand, it will injuriously affect the people and their interests.

(i) That while fully appreciating the necessity of confining their representation to actual facts in a matter which involves questions of important administrative changes, and refraining from urging any grounds which may be considered sentimental, your memorialists cannot help mentioning the fact that the proposed transfer has caused to the people of the Division the greatest possible anxiety amounting almost to dismay, and your memorialists venture to hope that Your Honour's Government, which always evinces the most anxious care for the welfare of its subjects, will be pleased to take into consideration the fact that any change in the administration of the country is always calculated to upset the feelings and sentiments of its people and Your Honour will better realize than your memorialists can adequately express, to what extent it will be so in the event of a change of Government.

Your memorialists therefore fervently pray that Your Honour may be graciously pleased to take the facts and circumstances stated above into your kind and careful consideration and adopt such measures as may tend to prevent the proposed transfer of Chota Nagpur from being carried into effect, so that your memorialists may continue to enjoy as they have hitherto done, the inestimable blessings of the administration of the Government of Bengal.

PRATAP UDAYA NATH SAHI DEO.

Maharaja of Chota Nagpur, Chairman of the Meeting.

Annexure 23.

To His Excellency the Right Hon'ble George Nathaniel Baron Curzon of Kedleston, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor General of India.

May it please Your Excellency—

1. In compliance with the Resolutions (annexed hereto) passed at a public meeting Your Excellency's memorialists respectfully and loyally beg to lay before Your Excellency the following facts connected with the past history and future destiny of the people of Orissa, in the fervent hope that they will receive the serious consideration which it has been the practice of Your Excellency's rule to vouchsafe to matters in which the destiny of a large population is involved.

2. The people of Orissa have been informed by a report, that it is in contemplation of Your Excellency's Government to place the districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri, and the Tributary States, which now constitute the province of Orissa, under the Government of the Central Provinces, which now owns the district, of Sambalpur.

3. This report has created unusual alarm among the people of Orissa of all classes, creeds, castes and races who reside in and are interested in the future of Orissa.

4. History points to the fact that the extensive tract of country lying between Tribeni on the river Hooghly and Rajmundry on the river Godavery was ruled over by one Uriya sovereign. Evidence of this ancient expansion of Uriya sovereignty is found in the fact that Uriya is the mother tongue of a considerable portion of the population of Midnapur in Bengal, Ganjam and Vizianagram in the Madras Presidency.

5. Owing to the inaccessible position of what is known as Orissa proper, and probably owing to other causes now lost in oblivion, the district of Ganjam was exposed to greater and more frequent foreign inroads and influences. In the history of the British Indian Empire, the district of Ganjam became a portion of the British Indian possession nearly half a century before Orissa proper was occupied by the British nation, and since then these two tracts have remained under separate administrations.

6. During the early days of British rule in Orissa, the districts of Midnapur, Naugaon, including Higlee in Bengal, and Sambalpur (which was a part of the Orissa administration before 1861), together with the districts and Tributary States which constitute the province of Orissa of the present time, were placed under the Divisional administration of the Commissioner of Crissa.

7. But, notwithstanding this administrative severance, the populations of the two tracts have all along maintained a national feeling by intermarriage, by co-operation in the development of the vernacular literature, and other public matters in which the Uriya race is interested.

8. The Bengal-Nagpur Railway has within the last few years done more to bring together the Uriyas of Ganjam and Orissa proper and strengthen the national tie than years of separate administration had done to weaken it.

9. After the British occupation of Orissa, the district of Sambalpur formed a part of Orissa proper and was under the administrative control of the Commissioner of Crissa. During this period the Uriya race was placed under two administrations, *i.e.*, Orissa proper and Sambalpur being under the Bengal Government, and the district of Ganjam under the Madras Government.

10. This state of things continued till 1861, when on administrative grounds arising mainly from want of communication, the district of Sambalpur was placed under the Central Provinces Government.

11. After the commencement of the British rule in India, the country inhabited by the Uriya race was divided first among two, and since 1861 among three Governments, *viz.*, Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces. As the Uriya population formed a minority under each Government and had to compete with the Bengali in Bengal, the Telegu in Madras, and the Mahratta in Bombay (and all these were their superiors by reason of their earlier contact with British rule and education), this administrative arrangement was far from being advantageous to the interests of the Uriya race.

12. Your Excellency's memorialists do not think it necessary to recount the nature and extent of the injury which the interests of the Uriya-speaking population suffered by this administrative arrangement, but they beg to point to the life and death struggle for existence, which the Uriya language experienced under each administration. They also avail themselves of the opportunity to convey the deep and everlasting gratitude of the Uriya race to Your Excellency for having saved their mother-tongue from extinction in the district of Sambalpur.

13. It is noteworthy that in spite of opposition from the vernaculars of the three Presidencies, and in spite of all attempts to supersede it by the rival vernaculars, the Uriya language has not only retained its original ground but has in a large measure absorbed the non-Aryan population, *i.e.*, the Juangs, Gonds, and other aboriginal tribes inhabiting the hill tracts of Orissa and Chota Nagpur; and it is now the chief medium of civilizing those important and interesting tribes.

14. Of the three administrations—Bengal, Madras and Central Provinces which have an Uriya-speaking population, in Bengal the Uriya language has not only established its right of survivorship but has also supplanted the mother tongue of all races which have settled in Orissa. The Bengalis and Muhammadans who have settled in Orissa have adopted Uriya as their home language. In the other two Presidencies the Uriya language is still in the initial militant stage though Ganjam has been associated with Madras for a longer time than Orissa has been with Bengal, and Sambalpur was associated with the Central Provinces some time before the last attempt was made in the seventies to supersede the Uriya language by Bengali.

15. The memorialists beg most respectfully to submit that the difference in habits of life and in intellectual aptitudes among the diverse races of India is equivalent to what constitutes the basis of national difference in the other continents of the world. Consequently British administration and western civilization have produced among the various races of India results in some respects dissimilar in a marked degree. That being so, Your Excellency's memorialists beg to point out that the union of the Uriya race with the Telegu, the Maharatta and the Bengali has been no mean drawback to a healthy growth of the race and this added to the fact that the British occupation of Orissa proper was in 1804 accounts for the comparatively backward condition of Orissa at the present day.

16. The Uriya race under Bengal administration have not only made better progress than their brethren in Madras and Central Provinces, but they have competed successfully with the Bengali race in some of the occupations of life. It may be legitimately inferred from this that the genius of the Uriya race has, to speak metaphorically, got acclimatized to the administrative atmosphere of Bengal.

17. Your Excellency's humble memorialists have therefore received with alarm the report of the contemplated annexation of Orissa to Central Provinces, for that would mean a union and competition with a race in whom British administration and western civilization have produced a different type of civilized life and different ambition. The consequences of such competition would, the memorialists fear, mean the loss of half a century to the Uriya race.

18. The memorialists beg to summarise here the reasons against an annexation to the Central Provinces for Your Excellency's consideration :—

(*a*) It would retard progress in the way and for reasons mentioned in the preceding paragraph.

(*b*) The cause of education, both primary and high, will suffer considerably. Such annexation must be followed by an adoption of the text books, and generally of the standard of study prescribed by the Bombay University, or by the creation of a new University, either of which is likely to prove detrimental to the interests of the rising generation.

(*c*) Such annexation would not mean a complete riddance of the Uriya element to the Government of Bengal, for a considerable portion of the aboriginal tribes of Chota Nagpur who call themselves Uriyas, and whose education must be provided for through the medium of the Uriya language, will still be left under Bengal administration—an arrangement which will be fatal to the harmonious development of the aboriginal tribes.

19 The memorialists beg to quote here a portion of the administration Report of the Orissa Division published in "Calcutta Gazette," Supplement, dated 23rd October 1895, page 2357 :—

"124. There were no other changes during the year. But I think some changes are necessary, and submit the following for the consideration of Government :—

"(1) As a question of administrative reform for which there is much to be said, I have to advocate the extension of the divisional boundaries so as to include the whole area populated by races speaking the Uriya language, or, at any rate, some definite areas adjoining Orissa where the Uriya language prevails. Orissa is a very small division, both in area and population, and there is no doubt that the Commissioner could find time to deal with a very material addition to his work.

"2. The areas that I refer to are the Sambalpur district of the Chhatisgarh Division of the Central Provinces with the Tributary States of Patna, Sonpur, Rairakool, Bamra, Kalahandi, and the whole or part of the Ganjam district with the States of Kimidi and Gumsar.

"(3) Among the reasons for this change are, as I have said, the uniting in a single division and placing under the same laws and rules the whole local Uriya population, instead of having a portion of it forming an insignificant item of the Central Provinces, and another portion forming an equally insignificant item of the Madras Presidency. I am in possession of a map of India, dated 1841, in which either on ethnological or political grounds, the province of Orissa includes the two portions of territory that I have proposed to absorb in this division.

"(4) On political grounds it is desirable that the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals should control the districts surrounding these States. Had he control over Sambalpur, he could deal more efficiently with any disturbance in the States of Boad and Athmalik without soliciting the intervention of the authorities of another province, which intervention, be it ever so cordial, could not be so efficient as his own direct control We should then have these States, and those that I have mentioned as suited to be included in the Tributary Mahals of Orissa, hedged in by Sambalpur on the north, the head-quarters sub-division of Angul district on the east, and the Khondmals sub-division of Angul district on the south. So, with the States of Daspalla and Nayagarh, by annexing the whole or part of the Uriya-speaking district of Ganjam and its dependent States of Gumsur and Kimidi to Orissa, the Superintendent would be able to act directly from all sides in the case of such a rising as occurred last year in Nyagarh.

"(5) But the advantage would not be confined to disturbed times. In the development of the country between the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and Orissa, it would be obviously advantageous to have the area to be dealt with under the same administrative control, thereby to obtain unity of action among the Tributary Chiefs. Possibly, as things at present stand, the time has not come for the change, but with the opening of the railway communications between Sambalpur and Cuttack the proposal would become easy of execution and would undoubtedly prove a beneficial reform, as the head-quarters of the Sambalpur district are very much nearer to Cuttack than to Nagpur. The time appears to have arrived to break ground in this direction and to lay the proposal before the Government for consideration.

"(6) With regard to Sambalpur the case is particularly strong. In Volume XIX of the "Gazetteer of India," page 177 it is stated that Sambalpur, 'though included in the Chhatisgarh Division, forms no part of Chhatisgarh proper, either, geographically or historically': and in paragraphs 7 and 14 of the Administration Report of the Central Provinces, 1892-93, it is described as the Uriya country.

"After the annexation of the district of Sambalpur it was first attached to the Chota Nagpur Division and then transferred to this Division, doubtless for the reason given by Sir Henry Ricketts in No. XX, selected Records of the Bengal Government page 11, Sambalpur, *viz.*, that 'the inhabitants are most of them Uriyas and have no affinity or community of interest of any kind with the people of Chota Nagpur.' The reason why the district was transferred to the Central Provinces cannot be ascertained in this office, as correspondence relating to Sambalpur has been transferred to the Central Provinces. Geographically the map will show that Sambalpur belongs rather to Orissa than to the Central Provinces.

"(7) However, the strongest arguments, both with regard to the Central Provinces and the Madras areas, are ethnological and philological Ethnologically the Uriya differs from the inhabitants of the Central Provinces on the one hand and the Madrasees on the other; they have retained a marked individuality in the face of political and other disintegrating forces and any portion of the race that is forced into an unwilling combination with distinct races, incurs the danger of having the national characteristics and aspirations sacrificed to those in the predominating portion of the population in the administration under which it is forced to live."

20 The memorialists are ignorant of the reasons which might have suggested the separation of Orissa from Bengal as an administrative necessity (if such an administrative change be in contemplation), and therefore they are unable to look at them from the people's point of view, but if such an administrative change be an unavoidable necessity, the memorialists should respectfully drawn Your Excellency's attention to the latter portion of the second resolution which runs thus :—

"To raise the Orissa Division to a Chief Commissionership, like that of Assam, retaining the Judicial supervision of the Hon'ble High Court at Calcutta and the educational connection with the Calcutta University."

21. The remarkable features of Your Excellency's rule in India will mark a new epoch in the history of the British Indian Empire. In the light of this fact as well as the fact that Your Excellency was the first Viceroy who visited Orissa, your memorialists cherish a fervent hope that it will be the privilege of the Uriya race to associate Your Excellency's name with the restoration to a state of consolidation and union which in ancient times secured to their ancestors a glorious career.

We beg most respectfully to subscribe
as Your Excellency's most loyal subjects and
obedient servants,
M. S. DAS,
President.
GOUREE SUNKER ROY,
Secretary, Orissa Association.

Annexure 24.

Proceedings of a public meeting convened by the Honorary Secretary of the Orissa Association and held in the Cuttack Printing Company's Hall, on 22nd April 1903 at 6 p.m.

The meeting was attended by all classes of men among whom the following gentlemen were present :—

1. Raja of Kanika.
2. Babu Akhay Kumar Ghóse.
3. „ Banabihari Palit, B.A., B.L.
4. „ Biswanath Kar.
5. „ Brajaraj Chaudhury, B.A., B.L.
6. „ Gokulanand Chaudhury, B.A., B.L.
7. „ Gopal Chandra Praharaj, B.A., B.L.
8. „ Hari Charan Banarjee, B.A., B.L.
9. „ Ishwar Lall.
10. „ Jagabandhu Singh.
11. Mr. Jhon Samson Route.
12. Babu Janakinath Bose, B.A., B.L.
13. „ Kelpataru Das, B.A, B.L.
14. „ Krishna Prasad Palit.
15. Mr M. S. Das, M.A., B.L.
16. Babu Mayadher Das, B.A., B.L.
17. „ Nimai Charan Mitter.
18. „ Nilamani Chand Dey, B.A.
19. „ Purna Chandra Palit, B.A.. B.L.
20. „ Padwaladh Satapathy.
21. „ Parmanandh Ghose.
22. „ Parmanand Bose.
23. „ Pitabas Patnaik.
24. „ Ram Sanker Rai.
25. „ Ramkrishna Mitter.
26. „ Sarat Chandra Mukerjee, B.A., B.L.
27. „ Suresh Chandra Chakravarti.
28. „ Syam Chandra Mitter.
29. Rev. Shem Sahu.
30. Munshi Raffic Uddin.
31. Babu Abhiram Bhanj, M.A., B.L.
32. „ Jayoram Das.
33. Rev. G. Howells, B.D.
34. Mr. G. H. White.
35. Babu Sudam Chandra Naik.
36. Babu Ralumkund Canango, B.A.
37. Rev. R. J. Grundy.
38. Babu Madan Mohan Patnaik.
39. Munshi Nural Huq.
40. Babu Brajasunder Das, B.A.
41. „ Baidyanath Misra, B.A.
42. „ Radhakrishna Bose, B.A.
43. „ Gobinda Prasad Bose.
44. „ Brajanand Das, B.A.
45. „ Hem Chandra Ghose, B.A.
46. „ Biswanath Singh, B.A., B.L.
47. „ Raghabanand Das, B.A.
48. „ Jogesh Chandra Ghose, M.A., B.L.
49. „ Modhu Sudhan Rao.
50. Mahamud Akbar, B.A.
51. Babu Mohini Mohan Senapati, B.A.
52. „ Kailash Chandra Sen.
53. „ Bamdeb Nanda
54. „ Lakhmi Narain Naik.
55. Abdul Haq.
56. Babu Joganath Ballahha Ghose.
57. „ Samson Das, B.A.
58. Pandit Pursotam Tarkalankar.
59. Murtunjay Rath.
60. Babu Madhu Sudan Das, B.A.
61. „ Banamali Chaudhry.
62. „ Krishna Prasad Chaudhury.
63. „ Baidyanath Ghosal, B.A.
64. „ Dibya Singh Misra, B.A.
65. „ Sada Nand Das.
66. „ Ananda Chundra Dutt.
67. „ Chintamoni Patnaik.
68. „ Ananda Chandra Das.

The following resolutions were passed :—

I. That this meeting consider it their duty to place on record their sincere and deep sympathy with the Uriya-speaking population of the Ganjam district in the grievances referred to in their memorial to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India; and in the light of the fact that His Excellency the Viceroy most graciously vouchsafed prompt attention and redress to the Uriyas of Sambalpur by restoring to them the use of their mother tongue, this meeting cherish an earnest hope that the memorial of the Uriyas of the Ganjam district, which refers to grievances of a more serious nature, will receive due consideration.

Proposed by Mr. G. H. White;
Seconded by Rev. Shem Sahu;
Supported by Babu Sarat Chandra Mukerjee, B.A., B.L., and Munshi Sayed Nural Huq and carried by acclamation.

II. That considering that the subjection of the Uriya-speaking population to varied administrative influences (which in India are most important factors in the education and civilization of a race) has not been conducive to the uniform progress of the race, this

meeting desire to place on record their emphatic recognition of the expediency of placing the whole of the Uriya-speaking population under the same administrative and educational influences. this being, in their opinion, the most effective policy for securing the progress of the race.

Proposed by Rev. G. Howells, B.A., B.D. ;

Seconded by Babu Biswanath Kar ;

Supported by Babu Abhiram Bhanj, M.A., B.L., and Babu Hari Charan Banerjee, B.A., B.L., and carried by acclamation.

III. That a memorial be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, and that the prayer of such memorial be (1) to transfer to the Orissa Division the Uriya-speaking portions of the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, Sambalpur, Chota Nagpur, and Midnapur, so far as this can be done having regard to territorial contiguity, or (2) to raise the Orissa Division to a Chief Commissionership, like that of Assam, retaining the judicial supervision of the Hon'ble High Court at Calcutta, and the educational connection with the Calcutta University, whichever of these two measures is, in the opinion of the Government, better calculated to secure the advancement of the race.

Proposed by Babu Gokulanand Chaudhury, B.A., B.L. ;

Seconded by Babu Ram Sanker Rai ;

Supported by Babu Mayadher Dass, B.A., B.L.

Babu Janki Nath Bose, M.A., B.L., in an eloquent speech, recommended the elimination of clause (2) from the resolution, and proposed as an amendment that resolution III be passed without clause (2). The amendment was seconded by Babu Suresh Chandra Chakravarti, B.A., B.L. When put to vote it was supported by six gentlemen. The original proposition when put to vote was carried by an overwhelming majority.

IV. That a Sub-Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be authorised to draw up the memorial :—

Mr. M. S. Das.

Babu Ram Sanker Rai.

Mr. G. H. White.

Babu Gokulanand Chaudhury.

Proposed by Babu Gopal Chandra Praharaj, B.A., B.L. ;

Seconded by Babu Braja Sunder Das, B.A ;

Supported by Maulvi Raffiuddin Mohamed, and carried unanimously.

V. That the Orissa Association do make the necessary arrangements for submitting the memorial.

Proposed by Babu Banabihari Palit, B.A., B.L. ;

Seconded by Babu Madan Mohan Patnaik ;

Supported by Munshi Mohammed Akbar, and carried unanimously.

Members of Deputation.

Proprietor of Kanika, the scion of an ancient noble family in Orissa.

Revd. G. Howells, B.D., Baptist Missionary, Municipal Commissioner.

Mr. G. H. White, Municipal Commissioner, Manager of a European Trading Company.

Babu Gouree Sankar Roy, Secretary, Orissa Association, Editor, *Utkaldipika*.

Babu Ram Sanker Rai, Assistant Secretary, Orissa Association, Chairman, Cuttack Municipality.

Babu Gokulanand Chaudhury, B.A., B.L., Chairman, Cuttack Local Board.

Babu Gopal Chandra Praharaj, B.A., B.L., Zamindar.

Babu Abhiram Bhanj, M.A., B.L., Pleader.

Munshi Raffiuddin Mahomed, Zamindar and Honorary Magistrate.

Munshi Ekram Russool, Medical Practitioner, Municipal Commissioner.

Babu Iswar Lal Parwar, an up-country man settled in Orissa, landlord, a very influential man among the trading people.

Babu Bal Krishna Appa, a native of Madras settled in Orissa, Government pensioner and landlord.

Mr. Madhu Sudan Das, President, Orissa Association.

Annexure 25.

To His Excellency George Nathaniel Baron Curzon of Kedleston, P.C., G.M.S.I., G.M.I.E., Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The humble memorial of PRASANNA KUMAR ROY, President of the Public Meeting of the people of Chittagong, held on the 22nd day of September 1903.

Most respectfully sheweth—

That the news of the transfer of the Chittagong Division to the Assam Administration has caused a widespread anxiety and uneasiness to the people of the district. The people consider that the transfer, if approved, by Your Excellency's Government, will be a great misfortune to them, and therefore venture to lay before Your Excellency's Government, through your memorialist, this humble representation in the earnest hope that Your Excellency in Council will be graciously pleased to withhold sanction to the proposed transfer till, at least, the people's view of the question is duly put before, and considered by, Your Excellency.

Your Excellency's memorialist craves leave, in the first place, to submit that such a measure is detrimental to the interests of the people, inasmuch as it formulates a retrograde policy in separating this Division from one of the most advanced and forward provinces in the Empire, and will consequently affect their valuable rights and privileges. The people cannot expect a new administration like that of Assam to give them the same rights and privileges as they at present enjoy under the advanced Government of Bengal, and they consider the loss of even a single right to be a serious matter to them.

Your Excellency's memorialist submits that the people cannot understand why the Chittagong Division is to be dealt with in this way. If the transfer is proposed on the ground that the jurisdiction of His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal is too large, Your Excellency's memorialist submits that the giving up of a small portion of the province of Bengal like the Chittagong Division to Assam will not appreciably lighten the labours of His Honour's Government. If, however, the change has been desired by the Chief Commissioner of Assam for any convenience of his administration, Your Excellency's memorialist begs leave to point out that it is not desirable to deprive a people of the precious rights and privileges which they have enjoyed for about a century and-a-half for the sake of administrative convenience or financial considerations.

Your Excellency's memorialist considers that the construction of a railway has done much to remove the inconvenience which the Bengal Government might have experienced in governing Chittagong. The means of communication, both by land and water, leave nothing to be desired. It is also a fact that Chittagong is nearer the head-quarters of the Bengal Government than Shillong, and the journey to Calcutta is easier and less expensive than that to Shillong.

Your Excellency's memorialist begs leave to point out that Chittagong was one of the first districts of Bengal which passed into the possession of the East India Company. The first connection of the English with Chittagong took place as long back as 1685, in the war between the East India Company and the Emperor Aurangzeb. It is one of the three districts ceded to the East India Company on the 27th September 1760. On 8th November 1760 Mr. Verelst was appointed Chief of Chittagong, and, together with a Council, managed the Company's affairs on the spot. And Chittagong soon settled down into a well-regulated English province. Your Excellency's memorialist submits that the people of Chittagong have therefore a claim to remain, if only for historical continuity, an integral part of the earliest-constituted Administration of British India.

Your Excellency's memorialist further submits that the people of Chittagong and that of Assam have nothing in common, either ethnologically, or politically, or in matters of language literature, and traditions. The people of Chittagong are not aware of any substantial benefit which they may derive by the proposed change, but it is certain that they will lose the advantages of a Legislative Council, a local representation to the Council, a Board of Revenue, an elective system in Municipal Government, a progressive system of Education, and the most advanced form of government in British India.

The Board of Revenue, composed as it is of the most experienced Revenue Officers of Bengal, exercise a most salutary control over matters connected with Land Revenue and Sea Customs. Considering the growing importance of the port and the peculiarly complicated land tenures of this district, Your Excellency's memorialist considers that the loss of such a body as the Revenue Board will be a serious grievance to the people in general of this Division.

Your memorialist prays that in consideration of the above facts and circumstances and in consideration of the alarm caused by the proposed change, Your Excellency in Council will be graciously pleased to reconsider the decision of transferring the Chittagong Division from Bengal to Assam.

And Your Excellency's memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

I have the honour to subscribe,

Your Excellency's most obedient and loyal servant,

PRASANNA KUMAR ROY,

President of the Public Meeting of the people of Chittagong.

Dated Chittagong, the 29th October 1903.

Annexure 26.

Letter from Maharaja Sri Sir Ram Narayan Singh, Proprietor of the Ramgarh Estate, Padma, to the Deputy Commissioner, Hazaribagh, dated Padma, the 24th January 1904.

In reply to your letter no. 1956-R., dated the 19th January 1904, asking for my opinion on the proposal by the Government of India mentioned in the notification published in the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 16th December 1904, I beg most humbly to state—

(1) That ever since the dawn of English rule in this country this district formed a part of Bengal. In fact no period of time can be pointed out when it belonged to any other Province. As early as 1787 Mr. J. Grant wrote of Hazaribagh (formerly called Rambagh district) as "an elevated region which forms part of Suba Behar. In 1793 one officer exercising the powers of a Judge, Magistrate, and a Collector, used to hold his Court alternately at Shaherghatty (now in Gaya) and Chatra, subject to the appellate jurisdiction of the Provincial Court of Appeal of the City of Patna" (*vide* page 19, Hunter's Statistical Account of Bengal, Volume XVI).

(2) That the higher classes of people of this district are mostly Biharis who came over from the neighbouring districts of Bihar. The Bengali-speaking people form not an inconsiderable portion of the population, and there is a handful of aborigines, namely Sonthals, Uraons, and Mundas, here and there, numbering less than a lakh out of total population of nearly 12 lakhs. They are scattered over nearly the whole of the district, and they speak also the language of, and in manners and customs to some extent resemble, the people among whom they live.

(3) That the language spoken in the district does, in no way, correspond to the language spoken in the Central Provinces. In fact in no material point has the people of this district any affinity to the people of the Central Provinces; on the other hand in manners and customs, both social and religious, the people of this district resemble those of the neighbouring districts of Bengal, with whom they are intimately connected in trade and commerce also. The people of Hazaribagh have hardly any resemblance even with the people of Ranchi, specially the aboriginal population inhabiting the southern, central, and western portions of that district, who number about half of the entire population there.

(4) That this district is full of mineral wealth of various descriptions, and mines are worked by capitalists from Calcutta; so the proposed transfer, if carried out, would materially check the development and working of these resources.

(5) That it has been suggested in the notification that the Karanpura and Karharbari coal-fields may be retained in Bengal, but I cannot make out how that is possible. Karanpura is to the south-west of Karharbari, and these two tracts are not contiguous. A considerable portion of the district, including the Bokaro coal-fields, intervenes between them. Bokaro coal is as good in quality as Karanpura or Karharbari coal. If these coal-fields be retained in Bengal one fails to understand how this intervening portion of Hazaribagh can be left out. In my humble opinion it appears that the practical solution of this difficulty would be to keep this district intact and let it remain in Bengal, as it has remained for more than a century.

(6) That the proposed change would make the seat of the Government more inaccessible to me and the other landholders of the district and our tenants; whereas by the opening of the Gaya-Asansol Railway this district would be within a few hours journey from Calcutta.

(7) That the Ramgarh Raj covers almost the whole of this district now. If it be broken up portions of the Ramgarh Raj will be placed in different districts lying in different provinces with different laws and regulations and different appellate authorities. This would cause great mismanagement of the estate and hardship to the people. Moreover, I and other landholders shall have to incur great cost in keeping different sets of amla and legal advisers at different centres. In this view of the matter I beg to enter my humble protest against the proposed transfer of the district, especially of a part of it.

(8) That Hazaribagh is a permanently-settled district and incidents of land tenures are totally unlike those of the Central Provinces and are exactly the same as those of Bengal. The effect of the fusion of this district with the Central Provinces cannot, it is apprehended, be but detrimental to the well-being of the people.

(9) In conclusion I beg to submit that the proposed transfer of the whole, and especially of a part, would throw the district backward and seriously affect the best interests of the people and cause inconveniences to Government also. I therefore pray that you will favourably consider the facts and circumstances stated above, and adopt such measures as may tend to prevent the proposed transfer of the whole and especially of a part of this district.

Annexure 27.

Letter from Raja Bhagawat Doyal Singh, Chainpur, and others, to the Deputy Commissioner, Palamau, dated January 1904.

With reference to the proposal recently made by the Government of India for the transfer of the district of Palamau to the Central Provinces, we, the undersigned residents of the said district, beg most respectfully to submit the following for favourable consideration and orders of Government.

2. The people of Palamau look upon the said proposal with great alarm, because, if carried out, it will deprive them of several valuable rights and privileges which they now enjoy under the Government of Bengal.

3. We have been united with Bengal under the same administrative head ever since the commencement of British rule in these parts more than a century ago, and no one will gainsay that this long union of this backward district with the far more advanced districts of Bengal and Bihar has been productive of great good to us in many respects.

4. That the same system of administration which has been followed in Bengal proper with such beneficial results has contributed solely to whatever progress the people of this district have made in civilization. The same laws and regulations which are in force in the Bengal districts are also in force in Palamau, and these have placed their rights and privileges on a more secure and firm footing than perhaps those of the people in other parts of the country, and that the High Court of Calcutta which guides and controls the mufassal judiciary of Bengal and Chota Nagpur is looked upon by the people as the palladium of justice where their lives, liberty and property are secure.

5. That to change the mode of government and all the laws and regulations in regard to Palamau so as to adapt them to the conditions of the Central Provinces, which are far behind this district in every respect, and also to take away from us the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court will be to throw us back by several generations and to subject us to an altogether retrograde system materially affecting our best interests and well-being.

6. That Palamau is a very poor district, and in times of her need the Bengal Government has always liberally come forward to help her with money out of the Provincial funds. Had it not been for these benevolent aids rendered by Government, it is alarming to think how badly the famine-stricken people of Palamau and its educational, charitable, and other public institutions would have fared.

7. The Central Provinces being themselves, so far as we are aware, very poor, they would scarcely be expected, like the Bengal Government, to spare funds for the benefit of this district in times of her need.

8. Another objection to the transfer of Palamau is that it has very little in common with the Central Provinces, and that the population of this district, including both the zamindars and the common people, consists almost wholly of emigrants, or the descendants of emigrants, from Bihar, and as such they are Hindi-speaking like the Biharis and are closely linked with them by the ties of blood, marriage, religion, manners, and customs, and differ widely from the backward people of the Central Provinces.

9. That the influx of the Bihari immigrants to Palamau had a great civilizing effect on the few hill tribes of this district, who had consequently in course of time, come to correspond very closely with the Biharis as regards religion, manners, customs, and language, and diverge widely in all respects form the aborigines properly so called, of whom a very small number speaking the Kol dialect are now to be found only on the southern borders of Palamau; and again among those who are classed as aborigines of this district, there are some people who are not really such, but only Hindu emigrants from Bihar whose language is Hindi.

10. With the exception of the said aborigines in the southern part of the district, the population of Palamau is entirely a Bihari one, speaking the Hindi language and having a character and state of development attained by their immediate neighbours, the people of Gaya and Shahabad in Bihar and Mirzapur in the North-Western Provinces; and unlike the district of Ranchi, there are no aboriginal Mundas, nor the Mundari language, nor Mundari khutkatti tenures in Palamau.

11. Not only are we thus closely connected with Bihar by the ties of race, religion, marriage, manners, and customs, but a further community of interest and traditions has grown up between ourselves and the whole Province of Bengal and Bihar by our having been associated with them under the same administrative head for more than a century. Now to be cut off from our brethren of Bihar and Bengal and joined to the alien and backward people of the Central Provinces not only comes as a shock to us, but will tell heavily upon our present interests and future prospects as subjects of the highly-civilized and benevolent Bengal Government.

12. In Palamau also there are large coal-fields, such as those of Daltonganj, Rajahra, Hutar, etc., comprising a large portion of the western and northern half of the district, all of which have been brought within easy communication by the recent opening of the Barun-Daltonganj Railway line. The whole of this coal industry and the trade of the district, which is rich in other minerals, such as mica, iron, lead, copper, lime, and manganese, and in other indigenous products are carried on by the mercantile community of Calcutta and other parts of Bengal, all of which have been brought within some hours' (at present 24 hours') journey from Daltonganj, the Sadar station of Palamau by the said line of Railway; and this journey, it is expected, will be much shortened by a change in the timing of the trains on this line and also by the opening of the Gaya-Katrasgarh Railway now under construction. This being so, the trade prospects of this district will materially suffer, and the progress of the people will be considerably thrown back by the transfer of Palamau from Bengal to the Central Provinces.

13. The main object of the proposed transfer is to secure for Palamau greater attention from the head of Government. But should this district be transferred to the Central Provinces, it would be much further removed from the seat of Government, such as Nagpur, than it is at present from Calcutta, and thus the very object of the proposed transfer will be frustrated.

14. The journey from Palamu to Nagpur is immensely longer and more expensive and far more troublesome even by rail (there being no other means of communication) than that from Daltonganj to Calcutta. Thus, in case the transfer is effected, Palamau is expected not only to receive less attention from the head of Government than it gets now, but the people of this district who could have often occasion to go to the new seat of Government in the Central Provinces would be put to very great trouble and hardship.

15. That the zamindars of Palamau have landed properties in this district, and also in Gaya, Shahabad, and Patna; hence the proposed territorial transfer and the consequent change of the jurisdiction of the High Court will be a source of very great trouble and inconvenience to the said zamindars.

16. That the Bengal laws and system of administration have all along been working smoothly in this district, and the zamindars and the cultivators have been on the best of terms with one another, and it is apprehended that a change in the Government will disturb the existing satisfactory relations between the two classes to the prejudice of both.

17. That owing to the smooth and satisfactory working of the Bengal laws and regulations, there has never been any agrarian disturbance in Palamau; and in this respect the conditions of Chota Nagpur proper, *i.e.*, the Ranchi districts, differ materially from those of Palamau.

18. That out of the total number of 4,030 mauzas in Palamau, 2,870 belong to merchants and zamindars who have extensive mica, coal, iron, copper, lime, lead, and silver mines, in some of which English capital is invested, and the permanent severance of these mauzas will tell prejudicially upon the Calcutta market and the landlords as well.

Under the circumstances and for the reasons set forth above, we humbly and earnestly pray to Government that the district of Palamau may not be transferred from the jurisdiction of the Government of Bengal.

Annexure 28.

Letter from Babu Bhugwat Bux Roy, Zamindar of Bisrampur, to the Deputy Commissioner of Palamau, dated Bisrampur, the 26th January 1904.

With reference to your letter no. 1103, dated Daltonganj, the 20th January 1904, asking my opinion on the proposed transfer of Palamau to the Central Provinces, I beg most humbly and respectfully to submit as follows.

2. That the two grounds for transfer, *viz.*,—

(1) that in character and in nature of development the people of Palamau resemble that of the hill tribes of the Central Provinces,

(2) the too highly-advanced state of law is not fit for Chota Nagpur, as appears from the recent Munda outbreak,

do not apply at all to Palamau.

3. That I beg to suggest the following grounds against the transfer of Palamau to the Central Provinces:—

Grounds.

(*a*) That the whole population of Palamau consists of Chatria, Brahmans, Vaisya Bamhans, Kayasthas and other castes whose ancestors have come and settled in this district from Gaya, Shahabad, and North-Western Provinces, and that the small portion of supposed aboriginal tribes have also come from Bihar, and being in contact with the civilised immigrants, have adopted their manners, customs, habit and religion, and have become Bihari in every respect.

(*b*) That the language spoken by the Palamau people is *Hindi*: even the so-called aborigines do not speak Mundari or other similar language but *Hindi*.

(*c*) That the people of Palamau are not connected with Bihar only in manners and customs, but are also connected with them by marriage ties.

(*d*) That since the Muhammadan rule Palamau forms part of the Province of Bengal and Bihar.

(*e*) That the district of Palamau is made up of part of the Gaya and Shahabad districts.

(*f*) That the tenure and land settlement prevalent in Palamau are quite similar to that of Bihar; there are no khutkatti, Mundari, and such like other tenures here.

(*g*) That the zamindars of this district possess landed property in Gaya, Shahabad, and Patna districts, and hence the territorial change and transfer of the jurisdiction of the Hon'ble High Court will operate much hardship to them (the zamindars).

(*h*) That the Bengal laws have worked very smoothly here, and the relation between the landlord and tenant is quite satisfactory, will, I hope, be quite evident from the very fact of there being no agrarian rebellion in Palamau.

(*i*) That Palamau is a poor country, and hence she should be joined with a province which can help her in time of need, and such province cannot be the Central Provinces, being proverbially poorer.

(*j*) That Palamau is in need of education which will be much thwarted by its transfer to the Central Provinces, for she (the Central Provinces) cannot afford to lay by some surplus to help Palamau.

(*k*) That the change of the jurisdiction of the High Court will be looked upon with greatest alarm, for all the mufassal judiciary under it are acting to the utter satisfaction of the people, and the Hon'ble Calcutta High Court is regarded as palladium of justice in which the life and property of the people are regarded secure.

(*l*) That all the zamindars possess coal mines, mica mines, iron, lead and even silver mines about which they have already opened negotiation with the Calcutta merchants, and are also carrying business with them to a little extent.

(*m*) That import and export of this place will greatly suffer, for Palamau used to trade with Calcutta, Patna and Gaya.

(*n*) That the journey and cost of travelling to Calcutta have been much shortened by the opening of the Bengal Duars Railway, and will be much more shortened by the opening of Gaya-Asansol line.

(*o*) That the object of the territorial transfer to place the Government near the people will not be attained by changing the seat of Government from Calcutta to Nagpur (for Calcutta is only a 20 hours' journey from Palamau).

(*p*) That Palamau was making improvement in civilisation and in other matters by being in connection with Bengal, and which she will lose by being annexed to Central Provinces, for there cannot be *locus standi* in anything.

(*q*) Lastly, the effect of connecting together the two backward countries will have the effect of keeping both of them as ignorant as they were before without any bright prospect in future.

Annexure 29.

Letter from Babu Bhoobun Mohon Burral, Secretary, Bar Library, to the Deputy Commissioner of Palamau, dated Daltonganj, the 27th January 1904.

With reference to your letter no. 1102, dated 20th instant, I have the honour to inform you that the opinions of the local Bar as to the question of transfer of Palamau to the Central Provinces have been stated fully in the representation which the zamindars, etc., of the district are going to submit to Your Honour on the subject.

Annexure 30.

Letter from Raja Bishumbher Nath Sahe, to the Deputy Commissioner of Palamau, dated Sonepora, the 24th January 1904.

With reference to your letter no. 1100-R., dated 26th January 1904, I have the honour to inform you that I shall be put to greatest inconveniences and shall have to sacrifice more money as well as time in the conduct of cases if Chota Nagpur will be transferred to Central Provinces. I am therefore not in favour of the proposed transfer.

Under the circumstances I pray that Your Honour shall be kind enough to move the higher authority on the subject, for which act of kindness I, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

Annexure 31.

Letter from Rai Kissen Baksh Rai Bahadur, Zamindar, Deoghur Estate, Palamau, to the Deputy Commissioner of Palamau, No. 3-D., dated Nawajaipore, the 26th January 1904.

I have the honour to acknowledge receipt of your letter no. 1101, dated the 20th instant, and in reply I beg most humbly to submit that the proposed transfer of this district to Central Provinces will be a great hindrance to the internal well-being and prosperity of this rising district. The Bengal Laws act here very satisfactorily, and the relations between the zamindars and tenants are most amicable and cordial. Any change in the system of government will cause great administrative and judicial difficulties.

We are more connected with the Bihar districts by communion of blood, marriage, religion, social interests, manners, customs, and the like than with the Central Provinces people, who are far behind us in the scale of civilization, and these facts, coupled with our proposed separation from Bengal, under which this poor district has been materially benefited in times of famine and need, does not in any way guarantee our transference to Central Provinces. The zamindars of Palamau will also experience insurmountable difficulties in carrying on their law suits elsewhere than the Calcutta High Court established under the Charter.

Under the circumstances Your Honour will recommend the Government not to transfer this district to Central Provinces and maintain the *status quo*.

Annexure 32.

Letter from Rai Bhaya Dirgaj Deo Bahadur, Zamindar of Uttari, to the Deputy Commissioner of Palamau, dated Benares, the 28th January 1904.

In reply to your letter no. 1099, dated the 20th instant, I have the honour to submit as follows. That the zamindars of this district have to file original and appeal cases in Daltonganj and Ranchi Courts, and afterwards they proceed to file appeals of these cases to Calcutta High Court, which is not far from this district. That the Barristers and Pleaders of the Calcutta High Court, who are well acquainted with the zamindars and their cases, attend the Bar in mufassal districts whenever they are required, as these districts are comparatively nearer. How much trouble the zamindars will have to undergo in conducting their cases as well as bearing a heavy cost, if they will have to go to the High Court of a greater distance can be well conceived by Your Honour.

I have therefore the honour to suggest earnestly that Chota Nagpur should remain as usual. Further as Your Honour pleases.

Annexure 33.

Letter from Jagabundhu Patnaik, and others, of Orissa, to the Collector of Puri, dated Puri, the 21st January 1903.

I. In obedience to Your Honour's order, dated the 13th January 1904, asking us to give reasons in support of our proposals to unite Orissa with the Central Provinces and not with Bengal, we beg to state our reasons as follows:—

(1) We are very much indebted to the benign Government for uniting all the Uriya-speaking tracts under one Government, and we shall be more so if Government extends its favour a little further so as to place united Orissa under a separate Chief Commissioner without amalgamating it with another Government, retaining it under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta University and the High Court as before.

(2) There are good reasons for such a claim. The population of united Orissa, *viz.*:—

(*i*) Sambalpur and certain adjacent feudatory states,

(*ii*) a part of Singhbhum district,

(*iii*) the Ganjam district and its Agency tracts and the Vizagapatam Agency tracts,

(*iv*) the present Orissa nearly comes to 14 millions. If Kanthi subdivision of Midnapur, people of which almost all speak Uriya, be added, then the population may be a little greater.

(3) The total area of united Orissa, as pointed out above, will no doubt be greater than that of many of the existing Chief Commissionerships in India. Considerations from point of land revenue and population are also in its favour.

(4) The Indian Government in paragraph 13 of their letter No. 3678, dated the 3rd December 1903, have said that "where the population speaking a distinct language and the area over which it is spoken are too small to constitute a substantial portion of a province, the foreign unit is almost of necessity neglected," and have also said in the same paragraph that "the Uriya-speaking group in any case emerges as a distinct and unmistakeable factor with an identity and interest of its own."

(5) These remarks on all fours support our claims for a separate Chief Commissionership.

(6) As regards the expenses of forming a separate Government for united Orissa, we beg to suggest that as Berar, which has lately been annexed to the Central Provinces was under a Chief Commissioner, no additional expenditure will be required to carry out the proposal.

(7) In case Government does not think it expedient to grant a separate Chief Commissionership to united Orissa, the only possible alternative to better the prospects of the Uriyas seems to us to unite it with the Central Provinces and not with Bengal for the following reasons:—

(*i*) In Bengal there are nearly 42 colleges, whereas in Orissa there is only one first grade college and in the Central Provinces there are three. This one college even does not receive as much attention as it should, and it is chiefly for this reason that its results are not favourable compared with the result of that of the other colleges in Bengal. For instance there is not an European Principal to impart better education in the B.A. or M.A. classes. To illustrate this the result of the B.A. Examination of the year 1901-1902 may be cited—

Bengal	...	...	409
Central Provinces	...	...	36
Orissa	...	...	6

The result is not peculiar for the year mentioned above, but nearly every college in Bengal produces better results in all examinations every year than that of Orissa.

(*ii*) Another cause, which is of vital importance, is wealth. Owing to the permanent settlement in Bengal its people are much better off than those of Orissa which is only temporarily settled, a fact admitted on all hands and indisputable. The opulence of Bengal does not only enable its people to get the upperhand in the matter of education but also in all sorts of professions and means required for the improvement of a nation, and the Uriyas always lag behind and their requirements are not properly attended to. The Bengal Government, as can be naturally expected, see that the majority of the students in the province are benefited, but as the Uriya population forms only 16 per cent. of the total population of Bengal, and weaker as they are in all respects, cannot receive the due amount of attention and advantage which Government kindly offer.

(*iii*) If united Orissa be placed under the Central Provinces Government, the difficulties pointed above may to some extent be mitigated. The condition of the college which is the chief doorway for the improvement of the nation, is expected to be better. The proportion of the Uriyas to those of the other people of the Central Provinces will be more than 40 per cent., and it is natural that they can expect equal privileges and advantages from that Government with the other people of the province. Orissa, like the Central Provinces, is a temporarily-settled area which is considered to be a weighty consideration for Orissa being united with the Central Provinces—*vide* paragraph 10 (ii) of the Government letter. The productive power of the soil of both these provinces is almost equal while that of Bengal is decidedly superior. The pecuniary circumstances of the people of the Central Provinces is not presumably superior to that of the Uriyas. It is therefore expected that the Uriyas being placed under equal circumstances with the people of the Central Provinces can better compete with the latter in education as well as in profession and trades than with the far-advanced people of Bengal. Besides, the Bengalis are under the British for over 200 years whereas the Uriyas are under such rule for a century only. So, under no circumstances Uriyas can be expected to keep pace with the Bengalis if they are allowed to remain with them for any period.

(*iv*) It may be contended if the Bengalis are superior in education and in other respects it may be beneficial for the Uriyas to work with a higher model before them, but it is next to impossible to expect any improvement from this source without being equipped with the necessary means to work with them.

(*v*) With regard to social manners and customs, Orissa is more related to the Central Provinces than to Bengal. The Uriyas as a nation have social manners and customs peculiar to their own. The Uriyas are very ortnodox like the people of the Central Provinces in keeping to their own manners and customs. But living with Bengalis for a century, the social manners and customs of the Uriyas have undergone a change which is looked down upon by the Uriya public.

(*vi*) With regard to the commercial interest, the commercial class will in no way be affected if united Orissa is transferred to the Central Provinces. Even now being under Bengal, Orissa has its commercial relation with Raigarh, Sambalpur, in the Central Provinces through the natural communication afforded by the river Mahanadi. If Orissa is annexed to the Central Provinces the latter will derive maritime advantage like the provinces of Bombay, Madras, and Bengal, which it is otherwise impossible for it to do. Though at

present Orissa does not possess a good natural harbour as remarked by the India Government in paragraph 11 (iii) of the letter, but the ports of Chandbali, Puri, and Gopalpur are capable of being improved by artificial means as in the case of Madras, and not only Orissa but also the Central Provinces may be benefited by this improved facility of commerce.

(*vii*) With regard to land revenue the prevalling customs of Orissa are not likely to be altered in view of the laws and regulations prevailing in the Central Provinces. Even under Bengal, Crissa has its special revenue laws to meet its own requirements.

(*viii*) It is understood that certain districts of the Central Provinces are under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court and University. So, if United Orissa be placed under the Central Provinces it may under similar arrangement continue as heretofore to be under the jurisdiction of that High Court and University and whose other privileges regarding Legislative Council as it is proposed in the case of Chittagong when transferred to Assam, *vide* 22 (ii and iv).

(8) Further, it will be seen that if Government thinks it expedient to unite the Uriya-speaking tracts with the Central Provinces, the total population will come to over 28 millions, which is far greater than an area which can be administered by a Chief Commissioner. The total population of the Central Provinces even including Berar, recently annexed, is only 14 millions; it is therefore not unreasonable to pray our benign Government to raise the Central Provinces with united Orissa to a Lieutenant-Governorship with a separate High Court and other privileges as in the case of other provinces. The seat of Government will in that case be removed from Nagpur to a convenient central place, so that all parts of the proposed province will receive equal attention from Government.

(9) Under the circumstances we are of opinion that in the interests of the backward condition of Uriyas, united Orissa may be placed (1) under a separate Chief Commissioner under the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court and the University, or (2) if that be considered inexpedient, united Orissa may be annexed to the Central Provinces leaving it to the mercy of the benign Government to consider the advisability of creating a Lieutenant-Governorship now or hereafter, or (3) to make such other arrangement as the Government deems fit to promote the interests of the people of united Orissa, poor and backward as they are.

II. We have hastily drawn up this report without being able to collect all the necessary materials that may be adduced in support of our reasons owing to want of sufficient time which is necessary for dealing with such subjects at length.

Annexure 34.

Note by Babu Dayanidhi Das of Puri, dated 28th January 1904.

With reference to the proposal for uniting the whole of Uriya-speaking people both hill and plain, under one administration and making that administration Bengal (instead of placing them under the administration of the Central Provinces), I beg to offer the following observations which indicate the balance of argument in its favour.

The true object of an administration is the happiness of the people placed under it. This object in its broader aspect, obviously embraces questions of the most comprehensive nature as well as touches the minutest of the administrative details, which alike contribute towards securing the desired end. Of course any innovation, as also the existing system, has its own advantages and disadvantages, and the balance of advantages is to be taken as the criterion of expediency. Now as regards the present question we should, therefore, see under which of the two administrations, Bengal and Central Provinces, the Uriya-speaking people are united under the new proposal, are likely to have the balance of advantages, both in broader and narrower aspects. It can hardly be denied that the nature of the administration broadly exercises a powerful and determining influence over the commercial, industrial, social, intellectual,

and moral progress of the people. But there are strong grounds to believe that the people of Orissa are likely to enjoy more benefit under the Bengal Government than if they are transferred to the Central Provinces. As regards the commerce and industry, the importance of which can hardly be overrated, Orissa is bound to be a loser, if its administrative tie with Bengal is severed. With the exception of Sambalpur and some Feudatory States, which it is proposed to unite with Orissa, the important and the advanced parts of Orissa, including Ganjam and the Vizagapatam Agency tracts, are, both by sea and railway, more easily and speedily accessible to Calcutta than to Nagpur; excepting the river Mahanady, which is not navigable in all places and in all seasons, there is no natural outlet which connects these parts with the district of Sambalpur, and the formidable barriers in the shape of hills and wild jungles are not likely to be so easily removed by art at a near future. Besides being the metropolis of India, Calcutta forms the centre of a progressive trade with all its vitality and energy, and this city is only 12 hours' distance from the capital of Orissa by rail. But there is no such centre of trade in the Central Provinces, and the town having any importance on that score cannot be made so readily and speedily accessible. The imports of Orissa, specially the jute, the most important of them, finds easy market in Calcutta which they cannot possibly find in any of the towns of the Central Provinces with such advantage of communication. Although, in case of this alternative administrative arrangement, the people of Orissa will not be debarred from having any commercial relation with Calcutta, it is least certain that labouring under the disadvantages of belonging to a different administration they are bound to have their attention diverted from Calcutta and thereby to lose the commercial enterprise to which the advantage of railway has imparted new vigour since the steamer service at Chandbali and Balasore was started. There, therefore, appears no room for basing our theory that the Uriyas, backward as they are, are likely to gain anything in the direction of commerce, but are sure to lose the advantage of being administratively connected with the metropolis of India and the most populous and the civilised part of the Indian Empire.

As regards the advancement of Industry, they are deriving more advantage from the existing system of administration. Having occasions and opportunity to come in contact with the civilised parts of the country and their people and the advantage of getting teachnical education in the Sibpur Engineering College, the interest of their industry is likely to be better promoted under Bengal administration than under the comparatively backward administration of the Central Provinces.

Then comes the social question. It can be safely accepted as a fact that the customs and manners of the Uriyas were originally as different from those of the Bengalis as of any other people of India. But by the prescription of a century since which they came in contact with the Bengalis as being under one administration, their manners and customs have, in many important respects, been replaced by those of the Bengalis who happen to be the richer and more advanced of the two. Although these changes, which I believe it is necessary to mention here, are confined to the educated and the upper classes of the society and not free from its dark side, they are in the right direction and tending generally towards the advancement of civilization and diminution of superstition. It is not likely that breaking the prescription of such a long period they can easily find their way and associate with the people of the Central Provinces, nor such an association seems at all to be desirable. In the progress of civilization as of any thing else, example is the potent and the determining factor, and I have no hesitation to pronounce that in this respect Bengal would prove a more proper and safer guide than the Central Provinces, the people of which are obviously more backward than the Uriyas here, and so, instead of getting the advantage of any example which they so indispensably require till their social customs and manners assume a definite shape, they are most likely to lose what ideas of civilization they have acquired during the period of one hundred years, because the people of the Central Provinces cannot be expected to imitate us in these matters nor is it easy for us to follow them at this stage. In the first place we have not got the numerical advantage over them as the Bengalis have over us nor has the actual spread of civilization in this province assumed definite

potent and universally accepted shape which can operate as an example to others, specially to the people like those of the Central Provinces who are believed to be obstinately adhering to the old manners and customs. Besides the Central Provinces being full of hills and jungles and so less open to easy communication, the spirit of exclusiveness and isolation is in ascendency there which are decidedly in favour of credulousness and superstition of the people and offer strong obstacles against the advancement of civilization and education. So under one administration there would be people having ideas of such social matters uncongenial to one another and the stronger prevailing, the Uriyas of these three districts are bound to go behind and lose the benefit of a hundred years' advancement.

As regards the question of caste and language, the Uriyas have nothing more common with those of the Central Provinces people than of the Bengalis. They cannot intermarry with the people of the Central Provinces as well as with the Bengalis. But their language is original, more akin to the Bengali language than the prevalent language of the Central Provinces, and so Bengal has a more proper and better linguistic relation with Orissa.

It is contended by some of us and with some amount of force of reasoning that the Uriyas being poor and less backward and few in number, are absolutely unable to cope with and stand in competition with the Bengalis in every direction, and being under one administration they are always at a disadvantage of having to compete with a class of people too powerful and too numerous for them. It would be of course presumptuous on the part of a man having such meagre and raw experience like myself to ignore altogether the force of such an argument, but considering the circumstances on the whole, it seems to me that the balance of argument seems to be in favour of the opinion that the interests of the Uriyas is likely to be better secured if they are retained with Bengal under one administration. In the first place there is decidedly more and better scope for competition under the existing system than under the backward Government of the Central Provinces and it is desirable that the field of such competition should be more varied and extensive which can furnish an avenue of prospects to many although its door may be more difficult to pass rather than insignificantly narrow and easily open to success. Many will leave it as a bad job and a time may come when the spirit of competition may vanish altogether when the difficulty and the necessity will be removed. If it be assumed that the Uriyas may have a better chance of getting appointments, they are sure to get more indolent and lose more of self-reliance and self-help. Nothing can be more valuable and necessary than those admirable qualities for a march of a nation, and no administrative advantages can easily compensate that loss, which sets a nation steadily and rapidly in a retrogade movement in its moral progress. The difficulty compels the people to the necessity of developing these manly virtues, and the Uriyas having to compete with none or with the more backward people like those of the Central Provinces as they are supposed to be, they will no longer be under such necessity. If they are not to cultivate these virtues vigorously, they are bound to lose ground and fall back.

As to the intellectual development, it may at once be admitted that they will be the awful losers if they are severed from Bengal. Calcutta, the centre of learning, will be a strange place to them, or at least their attention will be diverted therefrom in a degree so much so that they will not be attracted towards it in a perceptible proportion coming in contact in important respects with a backward people; they may lose the zeal which they have since acquired for the advancement of education, in proportion to the degree in which their mind will be influenced with the superstition and spirit of exclusiveness of a credulous and conservative people. They will also lose the wide opportunity and cheapness for acquiring education in a better style and the benefit of the salutary influence of a large educated community.

Then comes the moral side of the question. The morality has got relative standards different in regard to different classes of the people imbibed with the notions acquired by prescription of the ages. It is evident therefore that even the most barbarous people have got their own idea of morality as well the civilized ones. I do not see any reason to suppose that there is any serious divergence of

feeling between the Uriyas and the Bengalis as regards the standard of their morality, and under the benevolent influence of our benign Government, and with the advance of learning and civilization, they are sure to get on admirably in this direction as one people.

I have now done with the broad aspects of the question. Now I beg to deal with the changes which will take place in the administrative details which afford a powerful argument against the separation of Orissa from Bengal. Orissa has been placed since its conquest under the most advanced and developed form of government without any convenience, and the people have got accustomed to a detailed and legalised machinery of administration. This affords them good opportunity of more and more perceiving the principles of administration and law which helps them much to be law-abiding and reasonable and keeps them off from the tendency to commit a frequent breach of it. Presumably the administration of the Central Previnces being inferior to that of Bengal in these respects, they will have to lose those benefits and are likely to get comparatively rude and wild.

Enclosure 6 in no. 2.

(Extract.)

Letter from the Hon'ble Mr. M. Hammick, C.I.E., I.C.S., Acting Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, Public Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, No. 531 (Public), dated Ootacamund, 20th June 1904.

I am directed to reply to Mr. Risley's letter no. 3679, Home Department, Public, dated 3rd December 1903, inviting the views of the Government of Madras on a proposal to transfer to the Province of Bengal the district of Ganjam and the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam which are now included in this Presidency. The area affected by the proposal is 20,994 square miles with a registered population in 1901 of 2,861,244. The Government understand from the Hon'ble Sir Denzil Ibbetson's reply to a question put by the Hon'ble Mr. Cable at the meeting of the Viceroy's Legislative Council held on the 5th February that it is not proposed to alter the limits of the jurisdiction of the High Court of Calcutta. It is presumed therefore that the proposal now under consideration does not involve the curtailment of the jurisdiction of the High Court of Madras. Although the proposal forms part of a scheme for the reduction of the territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the Government of India, in advocating this addition to the province, have been actuated by a desire to unite under one administration the whole of the Uriya-speaking peoples, both hill and plain, so that the Uriya-speaking group may emerge as a distinct and unmistakable factor with an identity and interest of its own. His Excellency in Council understands that the Government of India are not led to make the proposal on account of dissatisfaction with the administration of the area affected by the Madras Government or on account of any reasonable grounds for complaint with that administration on the part of the Uriyas in this Presidency. The Government of Madras do not propose therefore to enter upon any defence of their administration, as none is called for. In framing his views on the proposal made by the Government of India, His Excellency in Council has carefully examined the premises on which the arguments in Mr. Risley's letter are based and has endeavoured to ascertain whether the proposed change would benefit the people as a whole who inhabit the tract to be transferred. From paragraph 12 of Mr. Risley's letter to the Government of Bengal it appears that the linguistic argument of the Government of India is based on the statistics of languages given in the report on the census taken in 1901. A table comparing the statistics in the census reports for 1881, 1891, 1901 of the languages spoken in the Ganjam district and in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agencies is appended to this letter. From this table it appears that so far as the Agencies are concerned, into which the full schedule was introduced for the first time in 1901, the figures for 1901 are fairly accurate, allowing for the

inclusion under appropriate heads of languages which were returned in previous enumerations as unrecognizable. On turning to the census statistics relating to the Ganjam district proper (that is exclusive of the Agency) it would appear that while the number of persons who speak Telugu has fallen from 692,344 in 1881 and 722,287 in 1891 to 342,910 in 1901, the Uriya-speaking population has risen from 748,904 in 1881 and 797,132 in 1891 to 1,274,975 in 1901. These abnormal variations cannot be accounted for by such causes as deaths and emigration or births and immigration. It is clear that either the statistics for both 1881 and 1891 or those for 1901 are inaccurate, and that careful local enquiry is necessary to ascertain the true causes of the variation and a correct estimate of the distribution of the population according to language in the Ganjam district at present. Soon after the publication of the Census report and long before the Madras Government were aware that the Government of India proposed to transfer the district to Bengal, the Collector of Ganjam wrote to the Superintendent of Census operations pointing out the inaccuracy of the statement in paragraph 24 of Chapter VI of Volume XV, Part I of the Census report, that "in Ganjam Telugu is the prevailing lauguage in Gumsur taluk and Uriya in all the others" and suggesting the substitution for it of the following sentence: "In Ganjam, Telugu is the prevailing language in Chicacole taluk and Uriya in the Gumsur taluk and Berhampur taluk excepting the Ichchhapuram Khandam." As the talukwar census tables have unfortunately been destroyed, no detailed information can be obtained now in respect of the language principally given as the parent-tongue in each taluk; the difficulty of criticizing the statistics in the census tables is thereby increased. The Collector of Ganjam has, however, instituted careful enquiries in order to form a correct estimate of the Telugu-speaking population and to ascertain the causes of the inaccuracy of the census statistics. He estimates the Telugu-speaking population in the district at 855,000, *i.e.*, at about half a million more than the figure (342,910) given in the census tables. The first cause of the inaccuracy of the census statistics is the desire of Telugus to share in the special advantages accorded by Government to Uriyas. The school fees charged for the education of the children of Uriyas are half those paid by Telugus and others. As the Government desire to employ Uriyas in the public offices to a greater extent than at present, it is thus believed to be easier for an Uriya than for a Telugu to enter the service of the Government. The second cause is that as most of the enumerators in 1901 were Uriyas, it is probable that they entered as "Uriya-speaking" all persons who answered their questions in Uriya. This error would have a great effect, as, in tracts where there are both Uriyas and Telugus, a large proportion of the population can speak both languages. Thirdly, several Telugu castes such as Kapus, Komatis, Kaliyas, Reddikas, etc., who live in tracts where Uriya is the prevailing language and speak Uriya as well as their mother-tongue Telugu, were probably entered as speaking the Uriya language, the enumerators making no enquiries as to the language spoken by them at home. An example of the last cause was noticed before the Census report was published. The Deputy Superintendent of Census operations, Berhampur, states that at the time of tabulation he found that a large number of Reddikas—a Telugu caste which finds no place in table XIII—Castes—had been returned by the enumerators as speaking Uriya. As, to his own knowledge, this was contrary to the facts, he made a reference to the Provincial Census Superintendent, who issued orders for the tabulation to proceed in accordance with the schedules. The Collector of Ganjam reports that there is reason to believe that the movement in favour of the proposed transfer was on foot in a quiet way before the last census, and this may have influenced some of the Uriya enumerators in entering in the returns particulars of the parent-tongues. In a tract where Uriya and Telugu are widely spoken it is natural to expect that the mother-tongue of the Uriya castes will be Uriya and that of the Telugu castes will be Telugu. The statistics showing the distribution of the population by castes should, therefore, furnish some indication of the prevalence of the two languages. On examining the statistics it is found that 63,034 Pallis who speak Telugu and reside on the coast have been treated as Tamils by caste. Adding these to the recorded population of Telugu castes, we find that the number of Telugus by race in 1901, including the Telugu-speaking Pallis, was 818,417 and the number of Uriyas was 766,712. The inference from these figures

is that Telugu should be more prevalent in the Ganjam district as a parent-tongue than Uriya. As it has been shown that the statistics of languages given in the Census report for 1901 are untrustworthy it is desirable to form an estimate of the number of persons speaking Telugu and Uriya, respectively, as their mother-tongue. The Collector estimates the Telugu-speaking population in the Ganjam district at 855,000; he has framed no estimate of the number of persons speaking Uriya in the district. As shown above an estimate based on the statistics of races is that the Telugu-speaking population and Uriya-speaking population are respectively 818,417 and 766,712. It may perhaps be considered that a fairer way of framing an estimate is to derive it from the census statistics for 1891 by assuming that the rate of increase of both the Telugu and Uriya-speaking population has been the same during the decade 1891 to 1901 as that of the whole population of the district. Estimated in this manner, 767,577 persons should have Telugu and 847,115 persons should have Uriya as their mother-tongue. One fact in this connection which it may be well to mention is that throughout the whole length of the 100 miles of Ganjam coast the great majority of the people are Telugus and Telugu is universally spoken along the littoral. This means that the chief trade and commerce of the district is carried on by Telugu-speaking people. Turning now to the Agency tracts of Ganjam, it will be seen from appended statement no. I, already cited, that by the census of 1901, only one quarter of the population in those tracts claim the Uriya language as their mother-tongue; and that the other languages spoken are Dravidian or allied to Dravidian. The principal of these is Khond. But the Government of India argue that Khond is certain to give place to Uriya as education spreads. The Government of Madras are not aware of the grounds on which this statement is based, and they venture to traverse it. A certain number of Khonds in the Agency tracts may have a colloquial knowledge of Uriya, but they do not speak it among themselves. Khond or Kandh belongs to the very same sub-family as Telugu*. Uriya, on the other hand, is an Aryan language which is handicapped by possessing† an excessively awkward and cumbrous written character. Nor can any argument in support of the statement be found in the Madras Census reports, for the number of persons returned in 1901 as speaking Telugu in the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agencies is 74 per cent. and 35 per cent., respectively, more than the number returned in 1881, while the corresponding percentage for the Uriya language is 8 in each case, practically the normal increase of the Uriya population. There is no bond of race or sympathy between the Uriya and the Hillman. The former regards himself as paik or conqueror and looks down upon and despises the Khond who is a simple child of Nature. The traders and merchants who visit the hill tracts are almost all Telugus by caste, and it is to be expected that if the Khonds acquire any foreign language in supersession of their own, it will be that of those with whom they have business transactions, and with those whose language their own tongue has the most intimate linguistic affinities. The progress of education among such hill-tribes as the Khonds is, moreover, necessarily slow in spite of the offer of special inducements such as scholarships and other advantages. In 1901 out of 167,783 Khonds only 297 were literate and from the report in the Administration of Education for 1902-1903, it appears that there were only 2,617 aboriginal pupils under instruction in the Agencies including Godavari. His Excellency in Council considers, therefore, that the supersession of the Khond language through the spread of education, even admitting the validity of this speculation, is so remote a contingency that it can be left out of account in considering the proposals of the Government of India. But His Excellency in Council is convinced that if any language ultimately displaces Khond, it will be Telugu and not Uriya.

* Census of India, 1901, Volume I, paragraph 461.
† *Ibid*, paragraph 532.

In the Vizagapatam Agency tracts the case is somewhat different. Out of a total population of 850,000 about 409,000 are returned as Uriya-speaking; while only 553,000 are Telugus. But these are not the only languages spoken, and while 441,000 are shown as having an Aryan mother-tongue, no less than 408,000 or not far from one-half of the population of the Agency speak a Dravidian language. In paragraph 13 of Mr. Risley's letter to the Government of Bengal, it is stated that the "Government of Madras have repeatedly

complained of the anxieties imposed upon the administration by the great diversity of languages with which the Madras civilians are called upon to cope". His Excellency the Governor in Council is not aware that relief in this direction has ever been sought by the Madras Government, while the proposed change will merely transfer to Bengal any difficulties which may arise out of the multiplicity of languages spoken throughout one Province or Presidency. It is clear from the estimate of the distribution of the population according to the parent-tongue that the officers employed in the administration of the districts which it is proposed to transfer to Bengal should possess a knowledge of Telugu as well as of Uriya and in the Agencies of Khond. So far as the acquisition of the languages is concerned experience proves that, for an Englishman, it is far more difficult to learn the Dravidian language Telugu than the Aryan language Uriya; while an officer acquainted with Telugu has gone a considerable way towards the acquisition of Khond. It is also essential that the officers so employed should be able to read the language in which the records are maintained. In the Ganjam district both Telugu and Uriya have been long recognised as the languages of the criminal and civil courts. The bulk of the records in the Government offices, other than village accounts, throughout the tract proposed to be transferred has been kept in Telugu. The accounts of 453 villages in Gumsur taluk and of 234 villages in Berhampur taluk are kept in Uriya, the accounts in the remaining 30 and 148 villages, respectively, being in Telugu. The Chicacole taluk of the same district is inhabited mainly by Telugus. As regards the Police, the records in all the 49 stations in Ganjam district outside the Agency are maintained in Telugu, and the records in 13 out of 14 stations in the Agency are in Uriya; on the other hand while the records in 8 out of 29 stations in the Jeypore division of the Vizagapatam Agency are in Uriya, the records at other stations in the Agency are kept in Telugu even by Uriya head-constables. The indexes in only two registration offices in the Ganjam district proper have been kept hitherto in Uriya. The accounts of all the hill zamindars in Vizagapatam and some of the zamindars in Ganjam appear to be kept in Telugu, and the Uriya zamindars almost without exception employ Telugu diwans or managers for the management of their estates. It is clear, therefore, that officers employed in Ganjam and Vizagapatam should be able to read Telugu. To consider the effect of the proposed transfer it is necessary to refer to the land revenue system and the laws and regulations in the tract affected. It is understood that the revenue system of Orissa follows the Bengal model in its essence, excepting that the Government demand is fixed generally for a term of years; that there are a few estates in which the demand is fixed in perpetuity; that, omitting the Government estates which are not numerous, the rest of Orissa under direct British occupation is parcelled out into zamindaris, the incidents of which are analogous to those of similar tenures in Bengal, except that Government can periodically revise the revenue demand; that the more important portions of the Bengal Tenancy Act have been extended to Orissa; and that except in Government estates there are no village officers dealing directly with the Collector. The Ganjam district proper includes three taluks settled on the Madras ryotwari system and administered precisely on the same plan as other ryotwari areas throughout the presidency. The Madras ryotwari system differs in very many important respects from the system in force in Konda and other portions of Orissa. Under the former the settlement is strictly individual, the regulations under which remissions of the assessment are allowable, and under which the system is administered generally are embodied in the Standing Orders of the Board of Revenue, which form an elaborate code of practice. The ryotwari system of this Presidency has very special features of its own; and its administration in all its manifold details would present great difficulty and perplexity to officers who had not been trained throughout their career in its principles and working. As a notable example of this may be instanced the conduct of the annual settlement or "jamabandi" which plays so important a part in the relations between the ryot and the Government. There are also in the Ganjam district sixteen permanently-settled zamindaris and numerous proprietary estates. The Bengal Tenancy Act (VIII of 1881) has no counterpart in the Presidency; and the law which it is under contemplation to enact on this subject is on different lines from the Bengal enactment, and purposes to confirm to zamindari ryots their occupancy rights in a more secure manner than for historical

reasons, it has been found possible in Bengal. To all the zamindars except one the Madras Impartible Estates Act II of 1902 applies. Throughout the taluks and zamindaris there are innumerable inams either enfranchised under the Madras inam settlement or held on service tenure. The reorganization of the village service in zamindari estates has been recently undertaken under Madras Act II of 1894. In the Agency tracts land is held on various tenures. Portions are held by zamindars, having estates in the plains on service tenure under special sanads; the fees which the zamindars may collect from each village and the "nazzars" they pay to Government are fixed. Other villages are held by Bissoyis or petty chieftains, formerly holding under zamindars but now direct under Government, though the fees payable by the Bissoyis are still collected by the zamindars for Government. In other portions of the Agency tracts there is a direct settlement with Government according to actual cultivation. There are no Tributary States as in Orissa. It may be admitted that the system of administration in these tracts is of a special character and regulated by special laws, and that experience of it can be gained only locally. But if the Government of India have correctly described the aptitude of officers trained in the Bengal form of government, there would seem some occasion for pause before making over these primitive peoples to other hands. The Government of India have remarked with reference to the proposal to transfer Chutia Nagpur to the Central Provinces*: "The Bengal form of administration is too highly developed, too legalised and too impersonal for backward tracts and primitive hill tribes. This view is borne out by the experience of a series of outbreaks in recent years and by the difficulties met with in dealing effectually with the land-tenures of this part of the province"; and again "there remains an argument to which no small weight attaches and which cannot be left out of consideration. The Government of India have reason to believe—and their impressions were strongly confirmed by the enquiries of the Police Commission that there is no portion of Bengal whether the drawbacks of an imperfectly supervised administration are more evident than in those outlying districts on its eastern border, and that nowhere is the absence of close and intimate touch between the officers of Government and the people more apparent or more regrettable. The Government of India believe that it would be an undoubted advantage to Bengal to lose these elements of weakness; and that the population and interests of the districts in question would be materially the gainers if they were brought into closer contact with the officers and head of the local administration." In contrast with this it may be confidently affirmed that nowhere in the Presidency and perhaps in India is the Civilian Divisional officer in so close touch and sympathy with the people or so accessible to their complaints as in these hill tracts of the Madras Presidency. The hill people have come to regard him not merely as their ruler but as their personal friend and adviser ever ready to listen to and redress their reasonable complaints. The Government believe that in so far as this contrast is real and due to the influence of the "form of administration," it may be attributed to the different attitude towards the people which the ryotwari system, prevailing in the Presidency at large, tends to foster in their officers, since it brings them in discharge of their revenue duties into close contact with the individual landholder or villager in concerns in which both he and the Government have common interests. The methods of assessing and collecting water-rate appear also to be totally different in Madras from those in vogue in Orissa. In the Ganjam district the chief system of irrigation is the Rushikulya project and the Chicacole minor rivers system. Other portions of the district are irrigated under tanks. The outlay in the Rushikulya project at the end of 1902-03 amounted to Rs. 48,97,366. It is estimated that about 120,000 acres will be irrigable under the project when completed by the provision of a third reservoir. The charges for water vary according to the nature and class of the sources, the description of the land and the crop irrigated. Although the distribution of the water to the individual villages themselves is controlled in the case of the more important systems of irrigation by the officers of the Public Works Department, the distribution of the water to the several fields in each village and the decision as to the amount to be levied for irrigation in each case, and the

* Paragraph 7 (ii) of Mr. Risley's letter no. 3678, dated 3rd December 1903, to the Government of Bengal.

Paragraph 25 (iv) idem.

collection of the rate, are duties undertaken by the officers of the Revenue Department. This is the practice throughout the Presidency, and consequently the Revenue officers generally have acquired special skill in discharging these important duties and in dealing with the questions which constantly arise between the Government and the ryot in connection therewith. The ryots in this Presidency consider it as of the highest moment that the minor distribution should be regulated by the revenue officials and not by the officers of the Public Works Department. It is understood that in Orissa, on the other hand, a fixed charge per acre is made in a long lease irrespective of the soil or of the crop, and the collection of the revenue as well as the distribution of the water is controlled by the Superintending Engineer. One important consequence of a transfer would be the creation of an *annexe* to Bengal possessing a special code of law, with the administration of which only those few officers would have any experience who had happened to serve in the new districts. In virtue of 24 and 25 Vic., Cap. 67, section 47, all the laws and regulations of the Madras Code would remain in operation in the transferred area. There is no need here to detail the many material differences between the laws and regulations in force in the Lower Provinces and in this Presidency in respect of the powers of the Collector, the organization of the police, the whole village system with its village courts and panchayats and hereditary village servants, the administration and collection of the land revenue, the irrigation law, the inam settlement, the Court of Wards; local and municipal government, and numerous other matters; nor is it necessary to dwell upon the enormous advantage which the people derive from having the law applied as it has been for more than a century, by officers to whom it is familiar. His Excellency in Council deems it sufficient merely to draw attention to the matter as one requiring very serious consideration. In this connection it seems desirable to refer to the position in which the Madras High Court would be placed should the suggested transfer be carried out. As mentioned at the beginning of this letter it is understood from Sir Denzil Ibbetson's statement in the Imperial Legislative Council that it is no part of the scheme to alter the local limits of the High Court at Calcutta: in other words the local jurisdiction of the Madras High Court would remain as it is. If this is so, this Government would invite the Governor General in Council to take into consideration the embarrassments and difficulties which would be likely to arise from the High Court's having administrative relations with two local Governments. The population of the Vizagapatam district in 1901 was 2,082,662, of whom no less than two millions speak Telugu as their mother-tongue, while only 31,000 are returned as speaking Uriya. The transfer of the Vizagapatam district to Bengal on linguistic grounds is therefore out of the question and has not been suggested. The separation of the Vizagapatam Agency from the district and the transfer of the former to another province seem to this Government to be equally inexpedient and uncalled for. In a preceding paragraph of this letter it has been shown that even in the Agency the proportion of persons speaking Uriya or an Aryan language is very little in excess of the numbers speaking Telugu or a Dravidian language. On linguistic grounds therefore there would be little reason to urge a transfer. But there are administrative and geographical difficulties of more weighty import. The main arterial roads which connect the Agency tracts with the coast run through the Vizagapatam district. The configuration of the country and its geographical features necessitate the development of the interior by means of such roads connected with the ports and the East Coast Railway. The projected Vizianagram-Raipur Railway will pass through the Parvatipuram portion of the Agency and will form a further link between the Agency and the district. The trade of the Agency is carried on chiefly by Telugus residing in the Vizagapatam district. The most convenient means of access to the Vizagapatam Agency from Ganjam and Bengal is through the Vizagapatam district. Moreover the proposed transfer would divide the estates of many of the great landed proprietors into portions under separate administrations. The zamindars of Vizagapatam are unanimous in opposing the proposed transfer. As a precautionary measure it is necessary to have reserve police forces on the plains ready to proceed to the Agency tracts, if necessary, in addition to the reserves maintained in the hill stations. The most suitable places for the location of these

reserves are in the Vizagapatam district and in Godavari, whence they can proceed quickly to the hill tracts. In the event of disturbances in the latter, the Government of Bengal would be compelled to call on the Government of Madras to assist with its police as in former times it has been found necessary to apply to this Government for help in connection with disburbances in Bastar, Kalahandi and Nayagarh. In paragraph 14 of Mr. Risley's letter to the Government of Bengal, it is stated that, so far as any expression of views had yet reached the Government of India, they were favourable to the proposed transfer. It will be seen from the memorials and resolutions of public bodies and meetings enclosed with this letter that the petition to which the Government of India referred did not express the unanimous opinion of the inhabitants of the districts in question. The special attention of the Governor General in Council is invited to the memorial "from the Uriyas and Telugus of the Ganjam district." It may not be out of place to refer here to the history of the movement in favour of transfer. It did not originate in Ganjam nor amongst the Uriyas of Ganjam. The real originator of the movement was, it is understood, Madhu Sudan Das, C.I.E., a pleader of Cuttack and a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. He appears to have no interest in Ganjam except in so far as being a Native Christian his sympathies are with the Baptist Mission in Ganjam to which the transfer would be convenient as its head-quarters are at Cuttack. The most active propagator of the agitation in this Presidency is the Raja of Kallikota and Atagada who is related by marriage to the Raja of Maharbanj in Orissa. He has recently established a press (the Prajabandhu Press) with the sole object of furthering the movement. Hari Hara Tirupati Sarma, the schoolmaster, who appears as the first signatory in the original petition, is a person who failed to obtain employment in the service of Government on medical grounds and has been trained at the Prajabandhu Press and is to be employed in a new press started by the zamindar of Peddakimedi, the only other zamindar in the Ganjam district who is definitely in favour of the movement. Hari Hara Tirupati Sarma appears to be a mere puppet and is reported to be incapable of drafting his memorial. Some of the allegations in this memorial may be noticed briefly. It is asserted that Uriyas are ousted from appointments in the service of Government by Telugus and Tamils, that Uriya is not understood in the courts, and that Uriya is not spoken or understood by officials. The majority of officials of all grades in the Revenue department know however both Uriya and Telugu. Uriya petitions are received and acted on in all Revenue offices, although the bulk of the records is kept in Telugu. Notices in the District Gazette are published in Uriya and in Telugu. Endorsements to Uriya ryots, circular orders to Uriya village officers and revenue processes are generally issued in Uriya in all taluks where Uriya is spoken. Encumbrance certificates are granted in sub-registry offices in the language in which the application for such certificates are made. In the Ganjam district out of 297 Revenue officers in superior service, 47 are Uriyas, 126 others can read and write Uriya and 82 possess a colloquial knowledge of Uriya. In the Ganjam district 86 per cent. and in the Ganjam Agency tracts the whole of the revenue officials are acquainted with Uriya. In the Vizagapatam Agency Uriya is generally known by all the members of the various revenue establishments. Of eleven sub-registry offices in Ganjam four are located in Uriya tracts and two in tracts where both Uriya and Telugu are spoken, all these six offices are presided over by officers who know both Uriya and Telugu; of the nine clerks employed in them, five are Uriyas by birth and all are acquainted with both vernaculars. Of the eleven Sub-Registrars in Ganjam one is an Uriya by birth and eight know both Uriya and Telugu, and of 21 clerks, 18 are natives of Ganjam, 10 being Uriyas by birth. Of four Sub-Assistant Inspectors of Schools in Ganjam district, one is an Uriya and two are Bengalis who know Uriya; of twelve inspecting schoolmasters six are Uriyas, while all the three superintendents of hill schools are Uriyas. In lower paid posts such as constables and head constables the Uriyas have a large share of the appointments in the hill tracts. Every encouragement and inducement is given to Uriyas to join the public service and no qualified Uriya has ever been refused employment in the Ganjam Collectorate. The Government are anxious to procure the services of

Annexure no. 9.

Uriyas and experience shows that their advancement, when once admitted to Government service, is more rapid than that of Telugus having similar qualifications. So far as the plea that Uriyas are intentionally kept in the background by official influence is concerned, it is remarkable that there are at the Ganjam bar only two Uriya pleaders, one of whom is a retired Saristadar of the District Court. The employment of Uriyas in Government service would no doubt be greater than it is now but for the opposition of past generations to education and employment under Government. Sir W. W. Hunter writing on this subject says*: "In 1838 the Government entered the field and opened an English and Sanskrit school at Puri. But these institutions proved altogether unable to make head against the tide of ignorance and bigotry and presently sunk beneath the flood. In 1841 we opened a higher class English school at Cuttack which after a long series of conflicts and discouragements still survives as the principal seat of education in the Province . . . . In three great Government estates we managed between 1855 and 1859 to set on foot nineteen elementary schools; but in the latter year the total number for all Orissa with close on three millions of people amounted to only twenty-nine. The truth is the whole population was against us. Such little success as our schools obtained they owed not to the Uriyas themselves but to the Bengali families whom our courts and public offices brought into the province. . . . . The genuine Uriya has not yet (1872) quite lost his abhorrence of the infidel Government school. Many of the most orthodox elders still regard all that pertains to our system as hateful to the gods . . . . The present Inspector of Schools writes to me as strong proof of progress in Orissa that a good many Uriya Brahmans have now accepted Government employ. As late as 1860, a learned Uriya, on being appointed even to the orthodox post of Sanskrit teacher in our Puri school, was excluded for a year or two from the Brahmanical orders and stormy discussions took place as to whether he should not be formally expelled from his caste." Though these prejudices no longer exist as a powerful influence against the progress of the Uriya, there can be no doubt that the present generation of Uriyas is reaping the fruit and is consequently suffering in the competition with the Telugu for employment in Government service. The failure of Uriyas to obtain a greater proportion to the more highly-paid posts in Government service is also largely due to their want of perseverence and ambition. The majority of those who obtain a certain amount of education is still content to become mere "bhololoko," hangers-on or courtiers of Uriya zamindars in return possibly for grants of land and with little or no regular service except to flatter their master and obtain his favour. Although the present agitation had its origin outside the Presidency and has been propagated largely to promote the interests of persons who have little or no connection with it, His Excellency in Council is disposed to welcome it, if and in so far as it may be taken as a sign that the Uriya is casting off that priest-ridden conservatism which has been his characteristic in the past and proved a serious obstacle to his progress; but he cannot but regret the form which it has taken and the deplorable results to which it is leading by arousing ill-feeling and social antagonism between the Uriyas and the Telugus who have heretofore lived side by side in mutual respect and sympathy. Enclosed with the memorial referred to is an extract from the Commissioner's annual administration report of the Orissa division for 1894-95, in which the extension of the division so as to include a portion of this Presidency is advocated, His Excellency in Council cannot but express his astonishment that the Commissioner—if he is correctly quoted—should have displayed such ignorance of the tract which he proposed should be transferred as to describe Gumsur and Kimedi as "States," the former being an ordinary taluk in which the Madras ryotwari system prevails and the latter consisting of three zamindaris and three hill agencies. The Commissioner urged further: "It does not seem probable that in educational matters the Uriya population is likely to get fair play either in the Central Provinces or in Madras, where they form a minority of the provincial population in each case, though mustering strong in certain districts. The disposition to insist on uniformity throughout a province and to ignore minorities involves a risk of the Uriya language being starved educationally." The Governor in Council would not deem it necessary to notice these statements were it not that the memorialists who quote them have evidently been influenced

* Orissa (1872), Volume II, pages 145–147.

by assertions of so positive and dogmatic a character proceeding from an official in the high and responsible position of the Commissioner. It is perhaps needless to say that the statements in question are entirely unfounded. As a matter of fact very special concessions are granted to Uriyas in this Presidency in regard to education. Uriyas are admitted to all Government, Local and Municipal, schools and colleges at half the usual rates charged to Telugus and others, and in calculating for purposes of grants-in-aid the fee-income of aided private schools, it is assumed that the Uriya pupils pay only half standard rates; practically, therefore, Uriyas pay half-rates in all schools whether under public or private management. Eleven Government scholarships are reserved for Uriyas and they have a share in eight scholarships in the B.A. classes reserved for backward races. Special hostels for Uriya students are attached to the Kallikota College at Berhampur and to the Raja's College at Parlakimedi in Ganjam. It remains to consider the wishes of the people affected by the proposed transfer. Of the sixteen Zamindars in Ganjam district only two are distinctly in favour of the transfer, namely, the Raja of Kallikota and Atagada and the Zamindar of Pedda Kimedi. The former is hopelessly involved in debt, and the hill mitta of the latter was still recently under attachment for reasons of State. The Zamindar of Mandasa who signed the further memorandum in favour of the transfer has since informed the Collector of Ganjam that he has repudiated his adherence to the terms of the memorial and that he is now opposed to the transfer. The Zamindar of Dharakota after considerable wavering has expressed himself in favour of the transfer on the ground of language only. All the other Zamindars of Ganjam, including the Raja of Parlakimedi, whose opinion is entitled to considerable weight, are opposed to the scheme or are indifferent. The Zamindars in Vizagapatam whose estates are situated partly in the plains and partly in the Agency are naturally averse from a division of their estates between two separate administrations. It will be seen from the resolutions passed by the District Board, Taluk Boards and Municipalities in Ganjam that local opinion, so far as thus expressed, is strongly opposed to the transfer. In the three Municipal Councils only three members have voted in favour of it. The general consensus of opinion expressed at public meetings appears to regard it with disfavour. In the Vizagapatam district the people of the plains whose commercial interests are bound up with those of the hills are strongly opposed to any change. It is to be observed that while all the Telugus are averse from any change the Uriyas are by no means unanimous, and at strong and influential section of the Uriya community is opposed to it. His Excellency in Council feels assured that in view of the facts set forth in the foregoing paragraphs, the Government of India will agree that the transfer of any portion of the Madras Presidency to the Province of Bengal is inexpedient and uncalled for. The arguments in favour of the maintenance of the *status quo* may be briefly summarized—

(i) The linguistic argument is insufficient to justify the transfer: the statistics upon which it is founded are inaccurate, nor has account been taken of races other than Telugus and Uriyas, the dividing line is between Aryan and Dravidian languages; those who now speak a Dravidian language other than Telugu, if they abandon their own speech, of which there is no evidence, will adopt the kindred Telugu rather than the alien Uriya: in the Ganjam Collectorate the population is divided about equally between Telugus and Uriyas; in the Ganjam Agency only about one-fourth is Uriya speaking; while in the Vizagapatam Agency, though only about one-fifth of the people are Telugus, the number of those speaking a Dravidian language is nearly one-half of the total population.

(ii) The large number of Telugus throughout the tract and the fact that the bulk of the Government records have been kept in Telugu will render it essential for the officers employed in the tract transferred to acquire Telugu and experience has shown that it is far more difficult for an Englishman to learn the Dravidian language Telugu than the Aryan language Uriya.

(iii) The scheme would leave the transferred area as an *annexe* to Bengal possessing a special code of laws and regulations, the knowledge of which the officers of another province would have to acquire specially for service in the

limited area of the new districts while as regards the application of this code they would lack that practical experience of its operation which is of so much consequence to those affected by it.

(iv) The Madras High Court, if its jurisdiction is to remain undisturbed, would have administrative relations with two local Governments, a situation which would prove highly inconvenient and embarrassing.

(v) In regard to the land-revenue administration there would arise special difficulties. As to the ryotwari system with all its subordinate and associated regulations regarding remission, irrigation, the village system, and other matters closely touching the daily life of the ryot, if this system is to be administered to the contentment of the people it must be by officers imbued with its principles and trained throughout their service in its methods. The zamindari administration is also on entirely different lines from those prevailing in Bengal.

(vi) The transfer of the Ganjam district to another Government would in many cases be a serious inconvenience to merchants and traders, who frequently restrict their operations to one province owing to the unity of administration in view of the occasions when they may need the intervention or protection of Government. It is probable that some of those who carry on business on the Ganjam coast will find it necessary to establish an additional agency at Calcutta if the scheme were given effect to.

(vii) Public opinion too is generally opposed to the change. The memorial to which the Government of India refer represents the views of a small minority of the population of the tract to be transferred; and most of the allegations in it are misleading or unfounded.

(viii) The population of the proposed new Bengal is 67½ millions; but the population of the Madras Presidency, if the proposed transfer is carried out, will be reduced to under 35 millions including the Feudatory States of Pudukkottai, Banganapalle and Sandur. The Government of India do not propose the change on account of any alleged unwieldiness of the Madras Presidency; their main object is the lightening of the excessive burden now imposed upon the Government of Bengal. The proposal to transfer a population of about 3 millions and an area of 21,000 square miles from Madras to Bengal would seem to militate directly against this object. In conclusion I am to point out that if the tract affected were administered under the system now in force therein by Bengal officers under the Bengal Government, the arguments which have been adduced in favour of the transfer to Bengal would apply with equal if not more force in favour of the transfer of the tract in question from Bengal to Madras. The tract has been administered by the Madras Government since 1766 and apart from any consideration of administrative difficulties, His Excellency in Council cannot too strongly condemn, in the interests of its inhabitants, any proposal to transfer it to Bengal. It is doubtful whether the change would confer any material benefits on the Uriyas, while it would certainly be antagonistic to the interests of the Telugus who equal the Uriyas in number and form the more important part of the population, commercially and otherwise. It is useless to strive after an administration based upon linguistic uniformity which both geographical and ethnological conditions combined with the ordinary course of trade and commerce and consequent commingling of races render absolutely incapable of satisfactory fulfilment. His Excellency in Council feels confident that when the true facts are set before the Government of India, they will abandon the proposal to transfer the Ganjam district and the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Agencies to Bengal. I am to request that, if the Government of India agree that the change should not be carried out, the orders to that effect may be conveyed to this Government at an early date without reference to their decision on the other proposals for the relief of the Government of Bengal. The agitation has led to racial antipathy between Telugus and Uriyas, and it is high time that all cause for its continuance should be removed without delay.

Annexure I.

Statement showing population according to principal languages in Ganjam district proper, Ganjam Agency and Vizagapatam Agency as returned in the census of 1881, 1891 and 1901.

Family.	Sub-family.	Languages.	Ganjam District proper.			Ganjam Agency.			Vizagapatam Agency.			Total.		
			1881.	1891.	1901.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1881.	1891.	1901.	1881.	1891.	1901.
Indo-European	Aryan	Uriya	748,904	797,132	1,274,975	...	382,685	408,954	749,105	1,260,811	1,771,611			
		Poroja	...	...	92	...	15,037	26,037	...	15,037	26,129			
		Hindustani	7,019	8,373	6,580	...	2,203	2,872	7,087	10,646	9,479			
		Bastari	...	...	...	...	346	1,688	...	346	1,688			
		Laria	...	...	...	...	...	1,494	...	...	1,495			
		TOTAL	755,923	805,505	1,281,647	...	400,271	441,045	756,192	1,286,840	1,810,402			
Dravido-Munda	Dravidian	Telugu	697,344	722,287	342,910	...	113,052	153,168	694,369	838,705	501,942			
		Khond	20,344	17,490	19,758	...	24,599	161,124	20,365	190,890	338,207			
		Konda	...	...	...	...	...	14,623	...	...	14,623			
		Gond	...	...	27	...	...	2,726	...	6,679	4,226			
		Koya	...	...	...	...	5,689	9,086	...	7,762	9,086			
		TOTAL	712,688	739,777	362,695	1,893	151,012	340,727	714,734	1,044,036	868,084			
	Munda	Gadaba	212	561	1,602	...	13,251	19,781	212	13,812	21,391			
		Savara	31,465	40,192	40,458	...	20	47,623	31,467	101,268	156,760			
		TOTAL	31,677	40,753	42,050	...	13,271	67,404	31,679	115,080	178,151			
		Total of Dravido-Munda ...	744,365	780,530	404,745	1,893	164,283	408,131	746,413	1,159,116	1,046,235			
		Minor languages	2,101	2,904	2,750	...	925	1,284	2,113	3,849	4,979			
		Unrecognizable	912	538	...	...	45	528	939,559	306,779	528			
		GRAND TOTAL ...	1,503,301	1,589,477	1,689,142	694,673	859,781	850,988	2,444,277	2,736,584	2,861,244			
			246,303	307,326	321,114	245,867	11,939	...	692,780	294,302	528	939,559	306,779	528

Annexure 2.

Extract from the Proceedings of the District Board, Ganjam, at its meeting held on Monday, the 22nd February 1904, at 3 P.M., in the District Board's office at Chatrapur :—

Resolution.—The Board resolves to enter its emphatic protest against the proposed transfer of Ganjam from Madras to Bengal for the following among other grounds:—

(1) In a country inhabited by diverse races and speaking diverse languages, and especially in the border districts where people of different races live, it is not feasible to effect the linguistic union of one race without at the same time effecting a disruption of such union among some other race.

(2) The benefits supposed to accrue to the Ganjam Uriyas by the contemplated linguistic union are more apparent than real.

(3) The administrative difficulties which such a transfer creates are innumerable and almost insuperable.

(4) Ganjam has for many centuries been historically and administratively connected with the Southern Governments and its personal rights, and tenures and customs have sprung up shaped under a system of laws peculiar to Madras, and if these laws, local and special, and modes of administration are to be superseded in favour of the local and special laws and practices and modes of administration of Bengal, many vested rights will be disturbed and serious injustice will result; and if the existing laws and practice are to be enforced by the Bengal officers it will entail great hardship and trouble alike on the officers and on the people.

Annexure 3.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Berhampur Taluk Board, at a meeting held on Monday, the 11th January 1904, in the Berhampur Taluk Board's office, at 11 A.M.

On the proposal of the Vice-President the Board by an unanimous resolution records its strong protest against the proposed transfer of Ganjam to Bengal, having regard to the long historic connection of the Ganjam district with the Government of Madras, and the absence of any grievances against that Government and the inconvenience that will arise from a change of administration and the introduction of special and local laws and practice unsuited to the habits and customs of the people of this part of the country.

Resolution.—Resolved that a copy of the foregoing resolution be despatched to the Government at once through the President, District Board, Ganjam.

Annexure 4.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Taluk Board, Chicacole, at a meeting held on Saturday, the 2nd January 1904.

Considered the proposal of the Government of India to transfer the district of Ganjam to the Government of Bengal.

Resolution.—The Board wishes to enter its protest against the transfer proposed, considering the long historic connections of the district with the

Madras Government; the absence of any grievances against that Government; the trouble that will ensue with the change of land laws; and the different method of administering law and justice. The Board further desires to record its emphatic and unanimous condemnation of the scheme so far as it relates to the Chicacole, Narasannapeta, Tekkali, and Parlakimedi taluks; in all of which taluks the Telugu language is universally spoken both by Telugus and Uriyas; accounts are kept in the Telugu fashion even by Uriya merchants; and the manners, customs and sympathies of the scattered Uriya community are in harmony with their Telugu neighbours. It is therefore earnestly prayed that the population administered by and represented by this Board may be left undisturbed under the Madras Government, to enjoy the laws and customs which they have always known, in peace and quietude.

The President is requested to convey this resolution through the proper authorities.

Annexure 5.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Gumsur Taluq Board, at a special meeting held in the Aska Native Choultry Hall on Tuesday, the 9th February 1904, at 2 P.M.

Read letter R. C. no. 2-Confidential, dated 10th January 1904, from the Collector of Ganjam, requesting to be furnished with Board's opinion as to the proposal of transferring Ganjam district to Bengal.

Resolution.—On the proposal of M. R. Ry. T. V. Kondalarow Pantulu Garu and seconded by M. R. Ry. P. Seetharamayya Pantulu Garu, the Board unanimously records the following resolution:

2. The Taluk Board resolves to record its strong protest against the proposed transfer of Ganjam from Madras to Bengal administration on various grounds of which the following are a few :—

(1) That because Ganjam is a border district containing a mixed population of Uriyas and Telugus spread over almost the whole of the district.

(2) That because the Madras Government have had a long experience of the mixed population and of its wants and aspirations.

(3) That because the Uriya section, to whom it was considered the proposed transfer would be beneficial, will be absorbed in other sections of that community inhabiting Orissa and fail to receive special care and attention which they have been receiving at the hands of the Madras Government.

(4) That because the transfer would affect the Telugu population without improving the condition of the Uriyas.

(5) That because the progress of the backward community of Uriyas will be retarded owing to change in the methods of internal administration and the introduction of laws and practice unsuited to the habits and customs and the condition of the people of this part of the country.

3. Resolved that the copy of the above resolution be submitted to the Government of Madras through the President, District Board, Ganjam.

Annexure 6.

Extract from the Proceedings of the Aska Union Panchayat at its meeting held on 16th January 1904, at 5 P.M., in the Aska Union office.

Proposed by M. R. Ry. C. V. Ramanayya Pantulu, and Seconded by M. R. Ry. Ch. Hagannadhaswamy Pantulu that a protest be recorded against the

transfer of Ganjam to Bengal in view of the great improvement effected in the condition of the Uriya population included in the Madras Presidency by the special care and attention paid by the Madras Government and the inconvenience that will result from a change of administration, having regard to the habits and customs of the people of these parts.

Resolution.—Unanimously carried.

2. Resolved that the President of the District Board be requested through the Gumsur Taluk Board to recommend to His Excellency the Governor in Council for the retention of the Ganjam district under the Madras administration.

Annexure 7.

MEMORIAL from the Landed Proprietors, Merchants, Ryots, etc., of Ganjam, to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India.

We, the landed proprietors, merchants, ryots and the general public of the district of Ganjam, in the Madras Presidency, most humbly and respectfully beg leave to approach Your Excellency with this our humble representation for Your Excellency's gracious consideration.

1. Ganjam is an Uriya district with the exception of one of its taluks, *viz.*, Chicacole, three-fourths of whose population are Telugus; all the rajas and zamindars, merchants, ryots, artisans and the mass being Uriyas and the small Telugu population immigrating from the South into this district being found scattered only in large towns.

2. This district having been included in the Madras Presidency, the Uriyas labour under serious disadvantages chiefly arising from the diversity of languages such as Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Canarese, the Dravidian languages which are in use most extensively in a predominant degree in the Presidency excepting in Ganjam, the northernmost district, bordering on the frontiers of Nayagarh in the Bengal Presidency on one side and Sambalpur in the Central Provinces on the other.

3. In this district, although both Uriya and Telugu have been recognised as Court languages by the beneficent Government of Madras, inasmuch as almost all the high executive and judicial officers and clerks are Telugus or Tamils, most of whom do not know Uriya, the repeated Government orders insisting upon the use of Uriyas as the Court language in matters whereto the parties are Uriya people and upon a fair proportion of Uriyas being employed under Government in Ganjam have practically remained quite inoperative, paucity of Uriya men or Uriya-knowing men being always pleaded as a pretext. In spite of the Government supply of Uriya forms and strict orders for their use from Civil and Criminal Courts, processes written in Telugu are issued and served upon Uriya parties; endorsements on petitions made by Revenue officers and Magistrates are written in Telugu; presentations of plaints and statements in Telugu is insisted upon; depositions given in Uriya are taken down in Telugu characters or are rendered into Telugu which often distorts the sense of Uriya words and phrases; and in registration offices, indexes are kept in Telugu and encumbrance certificates are given also in Telugu.

4. The circumstances stated above whose existence has no justification, save the convenience of Telugu or Tamil officers, and which the Madras Government, as will be manifest from orders insisting upon the use of Uriya, justly discountenance in the interests of the Uriya parties, have not only retarded the despatch of business, but have resulted in perpetual injustice and hardship to the poor Uriyas who are put to great trouble and expense in getting Telugu orders and endorsements translated into Uriya and plaints and written statements drawn up in Telugu.

5. In the matter of education, the Telugu or Tamil teacher's ignorance of the language of his pupils causes difficulties in that interchange of ideas and thoughts which must have sufficient freedom in order that education may be sound—difficulties which the teacher's aversion to the Uriya race and tongue

compels the poor Uriya people to overcome anyhow so that education, whose importance in the up-building of a nation and national character cannot be over-rated, is carried on after a slipshod fashion.

6. The Uriya language, whose decidedly close affinity with Sanskrit entitles it to higher position than many another dialect now spoken in India and derived from Sanskrit, and whose wealth of ancient literature is such as a native can well boast is gradually falling into desuetude, as Telugu or Tamil is largely talked in courts, schools and other places of public resort.

7. We beg respectfully to submit that the Uriyas of Ganjam district have been dissociated politically from the Uriya brethren of the Province of Orissa which every word is indicative of the home of the Uriya-speaking people, as a limb separated from the body to cast their lots with the Telugu and Tamil race who are admittedly far in advance of them every way, who enjoy the advantages of a superior education, official patronage and racial sympathy, and who have no manner of fellow feeling for the poor Uriya population so heavily weighted in the struggle for life.

8. The district of Ganjam had the blessing of English education bestowed upon it in 1858, that is, as many as 50 years posterior to the date when the other districts of Madras had come under its enlightening influence, and the Uriya language had not been recognised by the University of Madras till 1873, so that the people of Ganjam have been, as a matter of course, greatly distanced in the race for educational, social and official eminence by Telugus and Tamils and still lay far behind in every way even in spite of the large and liberal concessions granted by the beneficent Madras Government.

9. There is no bond of relation between the Uriyas and the Telugus, such as linguistic unity, similarity in physical features, identity of social and religious customs, inter-dining and inter-marriages. It is, therefore, well nigh impossible that the Uriyas can go abreast under the adverse influences of such ill-assorted union.

10. Orissa is contiguous to Ganjam which is far more distant from Madras than from Cuttack and Calcutta, the seats of Government, and academical learning where our children can receive education at a less cost and with better advantages. And between the Uriyas of Ganjam and those of the Province of Orissa or the people of Bengal there subsist among others the following ties of relationship—the following of the religion of Chaitanya, the great Hindu Reformer of Bengal, by far the bulk of the Ganjam people; the observance of the same holidays of religious festivities and rejoicing; the likeness in habits of living and social customs; linguistic unity with the people of Orissa and smallness of difference between Uriya and Bengali tongues,—both of which trace their origin to Sanskrit and inter-dining and inter-marriage.

11. It may be respectfully urged that the extension of Orissa as far as the northern boundary of Chicacole is evidenced by history. In the Scanda Puran, one of the ancient historical Hindu scriptures, it is stated that the country watered by the rivers of Mahanadi, Rushikulya and Suvarnarekha is the land of the Utkalas (Uriyas). During the time of the great Solar and Gangetic line of the kings of Orissa, Ganjam appears to have been the southern frontier to the then Orissa Province. The ancestors of the present zamindars of this district were vassals of their liege lord, the Maharaja of Puri, bound to their sovereign by a feudal tenure and obliged to the faithful and loyal, retaining the hereditary enjoyment of the zamindari taluks under them. On the overthrow of the Orissa kingdom by the Mussalman arms, the northern portion of Ganjam fell into the hands of the Nizam along with the Circars which were acquired by the British in 1766.

12. We beg to submit that the idea of changing territorial division is not new: in 1862 the district of North Canara, formerly under the Madras Government, was placed under Bombay Government; twelve years after this, in 1874, Rekapalle and Bhadrachalam were detached from the Central Provinces and added to the Madras Presidency. Three years later on the internal transfer of the South-East Wynaad from Malabar to the Nilgiri was effected, and we

venture to think that facility of administration and care for the social well-being of the people inhabiting the locality may have prompted the transfers.

13. The disturbance that may be caused by altering the existing territorial division for a little while, in the existing order of affairs, will, we beg to submit, dwindle into nothingness, considering the immense good that is sure to be done to the large population of poor Uriyas in Ganjam without causing any hindrance to the administration of the district or interfering with the social well being and political advantages of the other people of the Presidency of Madras.

14. Under these circumstances we most humbly pray that Your Excellency will be graciously pleased to bring together the scattered divisions inhabited by Uriya-speaking people, that is, Ganjam in Madras, Sambalpur in the Central Provinces and Orissa in Bengal under the Government of Bengal or under any one Government and one University, Chicacole taluk of the Ganjam district being excluded from and Jeypore taluk of the neighbouring Vizagapatam district included in it—a measure calculated to restore the abandoned, uncared for and benighted Uriyas of Ganjam to their lost home where they can count upon the sincere affection and sympathy of their brethren in the Provinces of Orissa in striving to have to themselves in full the manifold blessings of the benign British Government of which they are now to a great extent deprived by having to fight against odds in competing with the Telugus and Tamils who are far ahead of them and who treat them with a degree of superciliousness, which is intolerable.

15. Having heard of and seen instances of Your Excellency's noble acts dictated by fatherly solicitude and affection for the people, which have characterised Your Excellency's career, short as it is, we have made bold to submit this our humble representation in the fervent hope that it may meet with favour from Your Excellency and Your Excellency's Government.

16. In conclusion we most fervently and trustfully look up to Your Excellency alone to redress our hard grievances by the restoration of the Uriya-speaking tracts in the Ganjam district, to their long lost connection with Orissa, an act of justice and generosity for which Your Excellency will earn the lasting gratitude of the whole existing Uriya race and of their future generations.

May it please Your Excellency—We beg to respectfully enclose, for your Excellency's kind perusal, an extract from the Annual Administration Report of the Commissioner of Orissa for 1894-95.

Annexure 8.

EXTRACT from the Annual Administration Report of the Orissa Division for 1894-95.

* * * * * * *

12. (*a*) There were no other changes during the year. But I think some changes are necessary, and submit the following for the consideration of Government :—

(1) As a question of administrative reform, of which there is much to be said, I have to advocate the extension of the divisional boundaries so as to include the whole area populated by races speaking the Uriya language, or, at any rate, some definite areas adjoining Orissa where the Uriya language prevails. Orissa is a very small division both in area and population and there is no doubt that the Commissioner could find time to deal with a material addition to his work.

(2) The areas that I refer to are the Sambalpur district of the Chhatisgarh division of the Central Provinces, with the Tributary States of Patna, Sonpur, Rairakhol, Bamra, Kalahandi, and the whole part of the Ganjam district with the States of Kimedi and Gumsur.

(3) Among the reasons for this change are, as I have said, the uniting in a single division and placing under the same laws and rules the whole local Uriya

population instead of having a portion of it forming an insignificant item of the Central Provinces, and another portion forming an equally insignificant item of Madras Presidency. I am in possession of a map of India, date 1841, in which, either on ethnological or political grounds, the province of Orissa includes the two portions of territory that I have proposed to absorb in this division.

(4) On political grounds it is desirable that the Superintendent of the Tributary Mahals should control the districts surrounding these States. Had he the control over Sambalpur he could deal more efficiently with any disturbance in the States of Boad and Atmalik without soliciting the intervention of the authorities of another Province, which intervention, be it ever so cordial, could not be so efficient as his own direct control. We should then have these States, and those that I have mentioned as suited to be included in the Tributary Mahals of Orissa, hedged by Sambalpur on the north, the head-quarter subdivision of Angul district on the south.

So, with the States of Daspalla and Nayagarh, by annexing the whole or part of the Uriya-speaking district of Ganjam and its dependent States of Gumsur and Kimedi to Orissa, the Superintendent would be able to act directly from all sides in the case of such a rising as occurred last year in Nayagarh.

(5) But the advantage would not be confined to disturbed times. In the development of the country between the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and Orissa, it would be obviously advantageous to have the area to be dealt with under the same administrative control thereby to obtain unity of action among the Tributary Chiefs. Possibly as things at present stand the time has not come for the change but with the opening of the railway communications between Sambalpur and Cuttack the proposal would become easy of execution and would undoubtedly prove a beneficial reform: the head-quarters of the Sambalpur district are very much nearer to Cuttack than to Nagpur. The time appears to have arrived to break ground in this direction and to lay the proposal before the Government for consideration.

(6) With regard to Sambalpur the case is particularly strong. In Volume XIX of the "Gazetteer of India," page 177, it is stated that Sambalpur, "though included in the Chhatisgarh division, forms no part of Chhatisgarh proper either geographically or historically"; and in paragraphs 7 and 14 of the Administration Report of the Central Provinces, 1892-93, it is described as the Uriya country.

After the annexation of the district of Sambalpur it was first attached to the Chota Nagpur division and then transferred to this division doubtless for the reason given by Sir Henry Ricketts in no. XX, Selected Records of the Bengal Government, page 11, Sambalpur, *viz.*, that "the inhabitants are most of them Uriyas, and have no affinity or community of interest of any kind with the people of Chota Nagpur."

The reason why the district was transferred to the Central Provinces cannot be ascertained in this office, as correspondence relating to Sambalpur has been transferred to the Central Provinces. Geographically the map will show that Sambalpur belongs rather to Orissa than to the Central Provinces.

(7) However, the strongest arguments both with regard to Central Provinces and the Madras areas are ethnological and philological. Ethnologically the Uriya differs from the inhabitants of the Central Provinces on the one hand and the Madrasis on the other; they have retained a mark individually in the face of political and other disintegrating forces, and any portion of the race that is forced into an unwilling combination with distinct races incurs the danger of having the national characteristics and aspirations sacrificed to those of the predominating portion of the population in the administration under which it is forced to live.

To cite a single instance of this, I have only to refer to the order that has been passed directing that Hindi shall be the Court language in an Uriya-speaking district.

For other instances of the fatal effects of not understanding the Uriya on the part of the Administration, I would refer you to pages 53 and 57, 70 and 71 of Mr. Toonhie's History of Orissa. I would also refer to page 117 of Mr. John Beames' Comparative Grammar to prove how easy it is to make fatal mistakes in dealing with a people otherwise than with an intimate knowledge of their idiosyncracies.

The Uriya belongs to probably the most conservative of all the races of Eastern India, and such disregard to his interests, as the above order implies, would be, I am sure, extremely distasteful to him. They are, as represented in Orissa, a numerically small people, the population being less than four millions, but they have contrived to spread beyond Orissa, or have always occupied those areas which I now propose to unite with Orissa. Philology more forcibly establishes the distinct claims of the Uriya to recognition as a separate race with a separate history and literature.

We have the authority of Mr. John Beames for this. He says: "At a period when Uriya was already a fixed and settled language Bengali did not exist. The inhabitants of Bengal spoke a vast variety of corrupt forms of Eastern Hindi".

It does not seem probable that in educational matters the Uriya population is likely to get fair play either in the Central Provinces or Madras, where they form a minority of the provincial population in each case, though mustering strong in certain districts. The disposition to insist on uniformity throughout a province and to ignore minorities involve a risk of the Uriya language being starved educationally.

As an example of the sentiment that governs men in such matters, I may refer to the Bengali educational officers in Orissa regarding the Uriya tongue as a *patois* of that of Bengal, and desiring to substitute the latter for the former, whereas Uriya is demonstrably more archaic in form and possessed a literature some centuries before Bengali as now written existed. There appears a danger of a similar spirit manifesting itself in Madras and the Central Provinces.

The Uriya language is rapidly supplanting the dialects of the tribes of the Tributary States, and it affords, Mr. Beames says, by reason of its having absorbed a non-Aryan element, a far better medium for civilizing these primitive races than any other language.

(8) The Uriya-speaking inhabitants of the Madras Presidency are confined to the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam—Table D, "Population," Madras Administration Report, 1893-94; and to the States of the Agencies attached to those districts, all told, there are 1,288,727 persons talking Uriya under the Madras Government. The majority of these 797,132, are in the Ganjam district, nearly 81,000 more in the Ganjam Agency, or together 878,126 a total not far short of the population of Puri or Balasore districts. They are the preponderating element in the Ganjam district, being over 70,000 and more numerous than the Telingas. It is believed that the Uriya population is most numerous in the north, and perhaps it would be found that the majority of the Uriyas would be met with in a definite portion of the district.

(9) The population ratio in Sambalpur is even more striking. We find from the Administration Report of the Central Provinces, 1893-94 (Table I, C—Civil Divisions, page xi, Statistical Tables) that Sambalpur is the only district in the Province in which Uriya is spoken and its population is 796,413. We also find in Volume I of the General Tables, Census of India, 1891, page 367, that in the district which contains the whole Uriya-speaking population of the Provinces, there are no less than 685,971 Uriya-speaking people, which gives these an overwhelming majority in this district.

(10) The division could very conveniently take over the additional million and-a-half that are to be found in the two Provinces, or so much of them as may reside in compact areas that admit of separation.

Annexure 9.

MEMORIAL from the Uriyas and Telugus of the Ganjam district, to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India.

Your Excellency's memorialists having learnt that some residents of the district styling themselves "the landed proprietors, merchants and ryots and the *general public* of Ganjam" have submitted to Your Excellency a memorial praying that portions of the districts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam and the Sambalpur and Orissa districts be transferred to the Government of Bengal or placed under any one or separate administration, beg to approach Your Excellency with this memorial urging the inexpediency, the inutility and the undesirability of such a measure.

2. *The history of the Ganjam district.*—The district of Ganjam originally formed part of the well-known kingdom of Kalinga, which appears to have existed so far back as the times of the Rig Veda (Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, Volume I, page 5) and long prior to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and other Puranas, the Skanda Purana included (Rev. Foulkes' Article, Indian Antiquary, Volume 8, pages 2 and 3). This kingdom extended from the mouths of the Ganges to the Kistna with its capital at Calingapatam situated in the Ganjam district about half way down the coast (Ganjam District Manual, page 95) and was divided into two portions—a Northern and a Southern division—the mountain spurs, which run down to the sea on the south of the Chilka lake forming a well-defined natural boundary between the two. The Southern division sent forth from time to time settlements to the North and gave some of the most important dynasties to Orissa. A debatable land existed between the two to the North of which tract dwelt an Uriya-speaking people and to the South the Telugu races. The Telugus called the inhabitants of this intermediate tract Uriyas, while the natives of Orissa called them Telugus. The Pandits of Bengal still describe the country from Jagganath to the Kistna as Kalinga. The native government of Orissa practically acknowledged the natural boundary as the political one, treating as foreigners all pilgrims who came from the southern side of the Ganjam river (Rushikulya) and levying a higher tax from them. This distinction also found legislative recognition under the British rule in its early pilgrim laws (Hunter's Orissa, pages 170 and 171). The limits of Kalinga, as defined in ancient Sanskrit books, are Jagannath or Puri to the North and Kistna to the South.

* * * * *

(*vide* Vaidya's Sanskrit Dictionary.)

3. Orissa, under the Lion dynasty (474 to 1132 A.D.) extended from the Khanbans river, a little to the south of Balasore city to the Rushikulya river (Hunter's Orissa, Volume I, page 316). Babu Peary Mohun Acharya, in his learned history of Orissa, page 20, after considering the various English and Indian authorities on the question, places the southern limit of Orissa at Khurda in the Puri district. Mr. Vaidya, in his dictionary above quoted, also defines Orissa as * * * meaning the country above Jagganath or Puri, so that it is evident that Utkala or Orissa proper never included the Ganjam district.

4. In the twelfth century, however, an invasion from the South extinguished the Lion line. The invader, Chonanga Dev, became the founder of the Gangetic dynasty, assuming the surname of Gajapati, and added to Orissa his paternal Southern domain from the Godavari river northwards to Orissa and extended it further northwards, thereby almost restoring the ancient kingdom of Kalinga from the Hooghly to the Godavari (Hunter's Orissa, page 317). Even then the kingdom was divided into three parts, *viz.*:—

(1) Midnapore district,

(2) Orissa, and

(3) the country lying to the south of the Chilka lake up the Godavari.

This southern portion, which is now included in the Madras Presidency, however, refused to pay tribute, and the administration of the Gangetic line

continued to be merely nominal over this part of the country (Hunter's Orissa, pages 317—319). During the rule of this Gangetic dynasty (1132 to 1532 A.D.) the Orissa kings, having in view the wild nature of the country and its aboriginal inhabitants, were probably induced to establish their men in Ganjam to keep the Khonds and Savara tribes in check (Ganjam Manual, page 97). The Gangetic dynasty became extinct in 1532.

5. About 1571 A.D. a Muhammadan king from the South invaded the country up to Orissa, and he and his successors held for 180 years the district of Ganjam which, including the Ichchapuram Province, then known by the name of the Chicacole Circar, was controlled by the Muhammadan power at Hyderabad. The principal seat of government for this tract of country was Chicacole, while Ichchhapuram was the seat of a Sub-Governor (Ganjam Manual, page 99).

The Chicacole Circar, extended from the Godavari to the Puri district (Orme's History of Hindustan, Volume I, page 335) and Ganjam was the last town in the Chicacole Circar (*ibid*, Volume II, page 261.)

6. In 1753 the Northern Circars including the Ganjam district, were granted to the French by the Nizam; finally, in 1766 A.D., the Circars passed into the hands of the British, and the Madras Government took them under its administration by Resolution, dated 9th December 1766, thereby securing to the Circars the natural barrier to their north (Ganjam Manual, page 110). Thus for the last 136 years Ganjam has continued to be part of the Madras Presidency (*vide* Article "Ganjam" in the Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th Edition).

7. It is thus obvious that, even from ancient times, Orissa on the one hand and Ganjam with its sister Telugu districts on the other, were the limbs of a larger kingdom Kalinga; but Orissa never comprised the district of Ganjam, which is cut off from the former by a natural boundary, *viz.*, the mountain spur south of the Chilka. This natural boundary, which was always recognised as a dividing landmark in the formation of provinces served in later times as a barrier against southern invasions and as the northern limit of southern governments. Even during the brief period of Orissa sovereignty which struggled to extend itself to the south, Ganjam, with its sister districts of the Circars, resisted such endeavours. When native governments vanished and foreign powers made their appearance, Ganjam continued to be part of the country now known as the Circars, and during the last four centuries undoubtedly remained distinct from Orissa subject to the control of southern governments.

8. *The people of the Ganjam district.*—Ganjam is peopled by Telugus and Uriyas in almost equal numbers, Telugus being about 750,000 and Uriyas 765,000 (Census Tables, 1901, Volume XV-A, pages 177 and 189). These two races, far from occupying different portions of the district, are fully distributed over every zamindari, Government taluk and proprietary estate as landlords and tenants, except on the sea-coast, where the bulk of the population is Telugu. The intermixture of the races has been so complete that whole families, who are Telugus by descent, have adopted Uriya as their language of daily intercourse, while Uriya families have similarly adopted Telugu. Uriya landlords have Telugu tenants and Telugu landlords have Uriya tenants, and every calling or profession practised in the district counts Uriyas as well as Telugus among its members, except the noted silk industry of Berhampur, which has always been in the hands of Telugus. Almost every zamindar maintains an Uriya and a Telugu establishment for administrative purposes, and the contact is still closer and even more harmonious in commercial circles. This commingling of the races (so common to all border districts which cannot escape occupation by people coming from either side) tends to mutual advancement by creating the healthy spirit of emulation essential in the march of progress which certainly cannot be attained by the sort of exclusiveness advocated in the memorial under discussion. As a matter of fact, the two races have for centuries lived side by side in peace and harmony. Though in many villages there are factions of Telugus against Telugus and Uriyas against Uriyas, such a thing as a faction of

Telugus against Uriyas is absolutely unknown in the district where both races live in perfect friendliness and without any racial friction. This being so Your Excellency's memorialists deeply regret the spirit in which the memorial praying for separation has been conceived, since it seeks to sow discord where there has been concord and create race animosities where perfect peace and amity have existed.

9. *Cast and Religion.*—The caste system which, in India, forbids intermarriage and inter-dining even among the numerous sub-sects of each race forbids such union among the main races, *viz.*, the Telugu, Bengalis and Uriyas. Bengalis neither inter-dine nor intermarry with Uriyas, and while re-marriage of widows is forbidden even among the lower classes of Bengalis it obtains among several classes of Telugus and Uriyas alike. It were idle to speak of differences in religion and social observances amongst Hindus in one part of the country and another, for wherever the Aryan conquest extended, the same religious rites and ceremonies and festivals were established, and as social customs amongst Hindus depend entirely on religious sanction, they are the same all over India, but for slight alterations here and there due to climate and other surroundings. One great religious system of Hinduism is Vaishnavism which claims disciples all over India, and the religion preached by Chaitanya is Vaishnavism pure and simple. The Hindu temples in our district are managed by Telugus and Uriyas alike, and are open to and attended by both races for worship. The great Hindu festivals, feasts and fasts are observed alike by both races. Some of the leading Uriya zamindars have Telugu Brahmans as their priests or Gurus and many Telegu families have Uriya Brahmans for their purohits.

10. *Education.*—The Government of Madras established schools in this as in other districts in 1858 for the spread of Western education, and the Telugus were the first to avail themselves of this advantage. Uriya Pandits were also employed for the benefit of Uriya students, whose number, for about 14 years thereafter, was such as could be counted on one's finger's ends. In 1873 the University of Madras, finding that the Uriyas were beginning to appreciate the value of education, recognised Uriya as a second language in University examinations. The Government was also pleased to grant to the Uriyas the concession of half fees in all schools and colleges including Arts, Law and Engineering Colleges and opened for the special benefit of the Uriyas scholarships which are being supplemented from time to time by the zamindars of the district. The majority of teachers in schools and colleges are acquainted with Uriya and both the colleges in the district have each one or more Uriya Pandits on its staff. Amongst natives of the district there are about 10 Uriya graduates and about 30 Telugu graduates, not to speak of undergraduates in both communities. There has thus been a gradual advancement in education among Uriyas as the rapidly-increasing strength of Uriya students in colleges and schools (which at present is about 30 per cent. of the total strength of the two colleges in the district) will show. Under special orders of Government passed for encouraging Uriyas in the public service, preference is given to Uriyas over Telugus in the matter of appointments, and no duly qualified Uriya seeking for employment remains unprovided for. There are very few Tamilians in the district, except in the Department of Public Works, for which neither the Telugus of the district nor Uriyas have been able to qualify themselves.

11. *Uriya language.*—The Uriya language has also been recognised as a Court language. In courts and public offices some of the depositions are recorded in Uriya, petitions and reports in Uriya are received, and Uriya printed forms are also used in Revenue and Judicial offices, etc. District Munsifs, Magistrates and Tahsildars, and other important officers write their orders and judgments, etc., in English. In other particulars Uriya is employed in the conduct of public business so far as it is rendered practicable by the number of competent Uriya candidates available for clerkships and other offices. No complaint was ever made that failure of justice has occurred in any case or proceeding or that injury has resulted to any individual by reason of the lesser employment of the Uriya language in public offices.

12. Your Excellency's memorialists submit that, in the circumstances aforementioned, there is absolutely no justification or need for separating Ganjam or any portion thereof from the Circars with which it has been linked for many centuries past. If the suggested change be accepted, the law of personal rights, the common or customary law of land tenures, the enactments relating to the rights of zamindars, proprietors, ryotwari pattadars, inamdars, etc., laws relating to recovery of rent and revenue, all other local and special laws enacted with special reference to local conditions and habits of the people, thd methods of administration to some extent, even the nomenclature of office and many other matters specially suited to the localities and, in fact, the accustomed tenor of public and private life must be disturbed and altered. Much of what is learnt will have to be unlearnt, and local and special laws unsuited to the long established usages and customs and traditions of the people will have to be adopted at great cost and inconvenience to the ruler and the ruled alike. The existing state of peaceful progress will receive a check from which it will take a long time to recover.

13. *Inexpediency of adding Ganjam to Bengal or any other Province.*—The table in the margin will clearly show that any addition to the already unwieldy province of Bengal (the reduction of whose extent, we learn, is under contemplation) would be highly undesirable as it will only enhance the difficulties of administration. If the question of separating Orissa from Bengal should arise, it will then be for the Government to consider whether Orissa should not be added on to Madras, thus restoring the ancient kingdom of Kalinga to its place of old under a Southern Government.

Provinces.	Number of districts.	Area in sq. miles.	Population.
1. Bengal ...	48	200,000	79,000,000
2. Bombay ...	25	194,185	25,000,000
3. Madras ...	22	150,798	42,398,931
4. Central Provinces	18	115,936	12,944,805
5 Berar ...	6	17,718	3,000,000
6. Orissa ...	4	24,240	6,000,000

If, however, Orissa and the Berars be united to the Central Provinces which at present are thinly populated, the extent and the number of districts in the latter province will be larger than those of Madras, and the question of separating portions of Ganjam and Vizagapatam from Madras need not arise at all.

14. The alternate proposal of bringing Orissa, Sambalpur and portions of Ganjam and Vizagapatam together and placing them under a separate administration is put forward on the ground that such a step would re-unite the so-called dismembered Orissa and bring all Uriya-speaking people under a single Government. Your Excellency's memorialists venture to think that this idea, which first found expression in an Uriya newspaper of Orissa, seems only an attempt to forestall the proposal to separate Orissa from Bengal and include it in the Central Provinces—a proposal which it is commonly believed is under contemplation.

15. That Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Midnapore districts never formed part of Orissa is amply borne out by history and there are absolutely no data to allege the contrary. To provide a separate or a single administration for each linguistic area is impossible in a country where numerous languages are spoken and where the commixture of people speaking different languages is unavoidable, especially near the borders of such linguistic areas. It is anything but reasonable to demand the separation of a few districts or portions thereof from their mother provinces and the granting of a separate administration to a province thus formed purely on linguistic grounds, regardless of the inconvenience and injury which such an step would entail on the other races inhabiting such districts or portions thereof. Your Excellency's memorialists beg leave to submit that it will serve no useful purpose to detach irregular bits of three separate provinces now under different administrations and unite such heterogenous portions under a separate administration which has no High Court or University of its own and which will not enjoy the highly valued benefits of an administration by a Governor in Council and a local legislative body.

16. A very clear case has to be made out by those who seek for the separation of Ganjam from the Northern Circars, of which it has formed a part for

turies under Hindu, Muhammadan and British rule. In the best interests of Ganjam and its people, Uriyas as well as Telugus, such a separation should be discountenanced. The advocates of such separation, who have memorialised Your Excellency, are few and form but a meagre minority of the community in the district, and it is much to be regretted that they entirely failed to appreciate the importance and the consequence of their ill-judged proposals which seem to be based entirely on sentiment and cannot be justified on historical grounds or on the plea of administrative expediency.

17. Your Excellency's memorialists therefore most humbly and respectfully beseech Your Excellency to reject the proposal for separating Ganjam or any portion thereof from the Madras Presidency.

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Annexure 10.

MEMORIAL * from the Uriya residents of Ganjam, to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India, dated 8th January 1904.

* Signed by 6,600 persons.

We, the undersigned Uriya residents of the Ganjam district, in the Madras Presidency, most respectfully beg leave to submit herewith a memorandum of statements against the counter-memorial of the Telugus of the district recently submitted to Your Excellency against the memorial submitted by us praying for uniting Ganjam with Orissa proper, and submissively pray that the memorandum may be taken into consideration along with the other papers.

Annexure 11.

Memorandum of statements against the counter-memorial of the Telugus and the Uriyas (?) of Ganjam recently submitted to the Viceroy.

In the first place it is to be contested that the counter-memorial does not emanate from the Uriyas. If any Uriya has signed it, it is because he has been coaxed to do so. Many have already withdrawn their signatures, stating that they were persuaded, without any acquaintance with the contents of the memorial, to act in that wise. The *Prajabandhu* newspaper of Ganjam has, in its issues, dated 24th June, 1st, 8th, 15th, 22nd and 23rd July 1903, published how the Uriyas were persuaded, if not coaxed or misled to sign the memorial of the Telugus. If some zamindars have added their signatures, it is because the Diwans are Telugu men, or because they are influenced by the Telugus and incapable of exercising their own independent judgment.

II. *Paragraphs 1 to 7 of the counter-memorial.*—A.—In these paragraphs the history of the district is narrated at length. The Telugus, after quoting several authorities, have at least pitched upon the late Peary Mohan Acharaya's History of Orissa and deliberately stated that this learned author after considering the various English and Indian authorities on the subject has written, at page 20 of his book, that the southern limit of Orissa is Kurdha in the Puri district. What Peary Mohan Babu really says is that the kingdom of the Odra kings did not extend beyond Kurdha. This statement which relates to the aboriginal tribes of the ancient Odra country being excepted, the learned author bears testimony to the far wider limits of Orissa in no equivocal terms, as will be seen from the following quotations from the book which go to prove that Ganjam was a part and parcel of Orissa.—

(*a*) Chapter I, page 1, Lion dynasty of Orissa (474 to 1132). Orissa extended from the Kansband river (near Balasore) in the north to the Rushikulya river (in Ganjam) in the south.

(*b*) Chapter 4, page 68. The Gangetic dynasty of Orissa, 1132 to 1534. The above limits were extended in the north to the Dataibarthi river (modern Budhabalang) and on the south of Rajahmundry (Godavari district).

(*c*) Page 69, Rajah Anang Bheem Deo (1175 to 1202) assumed the title of the Lord Gauda Karnat and Utkal (Orissa).

(*d*) Page 75, Purushottam Deo (1479 to 1504). When Purushottam Deo ascended the throne, his eighteen cousins went out in different directions, each occupying a small territory. Most of the present zamindars and rajas of Ganjam and Sambalpur trace their descent to these eighteen brothers.

(*e*) Page 81 (state of the country). During the time of the Gangetic dynesty, Orissa extended to the Hughli river in the north and to the Godavari river in the south.

(*f*) Chapter 6, page 102. The whole of Orissa was caused to be measured and its land revenue was settled by Todar Mall who divided it into two—a northern and a southern division. The southern division of Orissa was again subdivided into two sircars—Kalinga Dandapat and Rajahmundry.

(*g*) Page 105, Ram Chandra Deo (1592 A. D.), whose title to the Kurdha Raj was recognised by Todar Mall and who was honoured with the title of Maharaja by Man Singh, became lord over 14,000 square miles covering Kurdha, the whole of the modern Ganjam district, Angul, etc.

(*h*) Page 110. When Muhammad Takhi Khan (1725 to 1734 A. D.) was the administrator, the Subah of Orissa extended from Landa Deulo near Midnapur in the north to Tekkali Raghunathpur (Ganjam) in the south.

(*i*) Prefaces to books are, as a rule, written after the completion of the books, an epitome of the contents of the book is sometimes given in the preface. The learned author in the preface to the book unhesitatingly states that Ganjam and Sambalpur are parts of Orissa and that the people thereof are Uriyas in all respects, and their mother tongue is Uriya and that the two districts were detached from Orissa by the British only.

B.—Ganjam District Manual.

(*a*) The zamindars of Ganjam, most of whom derived their power and estates from the Gajapathi kings of Orissa who granted them their lands on condition of feudal service . . . . many of them appear to have been nominated to their estates by Purushottam Deo who ruled over Orissa in 1479 to 1504 A. D. (page 18).

(*b*) The Orissa kings—Kesari line of kings—said to have ruled over Orissa for more than six hundred years and doubtless extended their sway over the neighbouring tract of Ganjam (paragraph 2, page 96).

(*c*) The Gajapathi princes (Gangetic dynasty) gave to the country a long line of rulers and their descendants even now occupy considerable territorial possessions in both Orissa and Ganjam. The Rajas of Ganjam have, moreover, always looked upon the kings of Orissa as their chief fountain of honour and at the present day they still acknowledge the Raja of Jagannath or Puri, a descendant of the ancient Orissa kings, as their chief. The foundation of the town of Ganjam is usually attributed to a member of this family (paragraph 3, page 96).

(*d*) The dominions of the Orissa kings certainly extended beyond the Kistna river and their power was at its height in 13th, 14th and 15th centuries (paragraph 2, page 97).

(*e*) Purushottam Deo (a Gangetic king of Orissa) established many of the smaller zamindars in Ganjam, whilst others were confirmed by him in their estates upon their presenting themselves before him and tendering him their allegiance in the course of his progress through the country (paragraph 1, page 98).

(*f*) The Gajapathi princes (of Orissa) still, however, continued in power both in the provinces of Chicacole and Rajahmundry until some time later (page 99).

C.—Manual of the Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1885.

(*a*) The Uriya-speaking tract of country resembles a quadrilateral figure of four unequal sides and contains an approximate area of 60,000 square miles (page 60, Vol. I).

(*b*) The Orissa princes had extended their dominions southwards as far as Nellore (page 151, Vol. I).

(*c*) Its early history is involved in obscurity and it was not until the long line of Gajapathi or Ganjavarsa kings (1132-1532) occupied Orissa that the adjoining district of Ganjam was annexed to that province (page 77, Vol. II).

D.—Geography and History of India, edited by the Revd. A. R. Symonds, M.A., 1859.

(*a*) According to these (records) Orissa was governed by a race of Hindu kings who successively extended their dominions by conquest and otherwise, until they included part of Bengal on the north, of Gondwana on the west, and of Telingana southwards as far as Godavari. It continued to form an independent Hindu State until A.D. 1558 when it was invaded by the Pathan ruler of Bengal who defeated Mukken Deo, the Raja, and finally overthrew the Orissa sovereignty. In A.D. 1578 the Pathans being conquered by Akbar, Orissa was annexed to the Moghul Empire, at which period according to the Institutes of Akbar it comprehended the whole extent of country between Midnapur in Bengal on the north and Rajahmundry on the south (pages 141-142).

(*b*) The Uriyas or people of Orissa were formerly separated from the Telingas by the Godavari. The Telings or Telugus are the original inhabitants of the districts south of Godavari and bordering upon the Telingana desam (pages 158-159).

(*c*) Chicacole anciently designated the Kalinga desam is the largest of the Circars. Its towns are Kalingapatam, Chicacole, Vizianagram, Bimlipatam and Vizagapatam (pages 160 and 161). It may be noted here that the list of towns does not include Berhampur and Ganjam, the principal towns of Ganjam (northern), which was evidently a part of Orissa [*vide* A (*b*)].

(*d*) A short history of Telingana is described at page 156 which conclusively shows that Ganjam did not form a part of that country.

(*e*) (i) All the zamindars of the Ganjam district are Uriya rajas, who, unlike the Telugu rajas, do not drink liquor, and do not eat fowls. They are Uriyas in all respects and contract relationship only with the rajas of Orissa and Sambalpur and never with the Telugus. The rajas of the three Kimedis (Parla, Bado and Sano) still claim a blood kinship with the Raja of Puri or Jagannath, the other rajas of Ganjam being considered as vassals tendering him feudal service. All the rajas of Ganjam have erected temples to Jagannath, maintain them at much cost and celebrate festivals in imitation of what is obtaining at Puri and still adhere to the very religion to which their sovereign at Puri belongs. Such temples are not to be met with anywhere in the Telugu country, not even in Vizagapatam, the neighbouring district.

(ii) In Uriya almanacs, horoscopes, cadjan and paper, in all sunuds issued by rajas granting assignments of lands to temples and inams to Brahmans and in documents presented in Registration offices and Civil Courts, the era of the Puri raja is invariably given; but in the Kimedis the era of their respective rajas is sometimes given, as those rajas are considered to be of the same family as the Puri Raja.

(iii) At religious and ceremonial observances in making Sankalpas and such other things the races in the northern Ganjam say that they do such and such an act in "Bharatavarshe, Utkaldese."

(iv) All the castes as returned as Uriya in the census of 1901 will be found living in the northern Ganjam and not in the southern taluk of the district.

(v) The names of villages, towns, rivers, etc., in northern Ganjam bear unmistakable Uriya names with no tinge of Telugu phraseology.

III. *Paragraph 8 of the counter-memorial*—A.—The Telugus have quoted figures from the last Census tables and stated that the district is peopled by both races in almost equal numbers. The District Manual has at pages 204-205: "In

the northern division of Ganjam the bulk of the people are Uriyas who abound in the ancient zamindaris and the more mountainous part of the district . . . The Uriya population of Ganjam may be estimated at two-thirds the total population of the entire district, although some have put it down as one-half."

"Ethnically the Uriyas form two-thirds of the population of the district. Their manners and customs differ from those of the Telugus and they speak a distinct language. The Uriyas are chiefly found in the north of the district extending as far south as Parlakimedi" (page 78, Volume II, Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, 1885).

It is difficult to reconcile the census tables on the one hand and the Manuals on the other. The district was entirely isolated from traffic communication till the year 1895 when easy communication was opened up by the East Coast Railway (now Bengal-Nagpur Railway). This brought large bands of Telugu immigrants into the district and hence the increase in the Telugu population. On the other hand, emigrants for Assam and Burma will certainly account for the decrease in the Uriya population.

B.—Whatever be the population, the preponderance of Uriya-speaking people is worth noting here (Census 1901, Volume XV-A, pages 2112 and 2113):—

District.	Population.	Uriya-speaking population.	Telugu-speaking population.	Tamil-speaking population.	Official language.
Ganjam	1,689,142	1,274,975	312,910	1,372	Telugu.
Ganjam Hills	3,21,114	87,682	5,864	2	Do.
Vizagapatam	2,082,662	30,760	1,999,791	2,303	Do.
Vizagapatam Hills	850,988	408,954	153,168	58	Do.
Godavari	2,141,917	2,939	2,099,417	4,046	Do.
Godavari Hills	159,842	201	119,503	147	Do.
Kristna	2,154,803	1,889	2,015,815	3,741	Do.
Madras	509,346	255	108,496	318,993	Tamil.
Chingleput	1,312,122	217	312,946	965,388	Do.

The above census table shows that the Uriya-speaking population of Ganjam is 75·5, the Telugu-speaking population being only 20·3 *per cent.* of the total population. On the Ganjam Hills, which are sparsely populated, the Uriya-speaking population is nearly 15 times the number of Telugu-speaking people; on the Vizagapatam Hills it is three times the other. In the northern Ganjam there are whole Uriya villages and in some of them there are Telugus, whose houses in the village could be counted on one's fingers. There are nowhere whole Telugu villages in the northern Ganjam except on the sea coast. It is but natural that the Uriyas live in peace by the side of the other race, and they being much behind their Telugu brethren in educational and commercial advancements, have in every-day life to consult with and even ask for help from the Telugus. From the peon to the highest official all are Telugu people how else will Uriya fare in their daily concerns, but by seeking friendship of the other race, however much the latter may detest the Uriyas?

A close observation of table XIII, pages 182 to 189, Volume XV, and of pages 165 to 172, section B (Telugu) of part I (Hindu and Animistic), Census 1901 will betray certain errors with classifications of castes in both the races. The total population as per above table and page is as follows:—

District.	Uriya.		Telugu.	
	Hindu.	Animistic.	Hindu.	Animistic.
Ganjam	766,247	465	755,353	30
Ganjam Hills	89,072	973	6,126	273
Vizagapatam	65,161	498	1,82,601	27,830
Vizagapatam Hills	291,950	11,470	167,652	46,995

There is the Uriya Kalinji caste quite distinct from the Telugu Kalingi caste, so is the Uriya Belama caste quite distinct from its equivalent Telugu Velama caste, and yet, strange as it may appear, the two Uriya (Kalinji and Belama) castes have altogether been left out of the Uriya group and included, by mistake, in the Telugu group of castes. If therefore proper adjustments are made (and it should be noted that the Uriya Kalinji and Belamas always outnumber their corresponding Telugu castes), the total population in both the races will show greater variations and cannot be equal as stated in the counter-memorial of the Telugus. Moreover, if Chicacole and Narasannapeta, which may be said to be entirely populated by the Telugus are excluded from northern Ganjam as prayed for by the Uriya, the Uriya element in the northern Ganjam will no doubt be more than two-thirds of the whole population as stated in Manuals.

IV. *Paragraph 9 of the counter-memorial.*—(*a*) The Vaishanavism of Chaitanya followed by the Telugus. The principles of both the systems might be the same, but rituals and ceremonial observance are entirely different.

A Telugu Vaishanava is, in virtue of the religion as preached by Ramanuja, kept insulated from the Dravidian Brahmans, not to speak of inter-marriages, even inter-dining among them being strictly prohibited; while the Vaishnavism as advocated by Chaitanya recognises no such invidious distinctions.

There are several examples of Uriya Brahmans being employed as temple-worshippers and pujaris in mufassils in the far-off Nadia district in Bengal. An Uriya Brahman can intermingle with his Bengali brother neither losing his position nor society.

(*b*) The Uriya Brahman is always looked down upon with contempt by his Telugu brother who, belonging as he does to the Dravidian sect, is a vegetarian and as such think it pollution to touch his Uriya brother, who is of the Gauda sect and is a non-vegetarian besides. Telugu Brahmans do not act as purohits of Uriya Brahmans or other castes. Uriya Brahmans have no scruples to act as purohits of Telugu Sudra castes.

(*c*) As to marriage customs, it is a well-known fact that even Telugu Brahmans marry their maternal uncle's daughter and the lower Telugu castes marry their own sister's daughters also. This custom is looked down upon by the Uriya with great abhorrence. The Telugu practice of tying the "Pusti" or "Tali" is entirely unknown to the Uriya. In the matter of food and drink details of difference between the two races cannot be too exhaustive.

The author of the Ganjam Manual, after describing certain customs and manners of the Uriyas, says that they are quite distinct from those of the Telugu people, which he refrains from detailing, as they are to be found in the Vizagapatam Manual.

V. *Paragraph 16 of the counter-memorial.*—The teachers in the schools and professors of the two colleges of the district are either Telugus or Tamilians. Almost all of them are quite ignorant of the Uriya language—a fact which can be proved to the hilt at any moment. When the Berhampur College was a State institution, there were special classes for Uriyas. Now that it is a private college the committee of management have made no provisions for the instruction of Uriya students, though the college has been endowed by an Uriya raja. The college committee are all Telugu men without exception. There was no Uriya pandit attached to the Berhampur College and it is only on the representation of the Uriya college students that the services of an Uriya pandit were entertained just 10 or 12 years ago. The staff of professors in both the colleges being unacquainted with Uriya no instruction in translation is imparted to the Uriya students from one end of the year to the other. The concession of half rates of school-fees allowed to the Uriya will not be a sufficient inducement so long as teachers who know Uriya are not employed. Uriya boys have to learn Telugu, a foreign tongue, before they can pretend to understand one word of the English language. This is perhaps one reason why the Uriyas are always considerably behind their Telugu brethren in the matter of education. But for the occasional

employment of Matibansa Naikas of Orissa as rural teachers and pail school-masters, the Ganjam Uriyas would have forgotten their mother-tongue long ago and would even have run the risk of paying to a Telugu man for holding communication with their own blood relatives. It need not be stated here that almost all the Uriyas are ignorant of Telugu, and many of them have to remunerate their Telugu friends for translating to them the purport of the summons, warrant or notice that might be issued to them.

VI. *Paragraph 11 of the counter-memorial.*—It cannot be denied that the Uriya language has been recognised as a court language so far as Government orders which are scarcely given effect to are concerned, despite the overwhelming population literate in Uriya only as will be seen from the following table (Census 1901, Vol. XV—B, pages 35, 36, 37 and 42) :—

Taluk or Division.	Population.	Literate.	Literate in Telugu.	Literate in Uriya.
1. Berhampur	344,368	19,308	5,046	14,127
2. Chicacole	223,373	8,741	8,366	323
2. Ganjam	95,882	5,318	170	5,126
4. Aṣka	115,883	5,091	432	4,639
5. Gumsur	200,357	10,818	507	10,284
6. Ichchhapuram	83,500	3,813	324	3,488
7. Narasannapeta	26,452	819	813	6
8. Purushottapur	102,396	4,[illegible]96	[illegible]8	4,906
9. Sompeta	971,229	2,349	1,243	1,073
10. Surada	18,662	461	12	447
11. Parlakimedi	256,414	8,638	5,505	3,096
12. Tekkali	124,626	3,829	2,965	803
13. Ganjam Hills	321,114	2,229	77	2,147
14. Vizagapatam Hills ...	850,998	7,942	2,817	5,083
Total ...	2,861,244	84,442	28,365	55,548

The Madras Government in G. O. No. 2024, dated 15th December 1890, ordered that half the number of officials should be either Uriya or Uriya-knowing men. This order as well as the one issued by Mr. A. W. B. Higgens, formerly Collector and now Member of the Revenue Board, Madras, that men ignorant of Uriya should not be promoted remain dead letters. About that time the Government or the Collector called for information as to how many Telugu officials were conversant with the Uriya language and every one of them without the slightest hesitation replied in the affirmative, though most of them knew not a syllable of that language. This is the reason why all kinds of processes, records of civil, criminal and revenue cases are kept in Telugu and depositions are romanized in Telugu. Any European officer deputed to examine any public office in the northern Ganjam will see with half an eye that the official language is Telugu for all practical purposes. Such an examination is most earnestly solicited by Your Excellency's humble memorialists to verify at least the statements made above. How the racial partiality and official nepotism in Government appointments evinced by the Telugu bureaucracy keeps down the backward Uriyas cannot be adequately described here, as it would necessitate descending into odious and personal details. If Uriya had been the official language, if processes were being issued in Uriya, if depositions of Uriya people were being written in their own language and if endorsements on the petitions were being so written as the Uriyas might understand the contents for themselves, there would probably have been no cause for complaint.

VII. *Paragraph 12 of the counter-memorial.*—The census figures and the innumerable inconveniences to which the Ganjam Uriyas are subjected to the

difference between the two races in their customs and manners are so striking that the immediate separation of the northern Ganjam from the Madras Presidency and its union with Orissa, whether under the Bengal Government or under a separate administration, are not only justifiable but are warranted by the statements made in the foregoing paragraphs of this memorandum. Mr. S. P. Rice, of the Madras Civil Service, in his "Occasional Essays on Native South Indian Life," says that "the Uriyas are a distinct race from the Telugus—distinct in features, in manners, in customs, in language especially. Orissa proper lies within the Province of Bengal and the people of Ganjam suffer in that they have been separated from their brethren."

The Commissioner of the Orissa Division in his Annual Administration Report for the year 1894-95, Part X, Administrative changes, eloquently advocates the separation of the northern portion of Ganjam from the Madras Presidency and its union with Orissa.

XIII. *Paragraphs 13 to 15 of the counter-memorial.*—The counter-memorialists, in discussing at length the subject of the contemplated territorial changes, state that there are absolutely no grounds for the allegation that Ganjam was a part of Orissa. In paragraph (ii) of this memorandum authorities, both historical and statistical, have been cited to prove the contrary. The counter-memorialists in paragraph 12 of their memorial suggest that Orissa might be added to the Madras Presidency for the sake of "old Kalinga" on the ground that Bengal has already become unwieldy. Will not the addition make the Presidency of Madras equally unmanageable and will not the people of Orissa suffer the difficulties and inconveniences narrated in paragraph 12 of the counter-memorial if the suggestion of the counter-memorialists is carried out? Will not the people of the Berars and the Sindh suffer? Did the people of North Canara feel inconvenient in any way when that district was detached from the Madras and added to the Bombay Presidency? The difficulties and inconveniences pointed out in the counter-memorial are still superficial and imaginary and time will easily cure them, since the Imperial Government is the same wherever one may go in India.

2. In this connection it will not be out of place to state that when the proposal of dividing the two districts of Godavari and Kistna into three with southern part of Vizagapatam for revenue administration purposes is sanctioned, the northern portion of the last district, with the Chicacole taluk of Ganjam, might be converted into a district, the Jeypore division of Vizagapatam being separated along with the northern Ganjam from Madras.

Annexure 12.

MEMORIAL * from the Muhammadan community of the Ganjam district addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

On behalf of the Muhammadan community of the district of Ganjam in the Presidency of Madras, your memorialists most humbly beg to approach Your Excellency with this their humble prayer that the proposal to transfer Ganjam or any portion thereof to Bengal be dropped for the following among other reasons :—

Your memorialists, in common with the Uriyas and other backward classes have been receiving special encouragement at the hands of the Local Government in the matter of education and Government employment. They pay only half fees in the schools and the colleges are provided with special scholarships reserved for the community and are given preference in the public service. Your Excellency's memorialists beg to point out that the transfer may deprive them of these advantages very much required by the community, while it will bring no real benefits whatever to their Uriya brethren and will place them and your memorialists under the disadvantage of having to compete with their more advanced brethren of Bengal.

Your Excellency's memorialists have ever since the time of the Muhammadan rule been associated with the people of the Northern Circars, have their marriage and other relationship among their brethren of the Circars and have

* Signed by 100 persons.

after several centuries succeeded in adapting themselves to their present surroundings. They most respectfully beg to represent that the new difficulties they will have to contend against on account of this transfer will throw at least a century behind.

Belonging as they do, neither to the Uriya nor to the Telugu community, Your Excellency's memorialists beg to state most impartially that these two races are so completely intermingled in the several parts of the district that it would be impossible to draw a line that would separate the one from the other for purposes of administrative union based on linguistic grounds. In the first place the splitting up of the district as at present proposed on the strength of the representations made in the Uriya memorial would hand over upwards of five lakhs of Telugus to the Bengal administration. In the second place, the transfer of that tract alone that lies to the north of the Rushikulya river would leave behind an equally large number of Uriyas under Madras. It is hardly necessary for Your Excellency's memorialists to dwell on the inconveniences and hardship that would result from such arrangements. In the third place a more central division along the heart of the district on either side of the head-quarters town of Berhampur would, Your Excellency's memorialists most humbly submit, be the direct calamity to the inhabitants of the district—the Uriyas, the Telugus and the Muhammadans alike. Trade, education and seats of administration will have to shift to new centres, the result being a disastrous unsettling of the existing state of things and incalculable loss of property and wealth, both Government and private, in a district where three splendid towns—Ichchhapuram, Ganjam and Chicacole—have already been ruined on account of similar shiftings or other causes. Your Excellency's memorialists venture to urge that a poor district like Ganjam and the poorer Muhammadan community in particular can ill afford to be put to such recurring losses that are incidental to such shiftings and that materially obstruct and retard the progress of all the classes of His Majesty's subjects.

In conclusion Your Excellency's memorialists most earnestly appeal to Your Excellency's usual generosity and large-minded sense of justice and beseech that the humble prayer of one of the backward communities of His Majesty's subjects may be granted.

For which act of kindness Your Excellency's memorialists will, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Annexure 13.

MEMORIALS* from the Uriyas of Ganjam addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

Your memorialists have learnt with deep concern that the Government contemplates the transfer of the Ganjam district from the Madras Presidency to Bengal on the ground, amongst others, that such transfer would be of advantage to the Uriya community and that the unification of the Uriya-speaking people is necessary for administrative convenience.

Your memorialists respectfully beg to point out that after more than a century's association with Bengal, our brethren of Orissa numbering more than six millions have not made such progress as would lead your memorialists to consider the proposed transfer in any way advantageous to them. In the matter of education, which is a vital factor in the progress of any community, we find that there is but one college for the three Uriya districts of Orissa. The number of graduates in all Orissa averages only six a year. The number of Uriyas in the public services—Judicial, Educational and Executive—in Orissa is not more encouraging.

Under the Madras Government the Uriyas of this district enjoy the privilege of half fees and special scholarships in colleges and schools—a privilege not enjoyed by our brethren in other provinces. This district has two colleges possessing the necessary equipment for the education of Uriyas for an Uriya population of about 800,000 been producing for the last ten years one Uriya

* Signed by 4,000 persons.

graduate on the average. In practice we are given preference in the matter of Government appointments when duly qualified. Almost all the Civilians placed in charge of the district or divisions thereof have always evinced a great deal of sympathy for us, taking a great deal of interest in the study of our language, manners and our progress.

The only difficulty that we may ever have felt is the comparatively small use of Uriya as a court language and in revenue offices a difficulty which will be easily remedied in the course of a single year if Your Excellency's Government will be pleased to order that Uriya shall be the only vernacular to be used in Gumsur, Surada, Aska and Purushottapur taluks.

Your memorialists further beg to point out that in a country like India where diversity of languages and of races is the rule, the real interests of the people should never be sacrificed for mere convenience of administration based on linguistic grounds. No territorial distribution would be possible, so as to get rid of the difficulty of diversity of languages.

Your memorialists most humbly and respectfully beg to emphasize the fact that the transfer of this district to Bengal would place the Uriyas of this district under keener competition for life than now exists, and while depriving them of the privileges now enjoyed would bring no real benefits.

Your Excellency's humble memorialists, therefore, respectfully pray that the proposal for the transfer of this district to Bengal be dropped and that Your Excellency's Government and the Government of Madras would continue to evince for this backward community the sympathy and affection that has hitherto been generously shown.

For which act of kindness Your Excellency's humble memorialists will, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Annexure 14.

PETITION from Penta Jogalu, and others, of Kasibugga, to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India In Council, dated 15th January 1904.

Your Excellency's humble subjects of the village of Kasibugga in the Tharla taluk, Ganjam district, most humbly represent that a telegram was sent from this village to the Chief Secretary of the Madras Government, humbly protesting against the transfer of the Ganjam district to Bengal and a copy of such telegram is herewith sent for Your Excellency's perusal.

Annexure 15.

TELEGRAM from Palsa Penta Jogalu, to the Chief Secretary to Government of Madras, dated 15th January 1904.

Kalinga Komities, merchants and ryots, population of Kasibugga of Tharla-taluk, Ganjam, most humbly protest against transfer of Ganjam to Bengal. This taluk is fifteen-sixteenths Telugus. Transfer most ruinous, not desirable.

Copies to the (i) *Hindu*, (ii) *Madras Mail*, (iii) *Madras Times*.

Annexure 16.

PETITION from Malla Ramaswamy Subudhi and others, Palasa, addressed to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India in Council, dated January 1904.

Your Excellency's humble memorialists of the town of Palasa in the Tharla taluk, Ganjam district, Madras Presidency, most humbly represent that the enclosed telegram was sent to the Chief Secretary of the Madras Government to-day protesting against the transfer of the Ganjam, district to the Bengal Presidency and the copy of such a telegram is herewith sent for Your Excellency's perusal.

Annexure 17.

TELEGRAM from Malla Ramaswamy Subudhi, Palasa, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, dated January 1904.

Kalinga Komiti weavers, pondaris, traders, ryots, Tharla taluk, Ganjam, most humbly protest against transfer of Ganjam to Bengal. This taluk is 90 per cent. Telugus. Transfer most unjust, disadvantageous.

Copies to the (i)*Hindu*, (ii) *Madras Mail*, (iii) *Madras Times*.

Annexure 18.

MEMORIAL from the residents* of the Ganjam district, to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India (through the Government of Madras).

RESPECTFULLY SHEWETH,—That Your Excellency's memorialists are firmly convinced that the proposed transfer of the Ganjam district to Bengal, if carried out, will seriously prejudice the best interests of the people of this district, be they Telugus, Uriyas, Savaras or Khonds; and accordingly beg leave hereby to submit most respectfully, but most earnestly, that the said proposal is not called for by any administrative or other real necessity, or by any genuine or general feeling on the part of the people concerned.

2. Your Excellency's memorialists understand that the two objects the Government of India hopes to accomplish by this proposed transfer are:—

(*a*) the bringing together of the whole Uriya-speaking population under one administration, and,

(*b*) the relief of the Madras Government from some part of the burden of dealing with a great diversity of languages.

3. As to the first ground, the transfer of Ganjam and the Vizagapatam Agency, while intended to bring the Uriyas under one single administration, will at the same time involve the excision of Telugus, Khonds, Savaras and Gadabas—all of them speaking non-Aryan tongues,—from a province which has grown used to the administration of peoples with non-Aryan languages. It is obvious that, in India, where there are different races, speaking diverse languages, and yet often interspersed in given areas, it is impossible to bring together into one province all the people speaking any one language, without also dislocating from their ancient and proper environment peoples speaking other languages, and thereby creating, in regard to the latter, the very same grievance which it is sought to redress in the case of the former.

The following table will illustrate the state of things by showing some of the border languages, and the administrative areas over which they are distributed: it shows the impracticability of linguistic union for administrative purposes in a country like India:—

Languages.	Provinces.
Canarese	Madras and Bombay.
Marathi	Madras, Bombay and Central Provinces.
Telugu	Madras and Central Provinces.
Hindi	Bengal, Central Provinces, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and Punjab.
Sindhi and Beluchiki	Bombay and Punjab.
Bengali	Bengal and Assam.
Uriya	Madras, Central Provinces and Bengal.

4. If the Uriyas of Madras, though they number 1,233,785, though their language is recognised in courts and other public offices, in schools, and by the Madras University, and in the daily traffic of social and commercial life, though

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* Signed by 15,750 persons.

they, their rulers, and their neighbours have had a century and half in which to know one another, are, after all, said to be a foreign unit and a neglected body, it is not difficult to forecast the fate of the little less than one million of Telugus of Ganjam and the Vizagapatam Agency if they be transferred to Bengal, where they will, in point of numbers, be scarcely appreciable amongst the million of the Bengal population, where their language can never hope to be recognised by Government, and where they will be completely out of their element. Your Excellency's memorialists beg leave to say that it could never be the wish or intention of the Government of India to inflict such a serious injury on their Telugu subjects who have as councillors, as civil servants and as soldiers rendered loyal and conspicuous service to Government in this very district, and have helped not a little in the arduous labours by which the Madras Government have evolved order and law out of the state of lawless disorder in which Ganjam was handed to the British Power.

5. Further, even if Sambalpur, Ganjam and the Vizagapatam Agency be added to Orissa, the scheme would still be incomplete, as, in the Madras Presidency, there would yet be a sufficient residue of Uriyas to keep alive the "Uriya problem" in Madras; for in the Vizagapatam plains, the Godavari district and Agency, etc., there would be left 73,171 Uriyas (*vide* Census Report, 1901, Vol. XV-A, Part II, page 189). This residue would be left in a minority even more hopeless than ever and would be more likely than ever to be "neglected."

6. Your Excellency's memorialists beg leave to say that a territorial redistribution based solely on linguistic grounds seems to be not only impossible as above pointed out, but also opposed to the traditions of the Government of India—*e.g.*, the separation of North Canara from South Canara, Madras—and to one of the principles on which the larger scheme for the partition of Bengal is based, *viz.*, that mere considerations of linguistic union have to give way before actual administrative exigencies.

7. Those advantages, which a certain section of the Uriya people imagine, will follow from the transfer to Bengal of Ganjam and the Vizagapatam Agency—*e.g.*, the improvement of the Uriya language and literature and the amelioration and consolidation of the Uriya people—are more likely to flow from other forces now at work; *e.g.*,

(*a*) the East Coast Railway which has opened up the Uriya country,

(*b*) the increasing output of Uriya literature, periodical and general,

(*c*) associations formed in Orissa and Ganjam which aim at creating and fostering a spirit of mutual help amongst Uriyas,

(*d*) the colleges founded and maintained by Uriya zamindars at Parlakimedi and Berhampur, and

(*e*) the increasing popularity of higher education amongst Uriyas.

The results that these and such like forces are bound to accomplish gradually and perhaps imperceptibly but naturally and surely a certain section of the Uriya people wish that Government should, by adopting measures more or less revolutionary bring about by forced growth, without any effort, or sacrifice on the part of the people themselves.

8. While it is conceded on all hands that even before the days of railways or other easy communication between Orissa and Ganjam, Upendro Bhunjo, an Uriya Prince of Gumsur (in Ganjam), was the greatest of modern Uriya authors, while in Orissa today, the makers of Uriya literature are men like Babu Radhanath Rai and Babu Madhusudan Rao—neither of them an Uriya by race; it must be conceded also that the Uriya language has, in Ganjam, preserved more of its pristine purity and conforms more closely to literary canons than in Orissa, where it is so largely dominated by the superior influence of the Bengali language.

9. The reasons for which a certain section of the Uriyas have prayed for the unification of the Uriya-speaking peoples are extremely vague and purely sentimental reasons, not supported by one verified instance of administrative

failure or judicial miscarriage. Their prayer simply ignores the fate of the Telugus, Khonds, Savaras and Godabas amongst whom their lot is cast and takes no account of the thousands of their own race found in other parts of the Presidency.

10. Your Excellency's memorialists further crave leave to point out that the facts and figures of the census of 1901—on the strength of which the Government of India has based its argument regarding the distribution of linguistic groups—can by no means be accepted as accurate.

Census of	Telugus by language.	Uriyas by language.	Telugus by race.	Uriyas by race.
1881 (*a*)	692,344	748,904	Not tabulated.	Not tabulated.
1891 (*b*)	722,287	797,132	Do.	Do.
1901 (*c*)	342,910	1,274,975	755,383	766,712

(*a*) *Vide* 1881 Census Report, Vol. II, table IX, pages 159-161.

(*b*) *Vide* 1891 Census Report, Vol. XIV, table X, pages 136-145.

(*c*) *Vide* 1901 Census Report, Vol. XV-A, pages 112-113 and pages 172 and 189.

The above table discloses—

(1) that by race, Telugus and Uriyas are nearly equal in the district,

(2) that, though the proportion of Uriya-speaking to Telugu-speaking people was about the same in 1881 and 1891, there is in 1901 an increase of 59 per cent. in the population speaking Uriya and a decrease of 47 per cent. in the Telugu-speaking population. This increase and decrease cannot but be characterised as *abnormal* when it is kept in mind that during the decade 1891—1901 the total population of the district has increased by only 6 per cent. This striking difference could not escape the attention of the Census Superintendent at Madras, who probably being unable to call for an explanation from the district authorities, merely suggested an explanation of his own. He says "some of the considerable advances in the numbers speaking the *minor languages* seem to be due to 'greater care on the part of the enumerators to avoid returning people as speaking the prevalent vernacular of the locality without enquiring what language they actually used in their houses'" (Vol. XV, Part I, page 94).

11. This explanation is *inapplicable*; for neither Uriya nor Telugu is a "minor" language in Ganjam. It is *neither a convincing* explanation; for there is nothing to show that there was greater care and discrimination in 1901 than in 1881 or 1891 (*vide* Census Report of 1891, Vol. XIII, page 362, paragraph 684; Census Report of 1881, Vol. I, pages 4 and 5, paragraphs 21-22 and 25). It merely takes it for granted that there is a marked excess of Uriya-speaking people in the district.

12. The figures for 1881 and 1891 have never been challenged and must be presumed to be correct; and apparently they are correct, for the Census of 1901 shows that, by race, Telugus and Uriyas are about the same proportion as they were by language in 1881 and 1891. It is quite incredible that in one decade nearly half a million Telugus have abandoned their own non-Aryan language and adopted Uriya as their house language. The probabilities are therefore rather in favour of the view that the Uriya enumerators of 1901 working in Uriya-speaking areas, have returned all Uriya-*knowing* people as Uriya-speaking whether or not Uriya was their house language.

13. Again the explanation given by the Census Superintendent for the very large advance in the numbers of those who speak Uriya in Ganjam and a corresponding decline in those speaking Telugu presumes that the language figures of 1891 are incorrect. Considering that such a mistake as is assumed to have been committed has actually occurred in 1891 in those parts of the district where Telugu was the prevalent language, it must also be conceded that a similar mistake must have been made in those parts where Uriya was the prevailing

language so that this error should not make much difference in numbers speaking these languages, unless Telugu is accepted as the prevailing language in a larger portion of the district.

14. Further, the explanation of the Census Superintendent that the language figures of 1891 are wrong, assumes making allowance for the 6 per cent. general increase of the population in the decade, that over 4 lakhs of Uriya-speaking people must have been returned as Telugu-speaking in a portion of the district where Telugu is the prevailing language. It is needless to add that the tract where Telugu is the prevalent language must indeed be extremely large to absorb into it an Uriya-speaking people numbering over 4 lakhs. This last contingency would negative in the highest degree the possibility of the Uriya-speaking people being 12 lakhs and odd as against 3½ lakhs of the Telugu-speaking. There is therefore no ground for considering that the language figures of 1891 are incorrect in any appreciable degree.

15. The remark of the Census Superintendent at page 98 of Vol. XV, part I, that "in Ganjam Telugu is the prevailing language in Gumsur taluk and Uriya in all others" is altogether inaccurate and this mistaken notion probably accounts for the ease with which the questionable language figures of 1901 were accepted as correct. As a matter of fact, the prevailing language in each of the twelve taluks of the district and the total population of each taluk are as shown below :—

Name of taluk.	Prevailing language.	Total population taken from the Census Report of 1901—village statistics for the Ganjam District.	
Chicacole	Telugu	223,373	
Parlakimedi	Do.	256,414	
Tekkali	Do.	124,626	
Sompeta	Do.	97,229	
Narasannapeta	Do.	26,452	
			728,094
Gumsur	Uriya	200,357	
Aska	Do.	115,883	
Purushottapur	Do.	102,396	
Ganjam	Do.	95,882	
Surada	Do.	18,662	
			533,180
Berhampur	Telugu and Uriya.	344,368	
Ichchhapuram	Do.	83,500	
			427,868
	Grand Total ...		1,689,142

16. The correctness of the table with reference to column 2 may be verified by a reference to the district authorities, or an examination of the records (accounts and registers) of the various taluk offices. Taking the Telugu-speaking population at the moderate proportion on the average of 65 per cent. in the five Telugu taluks, 15 per cent. in the five Uriya taluks and 50 per cent. in the two other taluks, the figures work out thus :—

Five Telugu taluks, 65 per cent. of	728,000=473,200
Five Uriya taluks, 15 per cent. of	533,000= 79,900
Two other taluks, 50 per cent. of	427,000=213,500
Total Telugu-speaking population	=766,600

This estimate of 766,600 Telugu-speaking people is certainly in consonance with the language figures of 1881 and 1891, *viz.*, 692,000 and, 722,000 respectively, and with the race figures of 1901, *viz.*, 755,383, and it shows the impossibility of the language figures of 1901, *viz.*, 342,910. This estimate is also borne out by the actual experience of those who know the district personally, and, Your

Excellency's memorialists are confident, will be found to be correct if returns be called for from the various taluks in question.

17. The Census returns of 1901 show that in Ganjam there are 342,910 persons whose house language is Telugu. Deducting this number from 755,383 returned in 1901 as Telugus by race, we have the astounding fact that 412,473 Telugus by race have forgotten or forsaken their own language—a fact which it is impossible to believe of such a conservative race as the Telugus. This great divergency between the language and race figures of 1901 is inexplicable and has remained unexplained.

18. In these circumstances Your Excellency's memorialists feel justified in challenging the language figures of 1901, and demurring to arguments based on those figures, which are irreconcilably at variance with the figures of 1881 and 1891, with the estimates made by persons well acquainted with the district, and also with the race figures even of 1901, and which therefore cannot be accepted as a safe foundation for a political measure fraught with such serious and far-reaching consequences as is the proposal for the transfer of part of the Madras Presidency to Bengal. If the Census figures of 1881, 1891 and 1901 be read, together with the necessary corrections for errors such as the Census Superintendent admits, the only unassailable inference from those *data* is that, both by language and by race Uriyas and Telugus are about equal in numbers, each numbering about three-quarters of a million in round numbers. When it is also remembered that Uriyas and Telugus are inextricably distributed over the several taluks of the district, it will be seen how unreasonable is the prayer for the unification of the Uriyas, and how impracticable its fulfilment.

19. Granting, for the sake of argument, that the Uriya-speaking population is larger in number than the Telugu-speaking population, the question arises, which is of more importance in deciding the proper *locale* of a people, the language they talk, or the race they belong to? The former is an accident, it may change under changed circumstances, the latter is a vital and essential matter, of blood, tradition and custom, and cannot be adopted or discarded at will. One may repudiate his language but not his birth. Hence the argument in favour of race should prevail over that of language.

20. If the history of Orissa or of Ganjam be examined, it becomes apparent that the pathetic phrase of the Uriya memorialists, describing Ganjam as dissociated from Orissa "as a limb separated from the body" is mere rhetoric based on ignorance of facts. For, neither—

(*a*) in prehistoric times, nor

(*b*) in the days of Hindu sovereignty, nor

(*c*) under Moslem rule, nor

(*d*) during the short-lived French supremacy, nor

(*e*) since the district came under British Government,

was there such organic and vital connection between Ganjam and Orissa as the phrase pretends. The authors of that phrase certainly cannot suggest, when, how, and by whom, this limb was truncated.

21. The district of Ganjam originally formed part of the well-known kingdom of Kalinga, which appears to have existed so far back as the times of the Rig Veda (Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra's Antiquities of Orissa, Vol. I, page 5) and long prior to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and other Puranas, the Skanda Purana included (Rev. Foulkes' Article, Indian Antiquary, Vol. VIII, pages 2 and 3). This kingdom extended from the mouths of the Ganges to the Kistna with its capital at Calingapatam, situated in the Ganjam district about half way down the coast and was divided into two portions, a Northern and a Southern Division, the mountain spurs which run down to the sea on the south of the Chilka lake forming a well-defined boundary between the two (Hunter's Orissa, Vol. I, pages 170 and 171). *Babu Peary Mohan Acharya*, in his learned history of Orissa, page 20, after considering the various English and Indian authorities on the question, placed the southern limit of Orissa at Khurda in the Puri district.

22. In the twelfth century, an invader from the south, Chonanga Deo founded the Gangetic dynasty assuming the surname of Gajapati, added to Orissa his paternal southern domain from the Godavari northwards to Orissa and brought under his sway all the country from the Hugli to the Godavari. The kingdom was even then divided into the three provinces of (1) Midnapore, (2) Orissa and (3) the country south of the Chilka.

This southern portion which is now included in the Madras Presidency, however, refused to pay tribute and the administration of the Gangetic line continued to be merely nominal over this part of the country (Hunter's Orissa, Vol. I, pages 317-319). During the rule of this Gangetic dynasty (1132 to 1532 A. D.), the Orissa kings, having in view the wild nature of the country and its aboriginal inhabitants, were probably induced to establish their men as Rajas in Ganjam to keep the Khonds and Sawara tribes in check (Ganjam Manual, page 97).

23. About 1571 A.D., a Muhammadan king from the south invaded the country up to Orissa, and he and his successors held for 180 years the district of Ganjam, which, including the Ichchhapuram province then known by the name of the Chicacole Circar, was controlled by the Muhammadan power at Hyderabad. "The principal seat of Government for this tract of country was Chicacole, while Ichchhapuram was the seat of a Sub Government (Ganjam Manual, page 99). The *Chicacole Circar* extended from the Godavari to the Puri district (Orme's History of Hindustan, Vol. I, page 335) and Ganjam was the last town in the Chicacole Circar (*ibid* Vol. II, page 361)."

24. The Northern Circars passed for a brief period in the 18th century into the hands of the French and then finally came under British rule in 1766, and still maintained its position as a part of the southern or Madras territory.

25. It will thus be seen that Ganjam has for at least three centuries and-a-half been an organic or integral part of the Northern Circars, and that its transfer from Madras to Bengal, instead of restoring a long lost limb to Orissa, will have the effect of excising a portion of the Circars, and seeking to graft it on to Orissa of which it had never formed a part. Though historical connection between one province and another may, generally speaking, have no independent value, yet this argument must be of use as supporting other considerations that point in the same direction, as observed by the India Government.

26. A view of how the different races are distributed over the district also supports the same conclusion. The country, to a fair breadth from the sea all along the sea coast, is occupied purely by the Telugus, and the hills and their slopes are occupied by the Khonds and Savaras, etc., who in common with the Telugus are of the Dravidian (Turanian) stock. The strip between is Uriya to the extreme north, mixed at the middle, and Telugu to the south.

27. The India Government in considering the reasons against the transfer of Orissa from Bengal to the Central Provinces observe that "the prescription of a century is difficult to break though not insurmountable." Your memorialists submit that if the prescription of a century is difficult to break the prescription of several centuries and under various Governments requires very strong and cogent grounds for breaking it and they humbly submit no such grounds exist for the contemplated transfer.

28. As to the administrative anxieties said to be imposed upon the Madras Government by the great diversity of languages: your memorialists submit that so far as they are aware, they never complained of their inability to cope with the Uriya language. The Civil List shows that a large number of Madras Civilians have qualified themselves in Uriya, it being a language easier to learn than the other languages which prevail in other parts of this Presidency.

29. It is said that no official complaint has been received from Bengal, because, the factor of its Uriya-speaking population has been one with which it has had to deal for a century and to which it has learnt to accommodate itself as best it could. Madras, whose connection with the Uriya-speaking population is longer than that of Bengal, should better accommodate itself than

Bengal. If really the Madras Government should complain of diversity of languages, how much more should Bengal, with a much larger number of districts and population than Madras, complain, if to its greatly diverse languages (*viz.*, Hindustani, Bengali, Hindi, and Uriya) Telugu besides Savara, languages altogether foreign to Bengal, be added.

30. Your memorialists submit that the Madras Government has, as a matter of fact, been successfully coping with the diversity of the languages for a century and-a-half and never suggested any territorial reduction on that account. Scant will be the relief afforded to Madras by the proposed transfer, as there will still remain in Madras a sufficient number of Uriyas by race and language to keep alive the Uriya problem.

31. Diversity of languages is part of the burden of most of the several Governments in India, *e.g.*, *Bombay* has to cope with Marathi, Canarese, Guzerati, Cutchi, Persian, Beluchi, Sindhi, etc., while in the Punjab the languages are Punjabi, Hindustani, Hindi, Sindhi, Beluchi, etc. During the century and-a-half that Ganjam has been under its care, the Madras Government has learnt to accommodate itself to the peculiar requirements of the Uriya country, and is by long experience able to grapple with a great diversity of languages. No one can point to any instance of administrative inaptitude or inefficiency, any miscarriage of justice, any social or economic disaster or hardship or any kind of failure, due to this Government having to rule three-quarters of a million of Uriyas in the district.

32. As for the difficulty of retaining a superior staff acquainted with the local language and customs, it is common to all the districts so long as the province is inhabited by persons speaking a variety of languages.

Experience shows that no greater difficulty than was felt in the other districts of the Presidency or other Presidencies was ever experienced in Ganjam in this respect.

If by superior staff is meant the European Gazetted officers of the district, your memorialists respectfully submit that the Madras officers posted to the Ganjam district have learnt easily and in a short time the language and the customs and manners of the Uriyas which are not altogether dissimilar to those obtaining in the Telugu or Tamil districts. A glance at the Civil List will show how many Civilians of this Presidency have passed the special examination in Uriya. Indeed it is rarely if ever that an officer serving in Ganjam desires a transfer or regrets the chance of returning to Ganjam.

33. No doubt the frequent transfer of officers from one part of the Presidency to another may to some extent exercise an injurious effect both on the administration and the people. But this evil can be remedied by taking such steps as may prevent the frequent transfer of officers to distant parts, and your memorialists learn that the India Government have lately issued orders that as far as possible no distant transfers should be made and arrangements should so far as is practicable be made within the district when temporary vacancies occur. Further, the evils arising from these transfers are not peculiar to Ganjam or other parts of this Presidency. On the other hand, this evil comparatively speaking presses lightly on Ganjam, and the officers of Ganjam speak Uriya far better than the average official of equal grade speaks Telugu, Tamil or Malayalam. If Ganjam be transferred to Bengal, the difficulties of administration on the score of diverse languages will be far greater. For the new Bengal will contain five Uriya districts and one district (including Vizagapatam Agency) partly Uriya and partly Telugu, against not less than 33 districts speaking three other languages, and so a Bengal official, if he be sent to Ganjam from any of the 33 districts above referred to, will have to learn not only Uriya but also Telugu, quite dissimilar to the languages of the other parts of the Presidency, and even if he be sent from the five Uriya districts he will still have to learn the Telugu language as well. At present one (Telugu) of the two languages (Uriya and Telugu) which an official serving in Ganjam learns will be of service to him in 16 or 17 other Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency (*vide* Census Report, Vol. XV-A, Part II, of 1901 pages 112 and 113),

while the other (Uriya) will be of use to him in three other districts (Vizagapatam, Godavari and Kistna). In new Bengal, however, Telugu will be of no use to him in any of the remaining districts. Thus the Telugu people will present a new problem to the Bengal Government and the difficulty of retaining a superior staff will be much greater to the Government of Bengal than to that of Madras.

34. As to the difficulties of officering the subordinate staff from local sources, for reasons already stated, the Uriya and Telugu speaking populations like their races are equally divided and these races far from occupying different portions of the district are freely distributed over every zamindari, Government taluk, proprietary estate. The Uriyas residing in parts of the district like Parlakimedi, Sompeta and Ganjam taluks speak both Uriya and Telugu, while the Telugus that live in parts of the district like Gumsur, Purushottapur, Aska and Surada speak both the languages. The intermingling of the races in the district has advanced so far that one has been not only speaking the language but also has adopted the customs and manners of the other. The Uriyas have been for long feeling quite at home under their Telugu officers and the Telugus have been for equally long time feeling happy under their Uriya officers. Uriya zamindars have been employing both Telugus and Uriyas as their Diwans. Almost every zamindar maintains an Uriya and a Telugu establishment for administrative purposes and the contact is still closer and even more harmonious in commercial circles. The Telugu or the Uriya that is appointed to any respectable position in the district is generally well acquainted not only with the mamools and customs but also with the language of both the races. Thus there has been up till now no difficulty in officering the subordinate staff from local sources, and though the Telugu element from its superior academical qualifications preponderates in public offices at present and may continue to do so possibly for a few years to come, yet it cannot be said that their employment means the introduction of foreigners "ignorant alike of the people, their language and their ways." Except in rare cases which occur everywhere, foreigners are not brought in and even those that were brought in have shown that the language, customs, and manners could be easily learnt. In short, Uriya language or people or their customs and manners never presented any great difficulties in officering the district with superior or subordinate staff.

35. The Government of Madras have always evinced special interest in the solution of the Uriya problem by the adoption of liberal measures such as charging only half fees for Uriyas in schools and colleges including Law, Engineering and Medical, opening for the special benefit of the Uriyas scholarships which from time to time are being supplemented by the zamindars of the district and preferring generally the Uriyas in the distribution of official patronage. If in spite of these concessions the Uriyas of the district have to any extent been backward, it is because the patronage which the zamindars of the district largely extend to the more intelligent section of the Uriya Brahmans and Patnaiks as courtiers and clerks, panjas and pundits, renders them indifferent to the study of English which requires a long term of laborious studentship, and to the prizes of the public service or other professions which entail continued patience and application.

36. Whatever real or imaginary grievances there might be in regard to the employment of the Uriya language and Uriya public servants in the courts and public offices are in a fair way to be removed, now that each year increasing numbers of Uriyas are availing themselves of the exceptional educational facilities offered and qualifying themselves for the public service. At present there is not a single duly qualified Uriya who remained unemployed. In the Collectorate and the courts and offices subordinate to it, in the Forest, Salt, Education, Police, Registration and Medical departments, and in the civil courts, Uriyas are being encouraged; and the demand for them greatly exceeds the supply. Meanwhile in all the courts and the public offices subordinate officers acquainted with Uriya are employed, so that no difficulty is experienced in examining Uriya witnesses, registering and dealing with Uriya documents and utilising Uriya forms of notices, summonses, warrants, etc. Inquest reports and occurrence reports are often drawn up in Uriya; village servants—karjees,

karnams, etc.—are Uriyas or Telugus and village accounts are maintained in Uriya or Telugu according as the one or the other is the prevailing language of the locality.

37. Your memorialists submit that this district being peopled equally both by the Uriyas and the Telugus its administration cannot be carried on efficiently or to the satisfaction of both the sections unless it is officered by men who are acquainted with both the languages. The retention of Ganjam in Madras can alone secure this object as its natives are familiar with both the languages from their childhood and can easily learn Telugu or Uriya as the case may be as a second language, and the majority of Madras officers of superior grade who must have picked up Telugu while serving in ten other districts, will find it easy to learn Uriya also. If, on the other hand, Ganjam be transferred to Bengal, the Uriyas of Ganjam will lose the special privileges enjoyed under Madras as their distinction would be lost among the rest of the Uriya population and would not have that incentive and facilities for availing themselves of higher education which they now have. Even among the Uriyas of Orissa, education does not seem to have made any rapid progress; for Orissa turns out a year on an average only six graduates for a population of about 60 lakhs, while Ganjam with an Uriya population of about 8 lakhs passes on the average one Uriya a year. Again, in the whole of Orissa, there is but one first-grade college, with no second-grade colleges, while in Ganjam there are two second-grade colleges with a first-grade college at Vizianagram which is only about one and-a-half hours run from the southern limit of the district. As a matter of fact every Uriya of the Ganjam district that passed the F.A. examination within the last ten years has completed the B.A. course though a few have failed to secure the degree, while many a Telugu student had to be content with his F.A. for want of pecuniary help which his Uriya brother invariably enjoys by way of scholarships. In the matter of Government employment also, considering their numbers the Uriyas of Orissa do not seem to have fared better.

For these reasons, your memorialists respectfully submit that the salvation of the Uriyas of Ganjam does not consist in the satisfaction of their demand for the unification of the Uriya-speaking peoples, but in the progress they make in education.

38. Your Excellency's memorialists further submit that if the suggested change be carried out the law of personal rights, the common law of land tenures, the enactments relating to the rights of zamindars, jaghirdars, shrotriemdars, proprietors, ryotwari pattadars, inamdars, tenants, etc., the laws relating to recovery of rent and revenue, all other local and special laws enacted by the Madras Government with special reference to local conditions and habits of the people living in the Madras Presidency including Ganjam, the methods of administration to some extent and many other matters specially suited to the localities will have to be disturbed.

The laws of personal rights in Bengal and Madras greatly differ. The people of Ganjam—Telugus and Uriyas alike—follow the law of Mitakshara as administered in Madras, while the people of Bengal follow the Dayabhaga which in many and important respects differs from the Mitakshara, and again the Mitakshara *as administered by the Calcutta High Court* with respect to a few portions under its jurisdiction is different in some respects from the Mitakshara as administered by the Madras High Court.

And the Calcutta High Court and the subordinate Civil Judiciary of Bengal will have an additional inconvenience in mastering and administering a separate personal law for the sake of a few Uriyas and the Telugus of the newly added area.

Again common and customary law of land tenure is altogether different. The whole of Bengal with the exception probably of a portion of Orissa and a certain tract of Chittagong is a permanently settled province, while Ganjam along with the other districts of Madras is chiefly a temporarily settled area and has a ryotwari tenure unfamiliar to Bengal or Orissa. Again the kind of temporary settlement obtaining in Orissa is unknown to Madras. This the Government of India themselves admit in criticising the reasons urged in favour

of transferring Orissa to the Central Provinces to be a very weighty consideration and say that they do not underrate its value.

Again, the Revenue and Rent Recovery Acts of these provinces vary. The Acts relating to the administration of municipalities and local boards are different as also those relating to the hereditary village servants, the local cess and the water cess, etc.

39. If various laws, regulations and Acts which are now in force in Ganjam, notifications and rules having the force of law and Standing Orders of the Board of Revenue, be not adopted after the transfer and if the Bengal Laws be introduced into the district, Ganjam will suffer seriously and many valuable rights which have sprung up under the existing enactments will be imperilled and the uncertainty liable to be introduced by the change will be out of all proportion to the supposed benefits of the contemplated linguistic union and would create a good deal of unnecessary confusion where peace and order prevail.

40. Again, as Ganjam with its peculiar laws and customs would form but an infinitesimally small portion of Bengal and not a substantial portion of Orissa, its needs are most likely to be neglected as it cannot hope to have an adequate representation.

On the other hand, if the existing laws, regulations and enactments of Madras would continue to remain in force in Ganjam after the transfer, there is the danger of the laws, etc., becoming stereotyped unless the modifications introduced from time to time by the Madras Legislature as also the bye-laws, circular orders, etc., be also extended to Ganjam as they are made. This would in effect mean the administration of Ganjam by Bengal second-hand through Madras. If, again, such new measures or modifications do not commend themselves to the Bengal Government, they will have to enact such modifications as in their opinion are necessary in the interests of Ganjam, for the efficient administration of which they will be responsible; and this would again add to the labours of the Bengal Government.

41. Apart from those legislative difficulties, there are also serious administrative difficulties. The land system of Madras altogether differs from the land system of Bengal. *Apropos* this subject your memorialists make no apology for taking a few extracts from the *Madras Mail*, the leading Anglo-Indian journal of Madras, as they appear to be to the point.

"It (land system) is based on a series of Acts and a very elaborate compilation of rules and regulations. These embrace the tenure of land, the settlement and collection of revenue, darkhasts, water-rules, remissions, irrigation, wells, village officers, their appointments and their duties and countless other connected questions. The whole of this elaborate scheme, Acts and rules alike, must be absorbed *en bloc* into the Bengal revenue system. If the peculiarity of language in Ganjam makes transfers to and from the district difficult, 'will the Government of Bengal be in a better position,' if in addition to the language difficulties already dealt with, 'they have from time to time to find officers to administer in Ganjam, a complicated revenue system with which they have not the slightest previous acquaintance?'"

"Will it add to the Bengal Civilian's contentment when he has to master, in addition to an altogether new language Telugu, an elaborate system of revenue and other laws which after an year or two he may not need again? The ryotwari system is not only troublesome to master, but by reason of the constant close contact of the Divisional officer and the individual ryot that it necessitates, entails infinite pains on the part of the officer who has to administer it. No better will be the position of the Judge who has to inform himself of the details of a new series of enactments and civil rights arising from the peculiar revenue system in force in the districts and if the administration of Ganjam by the Bengal Government is likely to harass the servants of that Government, no less harassing will it prove to the Ganjam ryots. We venture to doubt if in view of the special difficulties thus involved, the Bengal Civilian will ever acquire a thorough and intimate knowledge of the Madras system of land revenue. Still less is this likely to be the case with the controlling officers.

Will the Commissioner of Cuttack, for example, or the members of the Bengal Board of Revenue be content after long years of service to slave at details which every Madras Civilian learns as the A B C of his revenue training during his first two years in the country? Yet such knowledge is essentially necessary to the control of the officers employed in Ganjam. And if such knowledge is wanting either in the Gazetted officers of Ganjam employed in the district or in their superiors the interests of the ryots cannot fail to be prejudiced. Imperfect control of the native subordinates, delays, and intrigue and consequent hardship to the land-holding class must necessarily follow. No system of land revenue, least of all the Madras system, will stand the strain of being carried on by officers who have but an imperfect knowledge of its principles."

42. There are equal, if not more cogent, reasons why the hill tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam cannot be transferred. Several zamindars in Vizagapatam have large tracts under the Agency attached to their estates in the plains. If the proposed separation be effected it will entail great hardship on those zamindars as they will be subjected to two different administrations. If, for this and other weighty considerations which it is unnecessary for your memorialists to dwell upon at length the Vizagapatam Agency be excluded, the argument in favour of the transfer on linguistic considerations will lose much of its weight, as it will practically shut out from the linguistic union about 4 lakhs of the Uriya-speaking people.

43. The India Government themselves observed in their letter, "The Bengal form of administration is too highly developed, too legalised and too impersonal for backward tracts and primitive hill tribes. This view is borne out by experience of a series of outbreaks in recent years and by the difficulties met with in dealing effectually with the land tenure in the province." These remarks apply, your memorialists submit, with equal if not greater force to the two Agency tracts in question.

44. If the object of territorial redistribution be to give relief to the over-taxed Bengal administration, your memorialists humbly venture to submit that the various insuperable administrative difficulties pointed out above arising from the addition of Ganjam and of Vizagapatam Agency will far outweigh the relief which can be afforded to Bengal by giving up some of his districts to any other Government.

45. Your memorialists submit that considerations other than linguistic and administrative also weigh against the proposed transfer. Ganjam, as its name implies, is the granary of the world (*vide* Hunter's Gazetteer—Ganjam, page 1). It is reputed for its rice trade. It has extensive dealings in grains with the southern districts of the Madras Presidency and its maritime ports. The proposed transfer will have an injurious effect on its trade and will to a large extent break the commercial links which attach internal and maritime towns of Ganjam with Madras.

46. If, however, it be held that other considerations should be subordinated to linguistic unification, your memorialists venture to submit that since the members of the Uriya-speaking group do not object to their being placed under any one administration and since it is admitted that there are no grounds for complaint against the Madras administration and since a large and influential section of the Uriyas of Orissa have actually memorialised your Excellency objecting to their continuance under Bengal, Orissa may conveniently be added to Madras.

47.

Province.	Number of districts.	Extent in square miles.	Revenue. Rs.	Population (in British territory).
Madras	22	141,189	11,16,51,550	38,208,609
Bombay	24	125,144	11,67,87,290	18,901,123
United Provinces of Agra and Oudh	49	107,593	12½ crores	47,746,324
Bengal	48	151,260	17,68,70,720	74,713,020

The above table would show at a glance that Madras, which in point of revenue and population and territory is lighter than most of its sister provinces cannot only successfully cope with the existing diversity of languages, but can also take in Orissa with comparatively less difficulty, especially as it has had to deal with a fairly large Uriya population both in times of trouble and peace for nearly a century and-a-half. If, on the other hand, Madras which has been already reduced by taking away one district (North Canara) be further deprived of one whole district (Ganjam) and three-fourths of another district (Vizagapatam) on mere considerations of language, it will lose one-seventh of its extent, one-thirteenth of its population and one-sixteenth (that is, Rs. 66,00,000) of its revenue, not to speak of the loss of prospective revenue of Ganjam from its recently completed irrigational projects. The separation of these tracts from Madras will perceptibly diminish the importance of Madras and lower the prestige and position of a Presidency which is administered by a Governor in Council.

48. Your memorialists take the liberty to point out that transfer will deprive them of the highly valued privilege of an administration steered by the ripe experience and wisdom of the Civil Service, perfected by the counsels and control of a statesman bred up in the free political atmosphere of the West.

49. If the proposed change be carried into effect Ganjam will have to be split up into two portions, one to be placed under the Madras Presidency and the other under Bengal and the effect of this will be to efface altogether the memories and even the name of a district which was lovingly cherished by the people for a long time.

Such a transfer will entail a change in the *locale* of official and business centres of the district causing immense loss in a variety of ways.

50. The history of the district, your memorialists submit, deserves notice in deciding the question of the proposed transfer. When Ganjam was ceded by the Nizam to the Madras Government, the zamindars of the district had to be reduced to submission (*vide* Ganjam District Manual, pages 111—133).

The Madras Government had to quell almost an unbroken and continued series of disturbances and rebellions both before and after the permanent settlement till 1865 (*ibid—vide* pages 134 to 198). Even subsequent to 1865 till recently they had to suppress a number of revolts and disturbances known as the *fituries* of Kolakota, Rampa, Pachipenta, Santa Bupathi in the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam and Godavari.

51. The details of Agency administration, the peculiarities of the hill men and the management of semi-civilised tribes require special study. The hill tribes being very excitable and jealous of any encroachment on their ancient rights and customs used to be continually at war with one another, and even now their warlike propensities want watching and it was therefore necessary to invest the Collectors of the three districts (adjoining these tracts) with special and summary powers as Agents to the Governor under a special Act of the Madras Code—Act XXIV of 1839 (Ganjam Manual, page 72, and Census Report of 1891, Vol XIII, page 10). In order to keep them under the special observation of the Government, the Agents are directed to make a tour through the hill tracts once a year, and the Special Assistant Agent and Assistant Superintendent of Police shall reside in the Maliahs for six or eight months in the year and the Principal Assistant and the Senior Assistant shall make yearly visits to that portion of the hills which is under their respective jurisdictions (Ganjam Manual, page 92). The Savaras and Gadabas of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts also present special features. In the said districts they number 183,159 and 40,395 respectively, and their language is of the stock to which Telugu belongs, *viz.*, Turanian (*vide* Ganjam Manual, page 66; Vizagapatam Manual, page 85). While the excess of the language figures over the race figures in regard to Khonds in this Presidency (*vide* 1901 Census Report, Vol. XV, Part I, page 106) leaves large room for doubt whether their language can be superseded by Uriya, it can hardly be doubted that the Savara language must retain its vitality and present an additional problem to Bengal, where this race is a rarity. No amount of written literature such as reports and regulations can

give an insight into such matters which are mostly matters of tradition in the districts concerned. Your memorialists leave it to Your Excellency's political wisdom and administrative sagacity to consider whether it is expedient that these tracts should be removed from the administration of the Madras Government whose experience of the character of the people in times of peace or revolt, invests it with special qualifications to administer the district with great efficiency, and whether it is not more desirable to avail one-self of the traditions and experience ready to hand than run the risk of casting them aside and beginning afresh.

52. It will not be out of place to invite attention to the fact that the Maharajas of Vizianagram and Bobbili, the Zamindar of Kurpam, and some others of the Vizagapatam district possess large landed estates in this district, and the connection between this district, and the plains of its sister district of Vizagapatam is so close that the separation cannot fail to be felt by both.

53. Adverting to the Uriya petition referred to in the Government of India's letter, your memorialists beg leave to enter their most indignant protest against the misleading and false statements therein, which are calculated to leave the impression on the Government of India that the Telugus and Uriyas in this district are completely estranged from each other and that the Telugus treat the Uriya people with superciliousness. Until the time of this petition, the Uriyas of Ganjam never expressed any desire for separation from Madras. Both the races—Telugus and Uriyas—have always lived side by side in peace and harmony. Though in many villages there are factions of Telugus against Telugus or Uriyas against Uriyas, such a thing as a faction of Telugus against Uryias is absolutely unknown in the district. Uriya landlords have Telugu tenants and Telugu landlords have Uriya tenants, some of the Uriya zamindars have Telugu diwans and maintain also a staff of Telugu clerks and other servants. Uriya families including some zamindars have Telugu priests and Telugu families have Uriya Brahmans for their priests, and every calling or profession practised in the district counts Uriyas as well as Telugus among its members, except the noted silk industry of Berhampur which has always been solely in the hands of the Telugus.

54. The officers that have served in this district can bear ample testimony to the truth of these remarks. Such being the state of feeling between the Uriyas and Telugus till recently, it is important to inquire under what circumstances and how the petition came to be submitted.

55. The idea of enlarging Orissa seems to have been exercising the minds of a few of its leaders for the past several years. It found expression in the press evidently for the first time, in the shape of a proposal for the unification of the Uriya-speaking peoples in the Utkala Dipika of Cuttack early in 1902. Shortly thereafter, one Mr. Neelamoni Bidya Rotno of Cuttack came to this district and started at Rambha an Uriya weekly, which took up the same idea. The extracts quoted in the appendix, from this and other Uriya papers, will disclose how, to create public opinion among the Uriyas, a sort of racial feeling was gradually engendered among the unlettered masses, how in the middle of 1903 a petition was planned, prepared and despatched, how the Government of India's letter of 12th December 1903 was held up to the masses as the final determination of the question, how objectionable language is being employed towards the Telugus of Madras and the Mahrattas of the Central Provinces, calculated almost to excite feelings of racial animosity, how Uriya gentlemen who dared to think, write or speak against the proposed transfer are cried down to shame in the eyes of the Uriya community, and how in the names of the holy Ganges and sacred Gaya, the religious instincts and superstitions of the masses are worked upon to create a liking for union with Bengal. Public opinion on this question seems to be varied and conflicting in Orissa as is evident from memorials, etc. (copies enclosed) submitted from Cuttack. Just as the original idea itself was started in Orissa and transmitted to the Uriyas of this district so are all changes and shades of opinion similarly wafted over the waters of the Chilka lake to this district. The opinion of the Uriya community very much divided on the question. It is however worthy of note that the responsible opinion of some of the zamindars in this district, *viz.*, Parlakimedi, Andasa, Chekati, etc., is opposed to the transfer.

56. Your memorialists further venture to point out that the three-fourths million of the Telugus in this district and the hill tribes are not in favour of the contemplated transfer.

Your Excellency's humble memorialists beg to thank Your Excellency's Government for affording them an opportunity of expressing their views, and for preserving an open mind in the matter till all opinions, official and non-official, have been fully heard. In thus approaching Your Excellency with this humble expression of their views, your memorialists fervently hope that Your Excellency will attach due weight to the fact that this district is to the extent of a half, peopled by Telugus who have contributed largely to the growth and prosperity of the district and who play an important part in the agricultural, commercial, and public life of the district, and pray that Your Excellency, in view of the marked individuality of this tract of country as a separate district for several centuries, and its future possibilities under existing conditions, will be graciously pleased to permit Ganjam to continue its existence as a vital limb of the Northern Circars subject to the administration of Madras.

Annexure 19.

Translation of Extracts from the various Uriya newspapers.

"Ganjam Uriya Hitabadini" of 3rd October 1902, pages 3 and 4, columns 1 and 2.

The *Prajabandhu* has made its appearance in the proper time and has set on foot an agitation to unite together the scattered portions of the Uriya country. The object of this agitation is to take steps soon to submit to Government a memorial from all Uriya-speaking country and another from the Ganjam district only. A word or two will be said in this article on the subject.

* * * *

We trust that it is fit for all Rajas and Maharajas who are of *pure Uriya origin* to take part in this matter. Especially if competent men like the Rajas of Bamanda, Parlakimedi and Mourbhunj should attempt this with attention it is very probable that this fine and well-conceived proposal will be carried into effect.

* * * *

About the time of the agitation of the Sambalpur people, we learnt from *Hitaishini* that Lord Curzon had asked the present Commissioner of Orissa about the inclusion of the Sambalpur district in Orissa. The Commissioner then replied that Orissa was mutilated owing to the separation of Sambalpur and Ganjam from it, that the Uriyas are leading their lives in an unadvanced manner, that if Sambalpur and Ganjam were united with Orissa, Orissa will rise and there will be no obstacles to administration. Publishing this the editor wrote, "Uriyas will no doubt be greatly benefited if Sambalpur and Ganjam are included in Orissa. The Utkal Sabha has already memorialised for including Sambalpur under Orissa; the people of Sambalpur also have made the same prayer. *It would be better for the Ganjam people to represent their grievances and inconveniences and pray for the inclusion of Ganjam in Orissa.*

In the current issue of the *Prajabandhu* this important matter has been well threshed and it has been resolved upon to send a memorial soon. We understand from a reliable source that Mr. Madhusudan Das has taken up this matter and that he will certainly one day unite together the whole of the Uriya country in one political bond * * * This is the best time for a memorial when the Provincial Conference meets at Cuttack. That will be the best opportunity for all Uriyas to meet.

* * * *

In connection with the agitation of the Sambalpur Uriya brethren the Sambalpur *Hitaishini* (of which Mr. Neelamoni Bidya Rotno was editor) has roused us. After that we prepared a memorial in Ganjam and showed there plainly that the Rajas and the people of Ganjam are all Uriyas, that Ganjam is subjected to many inconveniences on account of its being under Madras, that Ganjam Uriyas are boycotted in many respects by foreign officials of high position entirely unacquainted with Uriya and that the deplorable condition of the Ganjam people can only be bettered by transferring Ganjam to Orissa.

It is proper that all educated and high-born people of Ganjam should be of one opinion. That by all means Ganjam is a part and parcel of Orissa will be unanimously admitted by all. The present separate existence is a result of political convenience. If Ganjam is united to Orissa and Orissa placed under one Government, all the Utkaliyas will spend their time in happiness. The Bengal-Nagpur Railway has united Ganjam with Orissa, and as the improvement of the Uriya language is more and more attempted, that union becomes closer. Many Uriyas of Ganjam are establishing close ties of friendship with Orissa. Within these few days the celebrated patriot of Orissa, Sri Pundit Neelamoni Bidya Rotno (now editor of the *Prajabandhu*), has become one of our Ganjam Uriyas. Through him the *Prajabandhu* has made its appearance in Ganjam and is knitting Ganjam with Orissa more and more closely. Under these favourable circumstances, the hope of Ganjam and Orissa becoming united will not be in vain. Let the Uriyas therefore take interest in the matter of the memorial and do as much as they should in connection with the undertaking.

A draft of the memorial has been prepared and it is in Berhampur. If the important teachers and respectable men of Ganjam approve of it, it will be corrected and steps taken to get it printed. We humbly request all our Uriya brethren to give their early attention to this.

(Signed) SRI GOPINATH RAJAGURU.

Special Supplement to the "Prajabandhu" of 16th December 1903.

Published with a wood-cut representing ladies trumpeting success, immediately after the publication of the letter of the Government of India, dated the 12th December 1903.

"Prajabandhu," of 20th January 1904, page 3, column 2, Lines 5—12.

If we happen to go to Calcutta on business for the settlement of our suits we can take a bath in the holy Ganges which purifies the fallen, can consign the relics of our fathers and grand-fathers to the Ganges, perform religious ceremonies at the shrine, and lift them from out of the Punnama naraka (hell), thus becoming entitled to be called their sons by discharging the duty which devolved on us as such.

"Prajabandhu," of 27th January 1904, page 3, column 1, lines 20—24.

* * The wholesome manners and customs and the love of justice of the Bengalis is also praiseworthy.

"Prajabandhu," of 27th January 1904, page 3, column 1, lines 57-59 column 2, lines 1—2.

* * * That a raja of Mandasa has over and again given us to understand that he is fully in favour of the proposed transfer. That respectable people of his stamp should change their minds is a matter for deep regret and shame.

"Utkal Deepica" of Cuttack, 30th January 1904, page 4, column 3, lines 7—26.

We read in the "*Prajabandhu*," * * We have been writing about territorial union *for about two years*, and we have been making all possible efforts

to educate the common people on the usefulness of such a measure. Under these circumstances we believe that such as are constantly changing their views like senseless boys are deserving of our hatred (pity) and are unworthy of the name of men.

"Prajabandhu," of 3rd February 1904, page 2, column 2, lines 2—12.

Those Ganjamites who had expressed themselves in favour of remaining under Bengal have—far from remaining in Orissa—persuaded themselves to remain under Madras under the influence of the frowns of the Telugus.

* * * * * * *

The Cuttack Uriyas are divided into two factions, one declaring for Bengal and the other for the Central Provinces. Alas !

"Prajabandhu," of 3rd February 1904, page 2, column 2, lines 22—24.

If Government is not prepared to make such a change, would it publish it in the India Gazette ?

"Prajabandhu," of 3rd February 1904, page 2, column 2, lines 27—38.

Do they not remember that Sivaji and his descendants were the greatest thorns in the way of Orissa's elevation ? Can any desire to benefit Orissa be expected from the descendants of those people who ruined the manufactures * * of Orissa in all respects, and from whose wickedness the sun of Orissa's glory or greatness has almost set ? * * * * universal brotherhood cannot be expected of them.

"Prajabandhu," of 3rd February 1904, page 2, column 3, lines 3—12.

As a consequence of Orissa remaining under Bengal, Bengal boys pass examinations in comparatively greater numbers. Their good luck brings them scholarships. It is not likely that the Mahratta boys of the Central Provinces will be an obstacle in their (Uriyas) way * * * There is no doubt that greater regard will be paid to the tiger cub if it gain a victory over the bear than if it does not fight with the lion of which it is afraid. This state of things is not at all to be desired by the sons of Uriyas.

"Prajabandhu," of 3rd February 1904, page 2, column 3, lines 32—34.

The people of Orissa are straightforward while those of the Central Provinces are hypocritical (or insincere). They attain their ends by the employment of such means as we despise.

"Prajabandhu," of 3rd February 1904, page 3, column 1, lines 48—53.

O ye learned zamindars and people of Ganjam, the words of Sri Yukta Hari Hara Tripati in your last issue are literally true. Do you not be deceived by the hypocrisies of the Telugus.

"Prajabandhu," of 24th February 1904, page 3, column 3, lines 38—40.

We are not surprised when we read the opinion expressed by the Raja of Chikati. He has expressed an opinion quite befitting his position and his learning.

"Prajabandhu," of 24th February 1904, page 4, column 2, lines 1—5.

We firmly believe that the miserable lot of the Uriyas can never be removed if the Uriyas, without considering the *pros* and *cons*, yield to the persuasions of the Telugus—express their opinions like the Raja of Chikati.

"Prajabandhu," of 24th February 1904, page 4, column 3, lines 7—10.

Why do not the Uriyas use correct expressions? Bad habits are the result of company. Perhaps they are imbibing the qualities of the Telugus by virtue of their bad company.

"Prajabandhu," of the 2nd March 1904, pages 1 and 2.

* * * * * * *

It may be asked, are so many others silent because the said fortune will favour (enter the house of) only a few? Again some may be saying in an indifferent tone in their favourite gatherings, "what more benefits are to be derived by Ganjam being united to Orissa? and so on. Such men are incapable of realising what is to their own good or evil. I say to them in reply, we are Uriyas.

* * * * * * *

Why do you so far dislike the idea of rubbing shoulders with brethren of your own race and prefer to remain under the thumb of aliens as to shrink back from expressing your sympathy with the views of the brethren of your own race.

* * * * * * *

Although Ganjam is a small district, there are many Rajas. From olden times you have secured their patronage and have spent your lives from generation to generation.

* * * * * * *

and you have from the first set your face against learning the language of the ruler (English) and taking up Government appointments.

* * * * * * *

Another thing—Those aliens at times look down upon you with contempt. How they treat you with apathy! You have heard of these things and have known them. Can it be that the warmth of your blood in your body has disappeared?

* * * * * *

Truth speaker.

(Signed) SRI GODADHORA BIDYOBHUSHAN.

"Prajabandhu," of 2nd March 1904, page 3, column 2.

Resolution 3.

On account of the *Prajabandhu* it has been convenient for the Ganjam Uriyas to consider about the increase of national feeling and about the free agitation in connection with the territorial amalgamation; so let thanks be tendered to the conductors of the paper.

* * * * * *

"Prajabandhu," of 2nd March 1904, page 3, column 3.

He (Mr. Madhusudan Das, in reply to a congratulatory address presented to him at Rambha by the Raja of Kallikota and nine others) demolished all

the arguments against the transfer and explained the usefulness of the transfer and said—

"All can hear very soon of the issue of order of transfer. But a little delay may take place in carrying the order into effect owing to the arrangements to be made by the officials."

"Prajabandhu," of 2nd March 1904 page 4, columns 1 and 2.

A Foreteller.

Brethren! In these days you think in connection with the transfer of territories that the Telugu officials of Ganjam and the Hindustani and Mahratta officials of Sambalpur will throw obstacles in the way of the amalgamation by threats and deceit.

* * * * * *

My grand-papa told me that Vishnu Sarma said—

"Those whose life is fast ebbing away (drawing to a close) do not perceive the smell of an extinguishing lamp flame, do not listen to the advice of friends, and do not see Arundhati.

"The wickedness, tyranny and supremacy of the foreigners in Sambalpur and of the Telugus in Ganjam is like a fast expiring life. This, therefore, is a fit time for their natures to disappear. There is no doubt of that. Hence, brethren, pick up courage, and gird up your loins."

Annexure 20.

The Future Administration of Orissa.

Correspondence between M. S. DAS, Esq., C.I.E., and Rev. GEO. HOWELLS, B.D., dated 26th and 28th January 1904.

MY DEAR MR. HOWELLS,

I have thought over the subject of our conversation last night and the contents of your printed statement of reasons and the letter to the Private Secretary to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, and I beg to draw your attention to the following facts :—

Your position as a Christian Missionary in a foreign unchristian country is very peculiar. No one appreciates more than my humble self the opportunities which a gentleman of your holy occupation has of endearing himself to the people by beneficent services to the country. No one is more grateful than my humble self to the Missionaries for their beneficent services to my country and nation. A position which gives one the opportunities of exercising his philanthropic and patriotic instincts lays him open to the danger of bringing on ruination on the country, if in the eagerness of his philanthrophic instincts one selects the wrong means of improving the condition of the people. There are instances in the history of Indian missions where misdirected missionary philanthrophy has injured the interests of the people. Such mistakes have an indirect effect on the relation between the Indians and the Christian Missionaries if the result proves eventually ruinous.

The interests of the country do not mean the interests of a handful of educated men—pleaders and clerks—whose opinions you had an opportunity of knowing and who you said are for Central Provinces. From conversation with some men of this class I gathered, they imagine, that the advantages to be secured to them are in the shape of honours, better appointments in Government service, and less keen competition in the lucrative professions. I consider these advantages imaginary because there are Bengali pleaders, Bengali officers in the Central Provinces. You cannot by any means keep away the Bengalis,

there can be no legislation to keep them out of Orissa. So that we shall have Bengalis all the same and the Mahratta who is a more astute administrator to boot.

As regards honours, you must have noticed that the distribution of these is not by provincial or local allotments, but by individual claim and qualification irrespective of local area. Take up the list of honours of any date and try to find out the principle underlying the distribution and you will find I am right. The best way to secure our due share in Government appointments is to secure a Government circular like that which regulates Government appointments in Assam. Seeing that Bengal had allowed the Assam circular to stand, it would be much easier for us to secure a similar circular under Bengal Government than it would be under a new administration. If we go to Central Provinces on the ground of its being more backward than Bengal, there would not be the same strong grounds for special consideration in the disposal of Government appointments, as on our own seeking we would have joined a race of equal intellectual calibre.

It must be known to you that the tenantry of the Central Provinces are the most oppressed on account of the heavy land revenue assessment there. Orissa is herself a poor province ; her alliance with a richer province like Bengal is sure to be to her advantage. History, the principles of commerce and political economy, tell us that in the administrative alliance of a richer nation with a poor nation the latter is benefited. As a matter of fact there are about forty thousand Uriyas working in Calcutta alone, and when we add to this the large number who work in the mills and other centres of industry around Calcutta, I think the number would swell to some lakhs.

There is an established trade between Orissa and Bengal. It is not easy to divert this channel, surely it cannot be done by a resolution at a public meeting, or even by an order of Government. Add to this the want of facilities of communication between Central Provinces and Orissa.

There is no doubt that one of the results of the alliance of two provinces for administrative purposes is the gradual development of uniformity in the laws of the two places. The less advanced nation gradually assimilates the life and thoughts of their more advanced neighbour. This has been the result of the contact between Bengal and Orissa in the past. Not a year passes but the judicial decisions of the High Court extend to Orissa some principles regulating the relation of landlord and tenant of Bengal. Homogeneity of conditions of life is the inevitable eventual result of association. A march in this direction is natural, and all civilized legislation aims at helping this natural tendency of man.

History abounds with instances where two communities originally governed by remarkably divergent laws in the course of time to come have a uniform codification. There are Tributary States in Orissa. Every thoughtful well-wisher of Orissa believes that the future prospects of Orissa lie in the material and educational advancement of these States. There are similar States in Central Provinces, but they are Feudatory States, and the great difference between the two classes of States is that while the States in Orissa pay a permanently fixed tribute to the British Government, the tributes paid by the States in the Central Provinces are liable to enhancement, and have been enhanced with the increase of the rentals of these States.

I should not like to place the Tributary States of Orissa under an altered state of administration where there is a chance of their losing their privileges of a permanently fixed tribute.

The condition of the ryot should be most prominently kept in view in the selection of an administration. The ryot is the backbone of the nation; he feeds the pleaders and supplies the revenue out of which Deputy Magistrates are paid. The question is: Will the condition of the Uriya ryot improve when he is yoked to his brother of the Central Provinces? I have no doubt you have given due attention to the interest of the tenantry and I shall thank you to favour me with your reasons for thinking that the condition of the tenantry will improve under the Central Provinces administration.

The early revenue settlement of Orissa was made under the same regulation which secured to Bengal the secret of its wealth and prosperity—the permanent settlement. The solemn and unequivocal promises of a permanent settlement to Orissa are contained in the Bengal Regulations, and they are the pegs on which influential men like Sir W. W. Hunter, the Hon'ble Mr. Reynolds, a newspaper like "*The Times*" of London and public bodies have from time to time hung their arguments and appeals for a redemption of Government promise for permanent settlement in Orissa. No other part of the British Indian Empire enjoys the privilege of a permanent settlement, and the Bengal Code alone contains the legislation for this permanent settlement. But if we chose to go to the Central Provinces we cannot carry with us this *lex loci*. We must be prepared to bid adieu to all hopes of a permanent settlement, and must go prepared for revenue settlements of shorter duration and heavier enhancements than Orissa has hitherto experienced. I have no doubt you have with you ready a comparative tabular statement showing the period of revenue settlement and the percentage of enhancement in the two provinces. If you have them ready I shall thank you to favour me with a copy of the comparative table or the materials from which such a table can be prepared.

The poverty of Orissa coupled with the annual loss in the irrigation canals makes a union with a rich province like Bengal highly desirable. The rich revenues of Bengal alone can afford a means of adjustment to meet the annual loss on account of irrigation. The transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces will necessitate an additional taxation of some kind on the people of Orissa to provide for this annual loss on account of Orissa canals. The Central Provinces have not an overflowing exchequer to meet this fresh demand, and you can as reasonably expect the Central Provinces to pay this annual debt, as ask a man of business to accept as his partner in a solvent business one who comes to him with heavy personal debts.

You hope (as you said to me) that the Supreme Government would pay for this loss on account of canal. It seems that you assign to the Supreme Government the benevolent position of a grandpapa whose hoarded wealth of youthful days is readily available to equalise the income and expenditure of his extravagant children and grandchildren. But, as a matter of fact, the Government of India makes it a rule to take a lion's share out of the revenues of each Local Government, and the revenues of each local Government must contribute this share after meeting all administrative charges.

Now I must proceed to notice briefly your attacks on me personally.

Allow me to repeat what I said to you yesterday evening. I believe honestly that partnership with Bengal is the most advantageous to the interests of the people of Orissa—by people of Orissa I do not mean a few pleaders, or a few aspirants for titles and honours, or a few candidates for employment in the higher grades of Government service, but the Utkal nation in which I include all who are permanent residents of Orissa, whatever their race, nationality or religion. Taking into consideration my environments of life you will admit I have the least personal interests in the prosperity which an administrative readjustment might produce. Such prosperity is not likely to show itself before ten or fifteen years, and an old man of 58 today is not likely to live till then or to have enough of vitality to share in that prosperity. And you know I have no son or any other heir who will have his share of the prosperity.

If it is an advantage to the educated class to be transferred to the Central Provinces, I do not know any reason why I should not have my share of those advantages. I make prominent mention of these facts of a personal nature because I suspect that there must be some suspicion of my being under the influence of some unworthy personal motives, for without such a supposition it is not easy to understand why great care has been taken and is being taken to get up a memorial without my knowledge.

You charged me with having at one time been of opinion that a Chief Commissionership was most advantageous to Orissa and with having turned an advocate of Bengal administration since.

I never believed in constant loyalty to a particular opinion. I am always open to conviction and I have often changed my views on matters of sacred importance. But every public man ought to consider himself the servant of the public. He ought to bow to the reasonable wishes of the majority so long as such wishes do not conflict with moral principles, his religious faith or the dictates of his conscience.

At the public meeting held in April last year in which both you and I took prominent parts, it was resolved that a memorial be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India that the prayer of such memorial be (*vide* resolutions—copy sent).

I hope that you have not forgotten that both you and *Babu Gokulanand Chaudhury took a prominent part in the drawing up of the memorial* and the latter gentleman was also one of the members of the deputation who presented the memorial to the Commissioner of the division. I have mentioned above that in this matter I considered myself a servant of the public and of the Orissa Association. I feel it my conscientious duty to be loyal to the public when their wishes and opinion find a formal expression in the memorial. Any individual, who helped in the formation of these resolutions at the public meeting and co-operated in giving effect to those resolutions is bound to be loyal to the public. Any change in his personal opinion or in that of any other person would not justify his disloyalty. In fairness he is bound to give notice of his change of opinion to the public whose resolutions he undertook to carry out.

Anent your attack on my conduct *in re* the correspondence between me and the Collector of Cuttack in regard to the Government letter, you hold that I should not have simply forwarded to the Collector copies of the memorial and the resolutions of April last, but should have called a meeting of the association to ascertain their views which had undergone a change in the interval. I must confess my inability to appreciate the rational basis of your criticism. I had opportunities of knowing that our friend Babu Gokulanand Chaudhury had during the interval developed an opinion to the effect that it is to the advantage of Orissa to be under the Central Provinces administration. A few more gentlemen (about four of them) shared at first his views, but on conversation with me they seemed to me to have been satisfied of the reasonableness of the prayer in the memorial for Bengal administration. The opinions of the same men cannot count for the opinion of the association, and till a resolution countermanding those of April had been formally passed at a public meeting and accepted by the Orissa Association, no sensible man would hold that I was not bound to regard the documents of April as embodying the views of the association. You hold that my knowledge of the change of views by some men was sufficient reason for my calling a meeting of the association.

Will you kindly favour me with replies to the following queries for my guidance in future, provided the opinion of gentlemen experienced in the conduct of public bodies support the views which your replies may embody?

(1) Suppose certain resolutions are passed at a missionary conference, would you act according to those resolutions till they were revoked at a subsequent conference, or would you feel yourself (supposing you were the secretary entrusted with the working out of the resolutions) justified in setting at naught those resolutions, if between the date of the resolution and the date when you were called upon to give effect to it your views had undergone a change?

Would it make any difference if, instead of your views having undergone a change, those of a few other missionaries had undergone such change?

According to my views of loyalty stated above, I could not feel myself free to act contrary to the joint views of the public meeting and of the association; but your ideas give you an enviable latitude to adapt your conduct, to every change of views, that being so, will you kindly tell me if you took any step to notify to the gentlemen, who were present at the meeting of 22nd April 1903 your change of views? Did those gentlemen whose joint production were the "statement of reasons" and "the letter to the Private Secretary" you showed me yesterday evening take any steps to notify to the public their change of views?

In your zeal for the cause and perhaps in your eagerness to lay the blame on my shoulders you seem to have lost sight of the important fact that the resolutions by which it was decided to submit a memorial for united administration of the whole Uriya-speaking tract for placing the whole tract under the Bengal administration or under a Chief Commissionership were passed at a public meeting called by the Orissa Association.

So the resolutions were the joint views of the general public and of the association and not of the association only. The association was authorised to make arrangements for submitting the resolutions. Even if I followed your advice and called a meeting of the association, would it be within the power of the association only to re-open those questions and rescind those resolutions.

I do not think that any body of men, but those who were present at the meeting of 22nd April, can constitutionally revoke that resolution. Of course it is open to the general public to call another public meeting and pass resolutions of a contrary nature, and it is open to gentlemen present at the first meeting to join in such contrary resolutions if their views have undergone change. You are mistaken in supposing that I am not open to conviction. I can assure you no one is more open to conviction, but I thought the best place to decide whether the Central Provinces or Bengal administration is more advantageous to the people of Orissa would be a public meeting, and so I suggested this to you, but you decline to call a public meeting. Your reason for declining a public discussion was that in this country people have not the courage of expressing their opinion at a public meeting. I am sorry I cannot sympathise with or envy you and your co-adjutors in your new method of compiling public opinion by getting people to sign memorials privately.

As you avoided a public meeting I had no other means left to me but to address this open letter to you to which I request the favour of your giving me an open reply at an early date. If you do not vouchsafe a reply in four or five days, I shall make such use of this letter as I may think necessary to vindicate my own conduct and the interests of the public. I enclose copies of the resolutions and memorial of April last, thanking you once more for your material help in the drawing up of those documents. I also send you the copies of the correspondence between the Collector and

Your sincerely,

M. S. DAS.

Annexure 21.

Cuttack, January 30th, 1904.
February 3rd, 1904.

MY DEAR MR. DAS,

When I received your open letter I was somewhat surprised to find that you had made the conversation I had with you a few evenings before over after-dinner coffee the subject of an "open letter." Personally I do not feel justified in taking a similar liberty with your conversation and so shall not refer to it in the course of the present reply.

Allow me to express my extreme regret that personalities should enter to such an extent into a public question like the future administration of Orissa. You write: "I suspect that there must be some suspicion of my being under the influence of some unworthy personal motives, for without such a suspicion it is not easy to understand why great care has been taken, and is being taken, to get up a memorial without my knowledge." I think a brief recital of the circumstances leading up to the preparation of the statement will convince you that you are under a wrong impression in this matter.

In my contact with educated Uriyas of different classes, I came to understand that practically all were in favour of a Chief Commissionership for Orissa alone should Government consider it practicable from a financial standpoint,

failing that, that a considerable body of Uriya opinion favoured union with the Central Provinces rather than continuance of the present connection with Bengal. You know me sufficiently well to believe that my judgment as to the existence of such a body of opinion was not hastily formed. When I was asked to render assistance in the drawing up of a memorial to Government on the question, I felt perfectly free to help a body of men for whom I had considerable respect to put their ideas in literary form, whether I fully agreed with them or not. I was not also forgetful of the fact that the public meeting in April last declared itself enthusiastically in favour of a Chief Commissionership in response to your eloquent advocacy. I was also aware that those who were responsible for the framing of Resolution III, passed at that meeting, had openly mentioned on several occasions that the first alternative suggested in that resolution, namely, the enlargement of the present Orissa division of Bengal by the addition of other Uriya-speaking tracts, was considered quite impracticable, because it was a proposal to enlarge a province that the highest Government officials had already pronounced too large. In fact the only practical proposal before the meeting was the second alternative to raise the Orissa Division as enlarged to a Chief Commissionership, but it was thought wise and politic to suggest two alternatives leaving Government to adopt that which in their opinion was "better calculated to secure the advancement of the race." In response to your fervent and eloquent speech against the amendment of Mr. J. N. Bose, to omit the alternative of a Chief Commissionership the meeting declared in no uncertain sound that this alternative was in their judgment better calculated to secure the advancement of the race. There can be no question on the point. Though individual speakers made reference to it, the public meeting recorded no opinion on the advantages of union with Bengal as against the Central Provinces. It must be admitted that the subsequent memorial, drawn up by a committee appointed by the public meeting, appears to shew a marked preference for union with Bengal rather than with the Central Provinces, and that the alternative of the Chief Commissionership is in no way emphasised in the memorial. If there is any conflict between the resolutions of the public meeting and the wording and general tone of the memorial, then I stand by the public meeting and its resolutions rather than by the memorial. When I joined you and others in the adoption and presentation of the memorial, I did not consider that it necessarily conflicted with the resolutions of the public meeting, though I was deeply disappointed that it laid so little emphasis on the alternative of Chief Commissionership so enthusiastically adopted in the public meeting. You know very well that it was my own wish to lay emphasis on that alternative in the memorial, but when after due deliberation you proposed otherwise I did not demur, believing that you felt it politic to keep such a proposal in the background as much as possible in view of the increasing opposition of Bengalis. I did not for a moment imagine that you had changed your mind in the matter since the public meeting, for I felt sure you would have mentioned it if you had. I took for granted you still considered the Chief Commissionership the only practicable proposal, but that you thought it expedient to refrain from emphasising it. When, therefore, the gentlemen I have referred to desired me to help them in the drawing up of a memorial, I felt no difficulty in doing so, even though I might not be in agreement with them, believing as I do, that all currents of opinion on such an important occasion as the present should be faithfully and fully represented to Government for due consideration. But when I was assured that the main proposal of the memorial was to be the one so heartily endorsed by the public meeting, *viz.*, the raising of enlarged Orissa division to a Chief Commissionership, and further when I was informed that the memorial was to contain a careful and accurate review of the arguments being urged as to the advantages and disadvantages of union with the Bengal and the Central Provinces, respectively, I did not feel any hesitation in consenting to join others in forwarding to Government for consideration an advance copy of the memorial in the form of a statement. In the meantime I had studied the question as far as I could for myself, and I find myself in full sympathy with the main line of argument set forth in the statement though still feeling myself quite free to change my views on details should sufficiently strong arguments be forthcoming on the other side. You, however, are evidently aggrieved that I did all this without

consulting you. As regards that I may say that, as soon as I began to prepare the statement, I asked some of the gentlemen who helped me in its preparation whether they had consulted you on the subject. They replied that there was reason to believe that your opinion had undergone a change in this matter, and that you were now quite against a Chief Commissionership and in favour of union with Bengal, that is, that you were practically in agreement with the amendment proposed in the public meeting of April by Mr. Janki Nath Bose, and which you then so earnestly and successfully opposed. Though their statements were quite definite I could not make up my mind that you had really changed, and though they had little hope that you had still an open mind in the matter, they expressed their readiness to join me in seeking an interview with you on the subject and when as a preliminary to this I suggested that a copy of the statement, as soon as it was ready, be sent to you, they cordially agreed. It was finished the Friday afternoon and given to the press the same afternoon. On the evening of the following Monday I received a few advance copies of statement in printed form, and within half an hour after receiving them I forwarded a copy to you, at the same time writing you a friendly note saying that I should be glad to walk over to your house after dinner to discuss the question with you. As you have not given me the permission I shall not make use in this open letter of anything you told me on that occasion. I only signed the statement to-day (Saturday), and as yet no signature has been taken for the memorial. This review of the position, I think, will convince you as well as others that you are not justified in saying that great care is being taken to get up a memorial without your knowledge. The question we are interested in is a great public question, and Government is anxious to know the views of all classes of the public. The tone and persistence of your complaints make one sometimes doubt whether you consider that we have any right to take action in this matter without consulting yourself. Should your attitude of mind be anything approaching that, I am sure it only needs to be pointed out to convince you that it is not befitting a great popular leader.

You naturally resent the suggestion that you are under the influence of some unworthy personal motives, though, as you well know, I have never hinted at any such thing in reference to you, nor has any one with whom I have discussed this subject. But allow me in all friendliness to draw your serious attention to the reference in your open letter to "aspirants for titles and honours": your suggestion being that they are joining in this movement in the hope that under a different administration they are more likely to receive titles and honours. Christ fully recognized the strength of a deep-seated law of human nature when he taught: "Judge not that ye be not judged, for with what judgment ye judge ye shall be judged, and with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again." On a grave occasion like the present I can imagine nothing more likely to permanently injure the cause of one's country than that leaders on both sides should be charging one another with unworthy personal motives. In the name of our common Lord I beseech you to desist whatever others may be saying concerning yourself, though I am not aware that anything of a personal nature is being said against you by your opponents.

In your open letter you seem to disparage the opinions of educated men, clerks and pleaders in the words: "The interests of the country do not mean the interests of a handful of educated men, pleaders and clerks, whose opinion you had the opportunity of knowing." This categorical statement undoubtedly implies that the interests of the country and the interests of a handful of educated men are necessarily opposed. I cannot admit it. It is because I am convinced that an independent administration for Orissa is for the true interests of her educated men and that the true interests of her educated men, leaders of the people, must prove conducive to the elevation of the masses of the people that I am anxious that Orissa should secure such an administration or something as near it as the circumstances will admit. You are under a completely wrong impression if you suppose that the statement advocates first and foremost union with the Central Provinces. As at the public meeting, so still we are convinced that a Chief Commissionership is better calculated to secure the advancement of the Uriya race. Failing that it is our feeling that Orissa is more likely to receive the attention she deserves by union with the Central Provinces rather

than continuance under the Bengal administration. You will agree with me that it is only fair that the attitude of the educated men, pleaders and clerks you refer to, should be accurately stated and fairly faced, *viz.*, an independent administration under a Chief Commissioner, failing that union with the Central Provinces rather than continuance with Bengal. But in the passage I have quoted above, you appear to disparage the opinion of educated men, pleaders and clerks on this question. At the same time you indicate in different parts of your letter that we should consider ourselves servants of the public and be strictly loyal to the feelings expressed by the public, and in one sentence you speak of the general public as if it were a constitutional body. You write in your open letter :" I believe honestly that the partnership with Bengal is the most advantageous to the people of Orissa." That is what Mr. J. N. Bose eloquently pleaded in the public meeting of April last, and therefore proposed the omission of any reference to a Chief Commissionership, and that is the position that you with still greater eloquence contested on that occasion. You have a perfect right to change your opinion and you grant me a similar right, but I would like to quote one sentence from your open letter and leave the public to decide to whom it more applies, yourself or myself, and those with whom I have the privilege of co-operating. " Any individual who helped in the formation of these resolutions is bound to be loyal to the public. Any change in his personal opinion, or in that of any other person would not justify his disloyalty. In fairness he is bound to give notice of his change of opinion to the public whose resolution he undertook to carry out." We wish to rescind nothing passed at this public meeting. All we should do would be to add a third alternative to resolution III. Your position involves the rescinding of the second alternative then so emphatically approved. But who are the general public? You seem to suggest that it must be composed of men, whose opinions carry more weight than a handful of educated men, pleaders and clerks. You kindly sent me with the open letter a copy of proceedings of the public meeting of April last at which you presided. There you give a list of the leading gentlemen whose presence gave the meeting the importance you rightly attach to it. I have analysed the 68 names given and I find the analysis works out as follows :—

Pleaders 20, teachers 14, clerks 12, independent gentlemen 5, students 5, missionaries 3, merchants 2, Deputy Collectors 2, hospital assistants 2, muktears 2, Raja 1.

You will thus see at a glance that the gentlemen forming the great body of the meeting to which you so often refer in your letter, *viz.*, pleaders, teachers, clerks, are the very men, *viz.*, educated men, clerks and pleaders, whose opinion you appear to disparage in the sentence I have quoted. But you know better than I do that the average Uriya working man has no opinion because he has little or no knowledge of the subject under discussion.

You criticise me because I express a hope that the Supreme Government will be in a position to so re-arrange its revenue as to make it possible for Orissa to receive the same financial assistance for her irrigation system direct from the Government of India as she is now receiving from Bengal. This you say is to assign to the Supreme Government the position of a grandpapa. You, on the other hand, say that the Government of India makes it a rule to take a lion's share out of the revenue of each local Government, and, to such an extent in your view, does the Government take the lion's share ; that in the case of the Central Provinces the tenantry are the most oppressed in India. Yes, I must admit that I believe in the justice and even the benevolence of the Government of India. If in your judgment that is equivalent to regarding the Government in the light of a grandpapa, I have no objection to offer. I prefer to think of the Government as a grandpapa anxious to dispense justice and exercise benevolence towards all, rather than as a lion resolved at all costs to get the lion's share. That spirit that interprets almost every action of the Government as that of a lion, seeking whom he may devour, has not as yet penetrated Orissa to any extent, and woe to the day when such a spirit takes possession of her people.

I am not aware that I attacked your conduct regarding the correspondence between yourself and the Collector of Cuttack. You know full well that I told

you more than once that I refused to judge your conduct in that matter. I told you what I myself should have done in the matter had I been in your position. The Collector asked you for the opinion of the Orissa Association concerning "certain proposals of the Government of India with regard to the distribution of districts between Assam, Bengal, the Central Provinces and Madras." You knew that the great majority of Uriya members (not four or five) differed from yourself on the question when the matter was brought up before the Executive of the Utkal Union Conference ; you knew further that the definite proposals of the Government of India as mentioned above had never been discussed by the association. If I had been in your position and known what you knew, I never would have taken upon myself the responsibility of writing to the Collector to the effect that "the memorial and the resolutions of the public meeting *express* the feelings of the association." That my remarks had a rational basis is recognised by yourself, for I see from the copy of the letter you kindly sent me, that the day after our talk you wrote to the Collector : " I meant to communicate to you the feelings of the public meeting and of the association at the date of those documents," at the same time offering to call a meeting of the association for the purpose of considering the Government of India's letter, should the Collector wish it.

You express a fear that under another administration Orissa would lose all her chances of a permanent settlement. The promise under certain conditions of permanent settlement to Orissa is contained in the proclamation incorporated in Regulation XII of 1805 and also repeated in Regulation X of 1807. As the promises were made with the sanction of the Supreme Government, the mere fact of Orissa being under another form of administration would not alter her essential relation to the Supreme Government. If Orissa should come under some foreign power your argument about the *lex loci*, so I am told by a legal friend, would hold good, but so long as Orissa retains her connection with the Supreme Government, she is not beyond the pale of *lex loci*.

Then, as to the term of settlement, it appears from the information supplied me by a legal friend, that the main reason why the Home Government directed it should extend to 30 years was that the two preceding settlements had been each for 30 years, and at the conclusion of the present settlement this ground will become still stronger, as by that time there would have been already three preceding settlements for terms of 30 years each.

As you may be aware, there is a growing feeling among the people of England itself against the principle of a permanent settlement, as it applies to their own country on the ground that it favours the landlord at the expense of the tenant. In reference to India such a feeling has found expression in the notification of Sir John Woodburn, under the authority of the Indian Government, that "his own opinions were in entire harmony with the decision that the system of permanent settlement should not be further extended." This opinion was expressed in connection with the question as to the desirability or otherwise of having a permanent settlement for the whole of India. No doubt Uriyas generally would highly value and greatly appreciate the extension of the permanent settlement to Orissa, but their chance of getting it does not appear very hopeful whether they remain under Bengal or have another administration.

You consider that the Tributary States of Orissa under another form of administration would be in danger of losing their privileges of a permanently fixed tribute. Of course if British treaties were made to be broken under any pretext and not solemnly kept at all costs then your fear would be well founded. But not so do I consider British faith. The tribute of the tributary chiefs of Orissa has been permanently fixed in accordance with solemn treaties entered into with them. These treaties are public records accessible to all. So long as the British Government remains what it is, a constitutional Government, and not a mere despotism, solemn engagements of the kind referred to cannot be broken by the mere transfer of the tributary chiefs to a different local administration.

You wish to know how the position of the Uriya tenants would improve by their transfer to the Central Provinces? It may be asked: Would Uriya

tenants suffer by the change? You appear to be well acquainted with the condition of the Central Provinces' tenantry, for you emphatically state that they are the most oppressed in India. I therefore do not understand why you ask me to supply you with comparative tables, because I can hardly believe that you would make such statements without the most exact knowledge. For the present, as against your own views on the subject, I am content to quote the opinions of two recognised authorities Mr. Gangadhar Rao Chitnabis, C.I.E., stated in November 1900: "While deeply grateful to Mr. R. C. Dutt for his able and disinterested advocacy, I am not prepared to go with him when he says that our tenants' rents are above the standard he lays down, *i.e.*, one-sixth of the produce. Even after the revision they are lower than what that standard would allow." Such a conscientious and painstaking administrator as the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has also remarked: "The highest fraction reached is one-seventh, while in some districts the proportion does not exceed one-fourteenth." It has been remarked that Sambalpur is the most lightly assessed district in India.

Regarding the question of commercial relationships it is impossible to understand how the severance of Orissa from Bengal would affect the number of Uriyas working in Calcutta or in any part of India. Even now thousands of Uriyas emigrate to Assam and other places. In a similar way it would be folly to suggest the adoption of legislation with a view of keeping Bengalis out of Orissa to avoid competition in commercial and professional life.

You say that the best way for the Uriyas to secure their due share in Government appointments is to secure a Government circular like that which regulates Government appointments in Assam. But Assam is a Chief Commissionership and not a division of Bengal, and so Bengal had no alternative but to allow the circular to stand. Do you really think there is hope of such a circular being issued, or, if issued, of its provisions being effectively carried out, so long as Orissa remains a division of Bengal? If so it would be interesting to know the grounds of your hope, because the question is a most important one. You blame me for not calling a public meeting to discuss this question. Should I decide to call a public meeting in connection with such a subject as the administration of Orissa, probably to judge from the first part of your letter, you would consider that I was going out of my sphere and engaging in a course of action likely to bring on "the ruination of the country." My position as a Christian Missionary in a foreign non-Christian country is peculiar. So far as political questions are concerned, I am always prepared to co-operate with the people of the country in a cause that commends itself to my judgment, but I do not feel called upon to take the lead. Besides I do not consider that a public meeting, at any rate in the first instance, is the best means calculated to secure due deliberation of an important question of the character referred to. Even in European countries, as is well known, it is possible for a man of eloquence and position to get almost anything passed in a public meeting after its kind. In a country like India especially it is the educated men that give a public meeting its importance. I suggest, and I do so with the consent of some of my Uriya friends, that about a dozen gentlemen on each side of this question meet together to discuss in a friendly way absolutely avoiding all personalities, the grave problems concerning the future administration of Orissa. We are all anxious for our country's welfare, for I consider myself a permanent resident of Orissa; we are all most deeply anxious to avoid the danger of bringing on the ruination of our country. It appears to us that a frank and free discussion of the subject in a friendly way can do nothing but good.

Believe me,

Your very sincerely,

GEORGE HOWELLS.

Annexure 22.

MY DEAR MR. HOWELLS,

I had given up all hopes of being favoured with a reply to my open letter of the 28th ultimo. You do not evidently like my having written to you an open letter, but this was the only means by which I could vindicate my conduct.

Your reply refers in a great measure to administration of Orissa by a Chief Commissioner, and you refer to my views on that subject. I still maintain that a Chief Commissionership is the best, but I do not believe it is likely to be granted. The question before us is Bengal administration or Central Provinces administration.

In April last I was opposed to the transfer of Orissa to the Central Provinces administration and I am opposed now. There is no change in my views.

I shall take up the last two sentences of your letter, and I should certainly like to have a conference of the kind suggested by you. This is my personal wish not as the President of the Orissa association. Nothing is more desirable than that all permanent residents of Orissa should come to a unanimous opinion on the grave question before us now. I shall feel thankful if you can kindly arrange for a conference of the kind mentioned. I shall leave Cuttack on Saturday evening, any appointment before that will suit me. I do not think it necessary to answer your letter fully, but I shall wait till the conference and decide after it whether any further reply is necessary.

Cuttack, 3rd February 1904.

Yours sincerely,

M. S. DAS.

Annexure 23.

MY DEAR MR. HOWELLS,

I have been told by some men that the statement of reasons you gave me has already been forwarded to Government. Under those circumstances it is absolutely useless to have any meeting of men of opposite views. I feared difference of opinion among ourselves might be a reason with Government to abandon the idea of an administrative union of the whole Uriya-speaking tract. If your statement of reasons has already been submitted to Government, there is no means of showing unanimity to Government. I consulted some of the gentlemen you had asked me to invite to this meeting, and they also agree with me in thinking that a meeting now is not likely to do any good. I have pointed out this to Babu Gokulanand Chaudhury and another gentleman of his party. So please do not have the meeting on the lines suggested by me and approved by you.

Yours sincerely,

M. S. DAS.

Annexure 24.

LETTER from the Rev. G. HOWELLS, B.D., to the Editor of the *Utkal Dipika*, dated 9th February 1904.

In your issue of Saturday last I notice some adverse criticisms regarding the position which others and myself have taken up on the future administration of Orissa. In all fairness I am sure you will allow space in your next issue for the present letter by way of explanation—

(1) You report me as saying, "If a meeting be convened here in Cuttack no one will give expression to his opinion in opposition to Mr. Dass." Allow me to say that I do not think it fair that you should report me as having said something in private conversation with a certain gentleman without ever taking the trouble to ask me the question whether I had been correctly reported, and if so, whether I had any objection to my remark being published. But apart from that, I emphatically deny that I ever made use of the words quoted above. There is

no misstatement more misleading than that which has a basis of truth. What I did say was this: "There are many people in Cuttack, some educated, many uneducated, under obligations to or dependent on Mr. Das professionally and otherwise, who would not have the courage to express their real views in opposition to him at a public meeting." I indicated that such a remark applied not only to Mr. Das but to any man of fervid eloquence and commanding position in Orissa and even in European countries, and so it was possible to get almost anything passed in a certain class of public meetings, and yet that the voice of the educated public remain unexpressed. I suggested as a better means of securing due deliberation of such an important question as the administration of Orissa, and as a preliminary to the public meeting, that a number of representative gentlemen interested in the question and holding different views should meet together and quietly discuss the question in a friendly way with a view of coming to some unanimous opinion. Mr. Das agreed that this would be a more desirable course and arrangements were made and time and place fixed for such a conference. Mr. Das, however, after consulting his friends, withdrew his consent to such a meeting on the ground that an advance copy of the "Statement of Reasons" had already been forwarded to Government, though in a letter written a few days before and subsequently in conversation I had informed him that I had joined with some twenty other representative gentlemen in forwarding to Government a copy of the statement. But this must have unfortunately escaped Mr. Das' attention or memory. We cannot but deeply regret that Mr. Das and his supporters should have avoided this friendly conference. I leave the public to decide whether we have shown any cowardice in this question in being afraid to face Mr. Das, or the general public.

(2) We cannot too strongly declare that we have no wish to rescind anything passed at the general meeting in April last. As then, so now, we emphatically declare ourselves as in favour of a Chief Commissionership for United Orissa. We are convinced that educated Uriyas are almost unanimous in favour of a separate administration. Yet it is evident from the Government letter that Government believes "that there is a very strong feeling on the part of the educated and commercial classes in favour of the existing arrangements," *i.e*, continuance under Bengal. Mr. Das asserts that he still thinks that a Chief Commissionership is the best for Orissa, and yet he and his friends are not prepared to take any steps to remove the wrong impression of the Government on this question. If I were to remain silent and allow Government to retain this wrong impression, I should consider that I was acting unkindly both to Orissa and to the Government. As to the two alternatives possible should the Government think a separate administration impracticable for Orissa, we are not content to have the arguments for and against union with Bengal and the Central Provinces respectively fairly and fully stated, and leave the Government to adopt that alternative best calculated to promote the interests of the Uriya race.

(3) I am extremely sorry that such unfair advantage should have been taken by two or three of those who organised and spoke at the meeting held to congratulate Mr. Das on receiving the C. I. E. Mr. Das, I am sure, would repudiate the introduction of such disputable questions on such an occasion, and some of the appointed speakers would consider it beneath them to so much as refer to the point in dispute one way or the other. A gentleman present on the occasion who is quite opposed to the severance of Orissa from Bengal was heard to remark: "The introduction of such disputed points is entirely out of place in a meeting of this character." This I am sure is the feeling of every fair-minded man. As to the question of the amount of clapping on the occasion of these disputed points being discussed, naturally the speakers and their supporters will say that it was very large. We, on the other hand, maintain that it was significantly small. Perhaps the most astonishing and unaccountable feature in this episode is that an Indian gentleman in high position in Government service should deliberately on such an occasion argue in favour of union with Bengal as against the Central Provinces.

(4) In reference to the correspondence of Mr. Das with the Collector, all that I did was to tell Mr. Das that if I had received such a letter as he had from the Collector, and knew what took place in the executive of the Utkal union conference, without first of all consulting my brethren, I never would have taken upon myself the responsibility of writing to the Collector to the effect that "the memorial and the resolutions of the public meeting *express* the feelings of the association." That my position was not unreasonable is indicated by the fact that the very next day (but sixteen days after his first reply to the letter) Mr. Das wrote again to the Collector: "I meant to communicate to you the feelings of the public meeting and of the association at the date of those documents," at the same time offering to call a meeting of the association should the Collector wish it. But the Collector wished to know the feelings of the association by the 17th. Mr. Das' second reply was dated the 26th. As the Collector before that date must have sent in his own views to the Commissioner, it is not surprising that he did not desire Mr. Das at that late date to call a meeting of the association.

(5) It is contended by some who admit they are in favour of a separate administration for Orissa, that it is not expedient to make known their wishes to the Government on the question, for the reason that it is an open secret that Government has already definitely settled to unite all Uriya-speaking tracts under Bengal, and therefore we shall be merely asking for the impossible. It would be interesting to know when this definite decision was arrived at. If before the publication of the Government letter then that letter would be a farce. But I do not for a moment believe that Lord Curzon would trifle with the public in that way. It was announced in all the newspapers some weeks ago that Sir Andrew Fraser indicated to a deputation that even on the question of the transference of Dacca he still had an open mind. When the Lieutenant-Governor made such a remark, I do not think he meant to deceive the public, but that he literally meant every word he spoke. It is presumption to state that Government has definitely settled this question. Though a member of the ruling race and loyal to the British Government, I have identified myself during my eight years' residence in Orissa with the interest of her people, whether such interests be intellectual or physical, political or social, moral or religious. In the question now under discussion, as in so many other questions, there is great danger that the Government misunderstand the people and the people misunderstand the Government. Whatever else we may be, let us be frank, and in a manly straightforward manner respectfully inform the Government of our real feelings on this question. Be sure of this that Government will not respect us if we effusively thank them for putting United Orissa under Bengal, when our real feelings are in favour of a separate administration. It may turn out that a separate administration is impracticable, but at any rate let us have the manliness to tell Government that we think it desirable, and leave them to decide the question of its practicability or otherwise.

Annexure 25.

STATEMENT of reasons for United Orissa, being made a Chief Commissionership or a part of the Central Provinces Administration.

With regard to the union of all the Uriya-speaking tracts as proposed in the Government letter No. 3678, dated Calcutta, 3rd December 1903, it is the universal feeling of Uriyas that such a course is calculated to be highly beneficial to their welfare. This feeling has already been given expression to the Utkal union conference (held in Cuttack, December 30), representing all Uriya-speaking people at which a resolution was adopted recording their deep and sincere feelings of gratitude to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General of India for his beneficent proposal for the administrative union of the whole Uriya-speaking tracts. On this point all Uriyas are unanimous, but as to the future administration of Orissa, opinion is divided. There are three possible alternatives, and all have their advocates, and we may be allowed in the interests of our own country and for the information of Government to express our own views on these alternatives—views which we feel sure are held by the great majority of Uriyas competent to express an opinion on the subject.

I. Some maintain that it would be to the interests of United Orissa to remain an integral part of Bengal, as at present, for the following reasons:—

(1) Orissa has been under the Bengal administration for the last 100 years and severance from such an advanced administration at the present stage is likely to prove highly detrimental to the future progress of Orissa.

(2) During the past century, the people of Bengal have made phenomenal progress in education, literature, science and art, and this has given to Orissa a high ideal to follow, and to deprive Orissa of the inspiration of such an ideal as severance would involve and would seriously affect her future development.

(3) In language and in religion there is a close affinity between Orissa and Bengal, and such affinity should be fostered by closer union. The establishment of two separate administrations would not be conducive to this.

(4) Bengal is a wealthy province and has the advantage of a permanent settlement. Orissa is proverbially known as "backward Orissa." At present, in supporting her extensive canals, she receives considerable assistance from the comparatively wealthy administration of Bengal, and in the matter of land assessment Orissa is likely to receive more generous consideration in the successive settlements at the hands of officials alive to the advantages of the permanent settlement.

We fully recognise the weight of some of these positions, but we venture to suggest the following considerations in reply:—

(1) The mere fact of Orissa being hitherto a part of the Bengal administration does not prove that a severance at the present stage would be detrimental, any more than the severance of a youth from his mother's leading strings is necessarily ruinous to his success in life. On the contrary this may be the time when Orissa can with advantage be severed from the leading strings of Bengal and emerge as a distinct and well-recognised factor in Indian administration.

(2) Bengal has no doubt made great progress and may therefore present to Orissa a high ideal to follow, but the present position of Bengal is owing to her long and close contact with the civilization and literature of the West. Why should Orissa continue to receive only the reflected rays of Western life and thought when by another form of administration she would be enabled to get light and inspiration direct from the fountain-head?

(3) In reference to religious affinities we do not think this is a matter that should weigh much in deciding a question of this kind with a Government noted for its religious neutrality, especially as such affinities in the present instance involve no social relationship. As regards affinity of language, we are aware that it is considered by some in view of such close affinity that the continuance of Uriya as an independent language is superfluous, but the millions of Orissa may be pardoned for their disinclination to foster an affinity that threatens the displacement of their mother-tongue. In common, however, with the best authorities, we maintain that the affinity between the two languages is more apparent than real.

(4) Should it be a fact that Orissa is receiving considerable help from the Bengal administration for the maintenance of her canals, that no doubt would be a weighty consideration against severance. But, in view of the importance attached to irrigation by the Government of India, it is not unreasonable to hope that the Supreme Government will so re-arrange its revenue to make it possible for Orissa to receive the same financial assistance for her irrigation system direct from the Government of India as she is now receiving from Bengal. In reference to the land assessment, we have every hope that under an administration different from the present, there would rise in Orissa a class of officials more intimately acquainted with the country and its people, and therefore more qualified by knowledge and by sympathy to effect a settlement satisfactory to all concerned.

II. The proposal that finds greatest favour among Uriyas is that which would create a Chief Commissionership for United Orissa with the advantages of the Calcutta High Court, or with a new Chief Court of Appeal, and under

one university. To the best of our knowledge this view has the support of the vast majority of educated Uriyas, chiefly for the following reason:—

Uriyas form a nation of more than eleven millions of people, with a common language and distinctive natural characteristics, traditions and aspirations—a fact well recognised in the Government letter on the subject in the words, "The Uriya-speaking group in any case emerges as a distinct and unmistakable factor, with an identity aud interests of its own." It is held that the identity of Orissa can be best maintained and its interests furthered by the separate administration of a Chief Commissioner. So long as Orissa remains united to a large, wealthy and advanced province like Bengal forming only about 16 per cent. of the population of the entire Presidency, its wants and interests cannot be but largely subordinated to those of the predominant partner. Uriyas have their own ideals, and it is manifestly to the interests of the Government and the country that their characteristic potentialities be developed and national ideals encouraged, and this may best be realised by Orissa being granted an independent administration of its own, under the fostering care and direct supervision of the Supreme Government, rather than by remaining a comparatively small and insignificant portion of the great Bengal Presidency.

The one fear expressed in reference to this alternative is that Government may deem it impracticable from financial considerations. Should the revenue of even United Orissa be insufficient to meet the expenses of a separate administration, evidently no proposal of the kind could be entertained. If the Government after investigation find this to be so, then a large body of educated Uriyas would favour a third alternative.

III. The third alternative discussed and advocated by very many is union with the Central Provinces for the following reasons and with the undermentioned conditions:—

(1) As mentioned above, Uriyas constitute only some 16 per cent. of the population of Bengal, while if united with the Central Provinces they would be 40 per cent. of its total population and, from a national point of view, would indeed be the largest factor in the United Province. Evidently Orissa under such an administration would be likely to receive more consideration and recognition than by remaining under Bengal.

(2) Bengal has the permanent settlement and in all respects is wealthier and more advanced than the temporarily-settled province of Orissa with its comparatively limited resources. Chiefly, therefore, on financial grounds there can be no real competition between Orissa and Bengal, but union with a province similarly circumstanced in many respects as Orissa would inspire the Uriya people with new hope and open up to them a new era of steady advancement and prosperity. It may be maintained that Uriyas would in the long run suffer by an independent or more limited administration through not being compelled to compete with the advanced races for many years flowing in in such large numbers into their borders. No doubt such competition has in many respects done the Uriya good, but competition must have its limit. The new administration would not involve the abandonment of competition, but its limitation, for there would still be Uriyas themselves, and the large number of those from other provinces who have settled permanently in Orissa, and in many cases are as Uriya as the Uriyas themselves. We are aware that many patriotic Indians maintain that, in the interests of India's future, the one cry of educated Indians throughout the Indian Empire should be "India for the Indians," and that all distinctions of race among the Indians themselves should be resolutely ignored. But it is "manifest to all acquainted with the actual facts that the success of such a cry would mean India for the advanced races only, and that a nation like the Uriyas would be driven to the wall. The one hope of the backward races is the intervention of the Supreme Government to see that they shall get fair play in the battle of life. Any resolute action on the part of Government we know quite well is likely to raise a great outcry in certain quarters, both out of and within Orissa. We confidently maintain that the real views of Uriyas have not hitherto found full formal expression, and if the

Government should be in any doubt on this question, let them invite some trustworthy non-officials well acquainted with the people and the country to express their views on the accuracy of our statements. This is a crisis in the history of Orissa and we think it right that Government should know the full facts. It is true that some months ago at a public meeting in Cuttack a resolution was adopted favouring the union of the Uriya-speaking tracts either under the Bengal administration or under the separate administration of a Chief Commissioner. The desirability of the union of all the Uriya-speaking tracts was then the great question at issue in the minds of those who took part in the public meeting and in drawing up the subsequent memorial. So far as the minor question of the particular administration had been considered, it did appear at that time that the balance was in favour of Bengal rather than the Central Provinces. Government, therefore, would not be justified in concluding that the memorial represents the mature and deliberate views of the educated and commercial classes of Cuttack, not to speak of other parts of Orissa. The question of union was then little more than a dream, now it is practically an accomplished fact, and it is only since the publication of the Government letter that the question of the form of the administration is being seriously considered. It must be further admitted that, in the address of welcome to His Honour Sir Andrew Fraser, on the occasion of his recent visit, that reference was made to a feeling of public alarm on account of the rumoured Government proposal to sever Orissa from Bengal. It is only right that Government should know that the clause was an addition to the form of the memorial originally proposed and agreed to by the Reception Committee and was at a second meeting put into the memorial notwithstanding the protest of some of its members including the chairman and without consulting the public. A true indication of public opinion can be ascertained from what took place in connection with the proceedings of the Utkal union conference. As already mentioned, a resolution was passed thanking the Government for their proposal to unite the Uriya-speaking tracts. The significance of the mission of any reference to the form of the administration of United Orissa should be noted. The omission was a deliberate one. In the executive committee of the conference, when it was proposed to thank Government also for their suggestion that United Orissa should form a part of the Bengal administration, the great majority of the Uriya members of the committee objected on the ground that a growing body of opinion was in favour of either a separate administration or union with the Central Provinces. Ultimately that part of the resolution was unanimously omitted in deference to the strong feeling expressed against it. We therefore confidently deny, so far as Uriyas are concerned, that there is a very strong feeling on the part of the educated and commercial classes in favour of the existing arrangements. If the term Uriya be taken to exclude even naturalised members of other races, then we confidently maintain that there is an overwhelming majority of Uriyas in favour either of a Chief Commissionership or of union under certain conditions with the Central Provinces. To mention an instance of what we refer to, we hold that a careful enquiry into the currents of feeling among the Uriyas at Sambalpur would bring out the fact that, although it is their heartfelt desire to remain under the Central Provinces Government if this can be brought about with administrative union, yet they feel that they could not declare their wish to this effect in a resolution out of prudence and high respect for their great benefactor, the present Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The fact is that Uriyas, whether they belong to Sambalpur, Ganjám or Orissa, want the administrative union of all Uriya-speaking tracts above everything else, and rather than that this should be abandoned they are quite prepared to unite under the Bengal administration. The Government letter does not express a decided opinion but seems inclined to the view that United Orissa should remain under Bengal, and this therefore has made many Uriyas feel that rather than imperil the larger advantage of the administrative union of all Uriya-speaking tracts, it would be the more prudent course to remain silent on the less important question, *viz.*, the character of the new administration. With them it seems a question of half a loaf or no loaf at all. We think, however, that reticence at such a crisis as the present is mistaken and are confident that the Government, whatever be their ultimate decision on this question, will not take amiss our outspokenness on behalf of our country's welfare.

(3) The strongest argument mentioned in the Government letter against the union of Orissa with the Central Provinces is that Cuttack, the capital of Orissa, is distant only 12 hours from Calcutta, as against 20—or with the new railway 20—from Nagpur, and that Orissa is therefore likely to receive greater attention from Bengal than from the Central Provinces. But surely it is reasonable to hope in view of Orissa being such a large factor in the new province—as we have indicated, some 40 per cent. of the population—that one of the salubrious seaside resorts of Orissa would be chosen as a summer residence for the new administration. All acquainted with Puri readily admit that it would be admirably adapted for such a purpose. What therefore seems at present the strongest argument become the strong argument in its favour. The difficulty arising from the distant seat of Government at Nagpur might perhaps be better avoided if the seat were removed to Raipur, which is almost equidistant from all the districts concerned and would also be preferable to Nagpur from a sanitary point of view. The location of the capital at Raipur would lead to the Native States around being gradually opened up with suitable communications and thus help to develop their natural resources. Already Government has suggested that there might be two capitals for the new Eastern Provinces, *viz.*, Dacca or Chittagong and Shillong. We might therefore well hope that a similar arrangement for the Central Provinces and Orissa would be considered feasible and desirable.

(4) Objections are sometimes raised against the union of Orissa with the Central Provinces on judicial grounds. There can be no doubt that the great majority of those concerned would prefer the jurisdiction of the High Court of Calcutta to that of a Judicial Commissioner. But if the jurisdiction of the Calcutta High Court, according to the Government letter, could remain unaltered over the new Eastern Provinces, it is manifestly not impossible to make a similar arrangement for Orissa as a Chief Commissionership, or even for a new administration including Central Provinces and Orissa. Should that be considered not feasible, then the importance of the new United administration would warrant the establishment of a new chief court of appeal. Either of the two courses would entirely remove the objections urged on judicial grounds against union with the Central Provinces.

(5) The question of a uniform system of primary, secondary and university education is perhaps the one that chiefly is emphasised by Uriyas in dealing with the advantages likely to accrue from the union of all the Uriya-speaking tracts. At present Uriya education is controlled by three different education departments and at least two universities. Manifestly this is an extremely undesirable arrangement and one calculated to give rise to grave inconveniences. How far Orissa will benefit in other directions from administrative union remains to be seen, but this much is admitted on all sides that educationally considerable advantage must accrue. This question is sometimes raised—will Orissa have the advantage of one university only if she become a Chief Commissionership or be united with the Central Provinces? It would be so evidently to the interests of the Government and the people that such should be the case, that we are confident that Government would pass an order to that effect, extending the jurisdiction of the University of Calcutta to the whole Central Provinces including Orissa. The question of a new University for the Central Provinces has from time to time been raised. The strengthening of the Central Provinces by the addition of Orissa would be calculated to pave the way for the establishment of a new university specially adapted to meet the needs of the nationalities included in such an administration.

In conclusion allow us to express our feelings of devoted loyalty to the King-Emperor and the Supreme Government. Uriyas have reason to know that in the conflict and competition of race with race in India, the Supreme Government may be relied upon to protect the weak against the strong and independent of race or creed, to give to all as far as is consistent with right and justice equal privileges and opportunities. The present is a crisis in the history of Orissa, and we consider ourselves most fortunate in having at the helm of affairs a Lieutenant-Governor whose interest in the Uriyas of the Sambalpur district, while he was at the head of the Central Provinces

administration, has led to his being regarded by the Uriya people as their great benefactor and a Viceroy who has shown his interest in Orissa by himself visiting our land, the first visit of the kind in the history of Orissa. We therefore have full confidence that, in putting our case in their hands, we are ensured a sympathetic consideration of our representations and a decision on the whole question that is likely to be of the greatest advantage to Orissa with her eleven millions of loyal and peaceful subjects.

Annexure 26.

MEMORIAL from the Inhabitants of Orissa, to the Honourable the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, dated

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR HONOUR,—We, Your Honour's memorialists, residents of Orissa, desire to cordially thank the Supreme Government for their proposal to unite together the Uriya-speaking tracts and place them under one administration. This proposal has already given new hope to all sections of the Uriya people, and your memorialists humbly pray that whatever the Government may decide as to the future administration of Bengal and Orissa, they may be graciously pleased to adhere to their proposal to bring together under one common administration all the districts and States speaking the Uriya language.

Your memorialists further pray, in accordance with the view so emphatically approved in April last at a public meeting in Cuttack presided over by Mr. M. S. Das, that the Government may be pleased to raise the Orissa division as enlarged to a Chief Commissionership. Should the Government consider that impracticable, your memorialists desire either continuance of the existing arrangements or union with the Central Provinces, whichever alternative Government may deem better calculated to promote the interests of the Uriya race.

Some of the reasons which urge Your Honour's memorialists to ask for a separate administration for Orissa are—

(1) Uriyas form a nation of more than eleven millions of people with a common language and may with advantage be severed from the leading strings of Bengal and emerge as a distinct and well-recognized factor in Indian administration.

(2) Uriyas have their own ideals and national characteristics, and it is to the interests of the Government and the country that the characteristic potentialities and national ideals of the Uriya race be encouraged under a separate administration.

(3) So long as the Uriya-speaking districts remain comparatively insignificant portions of other administrations, Uriyas will continue to receive in large measure only the reflected rays of western life and thought, while by a separate administration they would be enabled to a larger extent to get light and inspiration direct from the fountain-head.

(4) The success of the cry "India for the Indians" would mean India for the advanced races only, and a nation like the Uriyas would be driven to the wall. The hope of a backward race like the Uriyas is the intervention of the Supreme Government to see that they shall get fair play in the battle of life and the means best calculated to secure this is a separate administration. There can be no true advancement of India as a whole apart from the advancement of its component parts.

(5) By a separate administration for Orissa there would be likely to arise a class of officials more intimately acquainted with the country and its people and therefore more qualified by knowledge and by sympathy to administer the province and promote the advancement of the race.

(6) So far from the granting of a separate administration doing harm to the Uriyas through their not being compelled to compete to such an extent as regards Government appointments with the advanced races for many years flowing in such large numbers into their borders, it is maintained that such

a change in administration would inspire the Uriya people with new hope and be calculated to open up to them a new era of steady advancement and prosperity.

Your memorialists are aware that there may be financial difficulties in making Orissa a Chief Commissionership, but it has been suggested that if instead of the partly Uriya-speaking tracts Chutia Nagpur and its Tributary Mahals being transferred to the Central Provinces, they be united with Orissa; and if further certain Uriya-speaking portions of the Midnapur district and of Bilaspur and Raipur be transferred to Orissa, then United Orissa would be better enabled to bear the extra expenditure involved by the establishing of a separate administration.

The proposal to have a separate administration for Orissa, has the practically unanimous support of Uriyas competent to express an opinion on the subject. Failing a separate administration, the two alternatives keenly discussed among educated Uriyas are continuance under Bengal and union with the Central Provinces. Arguments for and against each of these alternatives may be found in the following which we forward with this memorial for the information of Government:—(1) A statement of reasons for United Orissa being made a Chief Commissionership, or a part of the Central Provinces administration. (2) The future administration of Orissa—correspondence between M. S. Das, Esq., C.I.E., and Rev. Geo. Howells, B.D. (3) Two vernacular pamphlets, one favouring the Bengal alternative, the other the Central Provinces.

Your memorialists beg permission to briefly review the arguments on both sides.

For union with Bengal it is urged—

(1) Orissa has been under the Bengal administration for the last one hundred years and the associations of a century are difficult to break.

(2) The completion of the railway has already strengthened the commercial links uniting Orissa to Bengal.

(3) Bengal is a wealthy province; Orissa is poor and the administrative alliance of the two is calculated to enrich Orissa. In maintaining her canals Orissa receives considerable help from Bengal, the revenue being only $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs and the establishment 4 lakhs.

(4) Bengal has a permanent settlement, the secret of its wealth and prosperity. Severance from Bengal is to bid adieu to all hopes of a permanent settlement.

(5) In language and in religion there is close affinity between Orissa and Bengal.

(6) During the past century the people of Bengal have made phenomenal progress and given Orissa a high ideal to follow.

Against union with Bengal it is urged—

(1) Continuance under Bengal means that Orissa will continue to remain a comparatively small and insignificant portion of the great Bengal Presidency and so cannot hope to emerge as a distinct factor in Indian administration.

(2) On the principle that unequal combination is disadvantageous to the weaker side, the wants and interests of Orissa as a part of Bengal cannot but be largely subordinated to those of the predominant partner Orissa and Bengal are unequally yoked.

(3) The general spirit and ideals of the people of Orissa are largely different from those of Bengal, and continued association with Bengal is calculated to destroy rather than develop their national characteristics.

(4) The affinity between Uriya and Bengali is of such a character that continuance under Bengal may lead to the displacement of Uriya in favour of Bengali.

In favour of union with the Central Provinces it is urged—

(1) If united with the Central Provinces, Orissa would be 40 per cent. of the total population, and from a national point of view would be the largest

factor in the United Province, and thus would be enabled to emerge as a distinct factor in Indian administration.

(2) In many respects Orissa and the Central Provinces are similarly circumstanced and so would be equally yoked.

(3) In view of Orissa being such a large factor in the United Province it is reasonable to hope that one of the salubrious seaside resorts of Orissa would be chosen as a summer residence for the new administration, or the seat of Government may be located at Raipur.

(4) The importance and territorial extent of the new united administration containing Orissa and the Central Provinces would warrant the establishment of a new Chief Court of Appeal, less expensive than but containing all the main advantages of a High Court and would also be calculated to pave the way for the establishment of a new university especially adapted to meet the needs of the nationalities included in the administration.

Against union with the Central Provinces it is urged that—

(1) Union with the Central Provinces involves the abandonment of all hopes of a permanent settlement and the probability of revenue settlements of shorter duration and heavier enhancements.

(2) The tenantry of the Central Provinces is the most oppressed in India.

(3) Under the Central Provinces administration the Tributary States would incur a chance of losing their privileges of a permanently fixed tribute.

(4) The Mahratta is a more astute administrator than the Bengali.

(5) Such annexation would be followed by the adoption of the standard of study prescribed by the Bombay University.

(6) Nagpur, the capital of the Central Provinces, is at present 30 hours' journey from Cuttack.

Your memorialists humbly trust that Government may duly weigh the reasons being urged for and against each of these proposals and devoutly pray that Almighty God may vouchsafe his guidance so that Government may be led to adopt that form of administration best calculated to secure the advancement of the Uriya race.

Annexure 27.

MEMORIAL of the residents* of the Ganjam district addressed to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

The district of Ganjám was prior to the twelfth century the head-quarters of the Kalinga kingdom and was inhabited by the Telugus along the seaside and by the hill tribes in the interior, both being of the Dravidian stock. The present mercantile and agricultural castes of the district, who have derived their name from the said kingdom and are, respectively, called the Kalinga Komatis and the Kalingis, are Telugus.

It was only in the twelfth century when a Southern King invaded Orissa and added his paternal dominions to it that Uriyas were sent as Rajas to keep the aboriginal tribes in Ganjám under check, and they and the Uriyas that followed them drove the aboriginal tribes to the hills and settled themselves in some portions of the interior of the district. Your Excellency's memorialists, therefore, submit most humbly that it is unfair on the part of the Uriya advocates of the transfer to call Ganjám an Uriya country and demand its inclusion in Orissa.

Nothing can be further from truth than the statement of a section of the Uriyas that "bands of Telugus came into the district after the opening of the East Coast Railway, as the race figures on the Census of 1881, 1891 and 1901 clearly show."

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* Signed by 3,000 persons.

2. Your memorialists further submit that it is a curious coincidence that with the growth of the idea of enlarging the limits of Orissa, the number of Uriya-speaking people in Ganjam should nearly double itself during the Census of 1901.

3. The Telugus and the Uriyas of Ganjám have been all along friendly to each other (*vide* the *Prajabandhu*, and Uriya weekly advocating the transfer, dated 9th March 1904, Extract No. 1) and understand each other's language well (*vide* the *Prajabandhu*, dated 2nd March 1904, pages 1 and 2, Extract No. 2), and there can therefore be no administrative inconvenience in the district.

The Uriyas, who have all along been enjoying the patronage of the zamindars, have been indifferent (*vide* the *Prajabandhu*, dated 2nd March 1904, pages 1 and 2, Extract No. 2) to the facilities for education offered to all alike, while the Telugus not enjoying such patronage have by sheer industry advanced comparatively. It is therefore unjust on the part of a section of the Uriyas to ask for a transfer calculated to retard the progress of the Telugus. The language difficulty and other grievances have been put forward in response to the call in the columns of the Uriya newspapers of the district (*vide* Extract No. 3), and the misrepresentations and mis-statements that appeared in the telegrams and the statements published in the Press, etc., with the object of belittling the importance of the public opinion against the transfer are only in consonance with the mis-statements contained in the very first paragraph of the original memorial for the transfer, *viz.*, that the Telugu population is small and has immigrated into the district and is found scattered only in large towns.

4. Your Excellency's memorialists have also to invite the attention of the Government to the fact that, in spite of the circumstance that the India Government has called for the opinion of the local Government, and in the face of Your Excellency's reply, dated 16th February 1904, No. 367, to the letter submitted by the President of the Memorial Committee, Berhampur, on 30th January 1904 to the effect that the memorial against the transfer submitted in September 1903 will be duly considered (clearly showing that Your Excellency is keeping an open mind), the *Prajabandhu* has been leading its readers to believe that the transfer is an accomplished fact (*vide* Extract No. 4), has published a speech purporting to have been delivered by Mr. M. S. Das, C.I.E., at Rambha, in which (*vide* Extracts Nos. 5 and 1) it is stated that all can hear very soon of the issue of order of transfer, but a little delay may take place in carrying the order into effect owing to the arrangements to be made by the officials and has by such means induced and is inducing a few Uriyas and a few zamindars to vote for the transfer.

5. Your memorialists beg also to point out that the district authorities and other local bodies do not only sympathetically carry out the benevolent concessions accorded by the Government to the Uriyas, *viz.*, half fees in schools, sessional schools, scholarships and preference in Government employment, but have also evinced special interest of their own accord in the Uriyas in various ways. A separate institution for the education of zamindar boys other than those that the local Government has provided for at Newington Institution, Madras, is to be opened very shortly at Berhampur, the building having neared completion. There is special provision for Uriyas in the hostels attached to the colleges in the district and there are Uriya Pandits and Uriya-knowing teachers in both of them. The managing committee of the college at Berhampur does not consist purely of Telugus as represented by the Uriya advocates of the transfer, but has for its President the Collector of the district, and has among its members the Sub-Collector, the District Medical Officer and Uriyas.

6. In conclusion, Your humble memorialists beg to assure Your Excellency that public opinion is in favour of the existing arrangements and pray that with the usual sense of justice and generosity that characterise Your Excellency's Government Your Excellency will be pleased to order that Ganjám shall continue to be under the administration of the Government of Madras.

For which act of kindness and charity Your Excellency's memorialists will, as in duty bound, ever pray.

Annexure 28.

The Translation of Extracts from the various Uriya newspapers.

Extract No. 1.

Prajabandhu, of 9th March 1304, pages 1 to 3.

The following is the substance of a long speech made by Mr. Das in a meeting held on the 25th ultimo in the Rambha Palace for the purpose of considering the territorial amalgamation proposed and of expressing pleasure for the honour (title) bestowed on Mr. M. S. Das:—

"I do not know for what purpose my mother named me Madhusudan. My mother's advice is, wherever you may be, you will sit down (on the floor). I have always remembered the advice and shall ever remember it. After so long a time I now realize the significance of the name given by my mother. My name is Madhusudhano. I consider all the praise you bestow on me as directed towards Madhusudhan (God). I have therefore transferred your praise to God.

* * * * * * *

At present here and everywhere in Orissa there is the discussion about the agitation for territorial amalgamation.

* * * * * * *

Is there any among her sons who will say I shall not go to the lap of my mother; I shall not give ear unto my mother? Nobody will say so. Whoever says so is the basest of men, the very charcoal (blacksheep) of the race.

* * * * * * *

On account of permanent settlement the zamindar enjoys the benefit of the property of his zamindari. On that account Bengal zamindars are wealthy. The annual income of a zamindar is Rs. 30,000, and yet he pays to Government annually Rs. 150. Bengal contains many such zamindars.

When Orissa passed into the possession of the British on the 15th September 1804, they announced that Orissa would be permanently settled after Fasli 1212. It is stated in the sannads that the peshkash of the zamindar of Kujango and others will be permanently settled. Permanent settlement will be introduced in connection with the peshkash of ordinary zamindars after the land measurement survey in Orissa—after the soil improves in fertility. But the time for fulfilling the promise of the Government is past. The Government are not desirous of fulfilling their promise, because, if they do so, the landlord will be benefited at the expense of the Government. The people of Orissa are very often sending petitions to the Government asking them to fulfil their promise. In 1897, when I was in England, I spoke in two or four places that it is the duty of the Government to carry out their promise to introduce permanent settlement in all zamins. All said that it is Government's duty to carry out its promise. As the result of this the *London Times*, a very influential newspaper of England, said "Let there be loss, if any; it is the duty of the Government to carry out its promise."

Mr. Hunter, Hon'ble Mr. Reynolds and Sir Cecil Beadon have also written about this. I believe that Government will be obliged some time to give effect to their promise. It is therefore only by remaining under Bengal Government that there can be any hope of our enjoying the benefits of permanent settlement.

Speakers have spoken of the work done by the Telugu brethren against the amalgamation. Formerly Uriyas and Telugus were known to be friendly towards each other. They are not now known to be so.

* * * * * * * *

To live amidst enemies is good in many ways. We have lived scattered in many countries, and learnt the virtues of various races. When a mother sends her four sons to four countries, they will learn the virtues of the four countries,

return to their mother's lap and certainly increase the mother's honour. We have lived long in the company of the Telugus, Bengalis, Hindustanis and Mahrattas, and it is a very happy thing that we have imbibed the virtues of the four races. There is no doubt that our union will contribute to the honour of the Utkal mother.

* * * * * * *

Ganjám is the fountain source of honour to all Uriyas. Kavisurya of Ganjám, if not a Sun among poets, was the Sun of honour to the Uriyas. This Ganjám has been purified by the touch of the feet of poets like Bunjo. I am unfit to be addressed as the leader of this honoured Ganjám.

* * * * * * *

I first heard of territorial amalgamation in January 1901. I heard of it from a very high Government official. I spoke to him at some length on this subject. I have been doing my best for the welfare of the country and shall do so. I trust that all of us will soon be united. There will be a few days' delay, the cause of which is the details of arrangements to be made by officials. You can hear of the order of transfer very soon.

Extract No. 2.

The *Prajabandhu* of 2nd March 1904, pages 1 and 2.

You (Uriyas) can read and write Telugu tolerably well.

* * * * * *

Although Ganjám is a small district, there are many Rajas. From olden times you have secured their patronage and have spent your lives from generation to generation, and you have from the first set your face against learning their language of the rulers (English) and taking up Government appointments.

Extract No. 3.

The Ganjám *Uriya Hitabodini*, of 3rd October 1902, pages 3 and 4.

The Utkal Sabha has already memorialised for including Sambalpur under Orissa; the people of Sambalpur also have made the same prayer. It would be better for the Ganjám people to represent their grievances and inconveniences and pray for the inclusion of Ganjám in Orissa.

Extract No. 4.

The *Prajabandhu* of 3rd February 1904, page 2, column 2, 1122-24.

If Government is not prepared to make such a change, would it publish it in the India Gazette?

Extract No. 5.

The *Prajabandhu* of 2nd March 1904, page 3, column 3.

He (Mr. Madhusudan Das, in reply to a congratulatory address presented to him at Rambha by the Raja of Kallikota and nine others) demolished all the arguments against the transfer and explained the usefulness of the transfer and said:—

"All can hear very soon of the issue of order of transfer. But a little delay may take place in carrying the order into effect owing to the arrangements to be made by the officials."

Annexure 29.

MEMORIAL addressed by the residents of the Vizagapatam district, to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General.

Your Excellency's memorialists residing in the ordinary and Agency tracts of the district of Vizagapatam have learnt with surprise and alarm from the Government of India letter published in the *Gazette of India*, dated 12th December 1903, that Your Excellency's Government proposed to separate the Agency of the district from the ordinary portion and annex the same to Bengal and crave permission to submit that the measure is not only not desired by the people affected but is cordially disliked by all classes including the Uriyas whose interests it is supposed to promote and is calculated to retard the progress and development of the country, dislocate and paralyse its trade, cause great and unnecessary hardship and annoyance to the people affected, a violent break in their institutions, and traditions, engender grave administrative difficulties and is politically inexpedient.

2. Your memorialists beg leave to point out that the proposal proceeds on the erroneous basis that the Agency and ordinary tracts do not really form two inseparable and integral parts of the same district, that they can be separated without injuring one another and that the amalgamation of the Agency with Bengal is advisable in the interests of the Uriyas living therein as it would lead to the linguistic union of the Uriya race.

3. A retrospect into the past history of the country would clearly show that as far back as history and tradition take us, the whole district was under its Hindu sovereigns, during British rule as well as when Muhammadan supremacy was acknowledged, under the same Government and was governed by the same laws and institutions. The Hill zamindaris of Golugonda, Madugula, Salur, Kurupam, Merangi, etc., lying both in the ordinary or plain country and what is at present known as the Agency were carved out of the Nundpur or Jeypur Raj (having been held by relations or retainers of the Jeypore chiefs) and during the latter part of the 18th century, the whole district was comprised in the Vizianagram zamindari.

4. The British Government at the time of the permanent settlement as well as both before and after, have always treated the district as one and inseparable, having imposed a consolidated peshkash in respect of lands in every zamindari whether lying in the plains or in the hills and issued sanad-i-milkiat-istimrars without making any distinction between the ordinary and hill tracts.

5. The rebellions in the hills in the early part of the last century led the Government in 1839 to give the Collector greater administrative control over almost the whole of the district comprising the zamindaris of Vizianagram, Jeypore, Merangi, Kurupam, Belgam, Salur, Pachipenta, Bobbili, Palakonda, Andra, Madugulá, and Golugonda and Sangamvalasa and to pass Act XXIV of 1839 excluding from its purview only what are known as the *haveli* lands situated on the coast. The Government was authorised to declare from time to time what shall be included in the Agency tracts, a distinction introduced solely to give greater latitude to the head of the district both in civil and criminal administration. In 1863 the greater portions of Vizianagram, Golugonda, Madugulá, Andra, Salur, Pachipenta, Sangamvalasa, Belgam, Merangi, Kurupam, and the whole of Bobbili, etc., were excluded from the Agency jurisdiction and were rendered amenable to the regular Government of the plains and the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals. Thus the Golugonda zamindars owned, before they forfeited their zamindari by their rebellious conduct, the country now comprising the ordinary portion of the Golugonda or Narsapatnam taluk and the Golugonda agency. The Madugulá zamindars are to this day entitled under the same sanad to a large tract of country known as the Madugulá agency and a considerable area in the rich alluvial plains adjoining Salur, Pachipenta, Merangi, Kurupam, Vizianagram, etc., likewise possess and own vast tracts of hill and dale and large revenue-yielding zamins in the plains. The Maharaja of Jeypore owns valuable properties in the plains and has extensive business dealings with the zamindars and people in the ordinary portion of the district.

6. The people of the district from time to time represented to the Madras Government the feasibility and the desirability of curtailing the limits of the Agency and including in the ordinary portion large areas which by the rapid progress they have made in civilization are no longer to be classed as backward; the memorialists believe that the Government are disposed to lend a favourable ear to their representations and are prepared to amalgamate large portions of the Agency with ordinary tracts. There is thus no real distinction between the ordinary and the Agency portions of the district and to separate them would be to dismember and cripple one whole and organised body and paralyse it.

7. The effect of the proposed separation would be to place almost all the zamindars in the district under two Governments, would subject them to the dual control of two distinct sets of officers, to compel them to conform to the laws of two widely different Provinces, and the result would, the memorialists venture to submit, be disastrous to the landholders concerned and their tenants. It is well known that the Rent and Revenue Laws of Bengal and Madras widely differ from one another and the people of this district would be in the unhappy position of having to learn and unlearn a good many things and of being subject to two administrations and two distinct sets of tribunals in different provinces and cannot expect being a microscopic minority to have their laws, manners and customs studied with any great interest by the officers of Bengal.

8. The Government owns a considerable portion of the Golugonda agency easily accessible only from the plains and the whole of the Golugonda taluk with Narsapatnam as its head-quarters; the Land Revenue Settlement thereof radically differs from that of Bengal where the ryotwari settlement does not obtain and it is not too much to say that the excision thereof from Madras is unnatural and would lead to grave administrative difficulties and great hardship on the part of the people concerned.

9. A suggestion during the last century that a Special Commissioner might be appointed for the agency tracts of the Vizagapatam district was rejected by the Government as impolitic, inexpedient and unsuitable, as amongst other reasons, it was felt that in the event of disturbances in the hills, resources both in men and supplies should be drawn from below, that the control should be general and complete and that a dual authority over the district would lead to administrative weakness and friction. During recent years, to which pointed allusion need not be made here, the wisdom of the policy then followed of keeping the whole district under one head was clearly discerned, and the necessary supplies in men and provisions were drawn from the plains. The Golugonda and Madugula Agencies, subject to the general control of the Collector as the Governor's Agent are administered by the Head Assistant Collector with his head-quarters at Naraspatnam at the foot of the hills, assisted by two taluk officers; the Sáluru, Kurumpám, Márangi and Belgám Agencies by the Senior Assistant Collector of Párvatipuram stationed at the foot of and commanding the hills and holding the key thereto. The Srungavarapukota and Palkonda Agencies are in the hands of the Assistants of Vizagapatam and Vizianagram, aided by taluk officers, whose stations adjoin the hill tracts concerned. The Jeypore Agency is controlled by a special Assistant Agent who, during the hot weather, when the climate of the Maliahs is deadly, is, perforce, compelled to and does reside in Waltair. Easy communication between the various parts of the Agency above described is only through the plains and is only possible through the plains. The officers controlling them must, during a portion of the year, necessarily reside in the plains and no material changes are possible without seriously impairing the efficiency and weakening the authority of the administration.

10. A glance at the map of the district would clearly show that the two portions proposed to be placed under a distinct Government are integral and inseparable parts of one distinct whole, and that the roads of the Agency naturally lead into the plains and that there are insurmountable barriers in the way of constructing roads in any other direction so as to connect the excised parts directly with Bengal. The Government has derived but very little revenue from the Agency in question, large sums amounting to several lakhs of rupees

have been spent out of the Provincial and district revenues on roads and improvements therein, and the memorialists humbly submit that, to sacrifice the interests of the district and Presidency, is neither justice nor good policy.

11. The Agency tracts in question are naturally and indissolubly connected commercially with the ordinary portion, the produce of the hills finds a market in the plains, the ports of Vizagapatam and Bimlipatam are the natural outlets for the hill produce, the trade prospects of the district, there is every reason to hope would be strengthened by the construction of the proposed Vizianagram-Raipur Railway and the disruption of the district cannot fail to seriously retard the progress and development of the country, paralyse its trade and divert it into new channels and expose the traders to the inconvenience and hardship of accommodating themselves to the laws of the two different provinces and being subjected to the jurisdiction of two distinct sets of tribunals.

12. To illustrate the above without going into great detail by a few typical cases—

(*a*) A zâmindar owns a rich mine in the Agency and ordinary portions of his zamindari. The mine would be governed by the laws of two distinct provinces, will be subject to the control and inspection of two sets of officers and the rights thereto or connected therewith would have to be established in two provinces.

(*b*) *Disputes regarding succession to zamindaris.*—Every zamindar would be liable to be sued both in the Bengal and Madras Courts.

(*c*) A tenant cultivates a land under a zamindar both in the plains and in the hills and contracts to sell crop where it is produced. He is entitled to sue and liable to be sued in the Bengal and Madras Presidencies.

(*d*) A tenant is said to have illegally cut timber in the Agency and brought it into the ordinary tracts, he is liable to be prosecuted both in the Bengal and Madras Law Courts.

(*e*) The Bengal officers, in the interests of the revenue of their province would establish toll-gates in the Agency, and Madras would, without regard to the interests of the producer, establish toll-gates in their jurisdiction to promote the interests of their own revenue.

(*f*) The Bengal merchants and Bengal Government would be interested in diverting the trade to their own ports and their own province.

The passengers by the local train from Calcutta arrived at the Bengal-Nagpur Railway terminus at Waltair at 2 P. M. and are given the free choice of shifting as best as they can till the Madras mail at 7 P. M. or the local at 9 A. M. the next day takes them to their destination which may be ten miles from Waltair.

Such are the benefits to be derived by the people by a dual administration. It may be said that in cases of all bordering districts, such inconveniences are necessarily felt but nowhere would almost all the zamindars and their tenants in one province own lands in another; the evils above pointed out are to be a new introduction and the separation is supposed to promote the interests of the people in the Agency.

13. The people in the plains derive their supply of fuel and timber from hills, the tenants both in the Government and zamindari taluks have pasture grounds therein and in many cases possess grazing rights. Almost all the forests, both of the Government and zamindars, are situated in the Agency and the proposed separation leading to the dual control of the Madras and Bengal Forest departments cannot fail to cause much hardship to the people.

14. The ordinary portion of the district is the most thickly peopled area in the Presidency, the mean density being 453 to the square mile; whereas the thinly peopled adjoining Agency, with 67 per square mile, is by nature intended to relieve the congested parts of their pressure; and making it a part of the Bengal Province would inevitably check the natural flow of the people into it.

15. The difference of language between the Uriyas occupying a portion of the Agency and the Telugu population is the only ground on which the proposed separation is sought to be justified and the examination of a few unquestionable facts would reveal the hollow basis on which the argument is founded. There are 35,000 Uriya-speaking people in the plains, but it is said that the Telugu vastly outnumber them. Telugu is a tongue entirely foreign to Bengal, and hence the plains are excluded. The argument is that out of a total population of over two millions living in the plains there are only 35,000 Uriyas, whereas there are 400,000 of Uriyas in the Agency, less than half out of a total of about 850,000, and hence the Agency can be excluded. The essential error lies in viewing the district as to distinct entities unconnected with each other, and the memorialists venture to hope that the reasons given above expose the fallacy. Judging the matter from the separationist's point of view, out of a total population of three millions, the Uriyas formed but one-eighth, assuming the perfect accuracy of the Census figures and to cut up the district and add three-fourths of its area to Bengal in their supposed interests can hardly be said to have the weight of reason or authority on its side.

16. The Supreme Government has also overlooked the important fact that the whole of Golgonda, Mádugula, Pachipenta, Surngavarapukota, Sálúru, Kurupám, Belgam, Párvatipuram, Mérangi and Palkonda Agencies is almost exclusively Telugu; there is a considerably large element of the Telugu people in the Jeypore zamindari, especially Rayaghada and Gunupuram. The amalgamation of these tracts with Bengal would but lead to severance of the Telugu people, would land the Government in the supposed difficulty they wish to avoid, inasmuch as the Government would be placing a small Telugu population under the control of the overwrought Bengal officer, accustomed to the ways and administrations of an advanced province totally unacquainted with Telugu—a language entirely dissimilar to the languages spoken therein. The Government would by adding a district inhabited by people speaking as many languages and in various stages of civilisation materially add to the burden of the Bengal Government.

17. A considerable portion of the rest of the Agency is peopled by the Savaras, Khonds, Gadabas, Uriyas and Telegu, so that even in the Agency the Uriya-speaking people are but a minority. With great deference to the view enunciated in the letter of the Home Department referred to above, that the Khonds and their language are more proximately allied to the Uriyas than the Telugus, the memorialists beg leave to state that the Khond language is distinctly Dravidian and akin to Telugu and entirely dissimilar to Uriya, a dialect of Sanskrit (Vizagapatam Carmichael's Manual and authorities quoted therein). Inasmuch as the Dravidian tongues largely preponderate in the Agency, even conceding that the language argument has any force in it, there is an additional ground furnished by the above facts for the continuance and maintenance of the existing state of things. By the close intimacy in which the Uriyas have lived with Telugu-speaking people for centuries, large numbers of them know both the languages; the Uriyas are not the original inhabitants of the land but settlers therein, thinly scattered over a vast tract of country inhabited by various classes of people, they have never desired any change and are opposed to it. If the wishes of the people count for anything in a matter which concerns them so deeply, the memorialists may confidently assert that not only no one in the Agency and in the ordinary tracts of the districts, be he of Uriya, Telugu or Khond descent, has ever desired the proposed change, but every one is bitterly opposed to it and keenly resents the dismemberment and mutilation of their beloved district.

18. Lastly the memorialists venture to point out that complete linguistic union is nowhere possible in India; the Canarese people are divided between Madras and Bombay, the Telugu-speaking race occupies Madras, Hyderabad and the Central Provinces, there is a large Hindustani element in the ceded districts, various languages are spoken in each province and there is no reason for any departure from the traditional British policy of uniting the several races under one Government which by mutual contact and emulation lose their peculiar provincial and local characteristics and feel themselves to be British citizens of a world-wide Empire.

Your Excellency's memorialists, therefore, humbly pray that the Agency tracts of Vizagapatam may be allowed to continue as at present an integral part of the district and the Presidency of Madras.

Enclosure 7 in No. 2.

Letter from H. H. Risley, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal,—No. 1902, dated Simla, the 13th September 1904.

I am directed to address you, with reference to your letter no. 2566-J., dated the 6th April 1904, on the subject of reducing the territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal.

2. The Government of India agree with His Honour in thinking that the time has arrived when it is essential to reduce the administrative burden now imposed upon the local Government, and that this relief can only be afforded by a substantial reduction of territory. They observe, however, that the series of transfers, the effect of which is summarised in the statement contained in paragraph 50 of your letter, will leave the province with a population of about 62¼ millions, being practically the same as was recorded in the Census of 1872; while the area which under this scheme will continue to form part of Bengal contains those districts which attract a large proportion of immigrants from the congested tracts of the United Provinces. Assuming then that the increase of population from natural causes and from immigration proceeds at the same rate, it seems probable that the difficulty which the present proposals are intended to meet will recur in much the same dimensions some 30 years hence. This argument will equally apply, though with somewhat reduced force, in the event of the proposed transfer of certain territory from Madras not being carried out, for even then the population of Bengal will amount to 59,384,000, and the period at which it will have again reached its present strength will only be slightly deferred. For this general reason it has occurred to the Government of India that the main object of the scheme of reconstruction would be more certainly attained and the scheme itself would be placed on a more permanent footing if the area transferred were to be enlarged by adding to it the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Malda, Jalpaiguri and the State of Cooch Behar. The advantages which this alternative appears to present may be stated thus :—

(1) The effect of the extension would be to give the new province a population of over 31 millions, leaving Bengal with a little more than 54 millions. A reduction of 24½ millions would undoubtedly give substantial relief to the Lieutenant-Governor and would furnish an effective reply to the argument noticed above.

(2) It will be seen that under these enlarged proposals the new province would have a well-defined river boundary for almost the entire length of its western frontier. Starting from the Bay of Bengal on the west of the Backerganj district the border would follow the river Madhumati up to its junction with the Ganges, while from this point it would coincide with the Ganges up to Sahibganj. Thence it would run along the western border of the Malda, Dinajpur and Jalpaiguri districts to the foot of the Himalayas, where it would strike the frontier of Bhutan. The southern portion of this boundary coincides with that proposed in your letter, but from the Ganges northward the boundary of the new province according to that scheme is merely the irregular outline of the western limits of the Pabna, Bogra and Rungpur districts and the southern and eastern border of the Cooch Behar State. Over the greater part of its length this boundary corresponds to no natural distinctions whether physical, linguistic or ethnological. It severs in two the compact and characteristic tract of Northern Bengal; and seeing that the people on one side of the line differ in no respect from those of the other, it seems likely that the plan will meet with protests from natives of Rajshahi who have property in Pabna and Bogra, and from natives of Dinajpore who have property in Rangpur. The boundary now suggested for the Lieutenant-Governor's consideration would, it is believed, be less open to objections of this kind and would possess the further advantage of corresponding in its central

portion, that is to say, between Sara and Malda, with the well-recognized geographical and social distinction between the tract known as Rarh or Western Bengal and Barendra or Northern Bengal, while from Malda to the Himalayas it would mark the point where Bengali ceases to be spoken and Hindi begins.

(3) The boundary suggested would bring within the eastern province the bulk of the characteristic Muhammadans of Bengal who form 78 per cent. of the population in Rajshahi, 50 per cent. in Dinajpur and 48 per cent. in Malda. Not only would it give Dacca a central position in relation to the rest of the new Province, but it would tend in course of time to confer on that city the special character of a provincial Capital where Muhammadan interests would be strongly represented if not predominant.

(4) By its adoption the whole of the tea industry, with the exception of the gardens in the Darjeeling district, the conditions of which are peculiar, would come under the Government of the eastern province, which would then have within its jurisdiction a substantial number of gardens for which an adequate supply of labour is procured without having recourse to the special provisions at present in force in Assam under Act VI of 1901.

(5) The greater part of the tract within which jute is cultivated will also be brought under one Government.

(6) By adopting this boundary the necessity for breaking up divisions will be avoided. The loss of the small district of Malda will make little difference to the Commisioner of Bhagalpur, and the fact that this division has been to some extent reduced will render it easier to transfer to it some portion of the unwieldy division of Patna. It would be easy to attach Darjeeling to the Bhagalpur division, one district of which, Purnea, is conterminous with it, unless the Lieutenant-Governor would favour the plan of keeping it directly under him. It is understood to be so already for political purposes.

3. The following table shows the effect of the proposal now made assuming that no territory is transferred to Bengal from the Madras Presidency :—

	Area in square miles.	Population.	Language.	
			Bengali.	Other.
New Province.				
Assam	56,243	6,126,343	2,948,183	3,178,160*
Eastern Bengal. Dacca Division	15,040	10,793,988	10,620,203	173,785
Eastern Bengal. Chittagong Division (including Hill Tipperah).	15,859	4,911,056	4,697,718	213,338
Northern Bengal. Rajshahi Division (including Cooch Behar) except Darjeeling.	17,499	8,813,016	8,351,935	461,081
Northern Bengal. District of Malda	1,899	884,030	654,856	229,174
Total	106,540	31,528,433	27,272,895	4,255,538*
Bengal— Bengal (at present), including Feudatory States	189,837	78,493,410	41,432,899	37,060,511
Add— From Central Provinces	13,722	1,608,391	320†	1,608,071
Deduct— (a) Eastern and Northern Bengal	50,297	25,402,090	24,324,712	1,077,378
(b) Hindi-speaking Feudatory States of Chutia Nagpur.	11,604	583,177	...	...
Balance	141,658	54,116,534	...	...

* Includes 1,349,784 Assamese.

† Includes the Bengali population, if any, of Phuljhar and Chandarpur which are to remain in the Central Provinces.

4. Bengal as thus reconstituted would have a population exceeding that of the United Provinces by over 6 millions instead of as now by 30 millions, while the new province with a population of over 31 millions would come fourth in order among the larger Provinces of India.

5. It has not escaped the notice of the Government of India that under this proposal the entire section of the Eastern Bengal State Railway between Damukdia and Siliguri will be located in the new province. But under the scheme set forth in your letter this will also be the case with the portions of the line which run through Bogra and Rangpur. And the objection can readily be got over by placing the Police administration wholly under the Government of Bengal.

6. I am to request that the Government of India may be favoured at the earliest date possible with an expression of the Lieutenant-Governor's opinion on this suggestion.

Enclosure 8 in No. 2.

Letter from H. H. Risley, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, to the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner of Assam,—No. 1903, dated Simla, the 13th September 1904.

With reference to paragraph 12 of your letter no. $\frac{197\text{-Por.}}{136\text{ J-P.}}$, dated the 6th April 1904, regarding the proposed redistribution of territory between Bengal and Assam, I am directed to enclose a copy of a letter addressed to the Government of Bengal on the subject, and to request that the Government of India may be favoured at the earliest date possible with an expression of your opinion on the enlarged scheme set forth therein.

No. 1902, dated 13th September 1904.

Enclosure 9 in No. 2.

Letter from W. C. Macpherson, Esq., C.S.I., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No. 2719-J. D., dated Darjeeling, the 12th September 1904.

I am directed to invite attention to my letter no. 2556-J., dated the 6th April last, submitting the views of the Lieutenant-Governor regarding the proposed modifications of the territorial jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal for the consideration of the Government of India. In paragraph 12 of that letter, in which reference was made to the proposals contained in Mr. Risley's letter no. 3678, dated 12th December 1903, regarding the transfer of certain tracts from Madras to Bengal, the following remark was made: "The Lieutenant-Governor does not know the Uriya-speaking parts of Madras to which reference is made in Mr. Risley's letter; but if their circumstances are in any way the same as those of the Sambalpur district, which have been indicated above, he would strongly support the proposal to amalgamate them also with Orissa."

2. I am to say that since that letter was written the Lieutenant-Governor has had some opportunity, in the consideration of certain cases which have come before him, and in discussion with officers and others acquainted with Orissa, to become a little better acquainted with the circumstances of these tracts and with the arguments for and against their transfer to Bengal. The population of the area which it is proposed to transfer from Madras may apparently be classified as follows according to the languages spoken (the figures for population being given in thousands):—

District.	Total.	Uriya.	Telugu.	Khonds.	Other languages.
Ganjám	1,689	1,275	343	20	51
Ganjám Agency	321	87	6	157	71
Vizagapatam Agency	851	409	153	161	128
Total	2,861	1,771	502	338	250
Percentage	...	62	17	12	9

Leaving out of account the Khonds and other aboriginal races that form about 20 per cent. of the population, it is clear that of the two principal divisions—the Uriyas and Telugus—the former are much more numerous than the latter; but the latter form a respectable minority, and by reason of their wealth, position, and education exercise an amount of influence which is far in excess of what their clear numerical strength would lead one to expect. The very long time during which these tracts have been under the Madras Government, and the fact that their administration has been so largely conducted in the Telugu language, have no doubt contributed to these results; and, as might be expected, the Telugu influence is strongest in the south and the Uriya influence in the north with its head-quarters at Berhampore. It must be remembered that the Telugus have taken a most active and prominent part in the administration of this part of the country, so that they cannot be ignored. Their position and influence demand that they should be fully reckoned with in the administration. It seems therefore to the Lieutenant-Governor that, although the Telugus in the tracts in question are apparently only about 28 per cent. of the Uriyas, it would be quite as necessary for a Bengal officer appointed to administer these tracts to learn Telugu as it would be for a Madras officer to learn Uriya.

3. The returns of population of the plains tract, according to the census of 1901, show that the Telugus number 755,383 and the Uriyas 766,712, the total population of the plains of Ganjam being shown as 1,689,142. On the other hand, the Uriya-speaking population is returned as 1,275,000 out of 1,689,000. These last figures *primâ facie* lead to the conclusion that the greater part of Ganjám is Uriya. But the former figures regarding race lead to no such conclusion. They seem rather to confirm the general impression of those who live on the border of Madras that half the population of Ganjám are Telugus and half Uriyas. Another very striking fact is that apparently in the plains tract the percentage of Uriyas by race to population was 44 in 1881, 43 in 1891, 45 in 1901; whereas the percentage of Uriya-speaking people to the total population was 50 in 1881, 50 in 1891, and 75 in 1901. The increase within 10 years from 50 per cent. to 75 in the Uriya-speaking population, while the Uriyas by race retain the same percentage seems to require explanation.

4. Then again there are other difficulties to be considered. The Ganjám district is divided into two portions: the plains tract, which is under the ordinary system of administration obtained in Madras, and the Ganjám Agency tract, which has a separate administration of its own under the Collector, who is for this purpose Agent to the Governor. Apart from differences in purely Government administration such as exists in the Abkari and Salt Departments, there are other differences which affect the whole life of the people existing between this tract and the neighbouring districts of Bengal. As regards salt, for example, there is no manufacture in Bengal; and the staff is solely employed in preventive duties. In view of the magnitude and importance of salt manufacture in Ganjám the salt administration of the district must apparently, in any case, be left with the Madras authorities. This itself constitutes an administrative difficulty. But it is in connection with the land revenue administration that the main difficulties would arise. In the plains tract there prevail side by side the raiyatwari system of land revenue, which is altogether different from anything prevailing in Bengal, and the Madras zamindari system, the incidence and conditions of which differ greatly from the zamindari system of Bengal. The village system of Madras also, with its village officers and their powers, differs greatly from the system prevailing in Bengal. In some respects it would be well, if it were possible, to imitate in Bengal the village system of Madras. But the difficulty of reproducing that system in Bengal will be great; and to bring down the village system which apparently exists in these Madras tracts to the level of the state of things existing in Bengal would be decidedly retrogressive; while on the other hand the maintenance of that system in a small portion only of the Orissa Division might be a matter of great difficulty.

5. Turning to the Agency tracts of Ganjám, which cover 3,483 square miles, the population is 321,114, of whom 90,045 are Uriyas and 6,399 are

Telugus. Here, again, there is a disagreement between the figures for race and those for language, though it is only slight. The figures for language are, Telugu 5,864 and Uriya 87,682. The rest are Khonds and other aborigines. There is no doubt in the Lieutenant-Governor's mind that it will be quite possible for Bengal to administer these tracts quite satisfactorily; for the Government of Bengal has under its administration many similar tracts. It is unnecessary therefore to discuss any of the differences which exist in the system of administration. It will not be difficult for the Bengal Government to adapt its method to such tracts as these; and there is no doubt that the proportion of Telugus to Uriyas in these tracts is very small. But the proportion of both combined to the total population is also small, and the necessity for taking over these tracts, because of the number of Uriyas that are found in them, is not very great. On the other hand, it will be practically impossible to take over the Ganjám Agency tracts without taking over the rest of the district. The people of the plains and of the hills must remain under one administration; for the contact or interest has been too long, and in respect of trade is too strong, to permit of a severance of the hills from the plains. It is unnecessary also to do more than allude to the geographical anomaly involved in taking over a narrow strip jutting out of Bengal between the Central Provinces and Madras. If the Vizagapatam Agency were added along with the Ganjám Agency to Bengal, the geographical irregularity will be increased.

6. The Vizagapatam Agency covers about 13,000 square miles and has a population of 851,000, of whom 409,000 are said to be Uriya-speaking. But the census returns have a similar excess of Uriya-speaking people over Uriyas by race as has been noticed in Ganjám. The Uriya speakers are returned at 408,954, while the Uriyas by race are only 303,420, or just three-fourths. On the other hand, the Telugu speakers are returned at 153,168, while the Telugus by race are returned as 214,647. The Khond speakers are returned as 161,124 and the Savars at 47,623. The inference would seem to be that in these tracts, as in Ganjám, Uriya has become the official language, as being the civilised language most easily acquired and most generally spoken. As has already been stated, there would not probably be much difficulty experienced in Bengal in administering this tract, except from the facts that it is very vast (being equal in area to the Tributary Mahals of Orissa), and is very much more remote. In this connection, a great disadvantage in the administration of this tract by Bengal, as compared with Madras, would be a want of the plains portion of the Vizagapatam district which at present forms the base for administrative operations in the hill tracts. It must be borne in mind that the tendency of trade, at present at all events, is in these tracts distinctly towards the south-east; and therefore the bond of interest is with the plains of Vizagapatam rather than with Bengal.

7. In regard to the opinion of the inhabitants of these tracts as to desirability of a transfer to Bengal, so far as the Lieutenant-Governor has been able to ascertain there is no feeling whatsoever on the part of the inhabitants of the hill tracts. They appear to know nothing about the proposal and not to care about the matter at all. So far as the Lieutenant-Governor's information goes, they have said nothing about it. On the other hand, there has been some movement on the part of the Uriyas in this tract. At the Utkal Conference, a sort of national Uriya Conference, which met at Cuttack last Christmas, there were Uriya delegates from Ganjám; and they supported the movement for the union with Bengal. There appears, therefore, to be some movement on the part of the Uriyas of Ganjám to have the tracts in which they live attached to Bengal This movement has apparently been originated, or at least fostered, by the Uriyas of Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor understands, however, that there is considerable difference of opinion among the residents of the tracts in question, and even among the Uriyá residents. He understands that protests against the transfer have been received even from meetings composed of Uriya residents of these tracts.

8. Probably it may be admitted that geographically and ethnologically the Ganjám district and the Agency tract, and perhaps also the Vizagapatam Agency tract ought to have been under one administration with Orissa proper

and the Uriya-speaking tracts of the Central Provinces, the common bond being the identity of race and the long standing connection of the Uriya districts with the rural tribes of the hills. The ancient history of these tracts seems to indicate that this would have been a suitable arrangement; but the state of things in these Madras tracts is not apparently now anything like what it then was. The grant of the Northern Circars by the Nizam to the East India Company preceded the acquisition of Orissa from the Mahrattas by 35 years. Consequently the Uriyas of these Madras tracts have been under that Government for nearly a century and a half. The number of Telugus now residing in these tracts is very considerable; and the ties both of interest and of administrative expediency which bind these tracts to Madras seem, as already indicated, to be very strong. The Lieutenant-Governor is therefore unwilling that he should seem to support the transfer of these territories now from Madras to Bengal. The case of these tracts seems to be altogether different from the case of the Uriya-speaking tracts on the east of the Sambalpur district In respect of the latter, the Central Provinces Government has distinctly admitted the difficulties of administration; the fact that the Uriya language prevails almost universally is admitted; and the people have expressed a very general desire to be annexed to Orissa.

9. From the point of view of the Bengal Government, it does not appear that the transfer of these so-called Uriya-speaking tracts of Madras to Bengal would be expedient. It would be distinctly inexpedient, as tending to increase the work of an already overburdened administration, and as necessitating the addition of the Telugu language to the languages required from its officers, and the acquisition by them of the knowledge of a system of administration differing essentially from that of Bengal. The Government of Bengal would be called upon, in regard to revenue administration and other matters to deal with questions foreign to its experience. The objections to the transfer of these tracts so far as the tracts themselves are concerned, and the arguments which may be urged for or against their transfer on behalf of the residents, will no doubt be laid before the Government of India by the Government of Madras; and the Lieutenant-Governor is more concerned perhaps with stating the case from the Bengal point of view. He would not, therefore, have troubled the Government of India with this communication but for the fact that his experience in Sambalpur had led him to inform them that *primâ facie* his opinion was in favour of the transfer of these tracts. From what he has since learned, he is of opinion that the circumstances of these tracts differ most materially from the circumstances of that larger portion of the Sambalpur district, and from those of the Uriya Feudatory State of the Central Provinces, which it is proposed to transfer to Bengal. What he now has reason to believe to be the circumstances of these Madras tracts differ so materially from what he knows to be the circumstances of the Central Provinces tracts referred to, that he is inclined to think that there is no such *primâ facie* case for the transfer of the former as there is for the transfer of the latter. If this view of the circumstances of these Madras tracts is correct, then Sir Andrew Fraser would strongly deprecate their transfer to Bengal, both as disturbing a well recognised state of affairs without due necessity, and as throwing an additional burden on the already overburdened administration of Bengal. The object of the scheme under consideration is to afford relief to Bengal; and the Lieutenant-Governor only gave his support (so far as it went) to the transfer of these Madras tracts because he believed, from the analogy of Sambalpur, that it was necessary, and, from the same analogy, that it would not appreciably add to the burden of administration in Bengal. The information which he has since obtained leads him to think that he was mistaken in regard to both these points.

10. The effect of this revision of the proposals made in my letter No. 2556-J., dated the 6th April 1904, as summarised in paragraph 50 of that latter, will be to deduct, from the total there given for Bengal, the area and population of the tracts proposed to be added from Madras, and to leave the newly constituted Province of Bengal with an area of 154,365 square miles and a population of 59,384,405. In the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor this is an improvement on the proposals made in my former letter; because anything that, without injury to the interests of the people, reduces the area and population of Bengal is of advantage.

Enclosure 10 in No. 2.

Letter from F. J. Monahan, Esq., I. C. S., Secretary to the Chief Commissioner of Assam, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No. 144—4247-P., dated the 24th September 1904.

In reply to your letter no. 1903 (Confidential), dated the 13th September 1904, on the subject of territorial changes between Bengal and Assam, I am directed to say that Mr. Fuller entirely accepts the view that the scheme of redistribution, if it is to extend beyond the transfer of the Chittagong division to Assam, should be carried as far as is now proposed, so as to give really substantial relief to Bengal, and to create responsibilities that will be sufficiently heavy to justify the maintenance of a separate local Government. The revised boundary line that is now proposed will not be of a purely artificial character, but in some measure will represent real distinctions in nationality, language and circumstances. It is understood that the river Mahananda is identified more closely than the western boundary of the Dinajpur district with the dividing line between Bengali and Hindi. But the strip of Bengali country which will be left in the Purnea district is of no considerable size, when it would hardly seem worth while to break up the Purnea district in order to bring this strip into the new province. I am to observe that an additional ethnological argument in favour of the proposed boundary line is that it will include almost the whole of the area over which the Tibeto-Burman tribes, known collectively as the Bodos, have extended.

These races form a most characteristic feature in the population of the existing province of Assam. The new scheme is supported by a consideration of much practical importance in that it will bring together the tea-growing areas of the Duars and of the Assam Valley. The association of the special labour system of Assam with the freedom of the arrangements current in the Duars cannot fail to promote the gradual substitution of natural for artifical lines in the recruitment and organisation of labour forces of Assam tea gardens.

2. The new province will be of much commercial importance, containing nearly the whole of the tea and jute production of north-eastern India besides silk factories in Rajshahi and Malda and some indigo in the latter district. It will be characterized by a prominence of Mussalman interests, but it will not be popular with the European services. Indeed, its greater portion will consist of districts which are, rightly or wrongly, considered to be the penal stations of Bengal. Moreover, until the military officers of the Assam Commission retire (many years hence) members of the Indian Civil Service will have but little chance of setting the amenities of the Assam Valley and of the Assam Hill districts, against the loneliness and overwork which generally characterise service in the eastern districts of Bengal. It will be necessary to bear this consideration in mind when settling the cadre and rates of pay for the new province.

3. It appears from paragraph 2 (3) of your letter to the Government of Bengal that it is assumed that Dacca would be the new capital. Mr. Fuller has no such detailed knowledge as would enable him to discuss the rival claims of Dacca and Chittagong. But as the Government of India are aware, there is some weight of opinion in favour of selecting Chittagong as the head-quarters of the provincial Government; and it may be inadvisable to definitely conclude between the two places at the present stage. It may be observed that Dacca is very difficult of access from Assam and is likely to remain so for many years to come.

4. The Chief Commissioner of Assam is at present charged with the functions of a Commissioner of division over the Sylhet and Cachar districts of the Surma Valley, over the Hill districts of the Garo Hills, the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, the Naga Hills and the Lushai Hills, and over the State of Manipur. This arrangement has failed to provide sufficiently close and practical control, especially in the case of Sylhet and Cachar districts, the administration of which has suffered considerably by lacking the attention of a separate Commissioner. The Head of the Government of a vastly enlarged province will of course be still less able than the Chief Commissioner to give very detailed attention to a number of districts, and it will be desirable to bring these six districts and the State of Manipur under a Commissioner. There appear to be political advantages in placing Manipur on the same level as Tippera. The responsibility will apparently be too great to be attached to the Commissionership of Chittagong, and Mr. Fuller is of opinion that a new Commissionership should be created. A full discussion of this proposal would seem to be uncalled for in the present connection. But a reference to it is perhaps not out of place.

5. I am to remark that the State of Kuch Behar has apparently been omitted in calculating the population of the Rajshahi division for the purpose of the table that is contained in paragraph 3 of the letter. There has also been a slip in the statement of the numbers speaking Bengali or Assamese in this province.

Enclosure 11 in No. 2.

Letter from R. W. Carlyle, Esq., C.I.E., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial Department, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No. 3853-J. D., dated the 2nd November 1904.

(Extract.)

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter no. 1902, dated the 13th instant, in which the opinion of the Lieuteuant-Governor is invited on a suggestion of the Government of India that the main object of the scheme of reconstruction of the two provinces of Bengal and Assam would be more certainly attained, and the scheme itself would be placed on a more permanent footing if the area transferred were to be enlarged by adding to it the districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Malda and Jalpaiguri and the State of Cooch Behar. The first of the advantages set forth in your letter as attending these proposals is that the extension would give the new province a population of over 31 millions and leave Bengal with a little more than 54 millions, and that the reduction of 24½ millions would undoubtedly be a substantial relief to the Government of Bengal. There is no doubt that there is great force in this argument. Other than substantial relief might only result in proposals for further adjustment at no long distance of time. It is most desirable that the relief given to Bengal should be such as to make adjustment as effective and permanent as possible. The Lieutenant-Governor has already added to the original proposals of the Government of India the districts which are most similar to, and intimately connected with, those which the Government of India had proposed to transfer; and one of his objects in doing so was to secure not only the transfer of a homogeneous area but also more substantial and permanent relief. He is bound to say that the proposals now made will tend to make the adjustment of areas more satisfactory in both these respects. The second argument set forth in your letter under reply is that these enlarged proposals will give a well defined river boundary for almost the entire length of the western frontier; that they will prevent the division of what is well known as Northern Bengal; and that they will thus secure the maintenance of the well recognised geographical and social distinction between Western Bengal and Northern Bengal; while from Malda to the Himalayas the boundary will mark the point where Bengali ceases to be spoken and Hindi begins. The Lieutenant-Governor admits the force of this argument. There is not indeed so much similarity to, or intimate connection with, Dacca and Mymensingh, in the districts now proposed to be added, as in those which the Lieutenant-Governor proposed for addition in Mr. Macpherson's letter no. 2565-J., dated 6th April last. The districts separated from Dacca and Mymensingh by the river have much in common; and the zemindars of these two districts have large estates on the other side of the river. This is less the case with the districts now under consideration. Rajshahi has not so much connection with Pábna and Bogra

as these two districts have with the Dacca Division. But, although, the argument may not be quite so strong in regard to community of interest, it is practically the same argument; and it is well worthy of consideration. One of the main objects of the Lieutenant-Governor in recommending that the original proposals should be enlarged was that the well defined and clearly recognised area of Eastern Bengal should be handed over *en bloc*. The present proposals go further, and provide for the completion of this measure by handing over also the closely connected and well defined area of Northern Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor does not attach much weight to the argument in favour of having a river boundary. It is always easier to work with a permanent land boundary than with the somewhat shifting rivers of Bengal. In fact, His Honour had objected to the original proposals because they made a river of most irregular character the boundary between the two Provinces, and so would have probably produced a good deal of friction in regard to the disposal or management of *char* lands. The river which is now to be accepted as the western boundary is not, however, open to this objection in anything like the same degree, inasmuch as the shifting of the *char* formations is much less frequent and disputes are both more rare and less important. The boundary now proposed has also this great advantage, that it really means a linguistic and ethnological as well as geographical boundary. In regard to the third argument, to the effect that under these enlarged proposals the bulk of the characteristic Muhammadans of Bengal will be brought within the new province, the Lieutenant-Governor fully concurs with the Government of India. In the more western parts of the districts which it is proposed to add, the Muhammadans are less wealthy and influential than in the eastern parts; but it is perhaps all the more important that they should be added to the new province which will contain so large a body of Muhammadans. In the new province the Muhammadans will have power and influence which will enable them much more easily to attract attention to their necessities and their rights than in this province, where the Hindu population of these districts is so much more in touch with the influential Hindu elements in the other districts of Bengal. The fourth argument is one to which the Lieutenant-Governor does not attach very much importance. He believes that the tea trade has been getting on quite comfortably in Bengal, and that there is no great necessity for change in its interests. On the other hand, those who are interested in tea form but a small part of the community; and it does not appear to be likely that their interest would be in any way adversely affected. The fifth argument, that the greater part of the tract within which jute is cultivated will be brought under one Government, is very much of the same character. The Lieutenant-Governor believes that jute cultivation has now attracted, and is receiving, due attention from Government. He believes that this must now be the case whether the cultivation remains in Bengal or goes to Assam. On the other hand he concurs with the Chamber of Commerce (*vide* their letter forwarded with Mr. Macpherson's letter of 6th April last), that mere territorial division will not in any way alter the course of trade or affect its interest. The jute trade and the tea trade will be unaffected by the considerations of mere boundary. Neither will the interest of the planter himself be affected, for the Acts and rules under which he carries on his operations will, it has been promised, not be affected by the transfer of territory. The sixth argument which is used in your letter under reply is that these enlarged proposals will obviate the necessity for breaking up a revenue division which would have been broken up under the proposals of the Lientenant-Governor. His Honour accepts this argument, which is, however, in view of the other arguments of the case, of little importance. In a word then the Lieutenant-Governor supports the proposals now made by the Government of India. He has had an opportunity of discussing these enlarged proposals fully with the Members of the Board of Revenue and the most senior officers in the province. With the exception of a single officer who was inclined to advocate the retention in Bengal of the district of Jalpaiguri, so that the two sections of the Bengal tea interest might not be separated, there was complete unanimity in accepting the enlarged proposals now made. As indicated in your letter under reply, however, the interests of the Jalpaiguri planters

are not coincident with those of the Darjeeling planters; and there is really no strong connection between the two districts. The proposals of the Government of India would, on the other hand, be weakened in certain important points, if Jalpaiguri were retained in Bengal. The boundary of the new province would be unsuitable; a detached Bengali district would be left in the north; Northern Bengal would not be preserved in tact; and one of the revenue divisions would be broken up. In view of the fact that people everywhere and more than all in the east, object to the change, the enlarged proposals will no doubt be objected to by many; but, on the other hand, the Lieutenant-Governor believes that the transfer of a larger area will tend to mitigate the feeling of change and to reconcile the people to the transfer. Furthermore in regard to the importance of making the relief to Bengal substantial, increasing the chances of permanency, maintaining existing physical, linguistic and ethnological distinctions, and transferring the bulk of the characteristic Muhammadans of Bengal together to the eastern Province; and in consideration of the absence of any sound argument to be urged as against these advantages of the scheme, the Lieutenant-Governor thinks that the enlarged proposal should be accepted. They therefore have his support.

Enclosure 12 in No. 2.

Letter from R. W. Carlyle, Esq., C.I.E., I.C.S., Officiating Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department,—No. 2789-J. D., dated Darjeeling, the 26th September 1904.

With reference to Mr. Macpherson's letter no. 2556-J., dated 6th April last, on the subject of the reduction of the area of this province, I am directed to forward a copy of a note recorded by the Lieutenant-Governor on the Hindi-speaking States of Chota Nagpur.

Annexure.

Note on the Hindi-speaking States of Chota Nagpur.

In paragraph 10 of Mr. Macpherson's letter no. 2556-J., dated the 6th April last, it was proposed that five Native States, namely, Jashpur, Sirguja, Udaipur, Korea and Changbhakar should be transferred to the Central Provinces. They are Hindi-speaking States. The principal object of the proposal was to make an exchange for the Uriya States which it was proposed to have transferred from the Central Provinces to Bengal. It was pointed out that the result would be to have a belt of Hindi-speaking States on the west of the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces, and a belt of Uriya-speaking States on the east of that Division. The former would be under the Central Provinces, and the latter under Bengal. Many of the advantages of this proposal are manifest at a glance.

2. The question of accessibility was not, however, discussed. As a matter of fact these States are largely composed of hill country. They are very jungly and they are not easily accessible. I have, however, recently had two experiences, which show that they are more accessible from the Central Provinces than from Bengal: and I think that it is worth while to record this fact.

3. When I was at Ranchi in the beginning of September last, the Chief of Sirguja asked me to permit him to visit me on important business connected with his States. I agreed; and he came. His head-quarters are at Bisrampur, which is a little south of the centre of his State. I ascertained from him that he had come by road from Bisrampur to Sakti, which is one of the Central Provinces States, thence from Sakti to Purulia by rail, and thence 75 miles by road to Ranchi. I asked him why he had not come straight across country from Bisrampur to Ranchi. He told me that that would be a very much more

difficult journey, and the route he had adopted was much the easier of the two. By coming by the route he adopted he had 272 miles by rail in addition to 75 miles by road from Sakti to Purulia, whereas if he had been going to Raipur, he would only have had 120 miles from Sakti to Raipur. His State is manifestly therefore far more accessible from Raipur in the Central Provinces than from Ranchi in Bengal.

4. Again I have recently ordered an enquiry by a special officer into the condition of the Feudatory States of Chota Nagpur; because I find that most of them have been but little visited, and that one of them has only once been visited, by a European officer. I asked the Commissioner of Chota Nagpur to advise me as to the best route for this officer to take in visiting these States. In regard to the five States mentioned above, the Commissioner proposed that this officer should proceed by rail to one of the stations on the Bengal Nagpur Railway, and so march first into Jashpur, then from another station into Udaipur, and then from a third station into Sirguja, from which he would march through Korea to Changbhakar and then go on to a fourth station on the same railway (Bilaspur-Katni Branch).

5. Jashpur, the head-quarters of the State of the same name, is situated on the north-east corner of the State, and is therefore more accessible from Ranchi than any other of the five States; but it is about 90 miles by road from Ranchi and rather less from the line of rail. The communication with the railway is also better than the communication with Ranchi. Jashpur is therefore about equally accessible from Ranchi and Raipur. The head-quarters town of the State of Udaipur is only about 30 miles from the line of rail; and the most convenient station is Sakti, of which I have spoken already in discussing communications with Sirguja. Udaipur is thus much nearer to Raipur than to Ranchi. The State of Korea lies to the west of Sirguja and the most convenient way of getting at it at present is to go through Sirguja, so that the remarks made in regard to Sirguja apply equally to the State. Like Sirguja it is nearer to Raipur than to Ranchi. Korea would be still more accessible if it were added to the Central Provinces. It would then be even more accessible from the Bilaspur-Katni Branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway. Finally, Changbhakar is the State which has never been visited but once by a Bengal officer. The Commissioner proposes now that the special officer, whom I have placed on duty to inspect these States, should proceed from the line of rail to Sirguja, and then march west through Korea into Changbhakar and then join the Bilaspur-Katni Branch of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway at the most convenient station. A glance at the map will show that there is no comparison between the accessibility of Changbhakar from Raipur by that line of rail and its accessibility from Ranchi. It is practically inaccessible from Ranchi by road; and, if the railway be used, the difference in favour of the Central Provinces is very marked. The road from Changbhakar to Bilaspur is common to both lines; then from Bilaspur to Ranchi is 324 miles by rail and 75 miles by road, whereas from Bilaspur to Raipur is only 68 miles by rail. All these States are separated from the uplands of Ranchi by hills and jungle and are more open towards the railway; and, with the exception of Jashpur (which is equally accessible from both) they are much more accessible from Raipur than from Ranchi.

6. These facts show how very desirable it is, on the ground of accessibility to have these States transferred to the Central Provinces. It is also clear that it would greatly tend to open out these States and develop them, if they were connected directly with the head-quarters of the Political Agent (at Raipur) by comparatively short roads leading to points on the line of rail within easy distance of the Political Agent's head-quarters. The other argument to which Mr. Macpherson's letter draws attention, *viz.*, that the Political Agent of the Central Provinces would, in that case, only have to deal with one language in his Native States, is also surely one of great weight. It would also be a great advantage to Bengal if its political work had only to be done in the Uriya language, instead of having a number of States speaking two vernaculars.

A. H. L. FRASER,

Lieutenant-Governor.

Enclosure 13 in No. 2.

ADDRESSES AT CHITTAGONG.

On Saturday night, the 13th February 1904, the Viceroy, accompanied by his staff, embarked at Calcutta on board the *Guide* for a tour in Eastern Bengal. Leaving at daybreak on the morning of the 14th, the *Guide* arrived at Normap's Point, at the mouth of the Karnafuli River, at 1 P.M. on the 15th. Here His Excellency was met by Mr. Greenshields, Commissioner of Chittagong, and other local officials and proceeded up the river to Chittagong, where he landed at the Sudder Ghat Jetty at 4 P.M., near which a large shamiana was pitched, in which, in the presence of a considerable assembly of Europeans and Natives, Addresses were presented to him by the Port Trust, the Municipality, the District Board, the Chittagong Association, the Buddhists of Chittagong, the Islam Association, and the Chiefs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The first four Addresses only were read and the subjects dealt with in them will be apparent from the joint reply which His Excellency gave to them. He said:—

Gentlemen,—The Addresses that have just been read out are four in number, *viz.*, from the Port Trust, the Municipality, the District Boards and the Chittagong Association. All join in giving me a welcome to this picturesque and interesting place, which I have always been anxious to see, and which I long ago resolved not to leave India without visiting. I return my cordial thanks for this welcome, and I am glad that I spend sufficient time here to enable me to form some impression of the features and capabilities of your town. I also gratefully acknowledge the warm expressions of loyalty to the Throne, and of appreciation of the benefits that you enjoy under the Indian Government—which find a place in the Addresses.

On behalf of the Government it is also my pleasing duty to acknowledge the generous recognition that you have offered to several of our administrative acts in recent years. Allusion has been made more particularly to the fostering of native industries and the recent institution of State technical scholarships, to the preservation of Ancient Monuments, to the Educational reforms which we have taken in hand, to the importance of the numerous Commissions of Enquiry that have been instituted, and to the relief in respect of the Salt Tax and Income Tax provided for in the Budget of last year. All of these have been stages in a deliberately formulated policy of reform, of which I am glad to say that we are now approaching the concluding stages. The results of the Famine Commission have already taken effect. The report of the Universities Commission finds its sequel in the Bill now before the Supreme Legislative Council, which in a short time will be passed into law. The proceedings of the Technical Education Commission have been followed by the steps to which you have alluded, and by further proposals that have been submitted to all the local Governments. In a few weeks' time we shall bring out a full and reasoned statement of our Educational policy, in every branch of Education in India, which I trust will supply both a compendium and a guide to future action for many years to come. The Agricultural Banks Committee has resulted in the Bill for instituting Co-operative Credit Societies, which will be passed in the present Session. Our policy of Archæological Preservation, in addition to the exhaustive examination that we have made of all the Indian monuments and the large sums that we are spending upon repair or restoration, culminates in the Ancient Monuments Bill, which is also on the verge of passing into law. Our proposals upon the Report of the Railway Commissioner, and upon that of the Police Commission, are now before the Secretary of State, and are only awaiting his orders. Action is already being taken on the Report of the Irrigation Commission, and a definite scheme of policy to be pursued over a long series of years will be exhaustively worked out in the forthcoming summer. It thus appears that in every one of these branches of administrative reform we have not enquired or laboured for nothing, but that the green blade is already showing itself above the ground.

With reference to the remarks of the Municipal Commissioners about the Salt Tax, I should like to say that our information from every quarter points to the fact that the reduction of a year ago has produced a material fall in price resulting in a general increase of consumption and in unquestioned relief to the masses. In illustration of the former proposition I may mention that, whereas we estimated a sacrifice of revenue of 173 lakhs in the present year owing to the reduction, the loss will not be more than 150 lakhs, and perhaps less. As regards

prices and the effect upon the consumer, I find that retail prices are nearly everywhere lower; and I learn from Bombay that no fewer than 80 per cent. of the population have been beneficially affected by the reduction and from Bengal that though the relief has naturally been experienced to a greater extent by the large consumer than by the small, and in towns more than in remote country districts—yet it has proved to be a very appreciable benefit to the poorer classes of the population for whom it was chiefly intended, amounting in the case of an ordinary family to the saving per month of the wages of a full day's labour. As regards the Income Tax, I shall perhaps bring home to you the extent of the relief afforded by taking the concrete illustration of your own division, where I find that under the exemption that we granted, 63 per cent. of the assessees have been relieved of all payment at a cost of 27 per cent. of the revenue.

I now pass to the subjects which have been separately raised in the various Addresses, and which more especially concern the bodies or communities by whom they were put forward. The first of these is the completion and future of the Assam-Bengal Railway, to which I need not refer to-day, as I shall be called upon to deal with it to-morrow: and the allied subject of the future of Chittagong trade and the Chittagong Port. The Port Commissioners have represented the difficulty that they experience in developing the trade of the port, owing almost entirely to the lack of funds: and among the subjects to which they have more particularly called my attention are the dredging of the bars, the need for increase of jetty accommodation, and the revetment of the river bank. They point out that the further development of the port is essential to the prosperity of the Railway, just as the completion of the Railway must, under proper conditions, add to the prosperity of the Port, and they complain of the inadequate attention that they think has been paid to their requirements by the local Government. Without accepting quite all that has been said on this point, I may mention that the Government of India have on many occasions since I came to India done their best to lend a helping hand to the Port: and I have probably as good a paper acquaintance with your conditions and needs as it is possible to acquire by such means. During the past three years the Government of India have sanctioned, first, the construction of a second jetty, and then the transfer of both jetties to the Railway Company. Next we authorized you to impose river dues of 2 annas with a power of increase to 4 annas per ton; and finally we made you a loan of two lakhs for the purchase of the steam tug *Gëkko*, of which more than one lakh is still outstanding. In connection with my present visit I have made a renewed enquiry into your conditions to see whether the circumstances are such as to justify the more liberal treatment for which you plead. It seems to me clear from the returns that a change is already taking place in the nature of your trade, which is mainly the result of the construction of the Assam-Bengal Railway, and which is fraught with great possibilities for the future. While the coasting trade is diminishing owing to the transport by rail of produce from the interior which used to be conveyed by water, the foreign trade shows great expansion, firstly because of the cheaper rates at which jute, tea, and rice can be brought for export and secondly from the increased purchasing power of imports in return. But if this development is to proceed at the rate of speed which would appear to be within your reach, if only you had the funds, then I agree that some outside assistance is required, in order to enable you to rise to your opportunities. Such initial outlay now will be more than recouped by the expansion of trade that will rapidly ensue. The Government of India have therefore decided, in the present favourable state of their finances, which admits of a generosity that is not always possible, to help you in the following ways. We will write off the unpaid balance of more than one lakh of the *Gekko* loan. We will undertake, subject to the advice of engineers, to help you in the matter of a dredger to clear your bars for larger vessels, and also to pay for the revetment of the river bank: and we will lend you money on reasonable terms to provide the requisite wharves and warehouses for the anticipated development of trade. We think that this expenditure is justified, both in the interests of the Port and of the Railway. Government has spent enormous sums upon the latter: and from the strictly business point of view the best chance of getting a due return for our outlay is to provide the

proper facilities for the trade which it is in a position to create. I hope that these announcements will put fresh heart into your people, and will pave the way for the rise of Chittagong to what in my opinion is its natural destiny, *viz.*, to be the principal outlet of the trade of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

And now I come to the last point though perhaps the most important. The question of the proposed transfer of the Chittagong Division has not been raised in three of the Addresses, because I understand that the opinion of their authors was divided upon it. In the fourth Address, that from the Chittagong Association, I am informed that the proposal has caused alarm and anxiety among the people. Now I shall be called upon in the course of the ensuing week to deal with this subject more fully in the replies to Addresses at Dacca and Mymensingh, which raise even more controversial issues than those that are excited here. But I wish at the outset to make two remarks which must be held to govern all that I say either here or there. The first is that until the Government of India has received the opinion of the local Government and of its officers—which we have not yet done—we are not in a position to make up our minds finally on the subject, and I must not be regarded therefore as committing myself one way or the other. The second is that, whatever view any of us may take on either side, no good purpose can be served by making rash and violent statements either about motives or about consequences. The Government of India can have no conceivable object in view but the administrative advantage, not only of this area or that area, but of the country as a whole. Conversely those who are alarmed at the proposals must either show that their fears are based on solid grounds, and not merely on declamation, or must be prepared to abandon them if they are shown to be unreasonable. The question is one of a balance of advantage. If the Government find that, after a careful study of the opinions submitted to them, their scheme holds the ground in the opinions of those best qualified to advise them, no one can expect them to depart from it. If it is argued that it will not attain the desired objects, or that the latter can better be attained in another way or ways, then the degree to which these views are accepted will depend entirely upon the nature and completeness of the demonstration that is offered in favour of them.

As regards the Chittagong Division, it does not, I think, seem to be generally known that the transfer was very nearly being effected seven years ago, and that the main reasons for its temporary postponement were that the Chittagong Settlement had not been completed, and that the Assam-Bengal Railway was in the same condition. I see that a great deal is made of the hostile opinion of Sir Henry Cotton. But no one has pointed out that this opinion was delivered in January 1897, when he had only been Chief Commissioner of Assam for two months, and unquestionably and inevitably wrote, as a Bengal officer and not as an Assam officer: while, though the opinions of Sir Henry Cotton and others who were opposed to the change have been published by the newspapers, I observe that no one has said a word about the opinions of Sir William Ward, who only a few months before he left Assam in 1896, after being Chief Commissioner for 5½ years, wrote a most exhaustive, able, and reasoned argument in favour of the transfer. Similarly I observe that the opinion of another Bengal officer, Sir Charles Stevens, who for a time acted as Lieutenant-Governor, has been quoted as unfavourable. But I think that Sir Charles Stevens, when he was interviewed the other day, if he has been correctly reported, must have forgotten that when a member of the Board of Revenue in 1896, he and his colleague, Mr. Lyall, reported officially most strongly in favour of the change, and only advocated its postponement for three years. The same view as to the desirability of the transfer was held both by the late Sir John Woodburn and by Sir James Bourdillon. It is shared by Mr. Fuller, the present Chief Commissioner of Assam, and by many of the most experienced Bengal officers whom I have met. It is surely absurd to suppose that these officers, the majority of them Bengal men, would have committed themselves to any proposal that would be injurious to the interests of the province or the people among whom they had spent so much, and in some cases the whole, of their official lives.

The Chittagong Association in their Address have informed me that when Lord Dalhousie offered the Noabad Talukdars in this neighbourhood the boon of

the permanent settlement fifty years ago, they in their ignorance missed the opportunity and failed to avail themselves of the privilege; and they now ask me to give it to them. This history is not quite strictly correct: and it is in any case impossible to re-open questions which have been finally determined in the course of the recent settlement operations. But the perusal of this passage has led me to wonder whether, if the present people of Chittagong refuse the chance that is now offered to it of becoming the principal port of a new and powerful administration, possessing a considerable claim upon the time, attention, and purse of the head of that administration, not overshadowed by any great and potent rival, but capable of developing its own individuality on its own lines, their successors may not come to some successor of mine in the future with similar complaints of the shortsightedness of an earlier generation. I do not by any means brush aside the objections that have been raised to the transfer, some of which appear to me to possess weight. I shall have an opportunity of saying something about them when I proceed to Dacca and Mymensing, where the arguments in question possess a perhaps greater force. I will merely say here that it must not be hastily assumed either that those objections have been overlooked by Government, or that it is impossible to provide for them; and I would counsel the members of the Chittagong Association to preserve an open mind in the matter, and not to take up an attitude which they might afterwards find to have been shortsighted when the opinions of those in authority have been fully consulted, and when the case is more thoroughly sifted and stated than has yet been done.

It now only remains for me to bring these lengthy remarks to a close. Their length will perhaps be held to have been justified by the singular importance of the subject which I have been called upon to discuss, and by the fact that the present is rather a turning-point in the history of Chittagong. Whatever be the course that that history takes, it is my sincere wish, as it is also my belief, that a greater position and prosperity may lie before this place in the future than it has ever hitherto enjoyed.

Addresses at Dacca.

The Viceregal Party arrived at Dacca on Thursday morning, the 18th February, and were the guests of the Nawab in the Ahsan Munzil Palace. At 3-30 P.M., His Excellency received, in a large shamiana near the Nawab's Palace, deputations from the District Board and Municipal Commissioners, the People's Association, the Zemindars and Landholders, and the Mahomedan community, who presented him with Addresses, to which His Excellency replied at length in the following terms:—

Gentlemen,—Permit me to thank you for the four Addresses which have just been read. They are unanimous in offering me a welcome to this ancient and historic city, and they allude with satisfaction to many aspects of the recent policy of the Government of India. It is always a pleasure to learn that the administrative or legislative proceedings of the Government meet with the approval of important sections of the community: since although popular approbation is neither the first nor the last test either of political expediency or the public need, yet it is gratifying to learn that measures intended for the benefit of the community are appreciated by them; and, even where that appreciation may be lacking, it will usually be found that Government is acting in obedience to some higher principle which may not be universally or generally recognized at the time, but the justification of which, assuming the principle to be sound, is certain to follow. The District Board and Municipality have also congratulated me on my extension of office—an extension which has no other value or importance to me than that of turning it, if I may be permitted to do so, to the public advantage; while two of the addresses contain a regretful allusion to the absence of Lady Curzon, which cannot be deplored by you as much as it is by myself.

My opinion has been sought on three subjects of minor importance to which I will briefly advert. Mention is made of the desirability of a railway to a point opposite Goalundo so as to facilitate communication with Calcutta; and the aid of the Supreme Government is invoked. The line would doubtless be of great local advantage and I have little doubt that sooner or later it will come;

but I find that it would be very expensive, especially if a bridge were required across the River Dhaleswari, which has a very broad and shifting channel, and while there are other and more urgent calls upon the Government purse, it must wait. Next a complaint has been made of the increasing silt in the river here, which is said to impede internal traffic. I find that the matter has been investigated and written about at intervals for thirty years. It appears that less water does now enter the river than formerly, but there is still an ample depth during the rains which is the busy season for trade; and at other times of the year the place of the river has really been taken by the Railway to Naraingunj, which takes down your produce to the point of export. In any case nothing could be done without elaborate preliminary surveys and great subsequent expense; while the science of river training is one that contains so many speculative and surprising elements that Governments are a little shy about spending large sums upon results so extremely problematical in character. I can assure you from my own experience that it is easy to pour a good many lakhs into a river-bed, and at the end the river, without even thanking you for your trouble, makes you look rather ridiculous by going off in some entirely independent direction. The third request is that the Government of India will legislate for the restoration of the old Mahomedan system of Wakfs which was broken down by decisions of the High Court and the Privy Council some years ago. I am afraid that I can give no such undertaking. Though we are in general sympathy with any measure that will keep landed properties intact and perpetuate old families, Government could not properly undertake to legislate in such a case as this, particularly as the Musulman community is divided on the subject, and a majority of it are believed to be strongly opposed to proceeding by legislation at all.

This, gentlemen, exhausts the list of the subsidiary topics to which you have called my attention; and I now turn to the more momentous subject of the proposed territorial changes in these parts of Bengal, which is so greatly agitating the public mind. In the first place, let me say that this seems to me to be a matter on which local communities or representative bodies are entirely entitled to express their opinions, and that addresses would not be worth receiving if subjects on which the public were thinking more strongly than any other were excluded from them, simply on the ground that the public view happened not to be in complete accord with that of the Government. It is always possible to couch such allusions in a respectful and non-contentious form, and I have never found any refusal or reluctance on the part of a local body to do so. Indeed, since I have been in India I have never been disposed to treat addresses as a mere ceremonial compliment, offered to the Viceroy as representative of the Sovereign. I have always regarded them rather as an opportunity of presenting within reasonable limits, the views of the community to the head of the Government, whom they do not in the nature of things see very often; and it is in that spirit that I have always replied to them with perfect frankness, as I shall do on the present occasion. First let me clear the air a little. I said in my speech at Chittagong three days ago that I had not come to these parts in order to announce the final and irrefutable decision of Government, for the best of reasons, namely, that we are not yet in possession of material upon which alone such a decision can be based. I have come rather to ascertain from enquiry the trend of local opinion—although as a matter of fact my visit to Dacca was promised a year ago before the question had come up at all,—and also to give you certain explanations about the point of view of the Government, which, owing to the fact that their proposals have been put forward in a necessarily condensed fashion in a single official letter dealing with questions of vast complexity covering an immense range—has inevitably been left in some obscurity, and has given rise to misconceptions or alarms which in a large number of cases it should not be difficult to dispel. I propose to act upon this plan both here and in my answer to the addresses at Mymensingh, and perhaps if the people at both places will do me the favour of reading both replies the second of which will be consecutive to the first, they will possess a clearer conception of what it is that the Government have in view, and of the possible methods of attaining it, than they have yet been in a position to form.

There are certain preliminary considerations which govern the whole case, but which, owing to the natural tendency of each community or area to regard the proposal in the manner in which it will directly affect itself, and to the absence of the wider knowledge which the Government of India can alone possess, have been almost entirely ignored. The first of these is the imperative necessity of finding a remedy for the present situation. It is beyond dispute that Bengal must be relieved. No one Government and no one Administration can possibly devote to nearly 80 millions of people the personal supervision, care, and control, which are the objects for which local Governments exist. The interests of the people must suffer, and they do suffer. Those of you who are only familiar with your own area may not know it; but we whose duty it is to keep an eye upon the whole of India, and to compare the standards in the respective administrations, know it very well, and have known it for years. I may add also that it has been known to and acknowledged by, almost every recent Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. No other local Government in India administers much more than half the number of people that there are in Bengal, and there is nothing in the circumstances of Bengal which renders Government easier or an exception more defensible here. On the contrary, the reverse is, if anything, the case. Now it is no answer to say that as one Viceroy supervises 300 millions, one Lieutenant-Governor can perfectly well govern 80 millions: for there is not the remotest analogy between the work or the duties of the two. You might as well say that because there is one Commander-in-Chief for the 220,000 men in the Indian Army, it is unnecessary to fix any numerical limit for the minor separation into divisions or brigades. Do not let us argue the point in such a transparently fallacious manner. No argument indeed can possibly get over the fact that the charge is too heavy, and those who are pleading most strongly for the essential unity of the Bengal nation as they call it, and the cruelty and hardship of ever sundering it, do not see that they are doing the worst possible service to their cause; for they compel us to look ahead to a time when the numbers must have swollen by the laws of nature to a figure which would produce a complete administrative breakdown, and when the partition which they now decry will be forced upon Bengal in circumstances of infinitely greater pain and hardship than any that are now in contemplation.

But even if you have followed me thus far there will be many who will fall back upon two classes of argument to which I next turn. The first is what I may call the selfish argument. "If anything or anybody must be severed, at least let it be some one else. Sever Behar, sever Orissa, sever Chota Nagpur but leave us alone." Perhaps it does not occur to you that they may be saying the same thing about you; and indeed it would not be surprising, for we all of us naturally look at these matters through our own spectacles, and we are all averse from change until we understand that we are going to profit by it. It is only those who can impartially survey the claims and interests of all, and weigh them against each other, who are in a position to decide where the balance of advantage lies. On the present occasion I need not do more than say that even were the whole of these districts which you are so anxious to submit to the fate that you deprecate for yourselves, cut off, we should have gone no distance at all towards solving the problem: for whereas one of the chief factors in the present situation is the existence of what you described as the small and backward province of Assam on the frontiers of Bengal, we should merely reproduce this feature instead of removing it, and should surround Bengal by a fringe of petty provinces, administered by borrowed officers, and presenting most of the anomalies that are so freely denounced in the case of Assam.

The second argument is of a different character, but equally admits of reply. It is said, instead of splitting up Bengal why not leave it alone and assist the Lieutenant-Governor by an Executive Council such as exists in Madras and Bombay? Now I wonder how many persons there are among those who use this argument who have the least conception how that system works or who have ever studied it in operation. In the first place, the system has been specially devised for two provinces where the Governor is almost invariably a stranger brought out from England, who requires a body of local experts to

guide him; and even there, as anyone who knows the inner history of India could tell you, it has been far from a smooth or perfect machine. Moreover, it is applied in Madras to a population of only 38 millions and in Bombay to one of 18½ millions. Sir John Lawrence, who knew India as well as any Englishman who ever served in this country, said after 40 years of Indian experience, that the most efficient Governments that he had ever known were those of Lieutenant-Governors, or heads of Administrations, without a council, and that where such men as Sir Thomas Munro, Sir John Malcolm, and Lord Elphinstone had attained success with Executive Councils in Madras or Bombay, it had only been achieved by them in despite, and not in consequence, of those conditions. The Government of India have most carefully considered this matter, and they could not with any due regard to the future interests of the people of Bengal, recommend such a mode of Government for this province. In their opinion the Government of a Lieutenant-Governor and an Executive Council would be a Government of divided and therefore weakened authority, of diffused and therefore diminished responsibility, and, at any rate in the case, as often happens, of a Lieutenant-Governor brought from the outside and finding himself confronted with a Council of superior numbers, a Government, should he be able to overrule them, of perpetual scope for dissension, should he be unable to overrule them, one of impotence and standstill. I would further add that an Executive Council in Bengal could only, in my opinion, lead to further centralisation and Secretariat Government, which are the very evils that we desire to avoid. I pray you therefore to dismiss from your minds, as in the least degree likely under present conditions, the idea of an Executive Council for Bengal. It is my firm conviction that I could not bequeath to this province a worse boon than that which has been thus innocently suggested.

Gentlemen, I hope that I have now carried you to the point of realising, firstly, that the case for the relief of Bengal is overwhelming, secondly, that Bengal cannot be relieved by snipping off outside fragments, thirdly, that it cannot be left as it is, with an Executive Council thrown in as a palliative. I now pass to the manner in which these propositions affect yourselves.

One of your addresses speaks of the universal feeling of apprehension that has been aroused by our proposals, and an effort has been made to impress me at each stage of my journey with the degree to which the public feeling has been stirred. Gentlemen, I am quite willing to concede the utmost range that is consistent with the facts to the existence of the feeling, and I really am not surprised that it should have been aroused, when I read the extraordinary tales with which the public have been frightened, and about which I shall have something to say later on. But when you ask me to believe that the feeling is universal, I am unable to follow you. In the first place, how many of the poor people, the raiyats, the shopkeepers, the petty traders know what our proposals are or have ever been informed of the reasoning upon which they are based? I find that in the Dacca and Mymensingh Districts alone, out of an adult male population of 1,870,000, there are only 225,000, or 12 per cent. who can either read or write any language at all, and only 1 per cent. who understand English. What do the remainder know except that they have been told that an unfeeling and despotic Government is going to deprive them of their rights and liberties, and that it is their duty to attend public meetings and pass resolutions of protest? If you have any doubts on this matter, I am in a position to remove them, for I have had placed in my hands a copy of the instructions issued by the Mymensingh Association—a body which has been actively bestirring itself in getting up the agitation in this part of the country, and which I know to be in close connection with more important organizations in Calcutta. I need do no more than read to you a few extracts from this document—

"All of you should within a week gather together to hold a large meeting, and in it express your views. Specimens are given below of the resolutions that should be adopted and of letters that should be sent to different places. The language may be altered as desired. A petition is to be sent to the Lieutenant-Governor. It is necessary that it should be signed by more than a lakh of people. After the meeting telegrams should be sent on the very day to the Calcutta newpapers."

Then follows a series of forms of the resolutions to be adopted, the telegrams to be sent, and the names of the newspapers, with instructions to proceed as economically as possible. The paper goes on to say:—

"You may slightly modify the specimens of telegrams and resolutions given above, keeping their substance intact. Such modifications are indeed to be desired. In the case of telegrams in particular, you should try your best to do this. Memorials may be written in English or Bengali. Those from the villages ought to be written in Bengali. You should soon collect subscriptions and send them in. It is quite impossible to carry on an agitation without money. The people in Mymensingh have not been able fully to realize the danger that they may be in. All classes of people in Dacca, lettered or unlettered, have become well nigh mad."

Now, gentlemen, I have not read out these extracts with the idea of passing any censure upon them, for it is no news to any of us to learn how agitations are engineered, but simply to confute the claim that the masses of the people are profoundly or universally stirred. If they were, it would not be necessary to adopt such tactics to rally them, and if these tactics have been found necessary, then their authors must not be surprised if the Government do not attach so much importance to their demonstrations as they themselves would wish. For my own part I earnestly deprecate the attempt that is being made to seduce the ignorant cultivators and townspeople into an agitation which I venture to say that not one in a thousand of them in the least degree understands, or if he does at all understand it, only does so upon a perverted and misleading representation of what has been actually proposed.

Do not imagine, however, even if I show the agitation to be a hollow and unreal one in so far as it is supposed to emanate from the masses, that therefore I doubt for a moment that the feelings of which I am speaking are generally entertained by many educated and thoughtful men. On the contrary, I believe, this to be emphatically the case, and I think I know also quite well why they entertain them, and upon what they rest. It is to this class, therefore, that I now turn, with a few words as to the nature of the beliefs upon which they are acting.

I shall not, I think, be far wrong if I say that almost the whole of the suspicion or opposition rests upon two apprehensions. The first is that a part of Bengal is about to be handed over to a backward and inefficient administration. The second is that the people are going to be deprived of valuable rights and privileges which they at present enjoy.

The first of these impressions is reflected in one of your addresses, which describes the Government proposal as one "to make our prosperous and enlightened district the appanage of a backward province"; and I have seen the same sort of idea reproduced in much cruder form in pamphlets circulated among the people, from which one might imagine that Assam was an abode of outer darkness, inhabited by nothing but planters and tea-garden coolies and savage hillmen, who speak strange languages, are sunk in ignorance and superstition, and require to be governed by primitive methods: and that the enlightened districts of Eastern Bengal were about to be handed over in perpetual bondage to these sons of Ishmael. I have even seen in papers of addresses the phrase that you are about to be ceded or annexed to Assam. Again, I wonder how many of the people who affect this sort of language have ever travelled one mile in Assam, or have any idea of its administration or people. For my own part I have seen both, and I have observed within a few hours' journey of this very place Bengal people living contentedly in Sylhet and Cachar under the Assam Administration, quite unconscious that they were the appanage of a backward province, or that they had been ceded or annexed to anyone at all. I have also spoken to Bengal officers who have served both in Assam and Bengal, and who have told me that the administration is brought much nearer home to the people in Assam than in Eastern Bengal. But even supposing that the fear were well grounded, does it not argue the most extraordinary lack of self-confidence to urge that these enlightened districts, priding themselves as they do on their culture, their education, and their advancement, and counting millions of people, are going to be annexed by a province which is like an

infant to them in respect of development and stature? Gentlemen, the population of the entire area in Bengal which it has been proposed to transfer amounts to 11½ millions of people. The entire population of Assam is only 6 millions as it is, and of these nearly 3 millions are Bengalis already. Do you mean to tell me that these 14½ millions of Bengalis, representing as you tell me the flower of the race, are going to be absorbed, obliterated, and destroyed because it is proposed to amalgamate with them, for administrative purposes only, less than 1½ millions of a race, *i.e.*, the Assamese whom you declare to be in every way inferior to your own? Such an apprehension would be the most lamentable confession of weakness in the future of the Bengal race which it is possible to conceive. If I were an Assamese, I could understand his saying that he dreaded being annexed and swamped by Bengal. But why Bengal should say that it is about to be swallowed up by Assam, I am wholly at a loss to imagine. It is a part of the same unreasoning fear that is responsible for the argument that the Bengalis will cease to be Bengalis and become Assamese, or that they will cease to speak the Bengali language. Gentlemen, as I travelled in the railway train yesterday, I saw batches of well-organized schoolboys holding up placards, on which was written, "Do not turn us into Assamese." Surely I need not point out to an intelligent audience that no administrative rearrangement can possibly turn one people into another, or make 14½ millions of people speak any language but their own: and really the alarms that I am describing seem almost too childish to deserve notice were it not that I have found them to be seriously stated, and apparently genuinely entertained. Let me put before you for a moment another aspect of the case. Much use has been made in this controversy of history, and of all that it is supposed to teach. I also in a small way am a student of history: and if it has taught me anything of these parts, the lesson has been that under the present system of administration, Dacca, which was once the capital of Bengal, has steadily declined in numbers and influence, and that not until the jute trade was introduced some thirty years ago did it begin to revive.

In 1800 Dacca was a city of 200,000 people. In 1870 it had sunk to 69,000. Since then it has risen, owing to the circumstances that I have mentioned, to 90,000 in the last census; but whereas the increase was 10,000 between 1870 and 1880, it has only been 11,000 in the ensuing 20 years. Will anyone here pretend that, even after this advance, Dacca is anything but a shadow of its former self? Is it not notorious that for years it has been lamenting its downfall, as compared with the past?

When then a proposal is put forward which would make Dacca the centre, and possibly the capital, of a new and self-sufficing administration, which must give to the people of these districts, by reason of their numerical strength and their superior culture, the preponderating voice in the province so created, which would invest the Muhammadans in Eastern Bengal with a unity which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old Mussalman Viceroys and Kings, which must develop local interests and trade to a degree that is impossible so long as you remain, to use your own words, the appanage of another administration, and which would go far to revive the traditions which the historical students assure us once attached to the Kingdom of Eastern Bengal—can it be that the people of these districts are to be advised by their leaders to sacrifice all these great and incontestable advantages, from fear of being tied on to the tail of the humble and backward Assam? Is it not transparent, Gentlemen, that you must be the head and heart of any such new organism, instead of the extremities, and do you really mean to be so blind to your own future as to repudiate the offer?

That these considerations have been apparent to many of your number is evident from the suggestion which finds a place in two of the addresses, namely, that if some rearrangement of existing conditions is inevitable, you would urge the constitution of a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Legislative Council and a Board of Revenue, under which the people of this part of Bengal would retain all the rights and privileges to which they attach so much weight. I need not pause to discuss what proportion of the leading persons of Dacca or of the population at large reflect these sentiments. I merely regard the suggestion

on its merits. The Mahomedans in their address have gone further; for they say explicitly that they do not share in the recent vehement agitation, and they definitely recommend the constitution of a new province, whose districts and boundaries they proceed to name. Now, Gentlemen, it would be premature for me to discuss any such suggestion at the present stage, because it has never yet been placed officially, and I have no knowledge whether it will be so placed, before the Government of India; nor have I heard fully expounded or declared the arguments by which it may be supported. I will merely observe to-day that many of the objectors to the present scheme have themselves furnished the strongest reasons for a more ambitious one, by insisting that the relief which we proposed to give to Bengal will be swallowed up in a few more censuses and that the evil which we desire to redress will then be as bad as before. Further, if we find upon examination that the other territorial rearrangements which were proposed in our original scheme, and which relate to Orissa and Chota Nagpur, call for any modification, and if such modification leaves Bengal much as it is, or does not substantially reduce its administrative burden, then it is clear that the case for a larger readjustment in the east of Bengal will be greatly enhanced. I must admit, too, that there are certain objections taken, not without considerable plausibility, to the present more restricted scheme, from which the larger one would be exempt. I think, therefore, that such a scheme, if put forward, will be deserving of attentive consideration.

Now as regards the objections that are entertained to the present proposal, I said just now that some were plausible. Further, I think that some are reasonable. I have not time this afternoon to examine all these objections, though I propose to continue the task in my reply at Mymensingh, which I dare say that you will be good enough to read in continuation of this. I will here deal only with three which are among the most popular. The first of these is plausible but fallacious. The second is reasonable. The third is entirely mistaken.

The first objection is as follows. It is apprehended that if a new province is formed, the people will lose the Board of Revenue, in which they place great reliance as the final court of appeal in revenue matters. Now the Board in revenue cases does not sit as a board. Ever since Sir George Campbell's day, one member has taken the revenue cases, and it is before him that the cases come and that counsel plead. I cannot see, therefore, that there is much difference between this officer, sitting as a Board, whereas he is really an individual, and a Chief Commissioner sitting and hearing counsel, as the present Chief Commissioner or Assam does, except that the Chief Commissioner has many other duties to perform, and that, when he is not a Bengal officer, he may not, to start with, possess a full acquaintance with the revenue system of Bengal. However, it is unnecessary to pursue this point, because, whether a Chief Commissionership or a Lieutenant-Governorship be created, I think that he should certainly have a financial or Revenue Commissioner, as already exists in other provinces, who will play exactly the same part as is now filled in Bengal by the Revenue Member of the Board. This objection, therefore, has no foundation.

The second objection is that the people of this part of Bengal would lose their representation, such as it is in the local Legislative Council, their power of asking questions and making speeches there and of discussing the legislation affecting the province that is passed in Writers' Buildings at Calcutta. It should of course be remembered that this representation is only enjoyed by the District Boards once in every eight years, and by the Municipalities once in ten years. But I understand the answer to this point to be that though it is quite true, yet local interests, if not directly represented by local members, are fairly represented by the provincial members in general, who take an interest in each other's districts; while if the further point be made that the new province, though not endowed with a local Legislative Council, would probably possess the higher distinction of representation in the Imperial Legislative Council, I learn that the answer to this is made that highly as that distinction would no doubt be esteemed, representation on a local Council is of even greater practical moment. I think that there is some force in these

objections, though not as great force as appears to be believed by those who have raised them. It is to be observed, however, that they would disappear entirely if, instead of being placed under a Chief Commissioner, the new province were held to be entitled to a Lieutenant-Governor—an appointment which would naturally carry with it the creation of a Legislative Council.

The third objection, on which I find that great stress has been laid, is the fear that the transferred districts will become scheduled districts for which the Governor General in Council can legislate by Regulation, and that the Chief Commissioner will substitute the laws at present in force in certain parts of Assam for the laws in force in Eastern Bengal. I may say at once that there is not a word of truth in his apprehension. The areas that have hitherto been dealt with by legislation in the Imperial Legislative Council will continue to be so treated, and the extraordinary suggestion that has found expression in so many quarters of a sort of conspiracy for the issue of regulations between the Viceroy and the Chief Commissioner, is purely fanciful.

I may go further and say that there is no advantage of law, Government, or administration, which these districts at present enjoy, of which there is any desire to deprive them; and that the whole of the argument to the contrary upon which this agitation has in the main been built up, is without basis or justification. Indeed, the truth is in the other direction; for it cannot be disputed that the nearer the administration is brought to the people—and that would be the first and most immediate result of the projected change—the greater would be the regard for their interests that they could claim, and the closer the protection that they would enjoy.

I must now, Gentlemen, bring these remarks to a close. The further branches of the subject I will pursue at Mymensingh. I have at any rate, I hope, said enough to convince you that the proposals of Government are a very different thing from what has been widely represented, and that they have been seriously put forward, not with the object of injuring the people of any district or division or class of the community, but rather with the idea of promoting their security and development in the future. I am sure that you will give as much attention to what I have said as I have done to the views and criticisms of other parties; and I am confident that you will join with me in desiring that the solution should depend not upon ignorant agitation or unworthy prejudice, but upon a careful and dispassionate scrutiny of the real merits of the case.

ADDRESSES AT MYMENSINGH.

His Excellency the Viceroy arrived at Mymensingh on Saturday, the 20th February, at 8-30 A.M., and at noon was presented with a joint Address by the members of the District Board, the Municipal Commissioners, the members of the Mymensingh Association, and the Anjuman Islamia. The address, after mentioning that Mymensingh had never before had the honour and privilege of welcoming a Viceroy, gave expression to the feelings of alarm and anxiety which the proposal to separate Dacca and Mymensingh from Bengal had aroused, and concluded by a reference to certain matters of local interest.

His Excellency the Viceroy replied as follows:—

Gentlemen,—It is now my agreeable duty to reply to the combined Address which has been presented by the leading public bodies and associations of Mymensingh. A warm welcome has been given to me as the first Governor General of India who has ever visited this place; and complimentary reference has been made to several incidents in the recent administration of the Government of India, for which I will do no more than return you my thanks, seeing that I have already dealt with the same matters in reply to the addresses at Chittagong.

Three subjects of local interest have been brought to my notice, and I will briefly refer to each.

The first is the extension of railways in the three sub-divisions of this district. This is not a matter about which I can go into detail on the

present occasion. Railways are being surveyed for in the direction that you name, and I have little doubt that there will one day be a chain of connection from the direction of Shillong on the east to the main stream of the Ganges or Padma on the west. But this will not be just yet.

Next you desire to devote the entire proceeds of a local ferry to help to pay for your drainage and waterworks. I am informed that before you begin to solicit assistance of this description it would be well if the Municipal Commissioners of Nasirabad made rather more use of the powers already open to them, the local rate of personal taxation being only half of what it is in most other municipalities in the district, and admitting of enhancement without the least hardship.

The third request is the familiar complaint of the Anjuman that the Mahomedans have not as many appointments as their numbers would appear to justify. This is quite true. But it is all a matter of education: and as long as the Hindus are ahead of you in that respect they will also out-distance you in the race for employment.

The subject, however, that is chiefly filling your minds is evidently that of the so-called partition of Bengal—although that is not exactly the phrase that I should employ: and the views that are held on the matter are fairly summed up in a sentence in your address in which you say that the proposed measure "would subject the people of these districts to manifold evils and disadvantages in matters social, religious, educational, linguistic, legislative, political, and those connected with the administration of justice and would deprive them of rights, associations, and privileges which they cherish most dearly."

This sentence seems to me to sum up very concisely all the ideas and alarms that the people of these parts have been told that they ought to entertain about the Government scheme, and I am quite content to take it as a definition of the popular view. Now I am sure you will agree with me that the first essential in criticising a case is to understand it: and that it is not only unfair, but even foolish, to condemn proposals which have been put forward by a responsible Government in the interests of the community at large, upon a complete misrepresentation of their character and consequences Two days ago at Dacca I showed that some of the principal fears which have been instilled into the people are wholly illusory; that they will not, should the scheme be adopted, lose the Board of Revenue or its equivalent; that there will be no change in the laws or the method of making the laws by which they are governed; and that as regards a local Legislative Council, if the scheme is somewhat expanded so as to allow for the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship instead of a Chief Commissionership, this privilege also will be retained. Here at one swoop disappeared three of the principal planks of the platform upon which the leaders of the local agitation which is said to find its chief home in Mymensingh, have taken their stand. I ask you to read my speech at Dacca, and instead of repeating it, I propose to-day to follow up the same line of thought and to show you how much or how little of foundation there is for the other apprehensions that are expressed in the sentence which I have quoted from your address.

These alarms may be epitomised in the phrase which has been paraded on flags and steamers as before my eyes in many places, since I crossed the frontier of Eastern Bengal: "Save us from Assam". It is impossible to imagine a sentence which more aptly condenses the whole of the misconceptions upon which the attitude of the people rests, and I will therefore proceed to analyse it. The general impression sought to be conveyed is that the money and labour and interests of Eastern Bengal are going to be seized hold of and diverted to the uses of an alien, a backward, and an impoverished Administration. It is rather difficult to combat an allegation that is at once so vague and so baseless. But I find from the studies that I have made, that it has also taken the following concrete forms, which it is quite easy to confute:—

First.—I learn that the Zemindars have been told that they will lose the Permanent Settlement. There is of course no foundation for any such statement.

Second.—The raiyats have heard that they will lose the Bengal Tenancy Act and other remedial legislation of which they now profit by the benefits. This is equally fictitious.

Third.—The raiyats have been led to think that they will be taken away from their fields and made to work as coolies on the tea-gardens of Assam, and I have no doubt that a great many of them honestly believe it. It is scarcely necessary to characterize such an invention.

Fourth.—I have seen the equally absurd suggestion that the plan is devised in order to provide billets for the planters, who are to be converted into Managers of Courts of Wards estates, and other desirable posts.

Fifth.—The argument has been used that the advanced districts of Bengal will be placed under uncovenanted military officers. It is enough to say in reply that no such officers have been recruited in Assam for ten years, and that they will of course be debarred, as they are in Sylhet, from any post the tenure of which is at present confined to the Indian Civil Service in Bengal.

Sixth.—I see the argument freely employed that the local cesses of Eastern Bengal will be filched away and devoted to making roads in the jungly parts of distant Assam. This argument is not a very fortunate one; for in the first place the Road Cess is a district asset, and cannot be spent anywhere else than in the district where it is raised. Furthermore, it led me to enquire how much of the Public Works Cess that comes from this division is spent here or is taken elsewhere now; and this led to the discovery that under the present system the greater part of this cess, the total of which amounts to about 6 lakhs per annum, is taken away from the division and is spent in other parts of Bengal, which may include Calcutta, Orissa, or Behar. No one seems to have found this out or to have thought it at all wrong for all these years. But now it is represented as a fresh ground of objection to the new province, whereas, if this were created, the funds in question would be likely, for the first time in their history, to be spent in the main in the locality where they had been raised. The argument, therefore, recoils upon those who have used it.

Seventh.—It is said that in the summer it will be so difficult to obtain access to the Head of the Administration at Shillong. Why more difficult than at Darjeeling I do not see. In a few years' time when the railway connections are established, of which you spoke in your address, it will of course be much easier. Moreover, the argument omits to notice that a head of the Government at Dacca will always be a good deal nearer than the Lieutenant-Governor at Calcutta.

Eighth.—It is said that the new province will be run by Assam officers, who will know nothing of Bengal Revenue or land tenures. Well, as a matter of fact, Assam is run by Bengal officers as it is. It is sufficient, however, to reply that at the start the staff will be and must be entirely drawn from Bengal: and that later on the new province, possessing as it would a Commission of its own, recruited from England, would be administered by exactly the same class of officers, and on the same scale of pay, as Bengal is now.

Ninth.—I have actually seen it said that the money of Dacca and Mymensingh is to be taken to provide pay and pension for the Civil Servants in Assam. Of course this is a mere fabrication.

I have now taken the nine most popular versions of the argument that Bengal is about to be sacrificed to Assam, and have shown that in each case they are without any foundation. If the defence be attempted that these arguments are not seriously employed, I can only reply that I have myself seen them all in print in papers or pamphlets that are in circulation among the people. They are just the sort of argument that is being used to deceive the ignorant and credulous classes; and it had seemed necessary therefore to expose them, so that the outside public may form an idea of the methods by which the agitation is being pursued.

Your address spoke also of educational losses as resulting from the change. If I thought for a moment that this would be the result, I should hesitate greatly

in recommending it. Here again it is rather difficult to gather what is signified by a mere generalization; for when it is said that Calcutta is the centre of light and leading to which all educated Bengal naturally turns, the answer is that of course it will continue to be so in the future, and that parents, if they choose, will send their sons there as before. I have ascertained, however, that this apprehension takes three definite shapes. The first is that Bengal Colleges might in future turn away students from an outside province, in order to keep the preference for local men. The second is that boys from a new province would not be eligible for scholarships reserved for Bengalis. The third is that the new province would only attract mediocrities to its Educational Service. In reply to these fears I may say at once that the Government of India would undertake that no injustice or loss of advantage should ensue, and that one province did not profit to the detriment of another. As regards the Educational Service of the new province, it will be recruited in precisely the same way and will be as good as any other. If, however, we are to regard the question of partition from the Educational standpoint, then I must say frankly that it seems to me that Dacca and Mymensingh have not only nothing to lose, but almost everything to gain by the change. The ideal of educational advancement is the multiplication of centres of tuition and learning, so that boys and young men may be well taught in reasonable proximity to their homes. It cannot be doubted that, if a new province were created, there would be an immense development of local institutions, and this would be a source of untold benefit to the people. Everyone knows that under the present system the Dacca College has been starved, the professors have been few and underpaid, and progress has languished. I hope that a fresh start is being made there, as I said in a ceremony in which I took part yesterday. But in a new province that experiment will have an even greater prospect of success. It appears to me therefore that one of the main advantages of the suggested change will be the great impulse that it must give to Education.

I have not here or at Dacca said anything about the jurisdiction of the High Court, because it is not proposed to remove the new province from it. To this I observe it is replied that there is no guarantee that that may not some day be done. No more, I may answer, is there now. The jurisdiction of the High Court is quite as likely to be affected by the congestion of its own business as it is by any administrative rearrangement.

There is one source of local objection to which I may allude in passing. The hostility to the proposal is said to be largely fomented by the people of Bikrampur, who supply a number of very admirable subordinate native officers to the Government offices at Calcutta, and who think that they might lose this field. I suppose I might answer that the fate of provinces can hardly be decided by the interest of small individual classes within them. But I prefer to point out that the excellent Bikrampur men, who are found, I am told, as far as Shillong on the east and Behar on the west, are not at all likely to lose the openings which they have won by their abilities, and that, as good native officials are a continual necessity in the country, so, where they are produced, may they rely upon continual employment.

There remain the considerations which you describe as social, religious, and linguistic. How anybody's religion can be affected by administrative rearrangements I do not readily grasp; nor have I found any explanation in the papers that I have studied. The social objection I understand to be that some difficulty may be experienced in respect of marriages between persons of the same caste, and the fear that Eastern Bengalis may not be able to marry their daughters in the more restricted area of a new province. I should hesitate to pronounce on such a subject myself, though I should have thought that in a province with a Bengali population of the size that is contemplated such a difficulty would have been inappreciable. But I am assured by those who are familiar with these matters that there is no validity in the objection at all. The relaxation of caste restrictions, admitting of marriages between different parts of Bengal, is itself the result of increased communications, which produce greater intercourse and render social fusion easier; and, if this be so, then as the institution of a new province

must inevitably be followed by a still further improvement in communications, the movement is likely to be, if anything, in the opposite direction from that which is feared.

As regards the loss of language, this is a criticism which I have sought, without success to understand. Why a Bengali should cease to speak Bengali because a Chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant-Governor came to reside at Dacca, or why, as I said at Dacca, 14½ millions of Bengalis should abandon their own tongue because they enter into partnership with 1½ millions of Assamese, I cannot see nor has anyone succeeded in explaining it to me. Probability would seem to point entirely in the opposite direction, and to suggest that Assamese, whether it be a dialect of Bengali, or whether it be a separate language—as to which the experts appear to differ—will be the one to disappear.

Finally I come to the sentimental objection, which is based upon the conception of nationality, and which expresses dismay at the partition of what is called the Bengali nation. I found the streets at Dacca placarded with mottoes, expressly sent for the purpose from Calcutta, containing the words "Pray do not sever Bengalis." As the people of Dacca do not, with very few exceptions, understand English, I am afraid that they did not fully comprehend what the placards meant that they had been instructed to put up. This morning also, upon my arrival here, I saw crowds of men holding up placards—also sent from Calcutta and also written in English—with the inscription "Do not divide us." I should like, therefore, for a moment to discuss this question. Pray do not think that I wish to disparage in the smallest degree the force of sentiment in human affairs, and still less that particular form of sentiment that springs from the pride of race. On the contrary, it has spurred mankind to some of the noblest and purest deeds; and the man who is not attached to his country and his race is not fit to exist at all. There is no reason why Bengalis should entertain this sentiment one whit less warmly than any other people. But I cannot see how the argument applies in the present case. If a Scotchman crosses the Tweed and comes into England, he does not cease to be a Scotchman. If a Sikh comes to Bengal, he does not cease to be a Sikh. But here the case is not even one of crossing border. For so far from a single Bengali being taken away from his present place, or town, or district, or division, he would remain there precisely as before, with the sole difference that the Bengali people, instead of being the predominant element in one local Administration, would in future become the predominant element in two. We offer to the Bengal nation the opportunity of forming a second unit round a second centre; and if a reduplication of its political existence is to be regarded as injurious to its future, Bengal nationality must, I think, be very distrustful of its own powers. It is curious that among the appeals that have been addressed to me, frequent allusion is made to the fact that Eastern Bengal once constituted an independent kingdom, the people of which, I believe, still call themselves Bangals and not Bengalis. And yet, when the offer is made of a resurrection of that unit, the objection is raised that history and nationality are both being flouted and ignored.

Gentlemen, I have now, I hope, said enough to show you that the majority and indeed I think the whole of the fears which you have been instructed to entertain are unreal; that there is no right or privilege to which you attach value among those that you now enjoy that is in any risk of being forfeited by the suggested change; but on the contrary that Eastern Bengal would acquire a status and prestige greatly in excess of any that it can at present claim. Several thousands of good people were brought in here to demonstrate a few weeks ago. I have little doubt that every one of them had been told that something dreadful was going to happen to him. And yet if this so-called partition were carried out to-morrow, I do not believe that there is a single man among them to whom it would make the smallest difference, except for good, in his daily life.

I should like before sitting down to bring the matter rather more closely home to you by indicating a further respect in which the change not merely would benefit, but is indeed essential to, yourselves. You profess to be

thoroughly satisfied with the administration of Bengal. This is a discovery which it appears to me, as a careful student of your papers, that you have only quite recently made. And yet under that administration the whole of the Mymensingh district, with a population of close upon 4 millions of persons, has been left with a single British executive officer, the Collector of this place. Orissa contains approximately the same number of inhabitants in British territory, but Orissa possesses 1 Commissioner, 3 Collectors and other officers in proportion. The Chittagong Division is only a little more populous, and is equipped on the same scale as Orissa. Do you mean to tell me that this is a satisfactory state of affairs? Do you suppose it would have been tolerated for all these years had you possessed a local Government at Dacca, instead of in remote Calcutta and Darjeeling? Is it not a common place that the officers in Eastern Bengal are so undermanned and so overworked that it is the object of nearly every one among them to get away as soon as possible to some lighter and more agreeable charge? The same applies to the judicial and the subordinate executive services. Even if you do not realize the consequences of this state of thing—and they cannot help being loose and inefficient administration—the Government is bound to do so and we cannot acquiesce in the continuance of conditions so prejudicial to good Government and to all progress.

But I do not believe that people in these parts, as soon as they understand the facts, will allow themselves to be misled, or will fail to see where their real interests lie. In this speech, and in that which I delivered on Thursday at Dacca, which I again beg the leaders of local opinion here to peruse, I have dealt frankly with every aspect of the case as I have gathered it from a careful study of the publications of those who are opposing the change. If I have anywhere failed to understand or have misstated their arguments, it has certainly not been from intention; and I submit that the entire case is altered by the statements that I have made on behalf of the Government of India and after full consultation with my Colleagues; and that, if our proposals are still to be resisted, it must be on some other ground than those which I have shown to be sometimes ignorant and often unjust. We shall of course attentively consider any representations that are made to us; but do not let the public put into our mouths what we have never said, or into our minds what has never entered them. Let it be remembered by all parties that the true and only criterion is better government for you in your own areas, for Bengal as a province, and therefore, as a consequence, for British India as a whole.

Enclosure 14 in No. 2.

Letter from Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, C.S.I., Chairman of the Public Meeting held at Calcutta on the 18th March 1904, British India Association, Calcutta, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 27th April 1904.

I have the honour to forward herewith copy of the Resolutions passed at a public meeting held in Calcutta on the 18th March 1904 regarding the proposed partition of Bengal, and to request that you may be pleased to submit the same for the favourable consideration and orders of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General in Council.

ANNEXURE.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That this meeting desires to record its respectful but firm protest against the proposals of Government for the partition of Bengal, on the following among other grounds:—

(*a*) that these proposals are viewed with grave and widespread alarm by the people of this province and have given rise to an agitation unparalleled in its history. An opposition, strong and so universal, should not be ignored;

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

(*c*) that the districts proposed to be separated from Bengal proper would lose several constitutional, educational and other privileges which they have so long enjoyed.

2. That this meeting is of opinion that the wider scheme of partition referred to by His Excellency the Viceroy, does not commend itself to public opinion, and is viewed by the people of this province with great concern and anxiety for the reason among others that its cost, initial and permanent, would seriously add to the heavy burdens already imposed on the people. Instead of allaying the anxiety and alarm which Mr. Risley's proposals had caused, it has intensified them.

3. That this meeting is of opinion that no case has been made out for the proposed measure, but that if in the opinion of the Government of India the relief of the Bengal Government is necessary, the remedy lies not in a re-distribution of territorial jurisdiction, but in organic changes in the form of Government, such as the conversion of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal into a Governorship with an Executive Council like that of Bombay and Madras and this meeting prays that the Government may be pleased to withdraw the proposed measure, or adopt the remedy above suggested.

4. That a copy of the foregoing Resolutions under the signature of the Chairman of this meeting be submitted to the Government of India and that the following gentlemen do form themselves into a Committee to settle the draft memorial submitted to the meeting, watch the progress of this question and take such measures from time to time as they may deem fit, with a view to carry out the objects and intentions of this meeting:—

Maharaja Sir Rameswar Singh, K.C.I.E., of Darbhanga.
Maharaja Bahadur Sir Jateendra Mohan Tagore, K.C.S.I.
Maharaja Suryya Kanta Acharyya Bahadur of Mymensingh.
Maharaja Jagadindra Nath Ray Bahadur of Natore.
Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy Bahadur.
Maharaja Girija Nath Ray Bahadur.
Raja Mohima Ranjan Ray Chowdhury.
Raja Pramatha Bhusan Deb Ray.
Raja Asutosh Nath Ray.
Raja Peary Mohan Mookerjee, C.S.I.
Raja Pramada Nath Ray.
Nawab Syed Amir Hosein, C.I.E.
Nawab Syed Abdus Sobhan.
Raja Bahadur Shashi Sekharreswar Ray.
Raja Srinath Ray.
Kumar Manmatha Nath Ray Chowdhuri.
Kumar Pramatha Nath Ray Chowdhuri.
Kumar Manmatha Nath Mitra.
Kumar Upendra Chandra Chaudhuri.
Babu Dharani Kanta Lahiri Chaudhuri.
Jagat Kisor Acharja Chaudhuri.
Babu Gopal Das Chaudhuri.
Babu Kisori Lal Goswami.
Mr. N. N. Ghose.
Mr. A. Chaudhuri.
Mr. B. L. Chaudhuri.

Mr. J. Ghosal.
Mr. Satyendra Nath Tagore.
Mr. A. M. Bose.
Rai Bahadur Sitanath Ray.
Babu Muralidhar Ray.
Babu Ambika Charan Majumdar (Faridpur).
Babu Charu Chandra Mullick.
Babu Dwarkanath Chakravarti.
Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee.
Babu Narendra Nath Sen.
Babu Mati Lal Ghose.
Babu Giridhari Lal Ray.
Seth Dooly Chand.
Hon'ble Babu Bhupendra Nath Bose.
Ray Bahadur Rajkumar Sarvadhikari.
Rai Parbati Sankar Chaudhuri.
Raya Jatindra Nath Chaudhuri.
Babu Harendra Lal Ray.
Babu Ananda Chandra Ray (Dacca).
Babu Basanta Kumar Bose.
Moulvi Mahammed Yusoff Khan Bahadur.
Babu Pasupathi Nath Bose.
Babu Manik Lal Seal.
Moulvi Shamsul Huda.
Babu Janaki Nath Ray.
Mr. Lal Mohan Ghose.
Babu Nalin Behari Sarkar, C.I.E.
Babu Jogendra Chandra Ghose.
Kumar Dakhineswar Malia.
Rai Hari Ram Goenka Bahadur.
Babu Radha Charan Pal.
Babu Anath Bundhu Guha (Mymensingh).
Babu Raghu Nath Das.
Babu Baikunta Nath Sen.
Babu Hirenda Nath Datta.
Maharaj-Kumar Prodyot Coomar Tagore, Member and Secretary.

Enclosure 15 in No. 2.

Letter from Raja Peary Mohun Mookerjee, C.S.I., Chairman of the Public Meeting, Calcutta, to the Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department, dated the 5th October 1904.

I have the honour to forward herewith a memorial representing the views of a public meeting held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on the 18th of March last, on the question of the proposed partition of Bengal and to request that you may be pleased to submit the same to His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council for his favourable consideration.

Annexure.

To His Excellency the Governor General in Council.

The humble memorial of the residents of Calcutta, its Suburbs and the various Districts of Bengal.

Most respectfully sheweth,

That your humble memorialists, who represent landed and other important interests in the Province of Bengal, beg leave to approach His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor General in Council with the following representation on the question of the partition of Bengal which is now under the consideration of the Government and which they deeply regret to say has caused the greatest possible alarm in the country. It represents the views of the public meeting convened by the Sheriff and held at the Town Hall of Calcutta, on the 18th of March last, and which was attended by numerous delegates from the Mofussil and in which the following Resolutions were unanimously passed:—

(1) That this Meeting desires to record its respectful but firm protest against the proposals of Government for the partition of Bengal, on the following among other grounds:—

(*a*) That these proposals are viewed with grave and widespread alarm by the people of this province and have given rise to an agitation unparalleled in its history. An opposition so strong and so universal should not be ignored.

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

(*c*) That the districts proposed to be separated from Bengal Proper would lose several constitutional, educational and other privileges which they have so long enjoyed.

(2) That this Meeting is of opinion that the wider scheme of partition, referred to by His Excellency the Viceroy, does not commend itself to public opinion, and is viewed by the people of this Province with great concern and anxiety for the reason among others that its cost, initial and permanent, would seriously add to the heavy burdens already imposed on the people. Instead of allaying the anxiety and alarm which Mr. Risley's proposals had caused, it has intensified them.

(3) That this Meeting is of opinion that no case has been made out for the proposed measure, but that if in the opinion of the Government of India the relief of the Bengal Government is necessary, the remedy lies not in a re-distribution of territorial jurisdiction, but in organic changes in the form of Government, such as the conversion of the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal into a Governorship with an Executive Council like that of Bombay and Madras, and this Meeting prays that the Government may be pleased to withdraw the proposed measure, or adopt the remedy above suggested.

(4) That a copy of the foregoing Resolutions under the signature of the Chairman of this meeting be submitted to the Government of India.

(5) That the following gentlemen do form themselves into a committee to watch the progress of this question and to take such measures from time to time as they may deem fit, with a view to carry out the objects and intentions of this meeting.

2. At the very outset your humble memorialists need hardly state that the movement, based on spontaneous popular feeling, inaugurated in Eastern Bengal, for the purpose of entering respectful protest against the project, was

of a character never before witnessed in that part of the country. The very fact that hundreds of public meetings were held, not only in towns but also in important villages, which were attended by thousands and tens of thousands of people, representing all classes of interests, and where Resolutions were unanimously passed objecting to the introduction of the measure, leaves no room for doubt as regards the genuineness of the movement. The memorials of the people of Dacca and Mymensingh to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor containing about one lakh of signatures have proved this point so conclusively that your memorialists do not think it necessary to make any further remarks of their own upon it. They deeply deplore the fact that His Excellency the Viceroy was led to suppose that the agitation, at least to some extent, was an artificial one.

3. Your humble memorialists further beg to submit that the people of Western Bengal are as much agitated over the question as those of the East. If they had not at an early stage given expression to their views and sentiments in a tangible form, it was mainly in deference to the official announcement that His Excellency the Viceroy would proceed to East Bengal and declare a definite line of policy. They therefore postponed the public meeting which they had arranged to hold in February till they had heard what His Excellency had got to say on the subject. It is with great sorrow your memorialists have to submit that the speeches of the Viceroy instead of removing the grave apprehension occasioned by the scheme of Mr. Risley, have greatly aggravated it for reasons which they will state later on.

4. With the permission of His Excellency in Council, your memorialists beg leave, in the beginning, to state the grave nature of the disadvantages under which they labour in discussing this question. In the first place, the Government has shifted its grounds so many times that your memorialists are at a loss to ascertain definitely what its real policy is. In the second place, several important official papers which, in their humble opinion, ought to have seen the light of day, have been withheld from publication. And, in the third place, the opinion of such an important and competent authority as the Hon'ble High Court has not been invited on the subject.

5. With regard to the first, what your memorialists find is, that both the Government of India and the Government of Bengal were interpellated in 1896 on the proposed transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam. In reply to a question on the 6th of February 1896, the late Sir John Woodburn, the then Home Member of the India Govenment, gave the following :—

"The Government of India decided in 1892 that the Chittagong District should be transferred to Assam as soon as settlement operations were concluded in it. It was at the same time decided that the expediency of transferring the whole of the Chittagong Division should be considered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the Chief Commissioner of Assam. That question is now under the consideration of those authorities and will be eventually submitted for the discussion of the Government of India."

6. In answer to a further question on the 26th of February 1896, the same Hon'ble Home Member replied as follows :—

"The main grounds which led the Government of India to decide that the question of the transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam should be considered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and the Chief Commissioner of Assam were the following :—

"The Government of India considered it desirable, if possible, to relieve the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal of some portion of a charge which, owing to the development of the country and the growth of the population threatens to become too large to be administered by one Government. Assam, on the other hand, is the smallest Province in British India for which there is a separate administration, and the addition to it of the Chittagong Division would not have the effect of throwing too great a burden on the Chief Commissioner. The interests of the Province will be materially benefited by its being brought into direct communication with the sea, while those of the port of Chittagong are likely to

receive more attention when it is annexed to Assam than can be given to it as one of several parts connecting the Province of Bengal with the sea. It is desirable that the whole of the territory through which the Assam-Bengal Railway will run should be brought under one administration.

7. A few days after, that is to say, on the 1st March 1896, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, gave the following reply to a similar question :—

"The proposal to transfer the Chittagong Division to Assam was put forward in a Conference which met in Calcutta in January 1892, to examine certain questions relating to the country of the Lushai and Chin tribes. It was suggested that if the South Lushai Hills with their avenues of access through the Chittagong District were transferred to Assam, as was strongly recommended, it would be convenient that the whole Chittagong Division should also be transferred."

8. It would thus be seen that, if the Government of India and the Government of Bengal did not exactly contradict each other in 1896, they gave different grounds for the proposed transfer. In the opinion of the former the Division of Chittagong was proposed to be transferred—(*a*) to afford relief to the overworked Government of Bengal; (*b*) to give work to the under-worked administration of Assam; (*c*) to secure a direct communication for the latter with the sea; and (*d*) to place the Assam-Bengal Railway under one Government. The Government of Bengal, however, not only referred to none of the grounds referred to above, but put the matter upon an altogether different basis. What Sir Alexander said was that the question was of a minor administrative convenience, that is to say, if the South Lushai Hills with their avenue of access through the Chittagong District were transferred to Assam, then it would be convenient to amalgamate the whole Chittagong Division with Assam. It is a remarkable fact, to which your memorialists most respectfully draw the special attention of His Excellency in Council, that, though occupying this position of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, Sir Alexander Mackenzie did not state in his reply that Bengal was too heavy for one ruler, and that therefore a portion of it should be made over to Assam to secure relief for the latter.

9. In answer to another question on the 26th of February 1896, the late Sir John Woodburn made the following important declaration in the Supreme Council :—

"The Government of India have made no proposal that Dacca and Mymensingh should be transferred to Assam, nor is such a proposal at present under their consideration."

10. It is thus quite clear that there was no proposal of the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam in 1896. Strangely enough the present Home Member contradicts directly his predecessor on this point. On the 22nd January 1904, in reply to a question by Dr. Asutosh Mukerjea, the Honourable Sir D. Ibbetson said :—

"The attention of the Government of India was directed in 1892 to territorial re-adjustments on the eastern frontier of Bengal in connection with the administration of the Lushai Hills. The first proposal was to transfer the Chittagong District to Assam as soon as the revision of settlement, then in progress, was finished, and the Assam-Bengal Railway was nearing completion. The transfer of the whole Chittagong Division was also considered; and during the discussion which ensued, it was proposed to transfer the Districts of Dacca and Mymensingh as well."

11. Here is a direct contradiction between the statement of one Honourable Home Member with that of another, and your humble memorialists are at a loss to decide which is the correct one. However, judging from the Note of Sir Henry Cotton, it appears to your memorialists that the question of the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh was not formally before the Government of India in 1896, for if it were so, Sir Henry, as a subordinate, could not have expressed himself so strongly on the subject as he did, namely, that "I scout the idea of the transfer of the Districts of Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam. The proposal, if it were made public, would excite a storm of protest and I imagine that the Government of Bengal would be strongly opposed to this suggestion as I am myself."

12. The important facts your memorialists gather from the above are—(1) that in 1892 only the District of Chittagong was proposed to be transferred to Assam; (2) in 1896 the whole Division of Chittagong was contemplated to be annexed to Assam; (3) the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh was never thought of at the time, but yet your memorialists find the same proposal embodied in the letter of Mr. Risley, dated 3rd December 1903, and forming a prominent feature of his scheme. And, later on, yet another project, in which many more districts have been included, is before the Government. All this shows that those who are for the partition of Bengal have no definite policy of their own; hence they are changing their grounds every now and then and are as much in the dark about their own project as the outside public are.

13. What your memorialists beg most respectfully to enquire is that the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh having been not under the contemplation of the Government of India, in 1896, what led the latter to change their views afterwards? Your memorialists may also be permitted to ask,—why was the emphatic protest of a distinguished authority like Sir Henry Cotton ignored and Dacca and Mymensingh included in the scheme of Mr. Risley? Sir Henry says that the Government of Bengal would be as strongly opposed as he himself was to the transfer of Dacca and Mymensingh. Was the Government of Bengal consulted before the proposal in question was accepted by the Government of India? There is no explanation on this point in Mr. Risley's letter to the Government of Bengal, and your memorialists are at a loss to understand why was such a step taken which, as Sir Henry Cotton justly apprehended, has called forth "a storm of excitement" the like of which was never seen before.

14. Your memorialists humbly believe that, in order to enable the public to understand the question fully and meet the arguments of the Government, all official papers connected with it should have been published. They deeply regret this has not been done. Mr. Risley in his letter to the Government of Bengal states that this matter "drew the attention of Sir Stafford Northcote so long as 1868, and that in the discussion that followed, it was very thoroughly examined by a number of high authorities." His Excellency the Viceroy the other day also referred to the Note of Sir William Ward and the opinions of Sir John Woodburn, Sir C. C. Stevens, and Sir James Bourdillon. It is also generally known that Sir Charles Elliott, Sir Alexander Mackenzie, Mr. Judge Caspers of Chittagong, and Mr. Judge Greaves of Sylhet expressed their views in more or less lengthy notes when the proposal of transferring Chittagong to Assam was raised by the Government of India. The opinion of none of the above-mentioned authorities has been published, and the only documents on the subject in the possession of your memorialists are the letter of Mr. Risley to the Government of Bengal, dated 3rd December 1903, and the three speeches of the Viceroy in East Bengal, besides the Note of Sir Henry Cotton and the opinion of the High Court published by the Press.

15. The Government had no doubt good grounds for withholding the documents, though what they are is not known to the public; but your memorialists deem it their painful duty to state that such a step has produced two unfortunate results, namely, it has withheld knowledge and information from your memorialists which might have enabled them to deal with this matter more exhaustively than they are able to do with the scanty materials before them, and secondly, it may raise the suspicion that the Government withheld the papers because they are not favourable to its project. That there is some ground for this suspicion cannot be denied. For instance, His Excellency referring to the Note of Sir William Ward, remarks:—

"I observe that no one has said a word about the opinion of Sir William Ward who wrote a most exhaustive, able and reasoned argument in favour of the transfer."

Yet your memorialists learn from the Note of Sir Henry Cotton that Sir William's scheme "contemplates the appointment of a separate Judicial Commissioner for Assam and the consequent exclusion of the Civil and Criminal Jurisdiction of the High Court"—a proposition which is fatal to the scheme of both Mr. Risley and that of His Excellency the Viceroy which he propounded at Mymensingh.

16. In the humble opinion of your memorialists it is an unfortunate circumstance that the opinion of the Calcutta High Court has not been invited with regard to this most important subject. Your memorialists are aware that, in reply to a question by the Hon'ble Mr. Cable, the Hon'ble Home Member was pleased to state that, "as it is not proposed to alter the limits of the High Court's jurisdiction, it does not seem to the Government of India necessary to consult the Hon'ble Judges at the present stage". But your memorialists submit that over and above the question of the jurisdiction of the High Court, there are several other important points involved in the proposed partition of Bengal in which the opinion of the Hon'ble Judges is essential. For instance, in its judicial aspect, the question divides itself mainly into two branches:—(*a*) the law to be administered; (*b*) the judicial agency. With regard to (*a*), is it a fact that all Regulations and Acts of Legislature that may be in force in the District at the time of its transfer to Assam, would gradually cease to have operation in the District, when the transfer has been effected? As regards the judicial agency, would the people of the transferred districts enjoy the same privileges in the matter of Civil and Criminal administration of justice as they do under the Regulation Government? For these and other grounds, your memorialists are strongly of opinion that an independent, impartial and judicially trained body of distinguished officials like the Hon'ble Judges, who have the confidence of both the people and the Government, might have been profitably consulted, especially as their opinion was sought in 1896 by the Government. It is not for your humble memorialists to criticise the wisdom of the Government; but they may be permitted to say that the impression may be further strengthened that the Government did not invite the opinion of the High Court lest it might go against the scheme of the Government. As the Government is actuated by the best of motives and sincerely desirous of deciding the question on the basis of absolute justice and fairness, such an impression ought to be removed by taking the Judges of the High Court into its confidence and asking their advice in a matter which has so profoundly convulsed the whole of Bengal.

17. Your memorialists beg now to submit their humble observations on the proposals contained (1) in Mr. Risley's letter no. 3678, dated the 3rd of December 1903, and (2) the three speeches delivered in East Bengal by His Excellency the Viceroy. Mr. Risley's proposal is to transfer the Chittagong Division along with Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam, and it is based mainly upon four grounds: (*a*) Bengal with a population of 78½ millions is too large for the Lieutenant-Governor; (*b*) improvement of the Chittagong port; (*c*) an imperfectly supervised administration in Eastern Bengal; (*d*) incapacity of the Assam administration to pay its own way.

18. His Excellency the Viceroy approves of the scheme of Mr. Risley, but at the same time admits that it has several defects which, in His Excellency's opinion, can be removed by creating a new Province by the amalgamation of Assam with a larger number of districts than those mentioned in the letter of Mr. Risley.

19. With regard to the first ground (*a*) in Mr. Rislely's letter, your memorialists propose, with His Excellency's permission, to discuss it later on in some detail, as the entire Government scheme is based upon the assumption that the Government of Bengal is over-burdened with work. As regards the second ground (*b*), your memorialists are not quite clear why it is necessary to divide the Bengalee nation for the purpose of improving the port of Chittagong. They believe it is quite possible for the Government of Bengal to improve it in the same way as it has improved the port of Calcutta. If the Government of Bombay can manage the Bombay and Kurrachee ports, your memorialists do not see why cannot the Government of Bengal in the same manner take charge of two ports. Your memorialists are, however, opposed to the principle of public money being spent for the creation or improvement of a port. If the Chittagong port should be improved, it should be done by private enterprise and not by the money of the tax-payers. In the humble opinion of your memorialists, therefore, the improvement of the Chittagong port has not the remotest connection with the dismemberment of Bengal.

20. The third ground is, to quote the exact words of Mr. Risley, that "there is no portion of Bengal where the drawbacks of an imperfectly supervised administration are more evident than in the outlying districts in eastern border." The meaning of the above, your memorialists believe, is that the eastern districts being far away from the personal supervision of the Lieutenant-Governor, they are more criminal than those nearer the seat of the Government. Statistics, however, show a different result. The precentage of three Districts, Dacca, Mymensingh and the 24-Pergunnahs, taking the years 1898, 1899 and 1900, is approximately shown below :—

	Per 1,000 population.
Dacca	1·5
Mymensingh	1·5
The 24-Pergunnahs	7·6

21. The 24-Pergunnahs is thus five times more criminal than Dacca or Mymensingh, though it is nearest to the capital city. It should also be borne in mind that the eastern districts, being now under the more enlightened Government of Bengal, are bound to deteriorate, and not to improve, like Sylhet, if transferred to the backward administration of Assam, where the Deputy Commissioners not only exercise Judicial and Executive functions but also Civil and Revenue powers, and where they are also invested with special powers to try certain offences which ordinarily go before a Court of Sessions.

22. Lastly, (*d*) incapacity of Assam to meet its own administrative expenses, that is to say, Assam should be maintained by some prosperous districts of Bengal. Such an arrangement, your memorialists submit, is extremely unfair. It means that Dacca, Mymensingh and the Chittagong Division should agree to enrich Assam at the cost of themselves and their kith and kin. As the *Pioneer* remarks, "the necessities of poor Assam are evidently great; but how can it be said that the transfer of important districts from Bengal is not due more to erect in Assam a vigorous and self-contained administration than to any desire to further the interests of the people of those very districts by an improvement to result from a more perfectly supervised administration?" The position seems to be this: The net revenue of Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong, Tippera and Noakhali is now spent for the benefit of those districts as well as for that of other districts of Bengal. If they are transferred to Assam, the latter will swallow up all this revenue, as its needs are many, leaving nothing for Dacca and Mymensingh, and depriving Bengal of what it has hitherto enjoyed.

23. How the districts proposed to be transferred are likely to fare, may be judged from the condition of Sylhet, which formerly belonged to Bengal and was made over to Assam in 1874. Mr. Risley is pleased to state that the objections which were raised thirty years ago to the absorption of Sylhet have proved to be unfounded. Facts, however, tell a different story. If the Governor-General in Council will be pleased to refer to the report of Mr. R. H. Greaves on the transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam in 1896, he will find that since its severance from the administration of Bengal, Sylhet has practically sunk into obscurity. Mr. Greaves, who had experience both of Bengal and Assam, and who closed his judicial career in 1896 as the District and Sessions Judge of Sylhet, after a meritorious service of over 26 years, was asked by the Calcutta High Court to record his experience of that district, and he did it in a lengthy letter. The Calcutta High Court based its opinion to a considerable extent upon what Mr. Greaves wrote.

24. In the opinion of Mr. Greaves the fiscal and executive administration of Sylhet has undergone considerable deterioration. The changes for the worse have been marked in the Judicial Department of the administration. Many Regulations and Acts which up to the time of its transfer had been in force in Sylhet ceased to have operation in that district after it came under the administration of Assam. And many Acts which have been passed since and are now in operation in the Regulation Districts of Bengal have not been extended in Sylhet. To take an example. The Bengal Tenancy Act VIII of

1885 has not yet been extended to Sylhet, although it was one of the oldest of the Districts of Bengal. A reference to the Census Report of Assam will also disclose the startling fact that population has steadily decreased in the town of Sylhet since its connection with Assam. In 1872, when it was in Bengal, its population was 16,546. In 1901, that is to say after it had been 27 years under the Assam administration, its population came down to 13,893. It is officially admitted that there is stagnation in the population of the whole district of Sylhet. Under these and other circumstances, described in detail in the opinion of the High Court and the Note of Sir Henry Cotton, your memorialist strongly feel that the progress of the districts it is proposed to transfer would be seriously jeopardized by the proposed transfer.

25. It is not necessary to dwell further on the proposal of Mr. Risley, for it has been universally condemned. Even the young Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and his small following and dependents, who have proposed what is called "an alternative scheme," have not accepted it. Nay, His Excellency the Viceroy himself plainly admitted in his Mymensingh speech that there were serious objections to Mr. Risley's proposal which could be removed by the creation of a new Province with a Lieutenant-Governor. Indeed, an enlightened, generous and far-seeing Ruler like Lord Curzon could not but sympathise with the hard lot of the people of the districts who, after an enjoyment of the benefits of a Regulation Government for upwards of 150 years, were suddenly proposed to be made over to the inferior administration of a Chief Commissioner, through no fault of theirs, thereby depriving them of the advantages of a local Legislative Council and other valued privileges; and hence His Excellency was anxious to remove all fears on this score by a declaration to the effect that, to quote His Excellency's words, "as regards a local Legislative Council, if the scheme is somewhat expanded so as to allow for the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship instead of a Chief Commissionership, this privilege also will be retained." Your memorialists may thus take it that His Excellency does not favour the proposal of Mr. Risley to create a larger Chief Commissionership in the east by annexing five eastern districts of Bengal to Assam, and has supplanted it by a scheme of his own.

26. Your memorialists have now to examine the proposal of the Viceroy. In his Mymensingh speech His Excellency complains:—"Now I am sure you will agree with me that the first essential in criticising a case is to understand it, and that it is not only unfair but even foolish to condemn proposals which have been put forward by a responsible Government in the interests of the community at large upon a complete misrepresentation of their character and consequences" Exactly so; but your memorialists most respectfully submit, it was not quite the fault of the public if they could not understand the true aims and objects of the Government in this respect. As your memorialists have taken the liberty of pointing out before, the Government case was never put clearly. There had been so many elements of uncertainty and vagueness in the official declarations,—so much shifting of grounds and contradictions,—that the people felt confused and embarrassed, and hence they raised issues, some of which were probably irrelevant. If the Government had one continuous and definite policy, several misconceptions both on the part of the public and the authorities, might have been avoided. Even now, your memorialists beg to state with sorrow, the intention of the Government is not quite clear to them.

27. Judging, however, from the two declarations of the Viceroy at Dacca and Mymensingh, it seems tolerably clear to your memorialists that, in the opinion of His Excellency, (1) the partition of Bengal has become absolutely necessary on account of the alleged overwork of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and (2) that His Excellency prefers a new Province under a Lieutenant-Governor to an enlarged form of the Assam Chief Commissionership with Dacca, Mymensingh and the Chittagong Division. Taking the second point first your memorialists shall quote the following passages from his Mymensingh speech to show what the Viceroy really means. For ready reference the passage already quoted above is reproduced here:—

"And that as regards local Legislative Council, if the scheme is somewhat expanded so as to allow for the creation of a Lieutenant-Governorship,

instead of a Chief Commissionership, this privilege also will be retained."

Here are a few more passages :—

"It is sufficient, however, to reply that at the start the staff will be and must be entirely drawn from Bengal; and that later on the new Province, possessing, as it would, a commission of its own recruited from England, would be administered by exactly the same class of officers and on the scale of pay as Bengal is now."

"In reply to these fears, I may say at once that the Government of India undertake that no injustice or loss of advantage should ensue, and that one Province did not profit to the detriment of another. As regards the educational service of the new Province it will be recruited in precisely the same way and will be as good as any other."

28. It is absolutely clear from the above that His Excellency advocates what is called "the alternative scheme" which contemplates the creation of a new Province by dismembering many more districts of Bengal than those mentioned in Mr. Risley's letter and putting it under a separate Lieutenant-Governor with a Council. Your memorialists consider it their humble duty to inform His Excellency in Council that this declaration, coming as it did from the highest authority in the land, instead of allaying the apprehension of the people, has greatly enhanced it. For if Bengal is divided into two and placed under two separate Lieutenant-Governors of equal status and position, it would mean that, instead of one as now, its seventy-eight millions of people will be required to maintain two Lieutenant Governorships: in other words, they will be made to pay almost double of what they now contribute as administration charges. Under the present arrangement, the people of Bengal have to maintain 280 members of the Civil Service, but if another Province is created with the half of Bengal, then they will probably have to make provision for nearly another 280 civilians, minus 3 or 4 Commissioners of Divisions and the Magistrates and Judges of the Districts proposed to be transferred to the new Province. In the absence of a definite scheme before them your memorialists are unable to give any accurate idea of the amount of money that will be required annually for the maintenance of the proposed Lieutenant-Governorships; but judging from the assurances of His Excellency that both the new and the old Provinces "would be administered by exactly the same class of officers and on the same scale of pay," and that "the Government of India undertake that no injustice or loss of advantage should ensue, and that one Province did not profit to the detriment of another," it can be safely assumed that the cost of administration might almost be doubled. Indeed, there can be no two opinions that the creation of two Lieutenant-Governorships will cause an enormous increase of administrative expense. Your memorialists respectfully submit that such a project cannot but fill the minds of the people with the gravest possible fears.

29. It should also be remembered that the holding up of a new Province means not only huge cost but also great confusion. When Sylhet and Cachar were transferred to Assam in 1874, heaps of valuable papers belonging to the Board of Revenue and other offices were either lost or stolen during their transit to the Assam Secretariat. It was confusion all along the line and it took many years before order was restored in those two districts; yet Sylhet and Cachar are only on the outskirt of Assam, and their inhabitants in constant touch with the Assamese. The confusion will be necessarily many times more if advanced districts like Dacca, Mymensingh and others are transferred to Assam, or a separate Province is created with Assam and a large number of Bengal Districts.

30. As for creating Lieutenant-Governorship like that of Bengal, it means that the new Province will require its Belvedere, Revenue Board, High Court, Secretariat, Public Works Department, Educational Department, Law Department, Survey Department, Financial Department, Medical Department, Jail Department, Sanitation Department, Police Department, Meteorological Department, Forest Department and others. Each of the Departments mentioned above will require its separate building. The Calcutta High Court cost over 20 lakhs and a single hall of the new Secretariat building cost four lakhs. From

a statement furnished by the Government of Bengal to a question put by the Hon'ble Bhupendra Nath Bose, it would seem that the value of the various public buildings in Calcutta under the local Government is almost one crore and forty-three lakhs of rupees, and the average annual cost of maintenance of the same is a little over one lakh and thirty-seven and half thousand. So the mere initial cost of building up the new Province will come up to a huge amount. If the opening out of only 15½ miles of broad roads in Calcutta will require seven crores of rupees, one can fairly draw the inference that the building up of a new Province will cost many times seven crores.

31. In short, while the people of old Bengal, reduced to about half of 78 millions, will have to bear alone the entire cost of the present administration, the inhabitants of the new Province will have also to carry a similar burden upon their shoulders, besides finding an enormous amount of money for building up another Bengal.

32. Your memorialists humbly submit the dreadful effect of this arrangement cannot but strike terror in the mind of everybody intelligent enough to understand the situation. It means one of two things: either additional taxation will be imposed upon the already overburdened people of Bengal, or all useful works will have to be starved for the purpose of securing funds. If fresh taxation is resorted to, the Government will be compelled to tax the land, in spite of the solemn pledges given by Lord Cornwallis; if no taxation is imposed, funds, so urgently required for improvement in every direction, will be applied to meet the cost of the proposed double administration and to create a new Province. A more dismal prospect cannot be contemplated.

33. Your memorialists have now to deal with the most important point upon which the whole scheme of partition is based, namely, the allegation that Bengal with a population of 78½ millions is too heavy for the Lieutenant-Governor. In the humble opinion of your memorialists the work of the ruler of the Province, instead of showing any increase, has been very much reduced since the last 30 years. The fact cannot be denied that the duties of the Lieutenant-Governor in the sixties, seventies and even in the eighties were more multifarious and difficult than they are now. The country in those days was more unsettled and not intersected by railways and other means of communication as now. The Province has now been so specified that one English Executive Officer, as the Viceroy observed the other day, was able to keep the peace of a District like Mymensingh containing 4 millions of people. The administration, instead of growing complex, has been rendered far easier in every direction. Mr. Risley refers to the increase of population from 67 millions in 1872 to 78½ millions at the present moment, but he omits to mention the various means introduced by which the strain upon the head of the Government has been removed.

34. First of all, if the population of Bengal in 1872 was 67 millions, the number of Civilians who helped the Lieutenant-Governor at that time in the administration work was 259. And if the last Census shows an increase of 11 millions since then, the number of Civilians has also risen to 279, that is to say 20 more. If one Civilian Magistrate is able to administer the affairs of a district containing 4 millions of souls, four more Civilians ought to have quite sufficed for keeping control over the 11½ millions which have increased since the seventies. But, in the place of four, there are twenty Civilians to help the administration of the Province, not to mention the number of subordinate Magistrates and police officers which has also been increased.

35. It should also be remembered that Magistrates have been empowered with powers which their predecessors in the seventies or even in the greater part of the eighties did not possess. A Magistrate can now convert a respectable gentleman into a special constable, or bind down a man to keep the peace, or to quarter a Police force in a village or a number of villages. In this way the art of administration has been made so easy that even a Deputy Magistrate is quite competent to keep the peace of a whole district. As a matter of fact, several Deputy Magistrates, raised to the position of District Magistrates, have been just now administering the affairs of districts without any hitch.

36. Besides the number of Honorary Magistrates, Municipalities and District Boards have increased with the increase of population and they are helping the good administration of the country in their own way.

37. It should not also be forgotten that, if 11½ millions of people have increased since 1872, they are not turbulent like the Afghans, but gentle, law-abiding and non-criminal in their nature. The fact should further be taken note of that at least half of these 11½ millions are women and children.

38. Then the progress of education, newspapers, Post Offices, Telegraphs, has added to the peace of the country. Your memorialists cannot but express their surprise that the extent to which administration has been improved and facilitated by modern progress is altogether ignored in Mr. Risley's letter.

39. It is not at all clear to your humble memorialists why the work of the Lieutenant-Governor is too heavy when he has to manage only the civil administration of Bengal which has been thoroughly quieted down, which has no frontier troubles or important Indian States to deal with, and when the various parts of the Province, as stated above, have been connected with one another by a network of railways, steamer service and public roads.

40. As for "personal administration," even if every District had a Lieutenant-Governor of its own, 99 per cent. of its population would be as far from coming in contact with him as they are now. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal lives at Belvedere, which is only three or four miles from the heart of the town. But, not even ten scores of the people of Calcutta come across His Honour in the course of the whole year.

41. It is the District Magistrates who practically rule the country. His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor has thus ample time to direct his attention to the development of the resources of the Province and the advancement of the moral and material progress of its people.

42. If the Government, in its wisdom, yet thinks that the Lieutenant-Governor should be relieved of his work, the remedy, in the humble opinion of your memorialists, lies not in the re-distribution of territory, but in organic changes in the form of Government, as suggested by various distinguished authorities. The re-distribution of territory, as proposed by Mr. Risley, can never be a proper method to afford relief to the Lieutenant-Governor. For the same process will have to be repeated after every two or three decades of years when there has been another increase of population to the extent of 11 millions. But such difficulty will not arise if the Lieutenant-Governorship is converted into a Governorship with an Executive Council. No less an authority than Sir Stafford Northcote proposed this remedy.

43. In conclusion your memorialists are profoundly thankful to His Excellency the Viceroy for the expression that he does not "disparage in the smallest degree the force of sentiment in human affairs, and still less that particular form of sentiment that springs from the pride of race." No measure of Government had previously moved the people of this country so powerfully on sentimental grounds as the proposed partition of Bengal has done. Their feelings have been stirred up in a manner which it is impossible for the rulers to realise, because of their want of touch with the vast majority of the children of the soil. The project has cast a deep gloom over all classes of people from the highest to the lowest; and the Town Hall meeting is a proof of the fact that, with the exception of perhaps of an interested few, the entire intelligent portion of the population of Bengal,—Hindus and Mussulmans,—were strongly of opinion that a greater calamity could not befall the country than the dismemberment of any portion of it, either for the purpose of forming a Chief Commissionership or a Lieutenant-Governorship.

44. Your memorialists respectfully submit that they are moved by no idle sentimentalism when they urge that they will suffer nationally, linguistically, and socially by the proposed division. This is a matter which is very difficult for the rulers to understand, as their manners and customs are different from those of the memorialists. The people of Eastern Bengal are called "Bangals"—a term of reproach, because their spoken language is not as chaste

and their pronunciation as correct as it ought to be. But this defect has almost disappeared, because Eastern Bengal and Western Bengal are now under one Government and have one capital city. Their language is, however, sure to deteriorate if the people of the East and the West are rent asunder and placed under two separate Governments. The same remark applies to the social progress and the development of national feeling of the people. A Brahmin or a Kayestha of one part of Bengal will not now object to form matrimonial connection with a Brahmin or a Kayestha of the other. But divided by two Governments, they will not have opportunities of associating with each other, and all social connections will in due course cease to exist between them. Similarly, to develop national feeling it is absolutely necessary that the people should live under one and not different administrations. Your memorialists have thus serious objections to the scheme of partition both on sentimental and practical grounds and they humbly pray that the Government will be graciously pleased to let Bengal remain as it is, and thereby allay the grave apprehension which the measure has created throughout the length and breadth of the country.

And your memorialists, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

PEARY MOHUN MOOKERJEE,
Chairman of the Public Meeting.

Enclosure 6 n no. 2.

STATEMENT No. I.

Statement illustrating the amount of public business in the four major Provinces.

Particulars.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	United Provinces.
Number of names in last Civil Lists	5,860	1,987	3,718	3,122
Total provincial expenditure (in lakhs of Rupees) ...	5,88	3,81	5,15	4,15
Number of civil suits instituted	658,790	347,583	191,823	545,985
Number of offences reported under the Indian Penal Code	211,674	120,546	65,821	123,080
Strength of police force	27,687	22,692	24,263	25,073
Number of public colleges and schools	51,794	20,792	9,549	7,758
Number of civil hospitals and dispensaries	567	479	238	364
Number of municipalities	158	61	167	104
Number of persons whose occupation is "Law" as shown in the Census Tables, India, 1901.	23,517	12,357	8,135	12,171
Number of pages in proceedings volumes, 1901-02 ...	30,548	...	...	17,995

Enclosure 17 in no. 2.

STATEMENT No. II.

Statement illustrating the work of the Bengal Secretariat.

1867—62,878 letters issued and received.
1872—73,022 " "
1882—98,706 " " (Assam having been separated).
1892—116,634 " "
1902—153,012 " "

Enclosure 18 in no. 2.
STATEMENT No. III.

Province.			Area in square miles.	Population.	Language.		Religion.		Remarks.
Present.	Proposed.				Bengali.	Others.	Hindus.	Muhammadans.	
Assam ...	... ...		**56,243**	**6,126,343**	**2,948,183**	**3,178,160**	**3,429,099**	**1,581,317**	
Eastern Province.	Eastern Bengal.	Assam (as at present)	56,243	6,126,343	2,948,183	3,178,160*	3,429,099	1,581,317	* Includes— Assamese, 1,340,784 Hindi ... 356,654 Manipuri 255,765 Bodo ... 218,049 Khassi 177,802 Garo ... 137,154
		Dacca Division: District of Dacca ...	2,782	2,649,522	2,597,724		988,075	1,649,639	
		Dacca Division: ,, Mymensingh ...	6,332	3,915,068	3,816,751		1,088,857	2,795,548	
		Dacca Division: ,, Faridkote ...	2,281	1,937,646	1,926,112		733,555	1,199,351	† Includes— Hindi ... 118,165 Garo ... 32,329
		Dacca Division: ,, Backergunge ...	3,645	2,291,752	2,279,616		713,800	1,565,024	
		Dacca Division	15,040	10,793,988	10,620,203	†173,785	3,524,287	7,209,562	
		Chittagong Division including Hill Tippera: District of Tippera ...	2,499	2,117,991	2,108,167		622,339	1,494,020	
		Chittagong Division including Hill Tippera: ,, Noakhali ...	1,641	1,141,728	1,141,125		274,474	866,290	
		Chittagong Division including Hill Tippera: ,, Chittagong ...	2,492	1,353,250	1,327,349	‡213,138	318,245	968,054	‡ Includes— Tippera 101,409
		Chittagong Division including Hill Tippera: ,, Chittagong Hill Tracts.	5,138	124,762	51,420		36,365	4,962	
		Chittagong Division including Hill Tippera: ,, Hill Tippera...	4,086	173,325	69,657		119,192	45,323	
		Chittagong Division including Hill Tippera	15,859	4,911,056	4,697,718		1,370,615	3,378,649	
	Northern Bengal.	Rajshahi Division including Cooch Behar except Darjeeling: District of Rajshahi ...	2,593	1,462,407	1,429,010		325,111	1,135,202	
		Rajshahi Division including Cooch Behar except Darjeeling: ,, Dinajpore ...	3,946	1,567,080	1,443,674		726,429	776,737	
		Rajshahi Division including Cooch Behar except Darjeeling: ,, Jalpaiguri ...	2,962	787,380	604,100		531,625	228,487	
		Rajshahi Division including Cooch Behar except Darjeeling: ,, Rangpur ...	3,493	2,154,181	2,090,418	§461,081	776,646	1,371,430	§ Includes— Hindi ... 220,798
		Rajshahi Division including Cooch Behar except Darjeeling: ,, Bogra ...	1,359	854,533	836,921		154,131	699,185	
		Rajshahi Division including Cooch Behar except Darjeeling: ,, Pabna ...	1,839	1,420,461	1,399,967		357,065	1,062,914	
		Rajshahi Division including Cooch Behar except Darjeeling: Cooch Behar ...	1,307	566,974	547,845		397,946	168,236	
		Rajshahi Division including Cooch Behar except Darjeeling	17,499	8,813,016	8,351,935		3,271,953	5,442,191	
		District of Malda	1,899	884,039	654,856	‖229,174	440,398	424,969	‖ Includes— Hindi ... 188,673
		TOTAL ...	**106,540**	**31,528,433**	**27,272,895**	**4,255,538¶**	**12,036,352**	**18,036,688**	¶Includes Assamese 1,349,784.
Bengal.		...	**189,837**	**8,493,410**	**41,432,899**	**37,060,511**	**49,687,362**	**25,495,416**	
Bengal.		Bengal (as at present)	189,837	78,493,410	41,432,899	37,060,511	49,687,362	25,495,416	
		Add—							
		From Central Provinces: Sambalpur (minus Phuljhar and Chandarpur-Padampur).	3,773	640,243	181**	1,608,071	616,755	3,539	**Includes the Bengali population, if any, of Phuljhar and Chandarpur-Padampur.
		From Central Provinces: Five Uriya Feudatories (Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi).	9,871	948,420	139	320**	823,088	1,964	
		From Central Provinces	13,644	1,588,663	320**	1,608,071	1,439,843	5,503	
		Deduct—							
		(*a*) Eastern and Northern Bengal ...	50,297	25,402,090	24,324,712	1,077,378 †	8,607,253	16,455,371	†† Includes the Bengali population (which is presumably inconsiderable) of the five Hindi-speaking Feudatory States of Chutia Nagpur.
		(*b*) Hindi-speaking Feudatory States of Chutia Nagpur (Chang Bhakar, Korea, Sirguja, Udaipur and Jashpur).	11,604	583,177	...	583,177 ††	359,020	5,593	
		Deduct	61,901	25,985,267		1,660,555	8,966,273	16,460,964	
		Balance ...	**141,580**	**54,096,806**	**17,108,507**	**37,008,027‡‡**	**42,160,932**	**9,039,955**	‡‡Includes Hindi (about 26,000,000) Uriya (about 7,600,000).
Central Provinces (including Berar).		.....	**133,604**	**14,627,045**	(Hindi) **6,548,200**	(Others) **8,078,845**	**12,132,834**	**519,342**	
Central Provinces.		Central Provinces (as at present)	133,604	14,627,045	6,548,200	8,078,845	12,132,834	519,342	
		Add—							
		Hindi-speaking Feudatory States of Chutia Nagpur (Chang Bhakar, Korea, Sirguja, Udaipur and Jashpur).	11,604	583,177	583,177§§	...	359,020	5,593	§§Includes other languages less widely spoken, for which figures are not available.
		Deduct—							
		(*a*) Sambalpur (minus Phuljhar and Chandarpur-Padampur).	13,644	1,588,662	71,736	1,536,655	1,439,843	5,503	
		(*b*) Five Uriya Feudatories (Bamra, Rairakhol, Sonpur, Patna and Kalahandi).							
		Balance ...	**131,564**	**13,621,559**	**7,059,641**	**6,542,190‖‖**	**11,052,011**	**519,432**	‖‖Includes Mahrati (about 4,421,494)

Enclosure 19 in no. 2.

STATEMENT NO. IV.—*Estimate of cost.*

Designation.	Annual cost.	Total.	Designation.	Annual cost.	Total.
ASSAM.	Rs.	Rs.	NORTH-EASTERN PROVINCES.	Rs.	Rs.
Chief Commissioner and his staff ...	62,000		Lieutenant-Governor and his staff (including establishment).	1,34,202	
Exchange compensation allowance ...	1,960		Exchange compensation allowance (Private Secretary and Aide-de-Camp).	1,405	
Allowances	300		Allowances (hill journey and tour) ..	2,200	
Tour expenses (including those of Secretariat).	6,100	70,360	Contingencies	676	1,38,483
One Civil Secretary, one Public Works Secretary, two Under Secretaries, one Assistant Secretary, and office establishments.	1,68,494		Three Civil Secretaries, one Public Works Secretary, four Under Secretaries, one Assistant Secretary, three Registrars and office establishments.	3,57,888	
Exchange compensation allowance ...	4,775		Exchange compensation allowance ...	7,070	
Allowances (Civil Secretariat) ...	436		Do. for Public Works Secretaries.	2,620	
Contingencies (Civil Secretariat) ...	15,400		Allowances ... } Civil Secretariat.	36,800	
Allowances and contingencies. Public Works Department (roughly) ...	6,000	1,95,105	Supplies and Services } Civil Secretariat.	200	
			Contingencies ... } Civil Secretariat.	26,900	
			Ditto Ditto for Public Works Department (roughly).	20,000	4,57,478
			Legislative Council	3,000	3,000
Financial Commissioner	*Nil*	*Nil*	Financial Commissioner, one Secretary, one Junior Secretary, one Assistant Secretary, one Clerk of Court and office establishments.	1,30,146	
			Exchange compensation allowance ...	3,184	
			Allowances	6,500	
			Supplies and Services	4,065	
			Contingencies	20,205	1,64,100
Inspector General of Police, Jails, Registration, Stamps and Excise with a Personal Assistant and Office establishments.	46,791		Inspector-General of Police, one Personal Assistant, two Deputy Inspectors-General and office establishment.	1,13,440	
Exchange compensation allowance ...	1 600		Exchange compensation allowance...	4,542	
Allowances	2,400		Allowances	10,062	
Contingencies...	3,220	54,011	Contingencies	9,542	1,37,586
			Inspector-General of Jails and office establishment.	34,800	
			Exchange compensation allowance ...	1,130	
			Allowances	1,800	
			Contingencies	3,470	41,400
Principal Medical Officer and Sanitary Commissioner, with office establishments.	26,850		Inspector-General of Excise, Stamps and Registration, Assistant Commissioner of Excise and office establishments.	48,051	
Exchange compensation allowance ...	1,350		Allowances	2,200	
Allowances	350		Contingencies	12,185	
Contingencies	1,515	30,065	Exchange compensation allowance ..	1,600	64,036
			Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals and office establishments	31,896	
			Exchange compensation allowance ...	1,500	
Director of Public Instruction and office establishments.	22,845		Allowances	2,400	
Exchange compensation allowance ...	975		Contingencies	4,143	39,939
Allowances	2,300				
Supplies and Services	350		Sanitary Commissioner and Deputy Sanitary Commissioner and office establishment.	42,264	
Contingencies	2,215	28,685	Exchange compensation allowance ..	2,100	
			Allowances	7,700	
			Supplies and Services	595	
			Contingencies	7,304	59,963
Director of Agriculture, Assistant Director and office establishment.	37,138		Director of Public Instruction, Registrar and office establishment.	61,128	
Exchange compensation allowance ..	1,296		Exchange compensation allowance...	1,500	
Allowances	4,400		Allowances	3,500	
Supplies and Services	300		Contingencies	8,060	74,188
Contingencies	2,425	45,559	Director of Agriculture, Assistant Director and office establishment.	33,828	
			Exchange compensation allowance ...	1,296	
			Allowances	3,000	
			Contingencies	5,562	43,386
Comptroller, Assistant Comptroller, Chief Superintendent and office establishments.	49,242		Accountant-General, Deputy Accountant-General and Assistant Accountant-General, and office establishment.	1,00,000	
Exchange compensation allowance ...	788		Exchange compensation allowance...	2,000	
Contingencies	3,070	53,100	Contingencies	10,000	1,12,000
GRAND TOTAL (Assam) ...	...	4,76,885	GRAND TOTAL (North-Eastern Provinces).	...	13,35,539

No. 3.

Despatch from the Secretary of State for India to His Excellency the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, dated 9th June 1905.

(Extract.)

Reconstruction of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam.

The proposals contained in the letter of Your Excellency's Government dated the 2nd February last, having for their object the reconstruction of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam, have been considered by me in Council with the care and attention demanded alike by their great administrative importance, and by the large amount of popular feeling which has been excited by their public discussion. Your Excellency in Council has come to the conclusion that, in view of the enormous area and population of the territory now administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, the constantly increasing number and complexity of the problems pressing for solution, and the ever-growing importance of Calcutta, already the second city in point of numbers in the Empire, it is urgently necessary to afford that Government some relief from the burdens which now weigh upon it by reducing the mass of its responsibilities. You review in your letter the previous history of the question, which dates back now for nearly 40 years, having been first brought into prominence by the events connected with the Orissa famine of 1866; you point to the constantly increasing congestion of business in the Bengal Secretariat, as evidenced by the vast growth of correspondence; you enumerate the important measures of administrative development which now, as always, call for the attention of the Lieutenant-Governor; and you cite authorities to show that the burden of affairs thus created cannot but exceed the powers of the most industrious administrator to deal with; while as things are at present, it is inevitable that much important business should be left to be disposed of by Secretaries on their own initiative, without that personal attention from the Head of the Government which the methods of Indian administration require. I cannot doubt that the case for relief as presented by Your Excellency in Council is in the main thoroughly established. The growth of population, the urgency of new administrative needs, the demands for progress in all directions, cannot fail to exert a continual and increasing pressure upon the Head of the administration, which must ultimately lead to a breakdown unless such relief, in some form or other, is afforded. If it could be argued that the urgency of the necessity at the present moment is not fully established, it might with perfect justice be replied that, even if this were so, with the constant advance in the demands upon the Lieutenant-Governor's powers, the time must soon come when the limit of the possible will be reached, and that it is the duty of the Government of India to forestall, by prudent measures taken in advance, a deterioration which would otherwise be certain to set in. Indeed I do not find, in the many criticisms of your proposals contained in the papers which you forward, any serious attempt to question the reality of the necessity for relief, though there is naturally some diversity of opinion as to the best methods by which it can be afforded. You then proceed to discuss the form which such relief should take; and in your letter you state at length your views upon the proposal which is a revival of that put forward by several high authorities in the 1867-68—that the Lieutenant-Governor should be assisted by a Council, as in the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay. I will not reiterate the arguments which (in agreement with the weighty judgment of Lord Lawrence in 1868) have convinced you that such an arrangement is not expedient. I fully agree with you that, in the circumstances of Bengal, such a system would be likely to lead to less satisfactory results than are even at present attained. To a Governor appointed from home and fresh to India, the assistance of colleagues, possessing local knowledge and experience is, of course, indispensable; but to a man who has already spent some 30 years of official life in India such colleagues, if entitled to equal votes with himself on any disputed matter, might be rather a hindrance than a help. The men selected as councillors would of necessity be those whose advice is already available to him, as Secretaries or as Members of the Board of Revenue; but whereas the Lieutenant-Governor now feels his full responsibility in accepting or rejecting such advice, it would be otherwise if he were

obliged to discuss matters of controversy with colleagues of equal voting power with himself. The responsibility would be reduced by being shared with others, the line of least resistance—probably an ineffective compromise—would be chosen, and time and patience would be wasted. It is unnecessary further to dwell upon this proposal. I fully concur with you in thinking that strong personal government is, in an Asiatic country, the most effective form of administration, and that nothing would be gained by dividing authority and responsibility between colleagues of equal power with the Head of the Government. You then go on to lay before me the remedy which you advocate, namely, the reduction of the area and population placed under the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and the erection of a new Province consisting of Eastern and Northern Bengal, united with the territories now administered by the Chief Commissioner of Assam, into a Lieutenant-Governorship, having its capital probably at Dacca. You explain the steps by which you have arrived at this conclusion, which, in its complete form, has not yet been laid before the public for criticism. The effect would be to reduce the area of Bengal, now 189,837 square miles, with a population of 78½ millions, to 141,580 square miles with a population, including the Presidency and Burdwan divisions of Bengal proper, Bihar and Bhagalpur, Chutia Nagpur, and Orissa (the last increased by transfers from the Central Provinces), of 54 millions. The new Province would comprise the present Province of Assam and the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi divisions of Bengal, with the district of Malda added and that of Darjeeling excluded; the population would be 31 millions, of whom 18 millions would be Muhammadans and 12 millions Hindus. Of the speakers of Bengali, who now number 41½ millions under the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, three-fifths, or 24½ millions would be transferred to the new Province, while in the reduced Bengal there would be left only two-fifths, or 17 millions against 37 millions speaking other languages, chiefly Hindi and Uriya. The new Province would have to be fully equipped with the usual Secretariat and departmental establishments, for whose accommodation, and for the Residence of the Lieutenant-Governor, buildings would have to be erected at the place selected as the provincial capital; and the extra recurring expenditure involved is put approximately at rather more than 8½ lakhs of rupees a year. This estimate does not, however, include one item which will evidently be necessary, the erection of the Surma Valley districts of Assam, with the adjacent hill districts and perhaps the State of Manipur, into a Commissionership; and no estimate is attempted of the cost of construction and maintenance of the necessary buildings. It does not appear from your letter that any material reduction in the cost of the departments in the reconstituted Bengal is likely to be secured as a set off against the increased outlay in the new Province. You have no difficulty in showing that the detailed criticisms evoked by the scheme are very largely met by the arrangements which you propose. The new Province will involve the establishment of a Legislative Council; the law of the transferred territory will remain unaltered; a substitute will be found for the Board of Revenue in a Financial Commissioner, or, as I should think would prove to be necessary, two such Commissioners; the jurisdiction of the High Court will remain as at present; the educational facilities now afforded by Calcutta will continue to be available to the new Province; the openings for Government employment to the educated classes will, so far as can be foreseen, not be materially curtailed; and there is no reason to apprehend that general commercial interests will, in the long run, be injuriously affected. The new Province, though it will include a very large proportion of districts now considered the least eligible in Bengal, will have a separate self-contained Civil Service of its own, and thus no longer be subject to the disadvantage which is alleged to result in Assam from being at present dependent upon officers borrowed from Bengal for its administration. There are, no doubt, many points in the organization of the new Province which will remain for settlement before the scheme can be carried into effect, some of which will be noticed below; but, if the principle is conceded, there is no reason to anticipate that insuperable difficulty will be felt in giving effect to it. Having regard to the opposition which has been excited by your proposals, it becomes incumbent upon me to consider carefully whether any practicable alternative scheme could be suggested for securing to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal that relief from an excessive burden of work

which is admitted to be necessary. In your letter one such alternative scheme is examined, which also involves a redistribution of territory, and while leaving the Bengali-speaking area to be administered from Calcutta, removes from the Lieutenant-Governor's jurisdiction the Hindi-speaking territory (Bihar and Chutia Nagpur), and transfers Orissa to the Central Provinces. You state the reasons which have induced you to reject this scheme and in these reasons I am disposed upon the whole to concur. Another method of relief which has been suggested to me is one which was briefly touched upon by some of those who took part in the discussion of 1867-68, but does not appear to have been prominent in the debates on the present occasion. I refer to the lightening of the burden of detailed administration now pressing upon the Lieutenant-Governor which might be secured by making over certain portions of the province to the charge of Commissioners invested with powers corresponding to those which, under Act V of 1868, may be delegated by the Government of Bombay to the Commissioner in Sind. It has been urged that by this means it would be possible to entrust to a Commissioner so empowered a substantial part of the work of government, reserving for the central controlling authority only those general questions of principle and method, or special classes of administrative problems, which it might seem desirable to retain in the Lieutenant-Governor's hands. The exact degree of the devolution necessary or advisable would be a matter for consideration by persons familiar with the details of administration in Bengal and Sind; but it has been suggested that there is reason to suppose that the relief afforded would be material in amount, that the efficiency of administration would gain by decentralisation, and that such enlarged Commissionerships, imbued with greater power and responsibility, would form the best possible training for higher office. I understand, however, that although this scheme is not mentioned in the correspondence, you have nevertheless had it under consideration, and have rejected it because, in your opinion, it would not afford the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal adequate relief from his present burdens, while maintaining in existence the injurious dependence of Assam upon Bengal for officers. I should have been glad if it could have been examined in greater detail before being finally set aside; but I recognise the care and labour which you have bestowed upon the difficult questions presented in the papers before me; and I am unwilling to differ from the conclusions arrived at, after so much deliberation by Your Excellency in Council. Being, therefore, of opinion that a measure of relief is absolutely necessary, and that there is no practicable alternative, I give my sanction in Council to the general principles involved in your proposals—that is, to the constitution of Assam and Eastern and North-Eastern Bengal into a Province under a Lieutenant-Governor; to the exchanges between Bengal and the Central Provinces recommended by you; and to the maintenance of the *status quo* as regards the transfers originally suggested between Bengal and Madras. Before, however, measures are taken to put the scheme into execution, I should wish for a further expression of your views upon certain points. The first is the question of the name of the new Province. You propose that it should be called "The North-Eastern Provinces." I have reason to think that the important commercial interests represented by the tea industry would complain if the name of Assam, now so widely known in the markets of the world as the chief source of Indian tea, were to disappear from the list of Indian Provinces; and I should be disposed to prefer "Eastern Bengal and Assam" as the name of the new Lieutenant-Governorship. This name would be strictly analogous to that of "The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh." You suggest, and embody the suggestion in the statement of establishment forming enclosure No. 19, that the functions of the Board of Revenue should be discharged by a single Financial Commissioner. I am, as already stated above, inclined to think that a Board of two members will be found necessary. It must be remembered that the new Revenue authority will have to deal with territories under two wholly different revenue systems, and that it is, therefore, desirable that it should include members possessing experience of both. Moreover, although the departmental business of the Board of Revenue in Bengal is distributed between the two members and disposed of by them singly, all important appeals are heard by both members jointly, and parties appearing before them are represented by Counsel. I am given to understand that importance is attached by the people to this constitution of the

Board, and I suggest that it should be continued in the new Province. I have already drawn attention to the omission from the statement of expenditure of the amount required to provide a Commissioner for the charge of the Surma Valley, the Hill districts and Manipur, who will evidently be necessary. I should also desire to be furnished with some estimate of the cost of providing the new buildings (including the appropriation of the land required) at the new provincial capital, and of the cost of maintenance, which should be added to the estimate of recurring expenditure. Any savings which may be thought possible in the cost of administering the reduced province of Bengal should also be shown. The mode in which the existing staff of the administration should be distributed between the two Provinces as reconstructed requires consideration, and I shall be glad to learn what you propose under this head. If a choice is allowed, it seems probable, considering the unpopularity of Eastern Bengal districts, and the obstacles to service in those parts of Assam which possess greater amenities presented by the military element in the Commission, which cannot be employed in the Regulation districts, that a very large proportion of the officers now serving in Eastern Bengal would elect to remain under the Government of Calcutta.

No. 4.

Resolution of the Government of India in the Home Department, No. 2491, dated the 19th July 1905.

(This Resolution has already been published; vide *Gazette of India*, Part I, of 22nd July 1905, pages 521-524.)

No. 5.

Letter from the Government of India to the Right Hon'ble St. John Brodrick, His Majesty's Secretary of State for India, dated Simla, the 3rd August 1905.

(Extract.)

We have the honour to address you in reply to your telegram of the 25th July last, in which you intimated that you were prepared to accept the draft proclamations submitted to you with our despatch no. 6, dated the 9th February 1905, but desired that, before steps were taken to obtain the Royal assent to the first of the draft proclamations, you might be supplied with such information as would enable you to complete it. You further requested that an assurance might be given that we have made all arrangements necessary for the administration of the new province. The first of these requests can, we think, be most conveniently met by submitting a re-draft of the proclamation in the form which we propose that it should finally assume. The revised draft is annexed as enclosure 1 to this despatch, and it is only necessary to add here a few explanatory remarks. You will observe that (as intimated in our telegrams nos. 2368 and 2563, dated the 10th and 21st July last), we have accepted the name "Eastern Bengal and Assam" for the new province, and that we propose to fix the strength of the new Legislative Council at fifteen. We may explain that our decision on the latter point has been taken after consulting the present Chief Commissioner of Assam. The question of the date from which the new province shall come into existence, is a most important one, and has received our careful consideration. It is, in our judgment, most desirable that the scheme of re-construction should be brought into force with the least possible delay, since to defer it would be to afford opportunities for the renewal of agitation on the part of those opposed to the measure. We are of opinion, therefore, that formal legislation should be immediately undertaken in order to enable the Governments of the new Province and of Bengal to exercise jurisdiction in the territories respectively transferred to them, since under section 47 of the Statute, 24 and 25 Vict., C. 67, the laws obtaining in those areas will remain in force therein after the reconstitution of the provinces, until they are repealed. We have accordingly caused a Bill to be

prepared in our Legislative Department, a draft of which (Enclosure 2 to this despatch) we have now the honour to submit for your approval. It will be seen that, with the exception of clause 4 which creates a Board of Revenue for the new Province, we have abstained from introducing any substantive alterations of importance in the laws at present in force in the areas affected, and that, in accordance with the precedents afforded by Acts VIII and XII of 1874, the scope of the measure has been restricted to affecting only such changes as are absolutely necessary to enable existing laws to be administered under the new conditions in the re-constructed provinces of Bengal and of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The Act which we propose is a short one and its provisions are for the most part self-explanatory. We will only refer here to clause 4 (2) of the draft Bill, and to heads III and IV of Part I of Schedule D annexed to it, which vest in the new Board of Revenue in respect of the districts transferred from Bengal those powers which are at present exercised or exerciseable by the Board of Revenue of Bengal, while in respect of the territories at present comprised in the Chief Commissionership of Assam they provide that the new Board shall exercise only such of the powers hitherto vested in the Chief Commissioner as the Lieutenant-Governor, with the previous sanction of the Governor General in Council, may think fit to delegate to it. The effect of these provisions will be to secure for the more advanced districts to be transferred from Bengal an authority in revenue matters of precisely the same kind as that which they have hitherto possessed, while giving the local Government power to retain for the less highly developed districts of Assam the more elastic and less impersonal control which has hitherto been exercised in them by the Chief Commissioner. Thus the revenue administration will for the present remain in the same position as it now is throughout the territories constituting the new province. Upon this point the Chief Commissioner, whom we have consulted, has—we think, rightly—laid the strongest emphasis. In submitting the Bill with these remarks for your approval, we desire to ask permission to introduce it during the present Simla season of our Legislative Council. This course is, we think, justified by the considerations of urgency to which allusion has already been made, and by the fact that the Bill will be, for the most part, of a formal and consequential nature, ancillary to the Proclamation by which the actual partition will be effected. In the event of your approving of the Bill and according your sanction to the course of action which we propose, we should be glad to receive intimation of the fact by telegram in sufficient time to enable us to introduce the Bill at latest by the 8th September next. We anticipate little difficulty in passing it within a month from that date, but to allow for unforeseen delays, we propose that the 16th October next should be fixed as the period from which the partition shall take effect, and that this date should be specified in paragraph 2 of the draft Proclamation. We propose to follow the precedent of the Burma case and to issue the Proclamation on some date prior to the introduction of the Bill and after receipt from you of intimation of His Majesty's assent. Before leaving this part of the subject, we would explain that the Bill in its final shape has not as yet been examined by the local Governments concerned; we have, however, been in communication with them on the subject and have in great measure availed ourselves of their suggestions in framing it. We do not anticipate, therefore, that they will have any alterations of substance to propose, but in the event of their suggesting material changes, we shall communicate further with you by telegraph. We proceed now to explain briefly, the arrangements which we propose to adopt in order to provide the establishments required for the administration of the new province in the initial stage. In our telegram of the 10th July last above cited, we have already indicated the general lines upon which we intend that the re-organisation of establishments shall proceed, but while it is evident that the final settlement of details must occupy a considerable time it is imperative that from the outset appointments must be made to the administrative posts in the new province in order that the government may be properly conducted. We propose therefore to take as our starting point the scale of establishment which was summarized in statement IV attached to our despatch, Enclosure 19, dated the 2nd February 1905, subject to the modifications rendered necessary by the substitution of a Board of Revenue for a Financial Commissioner, and by the addition of a Commissioner for the Surma Valley to which our attention was

drawn in your despatch dated the 9th June last, and to certain other minor changes, which, on a review of the proposals, it appears to us to be possible to effect in respect of particular posts. We intend, subject to your approval, to sanction the creation of these posts on a purely provisional basis, with effect from the constitution of the new province, and we shall make it clear that the arrangements thus made may be modified after fuller consideration and that they are subject to your confirmation. We believe that, so far as the higher posts are concerned, it will be found necessary to make few changes in the scheme already worked out, but the scale of subordinate establishments is more conjectural, and we shall therefore authorise the entertainment at the outset of only the indispensable minimum of clerical and other minor establishments pending the formulation of final and detailed proposals. In the draft Proclamation we have refrained from filling in the name of the first Lieutenant-Governor of the new Province since, we understand, that, following the ordinary practice, His Excellency the Viceroy has been in communication with you upon the subject. We trust that the explanations which we have now given will convince you that the measures which we have already in train are sufficient to ensure that the new administration will be adequately equipped from the beginning for the proper performance of its functions, and we believe that they justify us in giving you the assurance for which you have asked.

Enclosure 1 in no. 5.

PROCLAMATION.

The Governor-General is pleased to constitute the territories at present under the administration of the Chief Commissioner of Assam to be, for the purpose of the Indian Councils Act, 1861 (24 and 25 Vict., c. 67), a Province to which the provisions of that Act touching the making of laws and regulations for the peace and good order of the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay shall be applicable, and to direct that the said Province shall be called and known as *the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam*, and further to appoint . . . . . to be the first Lieutenant-Governor of that Province, with all powers and authority incident to such office.

2. The Governor-General in Council is pleased to specify *the sixteenth day of October one thousand nine hundred and five* as the period at which the said provisions shall take effect, and *fifteen* as the number of Councillors whom the Lieutenant-Governor may nominate for his assistance in making laws and regulations.

3. The Governor-General in Council is further pleased to declare and appoint that upon the constitution of the said *Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam* the districts of *Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Backergunge, Tippera, Noakhali, Chittagong, Chittagong Hill Tracts, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna and Malda*, which now form part of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William, shall cease to be subject to or included within the limits of that Division, and shall thenceforth be subject to and included within the limits of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the *Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam*.

Enclosure 2 in no. 5.

A bill to make certain provisions regarding the application of the law in force in the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam and in certain territory transferred from the Central Provinces to Bengal.

WHEREAS by Proclamation No. , dated , the Governor General, with the sanction of His Majesty, has been pleased to constitute the Province of Assam, being the territories mentioned in Schedule A, to be, for the purposes of the Indian Councils Act, 1861, a Province to which the provisions of that Act touching the making of laws and regulations for the peace and good order of the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay shall be applicable, and to direct that the said Province shall be called the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and further to appoint a Lieutenant-Governor of that Province; 24 & 25 Vict., c. 67.

And whereas by the said Proclamation the Governor General in Council, with the like sanction, has been pleased to declare and appoint that, upon the constitution of the said Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, the districts mentioned in Schedule B shall cease to be subject to or included within the limits of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William and shall be subject to and included within the limits of the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam;

And whereas by Proclamation No. , dated , the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to declare and appoint that the territory mentioned in Schedule C shall cease to form part of the Central Provinces, and shall be subject to and included within the limits of the Bengal Division of the Presidency of Fort William;

And whereas it is expedient to make certain provisions regarding the application of the law in force in the territories affected by the said Proclamations;

It is hereby enacted as follows:—

Short title and commencement.

1. (1) This Act may be called the Bengal and Assam Laws Act, 1905; and

(2) It shall come into force on the

Saving of territorial application of enactments.

2. The Proclamations referred to in the preamble shall not be deemed to have effected any change in the territorial application of any enactment, notwithstanding that such enactment may be expressed to apply or extend to the territories for the time being under a particular administration.

Construction of certain references in enactments in force in territory mentioned in Schedules A, B and C.

3. All enactments, and all notifications, orders, schemes, rules, forms and by-laws issued, made or prescribed under enactments, which, immediately before the commencement of this Act, were in force in, or prescribed for, any of the territory mentioned in Schedule A, B or C, shall, in their application to that territory, be construed as if references therein to the authorities, territories or Gazettes mentioned in column 1 of Schedule D were references to the authorities, territories or Gazettes, respectively, mentioned opposite thereto in column 2 of that Schedule. [*Cf.* Reg. V of 1901, s. 6.]

Constitution and powers of Board of Revenue in Eastern Bengal and Assam.

4. (1) There shall be a Board of Revenue for the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, to which the provisions of the Bengal Board of Revenue Regulation, 1822, and the Bengal Board of Revenue Act, 1850, shall, so far as may be, apply. III of 1822. XLIV of 1

(2) The said Board of Revenue shall discharge, in respect of the territory mentioned in Schedule B, all the functions which, immediately before the commencement of this Act, were vested in or exerciseable by the Board of Revenue for the Lower Provinces of the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and, in respect of the whole or any portion of the territory mentioned in Schedule A, such of the functions which at the same date were vested in or exerciseable by the Chief Commissioner of Assam as the Local Government may, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, delegate to it.

Powers to Courts and Local Governments for facilitating application of enactments.

5. For the purpose of facilitating the application to any of the territory mentioned in Schedule A, B or C of any enactment passed before the commencement of this Act, or of any notification, order, scheme, rule, form or by-law made under any such enactment— [Cf. Reg. VII of 1901, s. 7.]

(*a*) any Court may, subject to the other provisions of this Act, construe the enactment, notification, order, scheme, rule, form or by-law with such alterations, not affecting the substance, as may be necessary or proper to adapt it to the matter before the Court; and

(*b*) the Local Government may, by notification in the local official gazette, direct by what officer any authority or power shall be exerciseable, and any such notification shall have effect as if enacted in this Act.

Pending proceedings.

6. Nothing in this Act shall affect any proceeding which, at the commencement thereof, is pending in or in respect of any of the territory mentioned in Schedule A, B or C; and every such proceeding shall be continued as if this Act had not been passed. [Cf. Reg. VII of 1901, s. 94.]

Repeal.

7. The enactments specified in Schedule E are hereby repealed to the extent mentioned in the fourth column thereof.

SCHEDULE A.

The Province of Assam.

The Districts of Goalpara, Kamrup, Darrang, Nowgong, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur, Sylhet, Cachar, Garo Hills, Khasia and Jaintia Hills, Naga Hills, and Lushai Hills.

SCHEDULE B.

Territory transferred from Bengal to the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The Districts of Dacca, Mymensingh, Faridpur, Backergunge, Tippera, Noakhali, Chittagong, the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, Jalpaiguri, Rangpur, Bogra, Pabna and Malda.

SCHEDULE C.

Territory transferred from the Central Provinces to Bengal.

The Sambalpur District (except the Chandarpur-Padampur Estate and the Phuljhar Zamindari).

SCHEDULE D.

(*See section 3*).

PART I.

Construction of enactments, etc., in force in territories mentioned in Schedules A and B.

1	2
I.—The Local Government of Bengal. II.—The Local Government of Assam.	The Local Government of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.
III.—The Board of Revenue of Bengal.	(*a*) The Local Government of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in the territories mentioned in Schedule A, and
IV.—The Chief Controlling Revenue-authority or the Chief Revenue-authority.	(*b*) the Board of Revenue of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam in the territories mentioned in Schedule B.

PART I—*contd.*

Construction of enactments, etc., in force in territories mentioned in Schedules A and B—contd.

1	2
V.—All officers and official bodies not mentioned in the foregoing clauses I to IV (except the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments) whose authority extended, immediately before the commencement of this Act, over the Province of Bengal generally, inclusive of the territory mentioned in Schedule B.	(*a*) The respective officers who, immediately before the commencement of this Act, exercised similar functions in the Province of Assam, or (*b*) such other officers, respectively, as the Local Government of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam may, by notification in the local official Gazette, appoint in this behalf.
VI.—The Chief Commissionership of Assam.	The territory mentioned in Schedule A.
VII.—The local official Gazettes (English or Vernacular, as the case may be) of the Government of Bengal. VIII.—The local official Gazettes (English or Vernacular, as the case may be) of the Government of Assam.	The local official Gazettes (English or Vernacular, as the case may be) of the Government of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam

PART II.

Construction of enactments, etc., in force in the territory mentioned in Schedule C.

1	2
I.—The Local Government of the Central Provinces.	The Local Government of Bengal.
II.—The Court of Wards of the Central Provinces. III.—The Superintendent of Government Wards in the Central Provinces. IV.—The Chief Controlling Revenue-authority or the Chief Revenue-authority, of the Central Provinces.	The Board of Revenue of Bengal.
V.—The Judicial Commissioner of the Central Provinces.	The High Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal.
VI.—All officers and official bodies not mentioned in the foregoing clauses I to V (except the Treasurer of Charitable Endowments) whose authority extended, immediately before the commencement of this Act, over the Central Provinces generally, inclusive of the territory mentioned in Schedule C.	(*a*) The respective officers who, immediately before the commencement of this Act exercised similar functions in the Province of Bengal, or (*b*) such other officers respectively, as the Local Government of Bengal may, by notification in the local official Gazette, appoint in this behalf.
VII.—The local official Gazettes (English or Vernacular, as the case may be) of the Government of the Central Provinces.	The local official Gazettes (English or Vernacular, as the case may be) of the Government of Bengal.