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REORGANIZATION OF INDIAN PROVINCES.

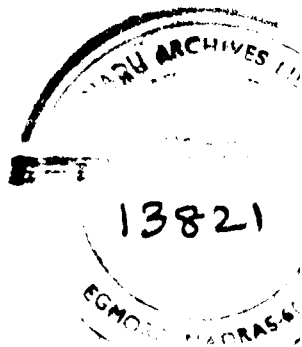
THE ARGUMENT.

Growth of provinces in India due to expansion of territory and need for administrative efficiency, (history of such growth given in appendix) ; growth more or less chronological ; hence Indian Provinces heterogeneous ; each province containing several languages and each language distributed between several Provinces ; growth not influenced by idealism or policy ; testimony of the Lord Bishop of Madras in this behalf.

Nevertheless certain administrators recognised the necessity for redistribution on a linguistic basis ; opinions, of Sir John Strachey, Sir Thomas Holderness and Sir Bampfylde Fuller in favour of such redistribution ; not all such opinions in tune with the popular stand-point which was first expressed by B. G. Tilak before the Decentralisation Commission.

The problem of Indian nationality, a new problem : requires a new solution. Nationality possible only on a plan of federation of homogeneous provincial (or sub-national) units coextensive with different language areas, each marked by contiguous territory, common literature and traditions, common sympathies and temperament.

The non-development of such units in the existing system is the first evil. Other evils are—the neglect of vernacular languages and of the cultivation of modern literature in them, undue emphasis on the English language as medium of instruction and of administration, as a means of enlightenment and



as a symbol of authority, a widening chasm between the classes and the masses, want of pride in local government and failure to foster local patriotism in attunement to the larger national consciousness; unequal progress of different language-bound communities in the same province and consequent prejudices and bitterness of feeling between them, accentuated by inequality in influence.

Some of these evils were recognised by Government but only from the view-point of administrative expediency. Old narrowness of vision still reflected in the remedies adopted in which Orissa is attached to Behar and in the failure to apprehend the problem in the light of national reconstruction.

The fault was not wholly with an unimaginative Government, but with the people as well; for the agitation to reunite the dismembered Bengal, without urging the separation of Behar and of Orissa, was lacking in national outlook. Glimpses of the larger idea noticeable in the endeavour that sought the addition of the Berars to the Bombay Presidency in 1903. The Andhra Movement, the first to set forth the problem of redistribution on linguistic lines as national in scope and as a necessary preliminary to real Provincial Autonomy.

Conditions to be satisfied in the settlement of boundaries of a province as laid down by Lord Hardinge in the despatch of 25th August 1911:—They must provide

- (i.) convenient administrative units; hence the five Bengali speaking divisions grouped together and the Hindi area grouped separately. Distinctive language areas provide such units;
- (ii.) satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people; hence recognition extended to the

marked awakening in Behar and the sentiment kindled in the Beharees "even if it be exaggerated;"

- (iii.) and should be based on broad grounds of administrative and political expediency so that inequality between different language-bound communities in a province in educational progress, civic advancement or social influence, demands due rectification.

No need for apprehending that too many provinces will be carved out. In India only 15 or 16 cultivated languages exist so that the existing provinces 15 in number will become 19 including the enclave of Delhi, Coorg, Ajmere-Merwara, Baluchistan and North Western Frontier Province.

Advantages of reorganisation: Evils arising from the existing heterogeneity already described, will be removed. Ideal of Provincial Autonomy possible of full realization only in provinces with homogeneity of language, sentiment and tradition; Professor Morgan's opinion in support of this view. Provinces thus consolidated by the growth of a sub-national sentiment would be simultaneously started on the road to self-government and self-development.

Organization of provinces on the natural basis of language areas signifies, for its benefits to be fully realized, two reforms (1) the adoption of the vernacular as the language of administration and (2) of education.

(1.) *Administration* no more mechanical than education; depends for effectiveness on the understanding and responsiveness of the people; present administration ineffective and bureaucratic because not carrying with it the cooperation or understanding of the people; e. g., failure of Local Bodies, because incompletely democratic in themselves and never commanded popular sympathy or appreciation. Present

system of Police less effective than the village nayakavadi of old. Civil and Criminal courts, centres of evil influence, poor substitutes for the panchayat system. Charges of superstition and ignorance uncharitable and undeserved by the Indian people.

True remedy is to conduct administration in the vernacular. Highest Executive Government may continue to use English in the interests of uniformity of National Political development. But fountains of legislation and administration must be in the vernacular. Advantages manifold. Such an administration becomes simple, easy, efficient and natural ; is indispensable where reforms of agricultural or sanitary practices are sought ; would cleanse courts of immorality ; make justice natural, real and helpful to harmony of relations. Finally would endow British Government in India with a national character.

2. *Education* :—Vernaculars as proper media. Evils of forcing an alien language : steady and increasing alienation from national culture, the greatest calamity that can befall a nation. Restoration of vernacular ascendancy, primary duty of Government ; with vernaculars enriched and exalted as media of instruction and of administration, separate, stable, self-contained and self-reliant states would come into existence fast fitting themselves for the ultimate self-government. Self-Government only a means to good government. And for sympathetic, popular and liberal administration it must provide compact states. Hence self-government on this plan, not merely a demand of self-seeking, English-educated few, but subserves the wider interests of the vast populace. Again states (provinces) thus started on the road to independent racial self-development preserve their distinctive features and enrich the national culture so that organisation of provinces on a linguistic basis necessary both as requisites to self-government and as aids to nation-building.

REORGANIZATION OF INDIAN PROVINCES.*

The history of Indian administration under British rule reveals a steady growth in the number of provinces into which the country has been divided. This increase was not only due to the gradual expansion of territory acquired by the British from time to time, but also to the necessity of effecting suitable rearrangements on grounds of administrative expediency. The growth of the Indian Provinces has, therefore, been more or less chronological and was not based on the operation of any logical, linguistic or ethnic considerations (see appendix at the end for a history of this growth). This accounts for the arbitrary divisions of the country into provinces and the heterogeneous grouping of districts into each province. The process of acquiring territory extends from the cession of Bombay (1661) as part of the dower of Catherine of Braganza to the year 1916 when Bassra has been conquered ; and British India which was at the time of Warren Hastings composed of the three Regulation Provinces of Bombay, Bengal and Madras, has now grown to the dimensions of a country consisting of 15 provinces differing from one another considerably in area, population and importance, leaving alone the more vital differences of language, manners and customs. The process of multiplication of provinces reveals strange workings of mind in the

* A note prepared by the Standing Committee of the Andhra (Provincial) Conference, Guntur,

administrators of the land, and it would be not a little amusing to re-call what was in 1839 a common topic of conversation in the London East India circles that the Madras Province was to be abolished and apportioned between Bengal and Bombay and that the seat of the Supreme Government was to be transferred to the Bombay Presidency. If such an anomaly had happened and continued, the people of India would probably have no more thought of the incongruity of the arrangement than they have been till recently; for, on close examination, the existing arrangement would be seen to be equally incongruous. Bombay Presidency is divided between the Maharathes, the Guzarathi, the Sindhi and the Kanarese; Madras is likewise divided between the Uriya, the Telugu, the Tamil, the Canarese and the Malayali; Central Provinces between the Marathi, the Telugu and the Hindi; Bengal till recently between the Bengali, the Behari and the Uriya or between the Bengali, the Behari and the Assamese. Viewed from another standpoint, the Maharattas are divided between Bombay, the Central Provinces and the Nizam's Dominions; the Telugus between the Central Provinces,* Nizam's dominions, Mysore State and Madras Presidency; the Canarese between Madras Presidency, Mysore State and Bombay; the Uriyas between Madras and Behar Provinces and till recently Central Provinces †. Such an

* The transference of Nagur and Seruvancha taluks to the Godavari District from Central Provinces recently reduced the Telugus in the latter area.

† The Uriya Taluka of Sambalpur in Central Provinces was transferred to Orissa in 1905.

arrangement based on no principle whatever clearly indicates that the whole grouping was haphazard and that neither ideals of administrative efficiency nor those of national upbuilding have ever exercised the minds of the rulers or the ruled. This fact has indeed been well described by the Lord Bishop of Madras in an article that he recently contributed to *The Nineteenth Century and After*. His Lordship says, "We, English people, are by temperament suspicious of ideals. We naturally fix our attention on present facts and deal with them as best we can; our whole interest is in the *status quo*; we live and work for the present and do not look forward to the future, and that to a large extent is the secret of the success in the building of our Empire. We did not come to India with any idea of Empire; we came as traders; we established factories because they were necessary for the security of our trade; we assumed government of the districts and states, because it seemed necessary to do so for the security of our factories, and so were led on by the practical necessities of the case, step by step, until at last there came out this Empire. We are doing much the same thing now. x x x x. But we never trouble ourselves to look ahead or seriously to think what is the inevitable goal towards which we are tending. Sufficient unto the day is the good and the evil thereof." A race of people who had thus built an Empire without plan could not develop the nation's culture and traditions and therefore not demarkate areas according to those laws that would help best in such a development.

However lacking in policy or in idealism the governance of India may have been, there have arisen individual administrators from time to time who have had the perspicacity to discover the error in the existing territorial divisions and with due forethought sketched a correct plan of distribution. It was Sir John Strachey that pointed out that "the political limits of the provinces have little connection with any physical characteristics." Sir Thomas Holderness, Permanent Under-Secretary of India Office, writing before the Partition of Bengal observes that "with the exception of Burma, no province represents a natural unit; that is to say, they (the provinces) do not stand for differences of race or language or geographical distribution. They are purely administrative divisions of territory. An Indian province is not what we mean by a nation, though it tends to create a provincial spirit which is not far removed from the beginning of national life." Sir Bampfylde Fuller, a former Lieutenant-Governor in India, wrote, "It would have been well for the country, had its divisions into provinces for purposes of government followed the lines marked by race and language, so as to reinforce the sympathy which arises from similarity, by feelings of pride in the local government. The existing administrative divisions are so heterogeneous as to have a directly contrary effect." The same officer says that the nearest approach to national sentiment in India is that which springs from language.

In making such observations, the different writers have not looked at the problem from the

same point of view, but it cannot be denied that they have made the nearest approach to the popular standpoint of the present day, which has directed attention to the urgency of reorganising the Indian provinces on the basis of language. The popular standpoint was for the first time expressed in a constructive suggestion made by Sriyuta Bal Gangadar Tilak in his evidence before the Royal Commission on Decentralization. The object of such a reorganisation would, in the first place, be to develop that provincial spirit, which, in a properly constituted province, as pointed out by Sir Thomas Holderness, is not far removed from the beginning of national life. The experiences which the Indians have to face in solving the problem of their nationality are like those of a Western race in governing an Eastern country, altogether unique and have few precedents to help them in their struggles. Where there are hundreds of millions of population, seemingly divided by differences of language, but really welded together by a common home and a substantial unity of life and culture, the upbuilding of the Indian nation is only possible on a plan of federation in which each provincial factor shall occupy subnational position. Unto this end, the provinces should be homogeneous as far as possible and be devoid of all elements that make for division, jealousy of feeling, or inequality of progress so that various subordinate centres of self-consciousness may come into existence, around which national life groups itself into clear and distinct unities. And here in India, the home of divers races and civilizations, of long unfolding thought and ancient growth of spirit, the

need for a saner and sounder organization of a nation should express itself in a distinct sense of provincial autonomy, and under the stress of this new feeling should arise revived the idea of language unity and substantial integrity. A clear sketch of contiguous territory, a common language and literature, common traditions of heroes and poets, warriors and kings, and deep down a strong similarity of temper and character—these constitute the full and just title of the different language-bound communities to be out-lined each into a single race and accorded all those accessories of communal and political institutions which illustrate and feed that unity. It need hardly be mentioned that, in the recognition of such a unity, there is no fragmentation of the higher idea of Indian Nationalism. The spirit indeed may never be divided, for it concentrates in equal fulness into every fragment.

That such fragments and factors have not been brought into existence must be regarded as the first evil resulting from the existing conglomeration of peoples and provinces, and when that is said, it includes a host of minor evils, drawbacks and disadvantages which necessarily flow from the original defect. The different vernacular languages which should have properly been the vehicles of modern thought and culture, the media of instruction and administration have been greatly neglected; the indigenous sciences, both metaphysical and positive, have been altogether consigned to the limbo of the forgotten past. The English language has been confused with the

Western thought and science which it enshrines in part and has come to be regarded as the one means of enlightenment and as a necessary symbol of authority and power. A chasm has, therefore, come into existence between the class of people who have worshipped at the shrine of this language and the much larger class of people who are the repositories of the ancient learning of the land. Pride in local government has not been developed in its fullest measure. Local patriotism which, in proper relationship to the larger national consciousness, ought to be "the only safe and sure incentive to right political execution, and which, in the past, has determined the course and conduct in life of all those men who have attained the most lasting and world-wide reputation as benefactors of the human race," has had little chance of operation over the minds of men differing widely in language and temperament, but huddled together within the vinculum of a common province.

It must be confessed too that in certain areas instead of developing a true sense of responsibility and a generous spirit of co-operation, the promiscuous yoking of communities has had the effect of fostering prejudices towards one another and in that measure, of weakening the forces that should make for national consolidation. Judged from the lower standpoint of administration, the present arrangement has manifestedly resulted in impairing efficiency by entrusting the rule of the province first to foreigners who had to learn more than one language in the same province, and next, among the Indians, to people speaking different languages who

feel continually embarrassed in having to learn the particular language of the place. Then again, the location of the seat of authority and the centre of influence in one part of the province as against another has resulted in markedly diminishing the influence of one community and even denying them certain opportunities for self-development.

Some of the evils, notably those which have made administration cumbersome and inefficient, have been recognized by the authorities who, however, have not been able to perceive the standpoint of the nation-builder. The British administrator who performs his duties with a single eye to the maintenance not only of British authority in India but to the domination of Western thought and culture over an Eastern people, does not pause to consider a scheme of reorganization directed towards the realization of the national destiny, nor does he fully sympathize with the cultivation of those vernacular languages which alone can render valuable aid in such a realization. Expressions then such as 'Indian Nationalism,' 'Provincial Autonomy', 'the Resuscitation of the Vernaculars', the Cultivation of Indigenous Sciences' do not convey their real significance to him. Such events, therefore, as the partition of Bengal, the addition of Assam to East Bengal at one time, the coupling of Orissa with Behar are instances which prove absence of true political insight on the part of the executive government of the country in working out changes of real moment and magnitude. They further reveal the manner in which have been baffled the high hopes inspired in the Indian

public by such despatches as the one dated 3rd December 1902 in which Lord Curzon's government boastfully wrote: '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.' For the first time, however, a right solution was attempted by the Government of Lord Hardinge when they repaired the wrong done by the partition of Bengal and reunited the five Bengali speaking divisions into one province and integrated the Hindi speaking population of Behar and Chota Nagpur into another. But that liberal spirit had given way to mere considerations of administrative expediency when Orissa was tacked on to Behar, only because the Government of the day had not the required measure of imagination to take on hand a comprehensive scheme of reform affecting the whole country on the very lines and principles recognized by themselves.

The fault did not lie with Government alone. Popular ideals and popular aspirations had never taken shape, and no constructive plan of Indian Nationality or of Indian self-government had been evolved till the need for this emphasis upon the place and function of language has been recognised as of paramount importance. It was therefore that even the foremost men of the country advocated a reunion of Bengal as a remedy of the thrice-cursed partition; and beneath all the furious protests against this enforced dismemberment, one looks in vain for any large-eyed plicity of territorial reorganization.

It is not a little significant that the alternative scheme adopted by the Government of India at the time of Coronation as a remedy to the partition is looked askance at by some political leaders in Bengal who are not reconciled yet to the distinctive integration of Behar as a separate province. Even the efforts of men like Mahesh Narayan and his coadjutors to secure recognition of Behar's entity were rooted more in a perception of the backwardness of the Beharees in education and influence, and in the unequal yoking to which they were subjected with the Bengalees, and the resulting restriction in opportunities for self-development that they were labouring under. More in tune indeed with the idealism of the present day was the public opinion that faintly expressed itself when the Berars which the Nizam had given away to the British were desired to be added to the Bombay Presidency so as to mix with and swell the Mahratta population there; but when the suggestion was not put forward as a piece of a larger scheme of reorganization, there was as much propriety in adding the Maharata speaking Berars to the Central Provinces as to Bombay, for in both these provinces, there is a proportion of the population speaking Maharashtra. The Andhra Movement, however, that has been stirring the minds of the Telugus during the past four or five years is the first organized effort of a (whole) community working as a true reflex of the larger national movement. In seeking the constitution of the Andhra Desa into a distinctive province, there has not been simply the calculation of the advantages accruing therefrom to a particular community, but, also the setting forth and advancing

the conception that, in preserving its own clear individuality, it shall seek only to stimulate the self-consciousness of the sister communities and by a happy blending of all those, enrich the ideal of Indian Nationalism.

We may now consider the requisite conditions which must be observed in the settlement of the boundaries of provinces, in order that they may be satisfactory and conclusive. In the Government of India Despatch dated 25th August 1911, Lord Hardinge's Government laid down that a settlement of boundaries should

- (i). Provide convenient administrative units.
- (ii). Satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the people and
- (iii). Be clearly based upon broad grounds of political and administrative expediency.

Each of these may be examined in detail.

1. Few will deny that convenient administrative units are at once furnished by contiguous tracts of country where the people speak a common language. The evils of constituting provinces on any other basis have been pointed out in the foregoing pages. That is why Lord Hardinge has begun the annulment of the Partition with a decision to "reunite the five Bengali speaking divisions and form them into a presidency to be administered

character of the Legislative Councils increases, and with it the influence which these assemblies exercise upon the conduct of public affairs. There is therefore only too much reason to believe that this bitterness of feeling will become more and more acute," and from another sentence in paragraph 19 in which it is said that "that belief among the Beharees (that Behar will never develop until it is dissociated from Bengal) will, unless a remedy be found, give rise to agitation in the near future and the present is an admirable opportunity to carry out, on our own initiative, a thoroughly sound and much deserved change." Of such changes only one has been effected and if other changes thoroughly sound and much deserved in equal measure should follow, the initiative should come not incidentally in the course of repairing a wrong done, but deliberately in the form of a comprehensive scheme of reform advocated by the people's congress.

It may be feared that such a scheme would necessitate too many provinces, but in this vast country where nearly hundred and forty seven languages are spoken, those with a distinctive literature and culture of their own are not more than 15 or 16. Accordingly in our ideal scheme of "one province, one language," we may not have to provide for more than 15 or 16 provinces. The day may indeed come when the growth of population, the needs of administration, the aspirations of the people marked by local variations in manner and temperament, and political expediency may demand a further increase in the number of provinces, so that we cannot lay down the proposition of 'one language, one province', and just as the Hindi-speaking people being even now too numerous for one province have absorbed two provinces for themselves, other language areas may, at a remote future, comprise more than one province.

The following table shows the existing conditions.

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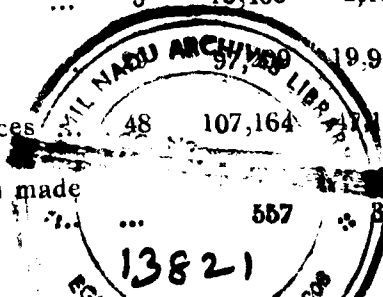
Provinces.

Number of
Districts.

Area in square
miles.

Population.

1	Ajmere-Merwara ...	2	2,711	501,895
2	Andamans and Nicobars ...	...	3,143	26,459
8	Assam ...	12	52,959	6,713,635
4	Beluchistan. ...	6	45,804	414,412
5	Bengal ...	28	78,412	45,483,077
6	Behar, Chotanagapur and Orissa ...	21	83,205	34,490,084
7	Bombay ...	26	123,064	19,672,642
8	Burma ...	41	286,738	12,115,217
9	Central Provinces and Berar ...	22	100,345	13,916,308
10	Coorg ...	1	1,582	174,976
11	Madras ...	24	141,725	41,405,404
12	North West Frontier Province (Districts and administered territories) ...	5	16,466	2,196,933
13	The Punjab			19,974,956
14	United Provinces	48	107,164	182,044
15	Delhi has been made an enclave	...	557	391,828



Reorganization of provinces on the basis of language would alter the Map of India as follows;—

Provinces.	Language.	Number of Dists.	Area in square miles.	Population.	Relative size in relation to Belgium. (11,300 Sq. miles.)
1 Ajmere-Merwara	Local dialects of Rajastani and Hindi.	2	2,711	501,395	
2 Andamans and Nicobars	...	...	3,143	26,450	
3 Assam	Bengali 46 per cent Assamese 22 per cent Hindi and Uria.	12	52,959	6,713,635	
4 Beluchistan	...	6	45,804	414,412	
5 Bengal	Bengali	28	78,412	45,483,077	
6 i Orissa (including ii Uria tracts of Ganjam and Vizagpatam in Madras Presidency).	Uria.	...	i Orissa. 13,770 ii the rest 10,000	6½ millions	2 times.
7 i Behar, Chota Nagpur (excluding Orissa) ii Hindi speaking area of Central Provinces.	(i.) Behari (ii.) Hindi (The rest.)	...	i 70,000 ii 40,000	30 millions 7½ millions	10 times.
			110,000	37½ millions	
8 i Berars ii Marata speaking area of Central Provinces and iii of Bombay.	Marathi.	...	i Berars. 17,718 Bombay. 37,192 the rest 20,982	3 millions 6 millions 4½ millions	
			75,892	13½ millions	7 times.
9 Gujarathi speaking area of Bombay	Gujarathi.	6	13,710	3½ millions	1½ times.
10 Sindh	Sindhi.	6	47,066	3,513,435	4 times.
11 Coorg	...	1	1,582	174,976	...
12 Andhra Province (Telugu speaking area in Madras Presidency) ...	Telugu	will be come 12 dts. in a year.	73,318	14 millions	6½ times.
13 Dravida Province (Tamil speaking area in Madras Presidency).	Tamil	10 including Madras.	50,000 square miles	15 millions	4½ of times.
14 Malabar Province	Malayali.	1	5,794	3,015,119	¼ of Belgium.
15 Kannada do. (Bombay & Madras)	Kanarese.	7	29,015	6,265,919	2½ times.
16 North-West Frontier Province	...	5	16,466	2,196,933	
17 The Punjab	...	29	97,209	9,974,956	
18 United Provinces	...	48	107,164	47,182,044	
19 Delhi (Enclave)	...	1	557	391,828	

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A better knowledge of the local conditions and feelings in the different parts of the country may suggest variations not contemplated in this list. There is certainly a volume of discontent in Sindh* with its own present lot while some have suggested its addition to the Punjab and in the same spirit the addition of the Northern Circars in the Madras Presidency to the Central Provinces. In the altered map of India, the Central Provinces has been removed and the provinces of (Kalinga) Uriya, Andhra, Karnataka and Maharashtra have been added. Orissa is taken away from Behar; the Hindi speaking population of the Central Provinces is added to Behar and Chota Nagpur; the Maharashtra-speaking population of Central Provinces and Berars along with that occupying contiguous territory in the Bombay Presidency constitute a separate administration; while the Guzarathees have a presidency exclusively to themselves. The Kanarese districts of Bombay along with the one in Madras form one entity, while the Telugus and the Tamils have each a province. The Uriyas of Orissa and those of Ganjam and Vizagapatam in the Madras Presidency are grouped together under one administration. The problem of the Sindhis and of the Malayalis is considered by some to be a complicated one and whether they should be constituted into separate provinces analogous to Coorg in the existing arrangement, though distinctly larger, is a matter that may be left entirely to their wishes. In this scheme, no note is taken of the complicating circumstance of the Native states

* *Vide* address of the Hon'ble Mr. Vishin Das, Chairman, Reception Committee, Karachee Congress.

sharing a portion of the Hindi, Telugu and Mahratta speaking peoples, and until the day comes when India may enjoy genuine self-government, their problem may baffle all attempts at solution. But this theoretical imperfection need not operate as an impediment to the reorganisation of Provinces in British India.

The advantages of such a re-arrangement are obvious. The evils arising from its absence have been described in outline and the removal of these evils brings in its train results of great value to the progress of the country. In the first place, the ideal of provincial autonomy authoritatively held up to the Indians in the despatch dated 25th August 1911 would have the surest chance of fulfilment only in provinces of a homogeneous structure. In them alone does solidarity of feeling and pride in Local Government develop, and the people of such provinces alone speaking one language, paying homage to one literature, inspired by common traditions, and worshipping the memories of common heroes and saints, are best able to examine their civic laws and social institutions from a common standpoint and judge of their common need for reform and legislation. Indeed "the creation of a common standard of civilisation in certain matters" as Professor Morgan puts it "and of a certain measure of national sentiment may be necessary before local autonomy is either desirable or possible". If all governments are agencies for enforcing the will of the majority on the minority, the different provincial governments enjoying a full measure of autonomy, administrative and legislative, can enact

laws to the complete satisfaction of a particular province not by enforcing the will of one language-community upon another, but by ascertaining the bulk of opinion from among a homogeneous population marked by similarity in sympathies and sentiment. If India should consist of a "number of administrations, autonomous in all provincial affairs, with the Government of India above them all" as has been foreshadowed by Lord Hardinge and his colleagues, that autonomy should bring into existence separate, stable, self-contained and self-reliant states which would leave no scope for the upspringing in any one state of bitterness of feeling, prejudices or antipathies, and in each of which no one community could drag down or even retard another in its progress. It is thus that in the words of "*Action Front*"—"*(The Political Future of India)*".—*Hodder and Stoughton, London 1908*. "All the (sub) nationalities in India would be simultaneously started on the road to self-development and ultimate self-government. Those which advance rapidly would be given greater facilities and would necessarily be more independent than those that lagged. No greater facilities could be given to the peoples of India than the fostering of local patriotism (by the construction of a new map of India on an ethnological and linguistic basis) and the consequent friendly inter-racial competition for civilised progress and ultimate autonomy."

The organisation of Indian provinces on natural and linguistic lines forms but the first step in the achievement of that provincial unity which is essential to the perfect flowering of Indian

nationalism.* For, the singleness of political administration, while it perhaps takes rank as the highest symbol of racial integrity, would prove of no farther significance, if it did not avail itself of those vital forces which sustain and develop communal life among a people. And any government to be fruitful of these benefits for which all governments exist, must, in the daily business of administration relate itself intimately to the life and habits of the people whom it seeks to govern. Administration, in the full interpretation of its end and aim is really no more mechanical than education, depending for its success in a very vital measure on the inner psychology of relations between the governing and the governed. Judged by such a standard of administrative perfection, the most serious defect of British administration in India appears to be the lack of correspondence between the mind of the English rulers and the mind of the Indian people, between the demand for organisation and the impulse to respond. Thus it is that, though essentially democratic in temper, the British scheme of government has lain on its Indian subject races with the weight of an arbitrary Beauracracy, while, on the other hand, it has found its task of administration peculiarly hard and unsatisfactory even with a people who have been for ages accustomed to democratic forms and institutions of self-government.

One important reason for such small measure of success of British institutions in India is doubtless the fact that the daily business of administration is carried on in a language not understood by the people. The increasing employment of English

educated Indian interpreters has never proved any real palliative to the evil of government in a foreign language. For, where the fountain of authority is foreign in *personnel*, the more faithfully and efficiently the task of interpretation is discharged, the more completely does the administration retain its impress of an alien character. So that government by the English educated Indian has often-times proved itself as un-Indian in tone and temper as that by European officers uninformed of the ways of Indian life. Things seem to have been somewhat better, if not radically different, in the days when European administrators learnt the language of the land and were more intimately in touch with the habits and characteristics of the people.

But with the advancement of European education in the land and the universal acceptance of English as the language of administration has come into being a body of English officials with set notions of how to govern India and a great army of English educated Indians, who, though largely in evidence in the actual business of Government, function only as passive media for the transference of ideas from the really governing to the vast mass of the governed. The existence of this intermediary body of Indian officials, without any power of initiative, has had only the result of putting further away from the vision of the rulers the real people of the land, so shutting off that natural exchange of influences between the governing and the governed, which is the true root of political reform among all progressing races of the world.

The appointment of a few Indians to the higher ranks of service has gratified individual ambitions but has had absolutely no influence in altering the tone and temper of the administration. The representation of Indian opinion in the Legislative Councils of the land has perhaps helped to moderate the rigour of English ideas but has failed in its essential purpose, because it did not clearly enough realise or interpret the needs of Indian life.

To illustrate by a few examples the truth of the above interpretation of a complex situation: The great experiment, as it is called, in local self-government initiated through Local Boards and Municipalities has proved far less than a success, because the English rulers have, with characteristic hesitancy, kept back from the people the essentials of the privilege, while the people themselves have not so far displayed any talent sufficiently noteworthy in putting to use even that which was actually conceded. And yet, more than two thousand years ago, under the reign of Chandragupta Maurya, in the city of Pataliputra, flourished an almost perfect system of Municipal self-administration with hundreds of well organised guilds each in charge of some one profession, art or craft. Similarly, the British have introduced a costly and abundant police force to maintain peace and security in the land whose inefficiency and oppression have become a by-word of popular disregard, while in strange contrast was the village Nayakwady, maintained out of the village's own revenues, who, till a very few years ago, guaranteed the safety, personal and of property, of the whole village.

Among the achievements of the English for which they desire the highest praise and credit, is the institution of civil and criminal courts intended to administer justice among the people, but which have afforded opportunity for the growth of litigious discord and mental harassment to an undesirable extent. One turns aside with a pang of regret but with immense moral relief to the picture of the now disorganized village panchayat which for forty centuries kept the lives of the villagers clean, prosperous and pure. Instances may be endlessly multiplied to prove how ill European institutions have fared with the people of the land, how they have provoked, not sympathetic response, but suspicion and distrust and how, as a consequence, some of the new usages and institutions, meant for their good, have in course of time turned into instruments of oppression. The rulers have readily set it down to the innate ignorance and superstition of the Indian mind. Strange accusation to be laid at the door of a people who, through their social organisation, successfully regulated the very motive springs of individual action, through their panchayats solved their own disputes, through their servants maintained perfect security to person and property and through their various institutions revealed the highest capacity to deal with the most complicated problems of national life !

Where then would the solution to such a seemingly contradictory problem lie ? Most probably in the fact that government through an alien language has given a general air of alienness to the

administration itself, so that every usage or institution of that administration, however harmless or beneficent in itself to the people, was so to speak morally rejected under an instinctive apprehension of its unsuiteness to the Indian life or where persistently enforced, was silently submitted to as part of the inevitable indemnity of conquest. If this explanation be right, the one and only remedy must be in the complete adoption of the vernacular as the language of administration in the land, in the necessary modification of the *personnel* of government at least to the limit of the District administration in accordance therewith. But this does not mean that, in the sphere of the highest government, the use of English would not prove essential both in the interests of the uniform evolution of national administration in the land and for the dominance of the finer tradition of the British Raj. But allowing for the inevitable supremacy of both language and *personnel* in the highest sphere of executive government, the fountain sources of legislation and administration must be laid entirely in the realm of the vernacular, rendering possible the freest and fullest discussion of all vital problems of public interest, and their publication as deep and wide as would be necessary to reach the millions toiling in the Indian villages.

Such dominance of the vernacular in the mutual relations of the government and the people is bound to make the task of administration infinitely easier and more satisfactory by rendering free communication of ideas possible. It will raise the efficiency of administration by enlisting on the side

of good government the whole force of popular will where it is substantially in agreement with the will of the executive. Also in cases where the essence of an administrative act is the practical adoption by the people of a great sanitary, municipal, agricultural or other similar reform, the first condition for success is the full and clear understanding by the people of the purpose and value of the reform to be introduced, possible only where exchange of thought is habitually frank and free and action unfettered by doubt or distrust. Similarly the complete adoption of the vernacular in civil and criminal courts would not only ensure natural and substantial justice, effecting incalculable saving in time and money but would ultimately help in simplifying law and procedure in harmony with the social instincts of an essentially agricultural people. Thus in many known and unknown ways the introduction of this reform, which would become possible only under a reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis, would not only facilitate administration but would make of the British Government the nearest approach to a truly national institution springing from the heart of the people and deriving its strength, not from an objective fountain of power, but from the moral and emotional relation of its fundamental unity with the highest interests of national life.

The next important corollary to a reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis is the free and universal acceptance of the vernacular as the sole medium of instruction in all the educational institutions of the land. As a general proposition it

has found the acceptance of all classes of thinkers that the children of a race would be best educated in and through their own mother tongue, but the full significance of the fact would be realised only when in a rightly constituted province the full vigour of national life expresses itself in a rich and varied glorification of the vernacular. For, the evil of forcing an alien language on the children of another race is proved not only by the tremendous drain it involves on the vital energies of youth, when most they should be conserved, but extends to all their varied activities, drying up, so to speak, at their sources the very fountain-springs of national power. Thus it is that a century of European education has left the Indian mind richer by a new language but seriously impoverished on the side of initiative and originality. It was bad psychology at best to have conceived of the possibility of educating an oriental people, with a well-formed organisation of mental and moral tendencies through a scheme of culture utterly at variance with their own. The very strain of mind involved in the acquisition of a new vocabulary of ideas and words has resulted in the disappearance of many of the characteristic traits for which the Indian mind was justly famous. While the very extent of apparent success which has attended this tremendous educational experiment, due entirely to the dominance of an administrative expediency, may really be accounted as the measure of its failure from the point of view of the evolution of a true national culture. For, the progress of English education in the land has been marked by a steadily increasing alienation and estrangement of

the people from the ancient inheritance of their culture. And if it be true that the individuality of a people's culture is their greatest treasure in the eye of humanity and that nothing may rightly be permitted whether to individuals or nations to weaken or destroy the integrity of that culture, then surely the primary duty of the British Government in India, would lie in the restoration to each vernacular of the land that dominance which English now holds over all. For, if a culture is to be constantly replenished and kept alive as a growing entity, the language which is its vehicle must be frankly accepted as the one medium of self-expression for all of a nation's activities. But more than elsewhere, in the Vidyalyayas of the land the vernacular of the race must form the sole medium of education, and be universally accorded that reverence of young and old which alone can make of it the store-house of national power and passion and influence.

Thus, it is evident that from whatever aspect considered, true national uplift is vitally bound up with the restoration of the vernaculars to their rightful place as the vehicles of the living, growing thought of the various Indian peoples and that herein only is the true conclusion to the scheme of the national provincial areas in the country.

Provinces which are so consolidated by the vernaculars replete with modern, scientific, and historical literature, and presenting in a telling manner the ideals of life and conduct, alike in the West and the East, provinces too in which the

centre of attraction and authority shifts from the English educated few to the many unsophisticated representatives of ancient and modern culture, acquired in their mother tongue, become at once distinctive and potent states, federated together to constitute the mighty Indian Nationality that is now in its process of evolution. As separate, self-governing states, acknowledging a suzerain power over themselves, they prepare the vast continent for that ultimate autonomy which has been acknowledged as the ideal for which the British and the Indians have been labouring in common during the past one and a half centuries. However true it may be that good government is no substitute for self government, it must be admitted that, in the last analysis, self-government in any country is itself only a means to good government and if that be so, it is of paramount importance that a self-governing India should comprise components enjoying the best facilities for liberal, sympathetic and popular government. The demand for self-government safe-guarded and exalted by such high ideals would not become exposed to the commonplace cavil that it emanates from the English educated classes prompted by self-seeking motives, for, on the plan on which it is designed, it develops a policy beaten out into harmony with the needs of the nation and serves primarily and for ever the requirements of the millions that toil in this land and labour to produce its wealth.

Again, provinces and states thus organized and strengthened enjoy legitimate opportunities for independent racial self-development and foster

distinctive tributary cultures whose commingling enriches the central stream of national life. "The great virtue which we call patriotism" as Mr. Asquith points out, "and which cements the unity of a people comes from many sources as it assumes many different shapes" and while there is no antagonism between the consciousness of a separate sub-nationality and that national pride and patriotism not more ardent indeed but larger in its scope, modern thought and experience agree in the conclusion that that nationalism would surely be counted highest which is compounded of the finest contrasts and the most delicate harmonies of temper and character within the unity of one culture type. Whether, then, the problem of India's future is examined in an analytical way in which as Bright predicted the different provinces shall ultimately form locally autonomous states with separate Governments, separate armies and so on, based upon a policy of a sort of Home Rule all round, or whether it be approached from the synthetic standpoint by which the higher national life would seem to be integrated by a happy reconciliation between the increasing insistence of the individual type and mastery of power and passion hid in the nationalistic ideal, the conclusion is irresistible that, for a solution to be final and satisfactory, the statesmen in India should display great imagination and courage and carve out natural and self-contained provinces, each sustained by a thought of internal unity and enjoying a simple system of self-Government, and all held together and uplifted by a common ambition to realise the individual soul in a life, larger and diviner than its own.

APPENDIX.

In 1765 the provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa (old) and the Northern Circars were granted by the Emperor of Delhi. The first three provinces were attached to Bengal and the last to Madras. On the annexation of the district of Benares in 1775, it was attached to Bengal. The districts ceded and conquered after the Mysore Wars in 1792, and in 1799, the territories of the Maharaja of Tanjore who retired on a pension in 1799, the district ceded by the Nizam in 1800 and the territories of the Nawab of Karnatic, who too retired on a pension in 1801 were all attached to Madras. Thus practically the whole of the Madras Presidency was acquired by 1801. Allahabad and other districts ceded by the Nawab of Oudh in 1801; the districts of Delhi, Agra, Mathura and Orrissa (present) were conquered from and ceded by the Maharajas in 1803 and they were all attached to Bengal. Between 1800 and 1805 the districts of Surat, Broach and Kaira were acquired from the Nawab of Surat and the Gaekwar; they were attached to Bombay. After the Nepal War 1815, Dehradun, Kumaun, Garhwal and Simla were acquired and attached to Bengal. Thus practically the whole of the province of Agra was acquired by 1815. Ahmadabad was acquired from the Gaekwar between 1802-17 and was attached to Bombay. In 1818, after the last Maharatta War, the bulk of Maharashtra and several districts of C. P. were acquired from the Maratas. Except the Central Province districts, all these territories and the rest of the Maharashtra which was acquired from the Nizam and the Kolhapur Maharajah between 1819-27 were attached to Bombay. Thus practically the whole of the Bombay presidency except Sindh was acquired by 1827. Ajmer-Merwara was acquired in 1818 from Scindia, and was placed under the agent to the Governor-General in Rajputana. After the first Burmese War, Assam, Arakan

and Tennasserim were annexed in 1826. Assam and Arakan were attached to Bengal, Tennasserim was placed under a Commissioner directly under the Supreme Government. After the Kol rebellion, Chota-Nagpur was annexed in 1833 and placed under the South West Frontier Agency; later on, it was annexed to Bengal in 1854. Coorg was annexed in 1834 and placed under the Resident of Mysore. Between 1829 and 1835, Shillong and other hill tracts in Assam were acquired and attached to Bengal. In 1836 all the territories west of Behar were separated from Bengal and were placed under a Lieutenant-Governor and called North-West Province. In 1837, on the deposition of the Rajah, Satara was annexed and attached to Bombay. Since 1840, the districts of Jhalun, Jhansi and Dalitpur were annexed and attached to North-Western Province. Sindh was attached to Bombay shortly after its conquest in 1843. After the first Sikh War, Jalandhar division was ceded in 1846. The Punjab was at first placed under a Board of Administration, and soon afterwards under a Chief Commissioner; but in 1859 with Delhi and some other districts, it was formed into a Lieutenant-Governorship. In 1852 after the 2nd Burmese War, Pegu was annexed and Arakan which was detached from Bengal, Tennasserim and Pegu were placed each under a separate Commissioner and were all under the Supreme Government. In 1854 the territories of the Rajah of Nagpur were escheated, and were placed at first under a Commissioner directly under the Supreme Government, but in 1861, with 2 districts from the North-Western Provinces they were placed under a Chief Commissioner, and the province was named the Central Provinces. In 1858 Port Blair was made a convict settlement, and under its superintendent, the islands of Andaman and Nicobars were placed. Oudh was annexed in 1856 and placed under a Chief Commissioner. By 1861, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri districts were acquired from Bhootan and attached to Bengal. By the treaties of 1835 and 1860, Berar was assigned

by the Nizam but it did not form a British Province. In 1861 the Panch Mahals were ceded by Scindia and added to Bombay. In 1862 all the Burmese territories (Lower Burmah) were placed under a Chief Commissioner. So was Assam with certain Bengal districts in 1874. In 1887 Oudh was placed under the Lieutenant-Governor of North-West Provinces, who became Chief Commissioner of Oudh as well. In 1886 Upper Burmah was annexed and placed under the Chief Commissioner of Burmah, Lower and Upper; and in 1897 the province was raised to a Lieutenant-Governorship. In 1887, British Baluchistan was placed under a Chief Commissioner. In 1901, with a few districts detached from the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province was created and placed under a Chief Commissioner. In 1903 Berar was leased in perpetuity by the Nizam and attached to the Central Provinces. In 1905 several districts of Bengal with Assam were formed into a new province and East Bengal and Assam so carved out were placed under a Lieutenant-Governor. In 1912 Assam was replaced under a Chief Commissioner as it was since 1874. The Province of Behar, Chotanagpur and Orissa were detached from Bengal and made a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Council under the name of Behar and Orissa, and Bengal proper was raised to a Governorship. In the same year, the city and district of Delhi were detached from the Punjab and placed directly under the Supreme Government as Metropolitan area.—“Indian administration” Prof. Kale.

