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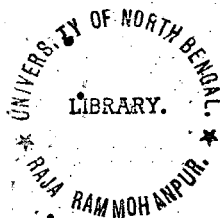
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# THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

A GEOGRAPHICAL STUDY

WITH

MAPS AND DIAGRAMS



BY

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MAP OF BENGAL SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MUSLIMS AND NON-MUSLIMS

The province of Bengal, as at present constituted, covers an area of 82,870 square miles and has a population of slightly over six crores (6,14,60,277) according to the 1941 Census. The two major communities, as elsewhere in India, are Hindus and Muslims. The Muslims numbered 3,33,71,688 in 1941, that is to say, they formed 54 per cent of the total population. The Hindus, on the other hand, numbered 2,58,01,724, that is to say, 42 per cent. A large number of persons, despite the fact that they profess Hinduism and returned as such at the time of the 1931 Census, swelled the figures for tribes ten years later due to a change of policy on the part of the Census Authorities.<sup>1</sup> If they, numbering 19,25,457, are included in the Hindu fold, the percentage of Hindus will come to about 45.

The members of both the communities lead the same economic life and have the same language as their mother-tongue. These facts alone should have welded ere long the two communities into one homogeneous unit, and then the people of Bengal would have been spared of the terrible ordeals that engulfed them twice in recent months. Bengal will fail to take its proper place in the new India unless the leading politicians of Bengal, especially those belonging to the majority community find some solution for a rapprochement between Hindus and Muslims. Already there is a talk of partitioning Bengal, so as to stop further dissipation of energy by fighting with each other. This move has come from Bengali Hindus, who, it may be remembered, fought tooth and nail against the partition of Bengal in 1905 and had gained their point. Dr. O. H. K. Spate of London University has studied the problem of partition of Bengal from the geographers point of view and writes "..... and although partition has a bad ring since Curzon's failure a division under purely Indian auspices might be a different story"<sup>2</sup> If geographical and non-geographical factors indicate that there is no other alternative but to partition Bengal,

1. Census of India, Bengal Volume, 1941.

2. Geographical Journal, London, Sept., 1943.

one may ask how it should be done. A careful study of the geographical distribution of the two communities is needed in the first instance. Their economic activities, especially in the neighbourhood of the future border line should also be noted. A study of the population figures as shown in Table 1, during each successive decade since 1881 leads to the following observations.

TABLE 1. POPULATIONS IN EACH CENSUS YEAR

Census year	Hindus	Muslims	Tribals
1881	1,80,71,296	1,83,94,926	3,13,089
1891	1,89,78,300	2,01,74,832	3,64,820
1901	2,01,55,674	2,19,54,955	4,42,594
1911	2,09,48,357	2,42,37,228	7,30,780
1921	2,08,12,529	2,54,86,124	8,49,045
1931	2,22,12,069	2,78,10,100	5,29,419
1941	2,58,01,724	3,33,71,188	19,25,457

Table 2 shows the numbers of Hindus, Muslims and Tribals per 10,000 of the total population in each census year.

TABLE 2. PROPORTIONS OF THE THREE COMMUNITIES IN BENGAL

Census year	Hindus	Muslims	Tribals
1881	4,882	4,969	149
1891	4,767	5,068	165
1901	4,700	5,119	181
1911	4,523	5,234	243
1921	4,372	5,255	273
1931	4,348	5,444	208
1941	4,198	5,430	372

Figure 1 shows the same feature diagrammatically. It is clear that the proportion of Hindus has been steadily decreasing, and on the other hand, that of Muslims continually increasing from one census year to the other. The sudden increase of the tribal figure or column and a corresponding decrease of that of the Hindu was the direct result of returning as tribes 'all members of tribal communities no matter what their individual religion may be'. The figures for Muslims got also affected, but very slightly. It is also clear that only within the last hundred year that Muslims have

outnumbered Hindus by a clear majority. Even at the 1881 census the difference in the numbers of Muslims

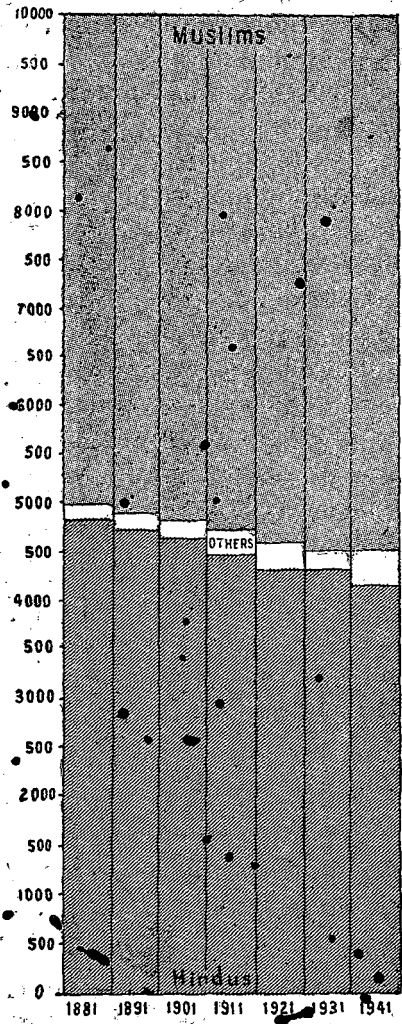


Fig. 1 :- A comparative study of the numbers of the major communities per 10,000 of population of Bengal.

In this and figs. 8 to 17 the columns representing Others (unshaded) separate the Muslim columns from the Hindu columns. The top columns represent Muslims in figs. 1, 8 to 10 and 14 to 17; and Hindus in figs. 11 to 13.

and Hindus per 10,000 of the total population was negligible, but by 1941 this difference became appreciably large, as indicated in table 3.

TABLE 3. EXCESS OF MUSLIMS OVER HINDUS PER 10,000 OF THE TOTAL POPULATION DURING EACH CENSUS YEAR

1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
87	301	419	711	983	1,096	1,832

If the difference goes on multiplying at the present rate, a time will come when the Bengali Hindus will be in a hopeless

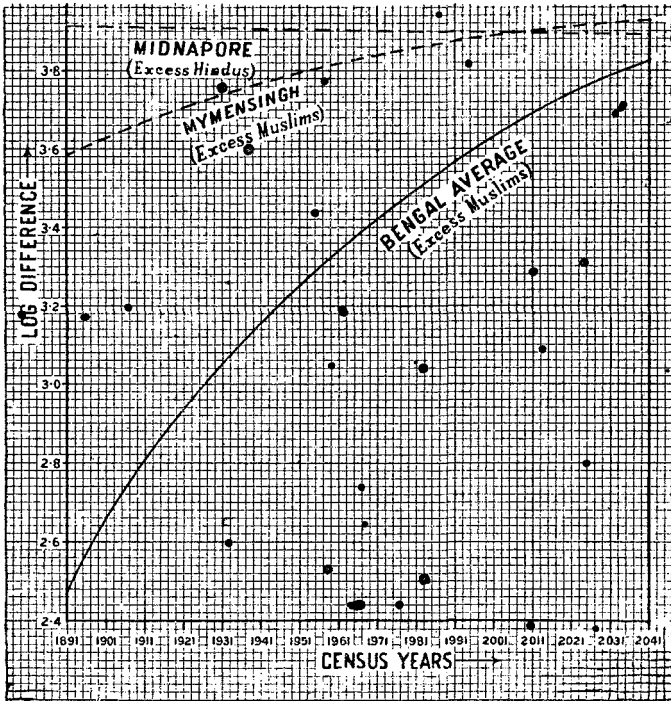


Fig. 2 :- Muslims in excess of Hindus in Bengal per 10,000 of population in successive years.

minority in their homeland. A glance at the figure 2 shows that by the middle of the next century the Muslims will outnumber the Hindus by 6,000 per every ten thousand of the total population.<sup>1</sup> In the same figure the trends in one predominantly Hindu district—Midnapore (84%) and in one predominantly Muslim district—Mymensingh (77%) have also been indicated. The nature of these two curves shows that the rate of increase of one community slows

1. In the figure the abscissa represents the census years and the ordinate represents the logarithm of the number of Muslims in excess of Hindus per 10,000 of the total population. The antilog of 3.83 is 6,761 that is to say, in the year 2,041 Hindus will form less than one-sixth of the total population of Bengal.

down after a certain stage in the growth of the population of that community has been reached. If this principle holds good in Bengal as a whole, at best one can say that it will take a longer time before the Bengali Hindus are reduced to a small minority community. That the Bengali Hindus cannot be completely wiped out from their homeland becomes clear when a comparative study is made of the rates of variation in the two populations in successive decades since 1881. Table 4 shows that except in the decade 1911-1921 the number of Bengali Hindus was found to increase in each census year, though at a much smaller rate than that of Muslims.

TABLE 4. VARIATION IN POPULATIONS  
DURING SIXTY YEARS

	Muslims	Hindus
	(Per 10,000 of the Muslim population in the preceding census year)	(Per 10,000 of the Hindu population in the preceding census year)
1891	+ 973	+ 502
1901	+ 882	+ 620
1911	+1,040	+ 393
1921	+ 515	- 65
1931	+ 912	+ 673
1941	+2,000	+1,616

The above figures may be interpreted in such a way, so as to come to the conclusion that in Bengal the social and economic structure of Muslims is somewhat different from that of Hindus. Hence, on this ground alone Bengali Hindus may claim a separate homeland for themselves.

## II

From the administrative point of view the present Bengal is divided into five divisions and two states. The geographical distributions of the three major communities in these divisions and states are shown in table 5.

TABLE 5. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE  
THREE MAJOR COMMUNITIES

Division or State	Area (Sq. miles)	Hindus	Muslims	Tribals	Total population
Burdwan	14,135	81,25,185	14,29,500	7,06,729	1,02,87,369
Presidency	16,402	68,83,217	57,11,354	99,235	1,28,97,087
Rajshahi	19,642	36,73,809	75,28,117	7,76,729	1,20,40,465
Cooch-Bihar (State)	1,318	3,94,948	2,42,684	2,435	6,40,842
Dacca	15,498	46,21,637	1,19,44,172	65,398	1,66,83,714
Chittagong	11,765	17,55,176	63,92,291	2,41,298	84,77,890
Tripura (State)	4,116	3,47,752	1,23,570	33,633	5,13,010

A study of the above table shows clearly that neither Hindus nor Muslims are evenly distributed all over the province. The Hindus have an overwhelming majority in the western part of the province, comprising the divisions of Burdwan and Presidency, and covering an area of slightly over 30,000 square miles. They form as much as 80 per cent of the total population in the Burdwan division, which covers an area of about 14,000 sq. miles. The Muslims, on the other hand, predominate in the three other administrative divisions. In North Bengal—Rajshahi they form 63 per cent of the total population. In East Bengal their percentages are still higher—Dacca division (72%) and Chittagong division (75%). The total area of these three divisions comes to about 47,000 sq. miles. In both the states, Hindus are the majority community—Cooch-Bihar in the north (62%) and Tripura in the east (68%). One may, therefore, be tempted to suggest that the two western divisions be separated from the three northern and eastern divisions. The line of partition will then follow the courses of two important rivers, the Ganges or Padma in the northern half and the Garai or Madhumati in the southern half.

As a matter of fact, the partition of Bengal was effected in 1956 on the above lines except that parts of the Rajshahi division (Darjeeling district and parts of the Jalpaiguri district) were added to Western Bengal. Table 6 shows area and populations in the different parts of Bengal if the province is divided according to this basis.

TABLE 6. AREA AND POPULATIONS IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF BENGAL IF PARTITIONED ON DIVISION BASIS

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Hindus	Muslims
Hindu Bengal	30,537	2,31,04,456	1,50,08,402	71,40,854
Muslim Bengal	46,905	3,72,02,069	1,00,50,622	2,58,64,580
States	5,434	11,53,852	7,42,700	3,66,254
Present Bengal	82,876	6,14,60,377	2,58,01,724	3,33,71,688

The Hindus form 45 per cent of the total population hence they can very well claim 45 per cent of the total area of the present Bengal, and would like to see that at least 45 per cent of the total population of Bengal should live in the Hindu part of the province. But, if the province is partitioned according to the above scheme, the Hindu province will have only 39 per cent of the area of Bengal and will contain only 38 per cent of the present population. Besides, more than one crore of Hindus (40 per cent of the total Hindus) will have to live in the Muslim part of the province. Hence a partition on this basis cannot be accepted by Hindus.

### III

An administrative division is perhaps too big an area to have a homogeneous population. Hence, smaller administrative units might be preferable in the study of the distribution of populations. Table 7 shows the distribution of the three major communities in each district of Bengal.

TABLE 7. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE MAJOR COMMUNITIES IN BENGAL DISTRICTS (1941)

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus	Tribals
<i>Burdwan Division</i>					
Birbhum	1,743	10,48,317	2,87,310	6,86,436	74,084
Burdwan	2,705	18,90,732	3,36,665	13,93,820	1,51,355
Bankura	2,646	12,89,640	1,55,564	10,78,559	1,54,246
Midnapur	5,274	31,90,647	2,46,559	26,81,963	2,53,625
Hooghly	1,206	13,77,729	2,07,077	10,99,544	69,500
Howrah	561	14,90,304	2,06,325	11,84,863	3,919

TABLE 7 (Continued).

	Area(Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus	Tribals
<i>Presidency Division</i>					
Murshidabad	2,063	16,40,530	9,27,747	6,84,987	26,138
Nadia	2,879	17,59,846	10,78,007	6,57,950	12,671
Jessore	2,925	18,28,216	11,00,713	7,21,049	4,978
Khulna	4,805	19,43,218	9,59,172	9,77,693	2,675
24-Parganas	3,696	35,36,386	11,48,180	23,09,996	51,085
Calcutta	34	21,08,891	4,97,535	15,31,512	1,688
<i>Rajshahi Division</i>					
Darjeeling	1,192	3,76,369	9,125	1,78,496	1,41,301
Jalpaiguri	3,050	10,89,513	2,51,460	5,51,647	2,79,296
Dinajpur	3,953	19,26,833	9,67,246	7,74,622	1,82,892
Rangpur	3,606	28,77,847	20,55,186	8,02,849	18,200
Bogra	1,475	12,60,463	10,57,902	1,87,532	14,387
Pabna	1,836	17,05,072	13,13,968	3,83,755	6,906
Rajshahi	2,526	15,71,750	11,73,285	3,29,230	67,298
Malda	2,004	12,32,618	6,99,945	4,65,678	66,449
<i>Dacca Division</i>					
Mymensingh	6,156	60,23,758	46,64,548	12,96,638	59,722
Dacca	2,738	42,22,143	28,41,261	13,60,132	4,029
Faridpur	2,821	28,88,803	18,71,336	10,06,238	1,363
Bakarganj	3,783	35,49,010	25,67,027	9,58,629	284
<i>Chittagong Division</i>					
Tippura	2,531	38,60,139	29,75,901	8,79,960	1,524
Noakhali	1,658	22,17,402	18,03,937	4,12,261	34
Chittagong	2,569	21,53,296	16,05,183	4,58,074	6,348
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5,007	2,47,053	7,270	4,881	2,33,392

It appears that in Western Bengal the Hindus predominate throughout the Burdwan division, and in only three out of the six districts of the Presidency division, Calcutta, 24-Parganas and Khulna. In North Bengal the Hindus outnumber the Muslims only in two districts—Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri, and in one more district the Muslims have

a bare majority—Dinajpur. The Muslims, on the other hand predominate in all the districts of the Dacca and Chittagong divisions, except in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, where the tribes form the majority community and the Hindus outnumbered the Muslims in each census year till 1931.

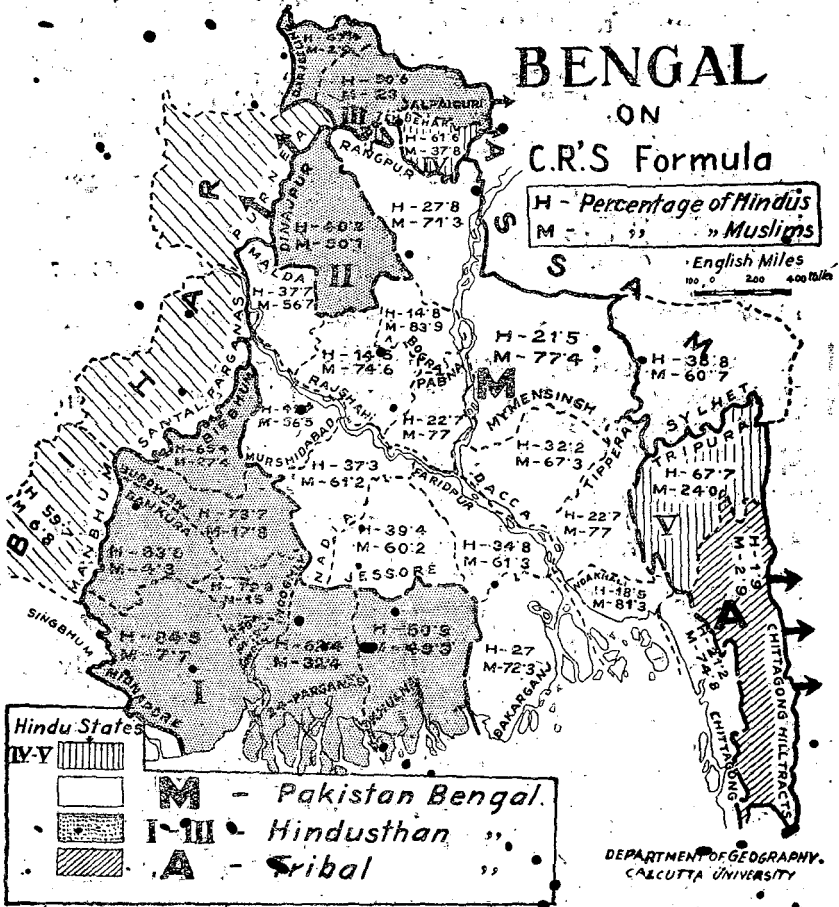


Fig. 3

It may be recalled in this connexion that Mr. C. Rajagopalachari had evolved sometime back a formula for the partition of Bengal based on district figures. According to the formula the districts with a clear majority of Muslims (not less than 55 per cent) were to have formed a separate Muslim province. This scheme did not appeal to the political leaders of Bengal. The Hindus objected on the ground that the outlying portions of the Hindu areas in the northern

part of the province (II and III) would be cut off from the main block (I) and it was likely that those two blocks would have been eventually lost to Bengal, the Dinajpur block merging with the adjacent district of Bihar and the Jalpaiguri block becoming part of Assam. Under that scheme Chittagong Hill Tracts in East Bengal would have also been isolated from the rest of Bengal.

TABLE 8 : THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN A DIVIDED BENGAL, BASED ON DISTRICT FIGURES AND C.D.'S FORMULA

<i>Hindu Bengal</i>	Area sq. miles	Total Population	Hindus	Muslims
Block I	30,865	2,12,68,579	1,44,49,151	52,62,218
Burdwan division and three districts of Presidency division- Khulna, 24-Parganas & Calcutta	22,670	1,78,75,864	1,29,44,386	40,34,387
Block II	3,953	19,26,833	7,74,622	9,67,246
Block III	4,242	14,65,882	7,30,143	2,60,585
Darjeeling-Jalpaiguri	46,577	3,90,37,946	1,06,09,873	2,77,43,216
<i>Muslim Bengal</i>				
Remaining portion of Bengal excluding Chittagong Hill Tracts and States	41,570	2,87,90,893	1,06,04,992	2,77,35,946
Chittagong Hill Tracts (Block A)	5,007	2,47,053	4,881	7,270
States (Blocks IV & V)	5,434	11,53,852	7,42,700	3,66,254
Present Bengal (including States)	82,876	6,14,60,377	2,58,01,724	3,33,71,688

The Hindu Bengal, thus constituted, would be slightly bigger than that on division basis (40 per cent of the total area), but would contain much less population (35 per cent of the total population). Besides, the percentage of the total Hindu population living in the Hindu part of Bengal, would also decrease from 60 to 58. The above percentages will decrease further if the district of Dinajpur be taken out from Hindu Bengal. The area and population of the two Bengal will then be as follows.

TABLE 9. THE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATIONS IN A DIVIDED BENGAL, BASED ONLY ON DISTRICT FIGURES

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Popula tion	Hindus	Muslims
Hindu Bengal	26,912	1,93,41,746	1,36,74,529	42,94,972
Muslim Bengal	50,530	4,09,64,779	1,73,84,495	2,87,10,462
States	5,434	11,53,852	7,42,700	3,66,254
<i>Present Bengal</i>	82,876	6,14,60,377	2,58,01,72	3,343,71,688

\*Hindus returned as tribals have not been included.

A division on district basis with or without applying C.R.'s formula will, therefore, be less satisfactory from the Hindu point of view.

## IV

The only other solution will be to effect partition based on population figures in still smaller administrative units, either subdivisions into which each district is divided or preferably thanas, the smallest administrative units.

In the Muslim-majority districts there are six subdivisions with Muslims less than 50 per cent. They are as follows : Thakurgaon and Balurghat in the Dinajpur district ; Kandi in the Murshidabad district ; Sadar and Ranaghat in Nadia and Gopalganj in the Faridpur district. Table 10 shows the area and population of these six subdivisions.

TABLE 10. SUBDIVISIONS WITH MUSLIM MINORITY IN FOUR MUSLIM MAJORITY DISTRICTS

	Area sq. miles	Total Population	Muslims
Thakurgaon	1,175	5,85,228	2,89,101
Balurghat	1,179	5,29,424	2,51,864
Kandi	454	2,15,267	1,47,909
Nadia Sadar	562	3,46,350	1,63,204
Ranaghat	540	2,66,040	1,23,956
Gopalganj	672	6,23,963	2,68,233

In the Hindu majority districts there are, on the other hand, three subdivisions with Hindus less than 50 per cent. They are as follows: Barasat in the 24-Paraganas ; and Satkhira and Bagerhat in the Khulna district. Table 11 shows the area and population of these three Subdivisions.

TABLE 11. SUBDIVISIONS WITH HINDU MINORITY IN TWO HINDU MAJORITY DISTRICTS

	Area sq. miles	Total Po- pulation	Hindus
Barasat	384	3,17,261	1,31,795
Satkhira	889	6,93,836	3,27,458
Bagerhat	790	6,12,490	2,80,851

Now, if the above six districts be split up and subdivisions with Hindu majority be included in the Hindu Bengal, and those with Muslim majority in the Muslim Bengal, the position will be as follows.

TABLE 12. AREA AND POPULATIONS IN A DIVIDED BENGAL

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Hindus	Muslims
Hindu Bengal	29,431	2,02,84,431	1,42,63,600	46,62,967
Muslim Bengal	48,011	4,00,22,094	1,07,95,424	2,83,42,467

If Bengal be partitioned subdivision-wise, the area and population of Hindu Bengal will be greater than that of Hindu Bengal partitioned district-wise (See Table No. 9) Even then the situation will not materially improve and a large percentage of Hindus will still have to live in Muslim Bengal. Another difficulty will be to link up the northern Hindu area with the main Hindu Block. In the district of Dinajpur itself the Thakurgaon Subdivision in the north will remain separated from the Balurghat Subdivision in the South.

## V

The problem of finding a corridor will be partially solved if figures be considered on thana basis. The accompanying map has been drawn on that basis. The probable boundary line will then run a little north of the Brahmaputra river westward, keeping close to the southern border of Cooch-Bihar and crossing the Tista river near Hatibandha. On reaching Domar it will extend westward a little, and then with a sharp bend will turn southward. It will follow the course of the Atrai river for some distance and will move southeast from the town of Dinajpur as far as Hilli, crossing the Atrai river a little south of Samjhia. From Hilli the line will run south following the district boundary as far as the Jamuna, a tributary to the Atrai. It will then turn W. N. W. towards the Punarbhaba river. From this point first the Punarbhaba river and then the Mahananda river will form the boundary. It will cross the Ganges near Lalgola. In its southward march it will more or less follow the course of the Bhagirathi river, keeping close to the eastern bank of the river. From Plassey it runs southeast as far as the Ichamati river, crossing the Jalangi near Krishnagar and the Churni a little north of Birnagar, and encloses the greater part of the Ranaghat subdivision including the

towns of Krishnagar and Santipur. It then extends southwest following close to the eastern boundary of the Hooghly industrial zone, and from a little north of Calcutta turns eastward towards the town of Kalna. From a little north of the Sibsa valley the line runs northward till the valley of the Chitra is reached, and from near Salikha turns eastward in a zig-zag way, and crossing the Madhumati near Kasiani extends a little further east, not quite reaching Madaripur. It then extends southward following the course of the Arial Khan for some distance. From a little west of Barisal the boundary line turns westward and crossing the Madhumati river near Nazirpur closely follows the western branch of the river till Kachua is reached. It then turns west and takes up the course of the Bhola river down to the Haringhata mouth. The boundary line, as suggested, cannot be more than a tentative one at this stage, and a more detailed study in the field will perhaps be necessary before reaching a final decision. Whether or not this boundary line is accepted, it is clear that a continuous stretch of land with a Hindu majority exists from the north of the province to the south, occupying the northern and western parts of North Bengal, the greater part of West Bengal and eastern parts of East Bengal. According to this scheme, the populations in different areas will be as follows.

TABLE 13. AREA AND POPULATIONS IN THE TWO PROPOSED PROVINCES AND OTHER PARTS OF THE PRESENT BENGAL

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Hindus	Muslims
Hindu Bengal	34,342	2,39,94,895	1,60,78,611	63,03,235
Muslim Bengal	38,093	3,60,64,577	89,75,532	2,66,94,929
States	5,434	11,53,852	7,42,700	3,66,254
Chittagong Hill Tracts	5,007	2,47,053	4,881	7,270
<i>Present Bengal</i>	82,876	6,14,60,377	2,58,01,724	3,33,71,688

If the province be divided according to the above scheme, Hindus will have their share of land, but 8 per cent less of their share of population. Now, if in exchange of the Chittagong Hill Tracts an equivalent area from the western border of Muslim Bengal be added to Hindu Bengal, then this problem could also be solved. That there is some

justification for the claims of Hindus on the Chittagong Hill Tracts will be clear, if one refers to table 14.

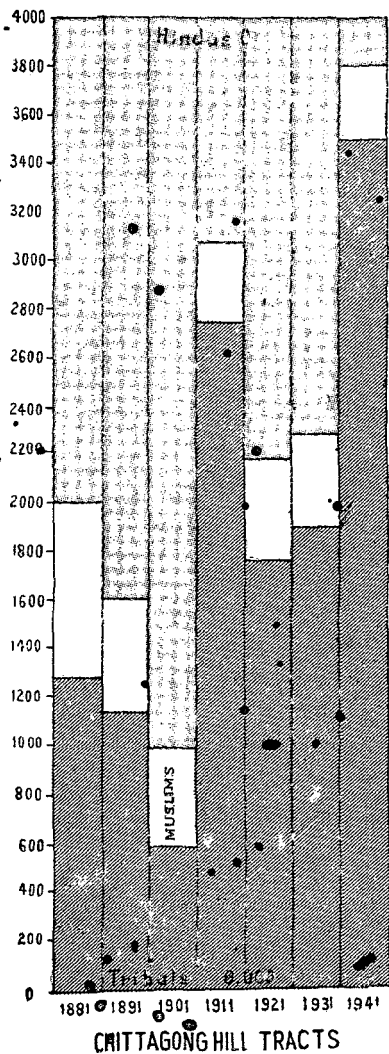


Fig. 4 :-

A comparative study of the numbers of the three communities per 10,000 population in the Chittagong Hill Tracts,

[In this figure the base line represents 6,000 members of the tribal community, and this number is to be added to each column of the tribal community, which extends upward as far as the base of the Muslim (white) column. On top of each Muslim column lies a Hindu column. The numbers of Hindus and Muslims can be read directly.]

TABLE 14. HINDU AND MUSLIM POPULATIONS IN CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS IN DIFFERENT CENSUS YEARS.

Census year	Hindus	Muslims
1881	20,285	7,292
1891	25,802	4,868
1901	36,365	4,962
1911	14,239	5,098
1921	31,539	7,292
1931	36,776	8,216
1941	4,881	7,270

In this district the Hindus outnumbered the Muslims by 7 to 1 in some census year, and there is every reason to believe that some 40,000 Hindus were returned as Tribals in 1941. It may now be pointed out that the Hindu Bengal can have an access to this district by water, if it is decided to retain Chittagong Hill Tracts; but, for geographical reasons, the Hill Tracts ought to form a part of either Assam or of the Muslim Bengal, and as a compensation to that some other contiguous territory should be given to Hindu Bengal. Before this point is taken up, it will be necessary to know definitely how much and which parts of the present districts could be normally included in the Hindu Bengal. A glance at table 13 shows that in the Rajshahi division besides the two Hindu majority districts—Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri; several thanas of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Malda could be included; the total area in North Bengal amounting to 8,900 square miles. In West Bengal in the Burdwan division all the thanas except one solitary one contain very high percentage of Hindus. In the Presidency division, Calcutta, the majority of the thanas of the 24-Parganas and Khulna districts and several thanas of the Murshidabad, Nadia, and Jessore districts have Hindus as a majority community. The contiguous Hindu majority areas are to be found only in two districts in East Bengal, Faridpur and Bakarganj. It may be remembered that there are several Muslim pockets in the Hindu majority areas, and *vice versa*.

Table 15 shows the area and population in the Hindu majority thanas including the Muslim Pockets in Rangpur, Dinajpur and Malda districts in North Bengal.

TABLE 15. AREA &amp; POPULATIONS IN THE DIFFERENT PARTS OF HINDU BENGAL

## A. North Bengal—Rajshahi Division

District	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Hindus	Muslims
Darjeeling	1,192	3,76,369	1,78,496	9,125
Jalpaiguri	3,050	10,89,513	5,51,647	2,51,460
Rangpur (Parts)	238	1,58,239	84,392	73,838
Dinajpur (Parts)	2,748	12,48,751	5,73,270	5,46,764
*Malda (Parts)	1,925	11,35,700	4,63,547	6,06,201
	9,153	40,08,572	18,51,352	14,87,388

## B. West Bengal—Burdwan Division

The whole of Burdwan division	14,135	1,02,87,269	81,25,185	14,29,500
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## C. West Bengal—Presidency Division

Calcutta	34	21,08,891	15,31,512	4,97,535
Murshidabad (Parts)	1,155	9,83,997	5,00,369	4,60,520
Nadia (Parts)	824	4,81,846	2,71,961	1,98,883
24-Parganas	3,086	29,98,318	20,95,355	8,28,175
Khulna	4,217	14,84,630	8,09,487	6,68,826
Jessore	449	3,47,513	1,85,976	1,61,026
	9,765	84,06,195	53,94,670	28,15,065

## D. East Bengal—Dacca Division

Faridpur (Parts)	779	7,42,150	4,06,757	3,25,971
Bakarganj	369	5,50,609	3,00,647	2,45,311
	1,139	12,92,759	7,07,404	5,71,282
Hindu Bengal	34,342	2,39,94,895	1,60,78,611	63,03,235

[ \*Some 65,090 Hindus were returned as tribals in Malda. Moreover, a large number of Muslim agricultural workers of East Bengal, who visit this district every year, have been included.]

Table 16 shows area and population of those parts of the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Malda, which are to be included in Hindu Bengal.

TABLE 16. AREA AND POPULATIONS OF THE HINDU PARTS OF RANGPUR, DINAJPUR AND MALDA

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus
Rangpur				
Hatibandha	111	66,481	33,183	33,295
Dimla	127	91,758	40,655	51,097
Dinajpur				
I Raiganj	171	65,553	24,569	34,94
Birganj	159	68,069	23,326	40,724
Kaharul	79	39,147	11,459	26,150
Bochaganj	87	45,359	14,861	28,260
Biral	137	67,612	31,642	32,829
Kaliganj	136	61,425	15,961	41,744
Itahar	165	73,231	33,019	33,712
Kushmudi	120	53,190	22,184	27,246
Gangarampur	127	52,892	18,536	22,381
II Large number of Hindus returned as tribals				
Hemtabad	54	28,747	14,318	13,180
Bansihari	134	50,022	20,335	16,896
Tapan	170	60,375	22,864	22,665
Balurghat	181	92,016	33,802	33,006
Dhamoirhat	116	61,683	29,241	21,242
Kumarganj	111	46,033	19,152	13,065
Dinajpur				
III (Muslim Pocket)				
Atwari	81	43,218	27,941	14,811
Baliadangi	110	55,652	35,694	18,835
Thakurgaon	250	133,678	69,750	62,741
Ranisankail	111	48,004	26,325	19,942
Haripur	78	27,808	14,183	12,625
Pirganj	151	75,039	37,602	35,223

TABLE 16 (Continued).

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus
<i>Malda</i>				
I (Hindu majority despite a large number of Hindus returned as tribals)				
Gajole	198	73,387	20,807	29,934
Habibpur	153	52,307	6,909	30,595
Malda	87	33,978	11,722	16,591
Manikchak	122	64,786	21,646	43,140
English Bazar	98	83,539	37,233	45,709
Nachole	110	30,365	7,150	17,081
II (A large number of Hindus returned as tribals)				
Bamangola	80	35,973	15,254	14,953
III (Hindu majority villages in Muslim majority thanas)				
Sibganj	80	35,000	10,000	25,000
Nawabganj	70	30,000	10,000	20,000

*Malda*

## IV (Muslim Pockets)

(a) Harischandrapur	150	99,974	56,696	41,998
Kharba	142	1,03,065	61,148	40,743
Ratua	154	1,02,985	58,610	44,350
(b) Kaliachak	207	1,94,324	1,24,006	70,318
(c) Bholahat	48	22,866	16,535	6,191
Gomastapur	123	59,025	35,785	15,902
(d) Sibganj (remaining villages)	103	1,14,129	1,12,620	1,042

Table 17 shows the area and populations in the Hindu majority thanas including the Muslim pockets in Murshidabad and Nadia districts.

TABLE 17. HINDU MAJORITY THANS IN MURSHIDABAD AND NADIA

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus
<i>Murshidabad</i>				
I Sagardighi	133	70,840	33,727	29,723
Jiaganj	20	23,097	2,685	17,807
Nabagram	118	56,612	22,429	29,400

TABLE 17 (Continued).

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Hindus	Muslims
Kandi thanas	454	3,65,278	1,47,909	2,15,267
Murshidabad town		11,498	4,428	6,609
Berhampur	126	1,09,883	42,777	1,64,009
Beldanga town		6,002	1,904	4,098
II (Muslim pockets)				
Raghunathganj	102	1,27,887	72,317	54,772
Suti	102	92,174	51,414	40,477
Shamsherganj	100	1,20,717	80,930	38,207
<i>Nadia</i>				
Kaliganj	113	63,391	27,695	35,171
Nabadwip	40	54,208	12,086	41,948
Krishnagar	138	91,603	38,616	49,696
Santipur	75	55,086	17,444	36,171
Ranaghat	171	82,073	34,427	46,173
Chakdah	126	63,862	25,734	34,599
Hanskali	103	37,512	27,806	19,345
Krishnaganj	58	34,102	15,075	18,858

Table 18 shows the area and populations of Muslim majority thanas, which should be separated from the districts of 24-Parganas and Khulna.

TABLE 18. MUSLIM MAJORITY THANAS IN 24-PARGANAS &amp; KHULNA

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus
<i>24-Parganas</i>				
Amdanga	54	36,196	20,717	15,222
Habra	109	70,718	41,399	28,191
Barasat	104	99,064	59,330	39,102
Deganga	78	64,700	45,199	19,433
Baduria	81	83,684	49,830	33,843
Basirhat	101	1,25,164	72,296	51,942
Sarupnagar	83	57,542	31,234	26,308

TABLE 18 (Continued),

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus
<i>Khulna</i>				
Satkhira	141	1,16,704	68,132	48,555
Tala	130	1,19,395	60,089	58,367
Kalaroa	89	66,207	46,437	19,633
Morelganj	169	1,24,898	89,463	35,282
Sarankhola	59	31,384	25,225	6,369

Table 19 shows the area and populations of Hindu majority thanas in the district of Jessore.

TABLE 19. THE HINDU MAJORITY THANAS IN JESSORE

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus
<i>Jessore</i>				
Abhaynagar	95	70,248	30,505	39,394
Kalia	118	1,23,269	61,535	61,679
Narail	148	1,10,683	48,093	62,483
Salikha	88	43,313	20,893	22,420

Table 20 shows the area and populations in the Hindu majority thanas in East Bengal.

TABLE 20. THE HINDU MAJORITY THANAS IN EAST BENGAL

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Pop.	Muslims	Hindus
<i>Faridpur :</i>				
Gapalganj	175	2,02,895	92,653	1,09,184
Kotalipara	152	1,38,730	39,187	94,092
Rajair	98	1,18,227	57,738	60,028
Kasiani	208	1,27,012	59,335	67,565
Muksudpur	237	1,55,326	77,058	78,163
<i>Barisal</i>				
Gournadi	124	2,12,244	91,367	1,16,353
Nazirpur	93	88,502	35,541	52,957
Sarupkati	72	1,16,398	55,513	60,028
Jhalakati	80	1,33,465	62,890	70,575

It has already been mentioned that there will remain a number of pockets with Muslim majority in the Hindu Bengal. And, on the other hand, several Hindu pockets, especially in the urban centres will exist in the Muslim Bengal. Even if it comes to the transference of populations from these pockets, the problem will not be so very difficult as their numbers will not be very high, as shown in table 21.

TABLE 21. MUSLIM POCKETS IN THE HINDU BENGAL

District	Thana	Area (sq. miles)	Muslims
I. (a) Dinajpur	Atwari, Baliadangi, Thakurgaon, Ranisankail, Haripur, Pirganj	781	2,11,485
(b) Jalpaiguri	Tetulia, Pachagar, Boda	332	72,933
II. Malda	Harischandrapur, Kharba, Ratua	446	1,76,454
III. Malda	Bholahat, Gomastapur	71	52,320
IV. Malda	Kaliachak, Sibganj	310	2,36,526
V. (a) Birbhum	Muraroi	138	55,750
(b) Murshidabad	Shamsherganj, Suti, Bughunathganj	304	2,04,661
VI. 24 Parganas	Bhangar	127	65,972
VII. Khulna	Kaliganj	127	59,171
VIII. Khulna	Fultola	29	22,061
IX. Khulna	Mollahat	116	57,847

There are then nine isolated Muslim pockets in seven districts of the Hindu Bengal. These cover an area of 2,881 square miles and contain a little more than 12 lakhs of Muslims (12,15,190). The more important pockets lie along the western border of the present province (Pockets I, II, IV, V) in the districts of Dinajpur, Malda and Murshidabad. The biggest one lies in the north, and covers an area of slightly more than 1,000 sq. miles. The density of the Muslim population per square mile in this pocket is as low as 250. The other three pockets on the western border cover an area of another thousand square miles, the density of population there being somewhat higher than that of the former. These pockets are bounded on the west by the Purnea and Santal Pargana districts of Bihar, where the majority of the people are Bengali speaking Hindus.

In the Muslim Bengal similar pockets with Hindu majority do not cover a large area, as practically everywhere in East Bengal Hindus are outnumbered by Muslims, despite a very high density of Hindu population. Table 22 shows the location of Hindu pockets in rural areas in the Muslim Bengal.

TABLE 22. POCKETS WITH HINDU MAJORITY IN MUSLIM BENGAL

	District	Thana	Area (sq. miles)	Hindus
I	Rajshahi	Bolia	26	28,100
II	Nadia	Krishnaganj	58	18,858
III	Faridpur	Baliakandi	125	46,486
IV	Dacca	Dacca City	6	1,29,232
V	Dacca	Serajdikhan Tangibari	112	1,61,700
VI	Mymensingh	Khaliajuri	110	20,977

[This includes 1,53,446 persons, who live in the towns of Rajshahi and Dacca].

In Muslim rural Bengal the area of all Hindu pockets comes to 437 sq. miles and the population, a little over 4 lakhs (4,05,353). Besides, most of the towns of North and East Bengal form Hindu pockets. There are 48 such Hindu majority towns in the Muslim Bengal with a Hindu population of 6,41,469.

TABLE 23. HINDU POCKETS IN URBAN CENTRES IN THE MUSLIM BENGAL

District	No. of centres	Hindus
Dinajpur	2	8,616
Rangpur	7	66,772
Bogra	2	16,141
Pabna	1	17,872
Rajshahi	3	37,517
Nadia	3	19,577
Jessore	3	23,197
Khulna	1	8,934
24-Parganas	4	39,269

TABLE 23. (Continued)

District	No. of Centres	Hindus
Dacca	2	1,34,219
Mymensingh	7	91,316
Faridpur	3	42,981
Bakarganj	5	64,308
Tippera	3	66,310
Noakhali	1	3,131
Chittagong	1	1,314

It is admitted that normally a town dweller has a greater stake in the country than that of a villager, and assuming this to be correct it will be no exaggeration to say that in terms of the number of villagers the number of town dwellers should be taken atleast double of their actual number, if not more. On this calculation the number of such people would come to over 13 lakhs. So this figure is to be added to the number of those who live in the rural areas in the Muslim Bengal. The total number will then be considerably larger than that of Muslims living in pockets in the Hindu Bengal. Even if this point be ignored, the number of Hindus living in pocket-areas in Muslim Bengal will not be very much less than that of Muslim in the Hindu Bengal.

The next problem is how to add an area equal to that of the Chittagong Hill Tracts district with the Hindu Bengal. It should be done in such a way that the line of partition runs more straight and follows some natural boundary. In a predominantly deltaic land like Bengal the river forms undoubtedly the best natural boundary, and should be taken as such, wherever possible. Thus, the line of partition, already suggested, may be slightly modified as follows.

The 26° N parallel of latitude between the Atrai river and a little west of Dhubri from the provincial boundary may be taken as the northern dividing line. The course of the Atrai may then be followed as far as Manda, and then the north-south axis of the Sib river may be taken up. This line is to be extended a little southward to reach the town of Rajshahi on the Ganges river. In the next stretch the Padma will form the boundary as far as Kusthia. From this town the course of the Garai-Madhupati-Haringhata river is to be followed right up to the sea. This is the only

perennial river of importance in Central Bengal and will form an admirable boundary line.

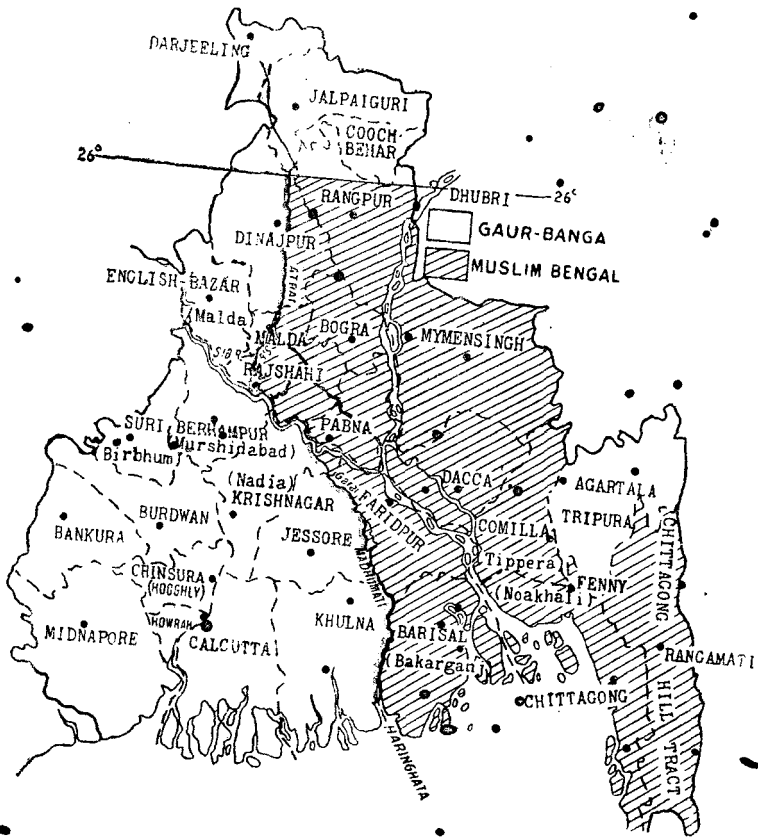


Fig. 5 :- Division of Bengal following some natural boundary lines.

If it is decided to accept this boundary line, about 6,000 square miles of area in the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Malda are to be added as shown in table 24 and the Hindu majority parts of Faridpur and Bakarganj and also parts of the Dinajpur district are to be excluded, as shown in table 25.

TABLE 24. THE THANAS TO BE ADDED TO HINDU BENGAL

	Area (sq. miles)	Total population	Muslims	Hindus
<i>Rangpur :</i>				
Bhrungamari	91	58,939	36,906	21,836
Jaldhaka	126	1,16,367	69,602	46,756
Domar	97	83,740	45,103	38,636

Table 24 (Continued)

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus
<i>Dinajpur:</i>				
Dinajpur	137	1,01,918	51,692	46,437
Patnitala (part)	70	34,240	18,280	12,043
Porsha	194	71,289	45,599	15,316
<i>Rajshahi:</i>				
Njamatpur	159	68,177	38,508	18,185
Mahadebpur	50	33,000	22,000	10,000
Manda (western part)	60	36,000	29,000	6,000
Godagari	175	67,199	34,306	16,221
Tano	114	45,586	28,457	8,512
Pabna (western half)	60	35,000	27,000	6,000
Boalia	26	48,780	20,360	28,100
Monoharpur (Western half)	30	22,000	20,000	2,000
<i>Malda:</i>				
Nawabganj (Muslim parts)	79	96,918	93,924	2,091

TABLE 25. THANAS TO BE EXCLUDED FROM HINDU BENGAL

	Area Sq. (miles)	Total Pop.	Muslims
<i>Dinajpur:</i> Kumarganj, Dhamoirhat, Balurghat	408	1,99,732	82,195
<i>Faridpur</i> (5 thanas)	1,139	12,92,799	5,71,282
<i>Bakarganj</i> (4 thanas)			

The Hindu Bengal, thus outlined, will comprise the existing divisions of Burdwan and Presidency, the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri and several thanas in the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur and Malda. In each of these administrative areas Hindus are the majority community. In exchange of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and other Hindu majority thanas in the districts of Bakarganj and Faridpur, more from the remaining portions of the districts of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Rajshahi and Malda may be added to the Hindu Bengal.

Table 26 summarises the area and populations in different parts of Hindu Bengal.

TABLE 26. AREA &amp; POPULATION IN HINDU BENGAL

<i>Division</i>	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus
Burdwan	14,135	1,02,87,369	14,29,500	81,25,185
Presidency	16,402	1,28,17,087	57,11,354	68,83,217
<i>District</i>				
Darjeeling	1,192	3,76,369	9,125	1,78,490
Jalpaiguri	3,050	10,89,513	2,51,460	5,51,647
Rangpur (parts)	552	4,17,285	2,25,449	1,91,620
Dinajpur	2,741	12,56,466	5,80,140	5,79,713
Rajshahi (parts)	674	3,55,742	2,19,631	95,018
Malda	2,004	12,32,618	6,99,945	4,65,678

Table 27 shows the area and populations in the two parts of Bengal.

TABLE 27. AREA &amp; POPULATION IN TWO PROPOSED PROVINCES AND IN THE PRESENT BENGAL AND STATES

	Area (sq. miles)	Total population	Muslims	Hindus
Hindu Bengal	40,750	2,78,32,449	91,26,604	1,70,70,574
Muslim Bengal	36,692	3,24,74,076	2,38,78,830	79,88,450
States	5,434	11,53,852	3,66,254	7,42,700
<i>Present Bengal</i>	82,876	6,14,60,377	3,33,71,688	2,58,01,724

This plan of division may be some improvement on what has been previously described. According to this, the Hindu Bengal will extend over a continuous stretch of land covering an area of 40,750 square miles. It is true that the area of Hindu Bengal will be 4,000 sq. miles bigger than that of Muslim Bengal, but it may be pointed out that only 45 per cent of the total arable land of the present Bengal will come under Hindu Bengal. It will contain a population of 2,78,32,449. The Hindus will number 1,70,70,574 and the Muslims 91,26,604. The communal percentages in the proposed Hindu Bengal will be as follows : Muslims 32.8, Hindus and others 67.2. The Muslim Bengal, on the other hand, will contain a population of 3,24,74,076. There, the number of Muslims will be 2,38,78,830 and Hindus, 79,88,450. The communal percentages in the proposed Muslim Bengal will be as follows : Muslims 73.5, Non Muslims 26.5. The Hindu Bengal will then contain some 46 percent

of the present population of Bengal, about the same as is the percentage of Hindus in the present province (1941 Census). It is true that a large number of the total Hindus (32%) will still have to live in the other part of Bengal, but that is unavoidable in any scheme that may be proposed.

## VI

The question of Hindus belonging to the so-called scheduled castes may now be considered. In 1941 they numbered about 76 lakhs (75,97,404). If the province be partitioned purely on the communal basis (see table 13), some 45 lakhs of the members of the scheduled castes will live in Hindu Bengal (62 per cent of the total number). Table 28 shows their distribution in the different parts of Hindu Bengal.

TABLE 28. NUMBERS OF MEMBERS OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF HINDU BENGAL

	Population
Burdwan division	18,35,038
Darjeeling district	28,922
Jalpaiguri	3,25,504
Rangpur district (parts)	60,532
Dinajpur	3,02,218
Malda	67,003
Calcutta	55,228
Murshidabad	1,35,216
Nadia	56,148
24 Parganas	6,82,708
Khulna	4,12,527
Faridpur	3,00,420
Bakarganj	1,70,136
<b>HINDU BENGAL</b>	<b>45,38,001</b>

If the province be partitioned in a different way (see table 27) the number of the members of the scheduled castes in Hindu Bengal will slightly increase. They will then number 46,33,527 i.e. 63 per cent of their present strength. Their

distribution in different parts of Hindu and Muslim Bengal have been shown in tables 29 and 30. In the States they number a little more than 2 lakhs (2,18,434) ; 2,06,448 in Cooch Behar State and 11,986 in Tripura State.

TABLE 29. NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF HINDU BENGAL

	Population
Burdwan division	18,35,038
Darjeeling district	28,922
Jalpaiguri "	3,25,504
Rangpur "	1,44,725
Dinajpur "	3,07,832
Malda "	75,535
Rajshahi "	21,119
Murshidabad "	1,67,184
Nadia "	1,43,682
Jessore "	3,14,856
Khulna "	4,70,450
24-Parganas "	7,43,397
Calcutta "	55,228
Hindu Bengal	46,33,572

TABLE 30. NUMBERS OF MEMBERS OF SCHEDULED CASTES IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF MUSLIM BENGAL

	Population
Rangpur district	3,50,337
Bogura "	61,303
Pabna "	1,14,738
Dinajpur "	91,578
Rajshahi "	54,531
Mymensingh "	3,40,676
Dacca "	4,09,905
Faridpur "	5,27,496
Bakarganj "	4,27,667

TABLE 30 (Continued)

	Population
Tippera	2,27,643
Noakhali	81,817
Chittagong	57,024
Chittagong Hill Tracts	283
Muslim Bengal	27,45,398

## VII

It may now be pointed out that in every country of the world that has established a new regime, the older provinces were invariably broken up, and newer ones were created. France, Germany and the U.S.S.R. can be cited as examples. In India, whichever boundary line is accepted, each of the two new provinces will have an area much bigger than most of the important autonomous states of the U.S.A. or autonomous provinces of Canada. If the U.S.A. with a population of little over 18 crores can be divided into 48 states, the present provinces of India with a population of 30 crores can very well be re-constituted into a larger number of regional units. Table 31 shows the area and population of most of the original states in the U.S.A., which dominate today in the affairs of the country.

TABLE 31. AREA AND POPULATION OF CERTAIN STATES IN THE U. S. A.

States	Area Sq. miles.	Population (1930 Census)
Maine	33,000	7,97,000
South Carolina	31,000	17,39,000
West Virginia	24,200	17,29,000
Maryland	13,300	16,82,000
Vermont	9,600	3,60,000
New Hampshire	9,300	4,65,000
Massachusetts	8,300	42,50,000
New Jersey	8,200	40,41,000
Connecticut	5,000	16,07,000
Delaware	2,400	2,38,000
Rhode Island	1,250	6,87,000

The total population of all these states together does not even exceed that of the proposed Western Bengal, the smaller of the two provinces. In Canada two of the most important provinces—New Brunswick (27,473 sq. miles) and Nova Scotia (20,743 sq. miles) have each an area less than that of any part of Bengal, and a total population of 10 lakhs only. In the U.S.S.R. as many as nine Soviet republics out of the original eleven have considerably less population than that of any of the proposed provinces of Bengal. The total population of all those nine republics comes to a little over 3 crores, (1939) as shown in the following table.

TABLE 32. POPULATION OF CERTAIN REPUBLICS IN THE U.S.S.R.

White Russian S.S.R.	55,67,976	Turkmenian S.S.R.	12,53,985
Azerbaijani S.S.R.	32,09,727	Uzbek S.S.R.	62,82,446
Georgian S.S.R.	35,42,289	Tadzhik S.S.R.	14,85,091
Armenian S.S.R.	12,81,599	Rezakh S.S.R.	61,45,937
		Kirghiz S.S.R.	14,59,301

In Europe there are at least 13 independent countries with an area not exceeding that of any of the two provinces of Bengal, and a population considerably less. Table 33 shows the area and population of certain countries in Europe as they were before World War II.

TABLE 33. AREA AND POPULATION OF CERTAIN COUNTRIES IN EUROPE

Country	Area (Sq. miles)	Population
Bulgaria	39,800	60,90,000
Czecho-Slovakia	38,600	1,05,00,000
Portugal	65,800	72,75,000
Eire	27,000	29,72,000
*Latvia	25,400	19,50,000
*Lithuania	21,500	25,40,000
*Estonia	18,400	11,30,000
Denmark	16,600	37,06,000
Switzerland	15,900	41,67,000
The Netherlands	13,200	85,57,000
Belgium	11,800	83,00,000
Albania	10,600	10,50,000

Enough has been said to indicate that both in point of area and population each of the two proposed provinces will have a stronger claim than many a countries in Europe

[\* Now included in the U.S.S.R.]

and autonomous states and provinces in North America and republics of the Soviet Union. Even in India there are already at least two in the list of major provinces, that are much smaller in area—Orissa (32,198 Sq. miles) and N.W.F.P. (14,263 Sq. miles). And if the population figures be taken into account, there are four provinces in India (Assam, Orissa, N.W.F.P. and Sind) which contain less, and two others (Bombay and the Punjab), with about the same population as that of the proposed Western Bengal. Moreover, there has already been a move to create new provinces in other parts of India. The Madras Assembly has recently passed by an overwhelming majority the Government sponsored resolution recommending to the Constituent Assembly the division of Madras province into four provinces: Tamilnad, Andhra, Desa, Kerala and Karnataka.

The present provincial boundary is an artificial one in the sense that it has been drawn more as an administrative convenience than on any other consideration. It is known to all that one time the name Bengal included the whole of the possessions of the British in Northern India. During the Muhammadan period the name Bengal was applied to that portion of the present Bengal which lies to the east of the Brahmaputra and south of the Padma. In the Hindu period there had been a number of autonomous provinces perhaps loosely federated, each changing its boundary a number of times. For example, the ancient kingdom of *Gangaridæ* as it was known to the Greeks, flourished from 350 B.C. to 200 A.D. This kingdom had extended from the Subarnarekha on the west to the Padma on the east, more or less coinciding with the present divisions of Burdwan and Presidency. One also comes across the names of countries like Banga, Gaura, Rarh, Pundra, Varendra, Karnasubarna, Samatata, Suhma and Harikela. Each of these had occupied some part of the country at one time or other. These old names have some charm for the people of Bengal and it may be suggested that the proposed Western Bengal be named Gaur-Banga, and the rest of Bengal be included under the name of Subarna-Banga, after an ancient capital town of Eastern Bengal, Sonar-gaon.

Another point deserves special attention. It is often said that a division of Bengal would mean the destruction

1. "It is, in fact, a fiction that the desert plateau of Nevada, with a population of less than 100,000, is a sovereign state in the sense that New York is"—U. S. A by Brogan, London, 1941.



Examples such as those of the Brussels Basin, the Middle Danube Plains and the Balkans show clearly that the spatial extension of common language does not necessarily coincide with the territory of national states<sup>1</sup>. Most of the countries in North and South America tell the same story. When it comes to creating new autonomous provinces within a state, the wishes of large numbers of people residing in any particular area should have the first priority. The wishes of the majority of people of Western Bengal have perhaps been well expressed in a recent statement issued to the Press by one of the great leaders of modern India.

To quote "Ten years of communal 'raj' in Bengal has produced disastrous results in every sphere of life. In respect of education, trade, commerce, services, land and property, women's honour, religious rights, the minority community in Bengal has suffered immeasurably at the hands of a ruthless communal administration. What Bengal has passed through is not a mere communal struggle. It is a sinister and planned attempt on the part of an organised government to utilise its machinery secretly and openly to reduce the minority community to a state of serfdom. It should not be overlooked that all this has happened when Bengal has remained within a united India. The Central Government being unable to give any protection to the minority".

"Today the British Government has announced that its rule over India will cease not later than June, 1948. If the Muslim League does not agree to join the Constituent Assembly, Bengal may be cut off from the rest of India in the light of this announcement. The Congress also has declared that it will not impose any constitution on any unwilling area which is unrepresented in the Constituent Assembly. If Bengal's constitution is left to be determined by a body of persons, the majority of whom are dominated by the Muslim League policy, whether in or outside the Indian Union, we can expect no protection whatsoever from their hands. Our only salvation in such circumstances lies in demanding for ourselves a separate province which will be large enough in area and population and wherein will reside more than two-thirds of the total Hindu population of Bengal."

"... let us not allow emotion alone to determine vital matters that affect our very existence. We would all

have liked to see Bengalees as such living together in one united Bengal. If, however, the majority community constantly declare and demonstrate, to use the words of Mr. Jinnah, that there was nothing in common between Hindus and Muslims, and indeed, that there was much that was in conflict between the two, why should we shed constant tears and ourselves pave the way for committing suicide? Let others go their own way and see for themselves how they can serve the best interest of their own community and province. Let us choose our path and build up at least that portion of the province where we predominate. We shall make that an effective base for defending the rights and honour of any citizens in North-Eastern India.<sup>1</sup>

The Amrita Bazar Patrika took recently a Gallup Poll from among its readers with a view to ascertaining public opinion on the question of the proposed partition of Bengal for the creation of a separate homeland for Bengal Hindus, and announced its results on April 23, 1947. According to the Patrika 5,34,249 answers were received up to the 15th April, 1947, out of which 5,25,170 *i.e.* 98.3 per cent voted for the partition of Bengal. No comment is necessary.

### VIII

The accompanying map also shows the concentration or dispersal of both Hindu and Muslim populations. Generally speaking, Muslims prefer riverine areas, and Hindus, relatively dry land above the flood-level. Hence, the greatest concentration of Muslims usually occurs along the banks and sand-islands of the Brahmaputra, Padma and Meghna. There are six such areas. The northernmost of these with over 90 percent of Muslim population occurs in the border region between Rangpur and Mymensingh districts, through which flows the Brahmaputra. It comprises four thanas (Rahumari in Rangpur; Dewanganj, Islampur, and Melandaha in Mymensingh), and covers an area of 491 square miles. A little to the south occurs another region with great Muslim concentration (over 90%) on the right bank of the Jamuna in the districts of Pabna and Bogra (Kazipur, and Dhunot). This covers an area of 227 square miles. The third Muslim concentration lies not very far from the confluence of the Padma and Meghna on the Faridpur side. Its area is 96 square miles. The remaining one covers an area of 260 square miles comprising the two islands bordering on the

1. The Amrita Bazar Patrika, March 20, 1947.

Shahabazpur channel of the Meghna (Daulatkhan in Barisal ; and Ramgati in Noakhali). There are only two areas with over 90 per cent of Muslims away from any large river. One such occurs in the Bogra district (Kahalu), covering an area of 93 sq. miles. The other occurs in the Rajshahi district, comprising the thanas of Mohanpur, Durgapur and Bagmara. Its area is 291 square miles. The predominantly Muslim land (over 90%), therefore, covers some 1,448 square miles in widely scattered areas.

The percentage of Muslims seems to range between 70 and 90 in the greater part of the remaining Muslim majority areas. This tract includes practically the whole of the Muslim portion of the Rajshahi division, except in the neighbourhood of the proposed boundary line, the whole of the Mymensingh district except a narrow fringe in the north and east, the whole of the Tippera district except in the Brahmanbaria subdivision, practically the whole of the districts of Noakhali and Chittagong, and the greater part of the Bakarganj district. In East Bengal it is only in the Dacca district that the Muslims are not in an overwhelming majority. So also is the case in the north-western part of the Barisal district.

The predominantly Hindu land (over 90%), on the other hand, covers a much larger area. It covers in one stretch an area of 6,152 square miles in the south-western part of the province. This block consists of the following administrative areas :—Asansol Subdivision except Kulti and Asansol (53 sq. miles), the Sadar subdivision of Bankura (1,933 sq. miles), Sonamukhi, Bishnupur and Jaypur of the Bishnupur subdivision (389 sq. miles), Jhargram subdivision (1,187 sq. miles), Sadar subdivision in the Midnapur district except the thanas of Midnapur, Keshpur and Kharagpur town (1,721 sq. miles) ; Ghatal and Chandrakona of Ghatal subdivision and the Goghat thana of Hooghly (386 sq. miles). There are two other smaller patches in the Hooghly district with Hindus over 90 per cent covering an area of 142 sq. miles :

- (1) Tarakeswar and Purshoora
- (2) Singur

And again in the north there exists a wide stretch of land where Hindus including so-called tribals form more than 90 per cent of the total population. It comprises the whole of the district of Darjeeling except the thana of Phansidewa, the northern thanas of the Jalpaiguri district (Kumargram, Kalchini, Madarihat, Nagarkata, Mitali). The total area here comes to about 2,000 sq. miles.

If the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts be taken into account, where non-Muslims form more than 90 per cent. of the total population, the area where Hindus including so-called tribals form more than 90 per cent of the total population comes to about 13,000 sq. miles. This area is much bigger than many of the independent states in Europe and South America, and may be taken as an argument in favour of creating two provinces out of the present Bengal. This argument will be more forceful when it is known that in the remaining portion of the Burdwan division (except in the Kandi subdivision and two eastern thanas of the Burdwan district) the percentage of Hindus ranges between 70 and 90. The southern portion of the Jalpaiguri also shows the same high percentage of Hindus.

Table 34 shows the number of thanas with varying percentages of Muslims in each district of Bengal. It appears that in Bengal there are only 23 thanas with over 90% of Muslim population, whereas there are as many as 78 thanas with over 90% of non-Muslim population. Hence non-Muslims of Bengal may very well claim that the portion in which they predominate may be given the status of a province.

TABLE 34. NUMBERS OF THANAS WITH VARYING PERCENTAGE OF MUSLIM POPULATION

	Over 90%	80-90%	70-80%	60-70%	50-60%	40-50%	30-40%	20-30%	10-20%	Below 10%
Birbhum	..	..	..	..	1	1	2	6	4	..
Burdwan	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	5	9	7
Bankura	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	16
Midnapore	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	9	23
Hooghly	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	11	5
Howrah	..	..	..	..	..	..	2	4	6	..
Murshidabad	..	4	2	2	4	5	2	..	1	..
Nadia	..	1	9	2	6	5	1	1	..	..
Jessore	..	..	4	10	5	4	..	..	..	..
Khulna	..	1	2	2	4	10	3	..	1	..
24-Parganas	..	..	1	1	7	3	4	14	8	1
Calcutta	..	..	1	..	4	2	3	6	8	8
Darjeeling	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	11
Jalpaiguri	..	..	..	1	2	2	1	3	3	5

TABLE 34 (continued)

	Over 90%	80- 90%	70- 80%	60- 70%	50- 60%	40- 50%	30- 40%	20- 30%	10- 20%	Below 10%
Dinajpur	..	..	2	6	7	7	6	2	..	..
Rangpur	1	5	14	6	2	2	..	..	..	..
Bogra	5	7	2	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Pabna	1	4	10	2	..	..	..	..	..	..
Rajshahi	3	6	7	3	2	1	..	..	..	..
Malda	..	2	..	4	2	2	2	2	1	..
Mymensingh	3	24	10	10	2	1	..	..	..	..
Dacca	..	8	6	13	3	2	1	..	..	..
Faridpur	1	3	7	5	1	5	1	..	..	..
Barisal	3	13	8	3	3	4	..	..	..	..
Tippera	..	12	5	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
Noakhali	2	8	3	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong	4	7	5	2	3	..	..	..	..	..
Chittagong H. T	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..	10
Cooch-Behar	..	..	..	..	1	3	2	2	..	..
Tripura	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	3	2
BENGAL	23	102	98	76	60	56	30	47	65	86

## IX

A study of the population figures of Bengal districts recorded in different census years would reveal how rapidly Hindus have been decreasing in Eastern Bengal. It will also be clear that three of the Muslim-majority districts, Murshidabad, Malda and Dinajpur which may present today some difficulty in effecting a partition, were in fact Hindu-majority districts some time or other in the past. Table 26 shows the population figures in each district per 10,000 of the total population in each census year. Based on these figures the districts of the province can be grouped into five types.

Type 1—In this type one of the major communities has been increasing as against the decrease of the other. The province as a whole also shows the same tendency. The sub-groupings under this type are as follows :

- (a) Malda and Murshidabad ; Hindu-Majority districts in the past.
- (b) Nadia, Jessore, Dacca and Faridpur ; Though Muslim-majority districts at present the difference between communal percentages was not as wide in the past as it is today.
- (c) Khulna and Dinajpur ; Muslims have been slowly decreasing.

Type 2—Muslims are in an overwhelming majority. The sub-groupings under this type are the following :—

- (a) Rajshahi ; The majority community shows a decreasing tendency.
- (b) Pabna, Bogra, Barisal and Chittagong—The majority community has been increasing, but not too rapidly.
- (c) Rangpur, Mymensingh, Tippera, Noakhali—The majority community has been rapidly increasing from one decade to the other.

Type 3—The Hindus are in an overwhelming majority. The sub-groupings under this type are as follows :—

- (a) Birbhum and Burdwan—The majority community has been rapidly declining.
- (b) Midnapur, Bankura, Hooghly, Howrah—The majority community shows a decreasing tendency.
- (c) 24-Parganas—It is only in this district that the percentage of Hindus was found to increase slightly.

Type 4—The Hindus form the majority community and the tribal community is the second-largest.

- (a) Jalpaiguri—Hindus and Muslims decreasing as against the increase of the tribal community.
- (b) Cooch-Bihar—Hindu-majority State—Hindus slowly decreasing as against the increase of Muslims.
- (c) Tripura—Hindu-majority State—A large number of tribals were brought back to the Hindu community during the decade 1881-91.

Type 5—The Tribals form an important community. The Bengali-speaking population is the minimum.

- (a) Darjeeling—Hindus still predominate.
- (b) Chittagong Hill Tracts—A number of Hindus were returned as tribals only in the last census. Hindus were more numerous than Muslims till 1931.

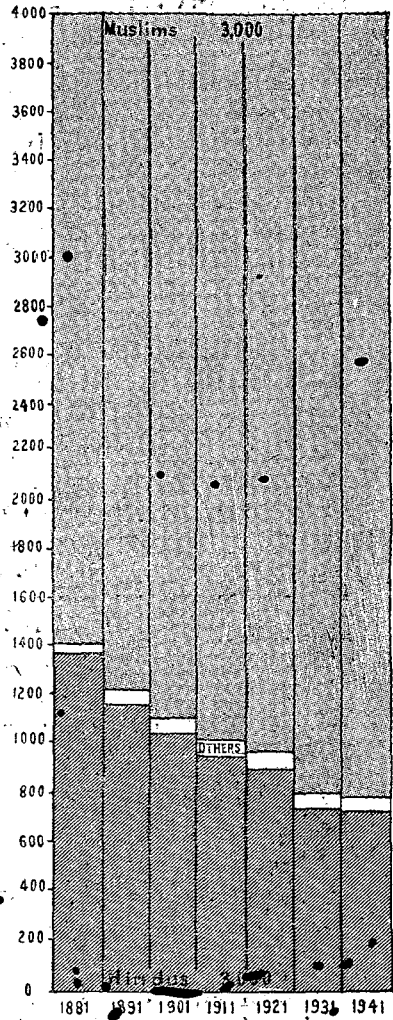
Type 1(a)—Malda and Murshidabad.

In both these districts Hindus had formed a clear majority at the time of the 1881 Census. In Malda the Hindus were larger in number than the rest of the communities till 1891, and even at the time of 1901 census they were found to be more numerous than Muslims. Since 1901



MALDA

Fig. 8



NADIA

Fig. 9

A comparative study of the three major communities in different districts of Bengal per 10,000 of population in the respective districts.

[In both these figures the bottom line represents 3,000 Hindus, and the top line 3,000 Muslims. It is clear that Malda was a non-Muslim majority district till 1901. The proportion of non-Muslims (Hindus and Others) has been steadily decreasing since 1881, and among the non-Muslims the proportion of others (tribals) also increased at the expense of Hindus. In the district of Nadia the columns representing Hindus are found to decrease in height].

Muslims were found to increase steadily mainly by emigration from the neighbouring Muslim-majority areas, and by 1941 they formed 56.7 per cent of the total population.

In Murshidabad there was the same story. In 1881 Hindus were more numerous than all the other communities put together. In 1891 Hindus were still more numerous than Muslims. It is from the beginning of this century that Muslims began to outnumber Hindus from one census year to the next until they formed 56.7 per cent of the total population in 1941.

Type 1(b)—Nadia, Jessore, Dacca and Faridpur :

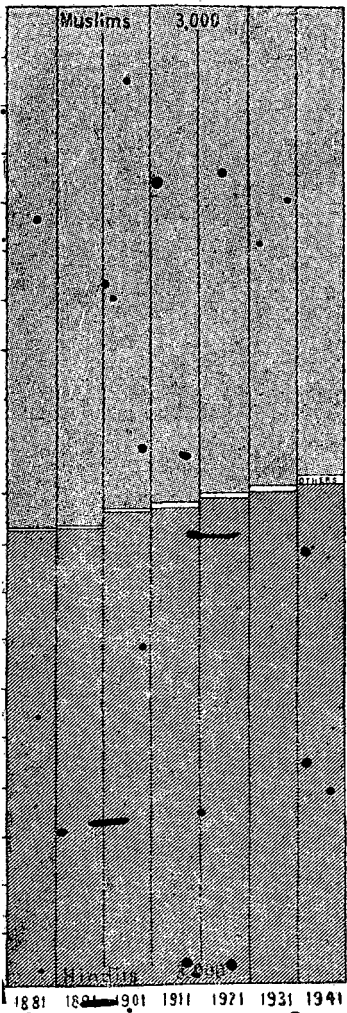
It is true that in none of the above districts Hindus were ever the majority community within the last sixty years, but their numbers in earlier years were not very much less than those of Muslims in at least three districts—Nadia, Dacca and Faridpur. In all these three districts Hindus have been steadily decreasing on the one hand, and Muslims have been steadily increasing on the other hand. In the district of Nadia the rate of decrease varied considerably from one decade to the other. In the district of Dacca the rate of decrease of Hindus was more uniform. In both the districts of Nadia and Dacca the rate of decrease has considerably slowed down during the last decade, 1931-41. In the Faridpur district the rate of increase of Muslims showed down earlier (1911). It is only in the district of Jessore that the percentages of Hindus and Muslims remained about the same in all these years.

Type 1(c)—Khulna and Dinajpur :

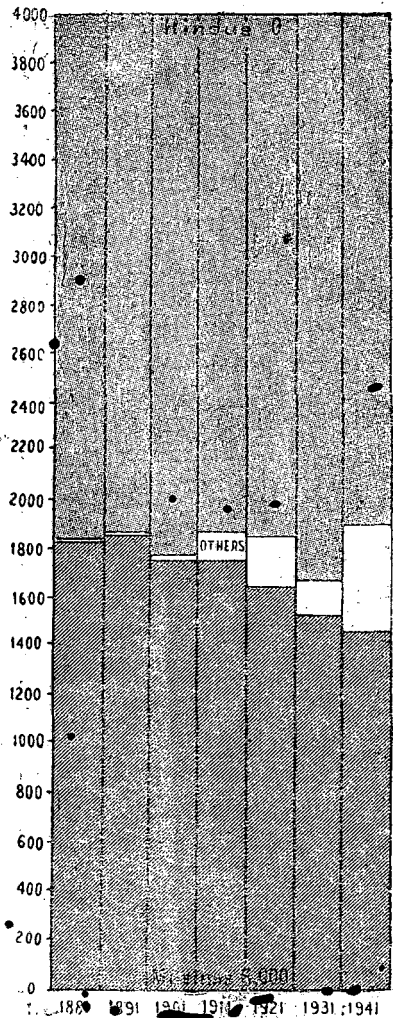
It is only in these two districts that Muslims have been slowly decreasing in number from one decade to the other. In the Dinajpur district Muslims were a minority community during the two decades 1901-21, though in 1941 they regained their doubtful majority. In the Khulna district Muslims lost their majority for the first time during the decade 1901-11.

Type 2(a)—Rajshahi : In this predominantly Muslim majority district the proportion of Muslims has been slowly decreasing and that of Hindus remained almost stationary.

Type 2(b) and 2(c)—Pabna, Bogra, Barisal and Chittagong. Rangpur, Mymensingh Tippera and Noakhali :



KHULNA



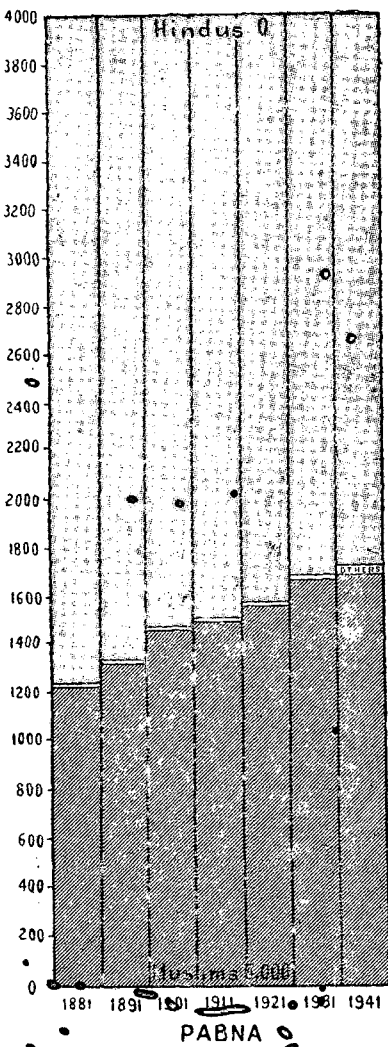
RAJSHAHI

Fig. 10

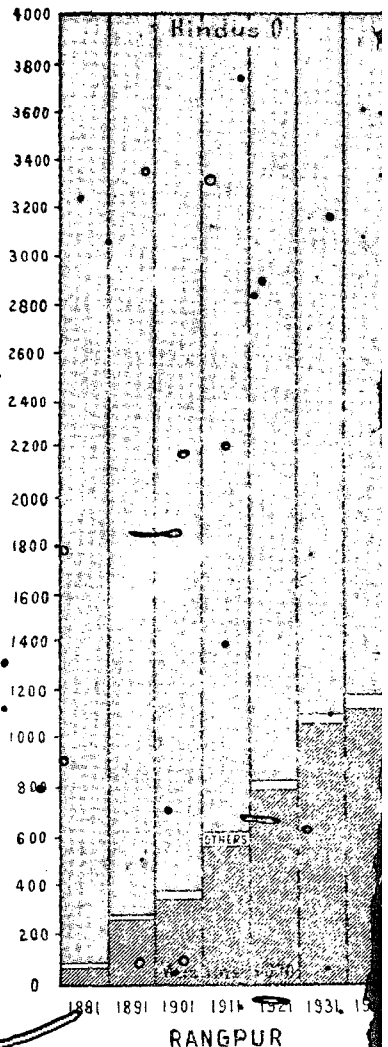
Fig. 11

A comparative study of the three major communities in different districts of Bengal per 10,000 of population in the respective districts.

[In the figure for Khulna the bottom line represents 3,000 Hindus and the top line 3,000 Muslims. In this district the columns representing Hindus are found to increase in height. In the figure for Rajshahi the columns representing Muslims lie low 'Others'. The bottom line represents 6,000 Muslims. In this predominantly Muslim district the proportion of Muslims has been slowly decreasing since 1881.]



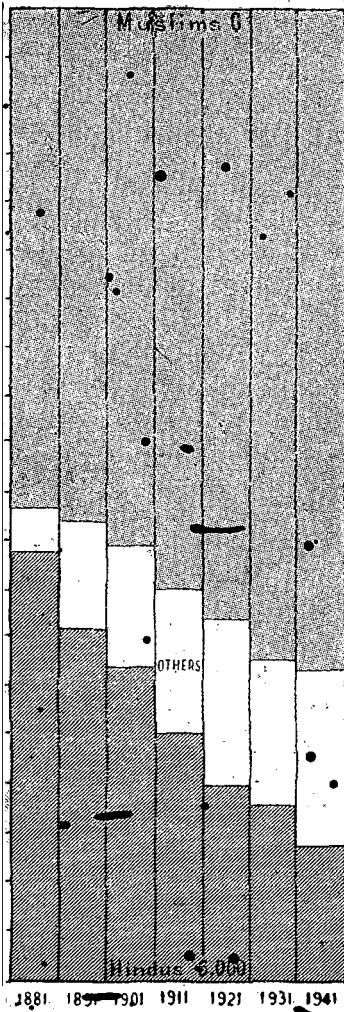
PABNA  
Fig. 12



RANGPUR  
Fig. 13

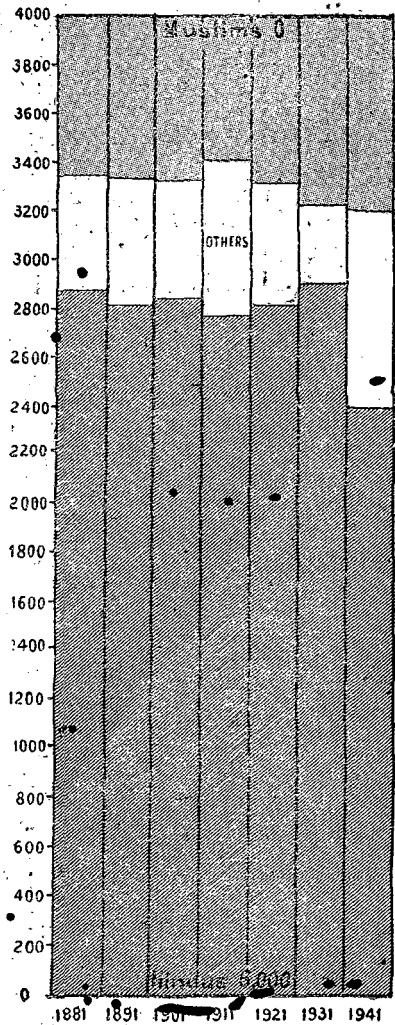
A comparative study of the three major communities in different districts of Bengal per 10,000 of population in the respective districts.

[In both these figures the bottom columns represent Muslims. The bottom line in each of these figures represents 6,000 Muslims. The Muslim columns rise slowly in the district of Pabna, whereas in the district of Rangpur they increase in height more rapidly.]



BIRBHUM

Fig. 14



MIDNAPORE

Fig. 15

A comparative study of the three major communities in different districts of Bengal per 10,000 of population in the respective districts.

[In both these figures the bottom line represents 6,000 Hindus, and the top line Muslims. The columns representing Hindus in the district of Birbhum are steadily increasing as against the increase of the Muslim columns. In the district of Midnapore neither the Hindu columns nor the Muslim columns show any appreciable change except in 1941, when the proportion of Others (tribals) increased as against the decrease of the Hindus.]

In the predominantly Muslim majority districts of Pabna and Bogra the proportion of Muslims has been increasing, but not as rapidly as in the districts bordering on either the Brahmaputra—Rangpur and Mymensingh or on the Meghna—Tippera and Mymensingh. The districts of Barisal and Chittagong show an increase, alternating with a decrease or no change. The net result indicated a definite rise in the Muslim proportion in between the census years 1881 and 1941. It may be pointed out that in Chittagong, which is a Muslim-majority district the tribal figures instead of increasing as in a Hindu-majority district, rather declined.

Type 3(a)—Birbhum and Burdwan : Birbhum is the only district in Western Bengal where the proportion of Hindus has been steadily decreasing and that of Muslims slowly increasing, though Birbhum is still a predominantly Hindu-majority district. In the district of Burdwan the same trend is noticeable, though the rate of decrease of Hindus is much slower. Unlike in the district of Birbhum, the proportion of Muslims did not show an appreciable increase between the years 1881 and 1941.

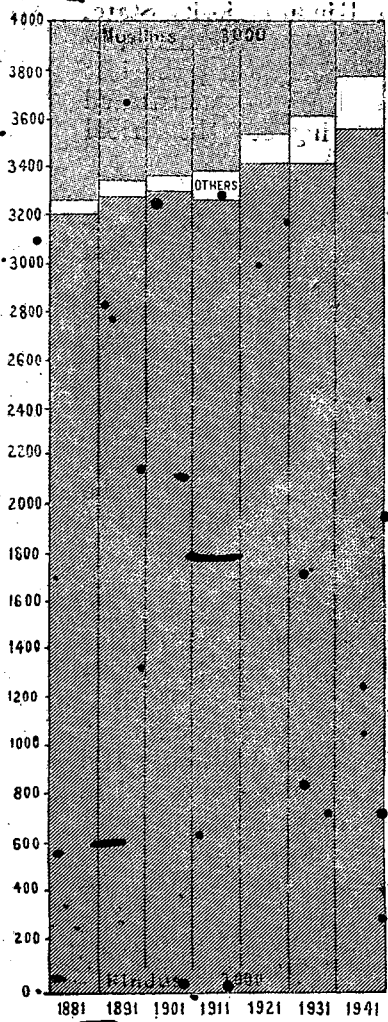
Type 3(b)—Midnapore, Bankura, Hooghly and Howrah :

In all the districts belonging to this type the communal percentages remained about the same during the last sixty years. It is also clear that in the districts of Midnapore and Bankura the percentages of Hindus showed a sharp fall with a consequent rise of the percentages of the tribal community at the time of the 1941 census.

Type 3(c)—24-Parganas : The percentage of Hindus slowly increased and that of Muslims somewhat decreased.

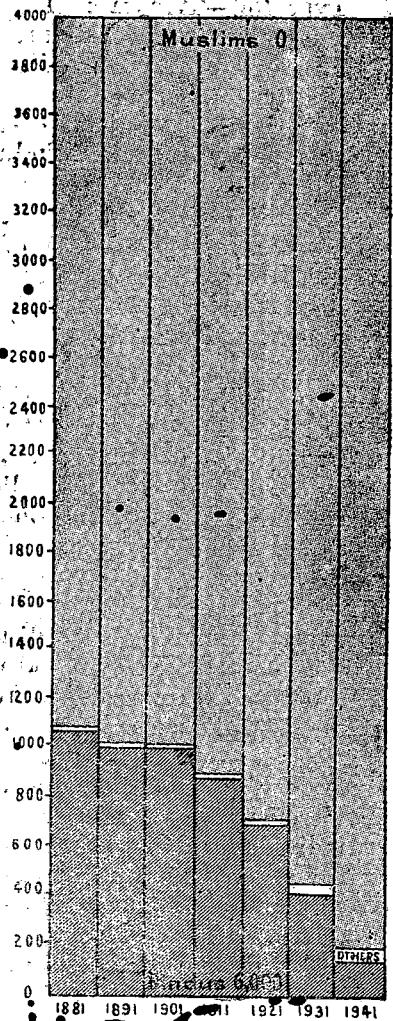
Type 4(a)—Jalpaiguri : The percentages of Hindus and Muslims declined steadily since 1881, and that of the tribal community increased because of the fact that it is a tea-growing district.

Type 4(b)—Cooch Behar : In this Hindu State the percentage of Hindus was found to decrease and that of Muslims to increase. The increase in the latter percentage is due to the fact that a large number of land less Muslim cultivators from the neighbouring districts emigrate into this state every year.



24 PARGANAS

Fig. 16



COOCH BEHAR

Fig. 17

A comparative study of the three major communities in different districts of Bengal per 10,000 of population in the respective districts.

[In the figure for the 24-Parganas the bottom line represents 3,000 Hindus, and the top line, 3,000 Muslims. The columns representing Hindus extend upward as far as the bottom of "Others" (white); the columns representing Muslims extend downward as far as the top of others. It is clear that the proportion of Muslims has been slowly decreasing in this district, and that of Hindus slowly increasing. In the figure for Cooch Behar the bottom line represents 6,000 Hindus. The numbers of Muslims can be read directly, taking the top line as 0. The columns representing Hindus are found to decrease, and those representing Muslims are found to increase]

Type 4(c)—Tripura : This is also a Hindu-majority State. But unlike in Cooch-Bihar the percentage of Hindus slowly increased and that of Muslims decreased during the last sixty years. The state authorities clearly demonstrated that there is no justification for keeping out the tribal community from the Hindu fold.

Type 5(a)—Darjeeling : It is in this district as in Jalpaiguri that the percentage of Hindus dropped sharply from 1931 to 1941 because of the inclusion of a large number of Hindus in the Tribal fold. The percentage of Muslims somewhat declined.

Type 5(b)—Chittagong Hill Tracts : This is the only district of Bengal where the tribal community is the largest. During the decade 1881-1901 the percentage of Hindus increased and that of Muslims and tribals decreased. The percentage of the tribal community rose sharply twice (1911 and 1941) at the expense of Hindus.

In conclusion, it may be pointed out that in the predominantly Hindu-majority districts, the percentage of Hindus was found to decrease and that of Muslims remained constant from one decade to the other, whereas in the Muslim-majority districts the percentage of Muslims went on increasing and that of Hindus went on decreasing.<sup>1</sup> It may also be emphasised that due to the policy of 'returning as tribes all members of tribal communities no matter what their individual religion was,' Hindus were affected much more than the Muslims at the time of 1941 census. A comparison of population figures between one Muslim-majority district like Chittagong and a Hindu-majority district like Midnapore or Bankura will amply bring out this fact.

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1. See fig. 2. Antilog of 3.91 is 8,128 (Mymensingh)  
Antilog of 3.89 is 7,762 (Midnapore)

That is to say, in the year 2,041, the position in the two districts will be as follows -

Mymensingh—a Muslim-majority district - The number of Muslims in excess of Hindus per 10,000 population will be 8,128, the present difference being 5,584.

Midnapore—a Hindu-majority district - The number of Hindus in excess of Muslims per 10,000 population will be 7,762, the present difference being 7,633.

TABLE 35 NUMBERS OF HINDUS, MUSLIMS, AND OTHERS  
PER 10,000 OF THE POPULATION

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Birbhum	7,764 2,053 183	7,436 2,127 437	7,289 2,235 476	7,024 2,381 595	6,805 2,507 688	6,717 2,669 614	6,548 H 2,741 M 711 O
Burdwan	8,049 1,898 253	8,030 1,921 49	7,968 1,876 156	7,934 1,888 178	7,799 1,851 350	7,862 1,856 282	7,372 H 1,786 M 942 O
Bankura	8,743 444 813	8,604 424 972	8,740 458 802	8,696 454 850	8,632 457 911	9,099 459 442	8,363 H 431 M 1,206 O
Midnapore	8,878 652 470	8,822 651 527	8,845 664 491	8,781 686 633	8,820 677 503	8,906 759 335	8,406 H 773 M 821 O
Hooghly	8,053 1,937 10	8,142 1,832 26	8,207 1,759 34	8,108 1,688 204	8,192 1,608 200	8,293 1,617 90	7,988 H 1,503 M 509 O
Howrah	8,009 1,956 36	7,925 2,043 32	7,908 2,059 33	7,867 2,073 60	7,928 2,030 42	7,830 2,127 43	7,950 H 1,990 M 60 O
24-Parganas	6,202 3,733 65	6,277 3,651 72	6,304 3,624 72	6,269 3,614 118	6,421 3,462 117	6,420 3,365 215	6,532 H 3,247 M 221 O
Calcutta	6,260 3,178 502	6,517 2,981 502	6,505 2,948 547	6,750 2,696 554	7,083 2,303 614	6,871 2,600 529	7,262 H 2,359 M 379 O
Nadia	4,388 5,573 39	4,192 5,762 46	4,056 5,895 49	3,972 5,953 75	3,911 6,018 71	3,753 6,177 70	3,739 H 6,126 M 135 O
Murshidabad	5,174 4,809 17	4,958 4,946 96	4,827 5,077 96	4,688 5,197 115	4,505 5,357 138	4,301 5,556 143	4,053 H 5,655 M 292 O
Jessore	3,962 6,036 2	3,905 6,089 26	3,871 6,124 5	3,799 6,186 25	3,811 6,176 19	3,795 6,106 9	3,944 H 6,021 M 35 O
Khulna	4,849 5,144 7	4,822 5,129 9	4,941 5,046 13	4,954 5,022 24	5,003 4,975 22	5,022 4,950 28	5,031 H 4,936 M 33 O
Rajshahi	2,157 7,842 1	2,124 7,873 3	2,223 7,763 14	2,132 7,556 112	2,137 7,654 209	2,281 7,579 140	2,095 H 7,465 M 440 O
Dinajpur	4,732 5,255 13	4,759 5,159 82	4,636 4,957 407	4,499 4,884 617	4,409 4,907 684	4,522 5,051 427	4,020 H 5,020 M 960 O
Jalpaiguri	6,326 3,585 89	6,598 3,265 137	6,790 2,902 308	6,063 2,631 1,306	5,502 2,475 2,023	6,753 2,399 848	5,038 H 2,332 M 2,630 O

TABLE 35 (Continued)

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	
Darjeeling	8,171	7,666	7,542	7,141	7,120	7,412	4,743	H
	527	448	370	356	301	263	243	M
	1,302	1,887	2,088	2,503	2,579	2,325	5,014	O
Rangpur	3,892	3,719	3,605	3,370	3,155	2,877	2,789	H
	6,099	6,272	6,366	6,578	6,803	7,079	7,141	M
	9	9	29	52	42	44	70	O
Bogra	1,918	1,887	1,804	1,695	1,664	1,635	1,488	H
	8,081	8,087	8,182	8,239	8,249	8,336	8,393	M
	1	36	14	66	87	29	119	O
Pabna	2,756	2,658	2,514	2,480	2,406	2,299	2,256	H
	7,242	7,339	7,483	7,511	7,583	7,600	7,707	M
	2	3	3	9	11	11	37	O
Malda	5,337	5,021	4,982	4,636	4,063	4,217	3,778	H
	4,638	4,720	4,807	5,033	5,151	5,428	5,679	M
	25	259	211	331	786	355	543	O
Dacca	4,048	3,865	3,729	3,554	3,420	3,277	3,231	H
	5,910	6,008	6,226	6,396	6,536	6,681	6,729	M
	42	47	45	50	44	42	40	O
Mymensingh	3,235	3,011	2,781	2,566	2,427	2,289	2,152	H
	6,679	6,902	7,141	7,344	7,491	7,666	7,736	M
	86	87	78	90	82	55	112	O
Faridpur	4,008	3,882	3,786	3,652	3,625	3,586	3,483	H
	5,975	6,098	6,190	6,320	6,346	6,380	6,478	M
	17	20	24	38	29	34	39	O
Bakarganj	3,286	3,159	3,115	2,962	2,875	2,765	2,701	H
	6,669	6,791	6,829	6,974	7,056	7,163	7,233	M
	45	50	56	64	69	72	66	O
Tippera	3,363	3,124	2,938	2,768	2,579	2,414	2,280	H
	6,633	6,867	7,054	7,223	7,412	7,578	7,709	M
	4	9	8	9	9	8	11	O
Noakhali	2,577	2,457	2,404	2,306	2,235	2,147	1,859	H
	7,415	7,533	7,588	7,685	7,757	7,846	8,135	M
	8	10	8	9	8	7	6	O
Chittagong	2,430	2,343	2,352	2,302	2,258	2,183	2,128	H
	7,083	7,169	7,159	7,219	7,281	7,380	7,454	M
	487	488	395	479	461	437	318	O
Chittagong Hill Tracts	1,997	2,405	2,915	926	1,821	1,727	197	H
	718	454	398	331	421	386	294	M
	7,285	7,141	6,587	8,743	7,758	7,887	9,509	O
Cooch Behar	7,094	7,023	7,010	6,906	6,716	6,432	6,163	H
	2,896	2,950	2,967	3,079	3,258	3,534	3,787	M
	10	27	14	15	26	34	50	O
Tripura	1,022	6,670	6,877	6,886	6,822	6,840	6,779	H
	2,818	2,698	2,615	2,829	2,703	2,712	2,409	M
	6,160	632	508	285	475	448	822	O
BENGAL	4,882	4,767	4,700	4,523	4,372	4,348	4,198	H
	4,969	5,068	5,119	5,234	5,355	5,444	5,430	M
	149	165	181	243	273	208	372	O

[ H—Hindus; M—Muslims; O—Others].

If the Punjab is to be partitioned, as recommended by the Congress, the Hindus in Bengal can very well say that their demand for the partition of Bengal is far stronger and based on surer grounds. In the non-Muslim part of Bengal it is only one community that predominates, whereas in the non-Muslim part of the Punjab are to be found two communities, Hindus and Sikhs. In both the provinces non-Muslims outnumber Muslims by an overwhelming majority in districts that are contiguous and pretty large.

The present Punjab has an area of 148,610 sq. miles and contains a population of a little over 3 crores (3,50,13,017), according to the 1941 census. Not only, in the Punjab the area involved is considerably larger than that of Bengal, but states occupy a much larger proportion of the total area in the Punjab than in Bengal. And then unlike in Bengal, states do not occupy marginal areas in the Punjab. In both the provinces, however, Muslims form the majority community.

Table 36 shows area and populations in the province and States of the Punjab.

TABLE 36. AREA AND POPULATION

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs
Province	99,089	2,84,16,819	1,62,17,242	75,50,372	41,65,167
States	38,146	55,03,554	22,51,359	18,55,958	13,88,406
Hill States	11,375	10,90,644	46,678	10,25,300	18,478
The Punjab	1,48,610	3,50,13,017	1,86,15,379	1,04,31,630	55,72,051

It then appears that the percentage of Muslims in the Punjab (52.9) is about the same as that in Bengal. In the province itself the percentage of Muslims (57.1) is somewhat higher than the corresponding figure in Bengal and the percentage of non-Muslims is less (Hindus 26.6% ; Sikhs 14.6%) than that in Bengal. If for one and a half crores of Hindus and Sikhs the Punjab has got to be partitioned, then the wishes of 2½ crores of Hindus in Bengal cannot be ignored.

In the Punjab as in Bengal there are two administrative divisions, with non-Muslim majority and three Muslim-majority divisions. Table 37 shows area and populations in each division.

TABLE 37. AREA AND POPULATION IN EACH DIVISION IN THE PUNJAB

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs
<i>Non-Muslim Majority</i>					
Ambala	14,750	46,95,462	13,18,136	30,99,483	2,67,502
Jullundur	18,992	54,38,581	18,77,742	19,50,802	15,84,753
<i>Muslim Majority</i>					
Lahore	12,203	72,18,001	41,99,658	12,01,062	14,79,792
Rawalpindi	21,381	47,00,958	40,20,141	4,14,670	2,43,296
Multan	31,763	63,65,817	48,01,565	8,84,355	5,89,824

The non-Muslims have therefore an overwhelming majority in the eastern part of the province, comprising the divisions of Ambala and Jullundur and covering an area of 33,742 square miles. In the Ambala division the non-Muslims have the maximum concentration, but even here this percentage (72%), it may be remembered, is not as high as the corresponding percentage in the Burdwan division of Bengal.

TABLE 38. THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE THREE COMMUNITIES IN THE PUNJAB DISTRICTS (1941)

<i>Ambala Division :</i>	Area (sq. miles)	Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs
Hissar	5,213	2,85,208	6,52,676	67,590
Rohtak	2,246	1,66,569	7,80,474	8,330
Gurgaon	2,234	2,35,992	5,60,498	3,511
Kajnal	3,126	3,04,346	6,66,036	22,970
Ambala	1,851	2,68,999	4,10,333	1,63,521
Simla		7,012	29,466	1,580
<i>Jullundur Division :</i>				
Kangra	9,979	43,249	8,38,479	17,059
Hoshiarpur	2,195	3,70,759	4,68,225	3,15,279
Jullundur	1,334	5,09,804	1,98,100	4,13,255
Ludhiana	1,399	3,02,488	1,66,678	3,47,823
Ferozepur	4,085	6,41,448	2,79,260	4,91,337
<i>Lahore Division :</i>				
Lahore	2,595	10,27,772	2,84,351	3,15,566

TABLE 38 (Continued).

	Area (sq. miles)	Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs
Gurdaspur	1,846	5,89,923	2,83,192	2,30,134
Sialkot	1,576	7,39,318	2,31,114	1,45,319
Gujranwala	2,311	6,42,706	1,07,887	1,01,261
Sheikhupura	2,303	5,42,344	77,740	1,72,439
<i>Rawalpindi Division :</i>				
Gujrat	2,266	9,45,609	84,643	70,309
Shahpur	4,770	8,35,918	1,00,708	49,605
Jhelum	2,774	5,63,033	40,879	25,016
Rawalpindi	2,022	6,28,193	82,463	70,263
Atock	4,148	6,11,128	43,190	21,053
Mianwali	5,401	4,36,260	62,787	6,950
<i>Multan Division :</i>				
Montgomery	4,204	9,18,564	1,91,182	1,95,256
Lyallpur	3,522	8,77,518	1,62,295	3,04,798
Jhang	3,415	6,78,736	1,29,791	12,360
Multan	5,653	11,57,911	2,42,981	70,165
Muzaffargarh	5,605	6,16,074	90,547	6,010
Dera Gazikhan	9,364	5,12,678	67,393	1,233
Biloch transform- tier tract		40,084	160	2

Table 38 shows the distribution of the three major communities in the districts of the Punjab. This table should be compared with table 6. In the Punjab none of the districts in the Ambala and Jullundur divisions has a Muslim majority. And in the Lahore division one district has a clear non-Muslim majority—Amritsar, which being contiguous, can very well be added to the non-Muslim Province. It is only in the district of Gurdaspur some difficulties may arise due to the fact that in most of the teshils (corresponding to thanas in Bengal) non-Muslims outnumber Muslims, though in the district as a whole Muslims have a bare majority. The portion of the district lying to the east of the Ravi may be added to the non-Muslim province.

The enclosed map, drawn on the basis of communal percentages of three major communities, gives a clear idea

of how the partitioned Punjab will look like. The Ravi and Sutlej rivers will help in the drawing of the boundary line. The non-Muslim Punjab will include all the eleven districts of the Ambala and Jullundur divisions and the Amritsar district and part of the Gurdaspur district of the Lahore division. All the remaining districts will form part of the Muslim province. The distribution of the three communities in the proposed two provinces will be as follows.

TABLE 39. AREA AND POPULATION IN THE TWO PROVINCES OF THE PUNJAB

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs
Non-Muslim	35,314	1,15,47,919	38,53,573	52,67,063	23,66,328
Muslim	63,775	1,68,70,900	1,23,63,669	22,83,309	17,98,839

The non-Muslim province will contain a population of about one crore and 15½ lakhs, that is to say, 40.7 per cent of the total population of the present province. This percentage is about the same as that of non-Muslims in the present province. It may be remembered that the division of Bengal has been suggested in such a way that the Hindu Bengal may have a population about the same as the non-Muslim population of the present province of Bengal. Of the total population in the newly created non-Muslim province, the communal percentages will be as follows: Hindus—45.7; Sikhs—20.5; Muslims—33.4.

And, on the other hand, in the Muslim province the communal percentages will be: Muslims—73.3; Hindus—13.5; Sikhs—10.7. It will now be interesting to compare the communal percentages in Muslim and Non-Muslim portions of the Punjab and Bengal,

TABLE 40. A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE COMMUNAL PERCENTAGE IN THE PUNJAB AND BENGAL

	Muslims (percent)	Non-Muslims (percent)
non-Muslim Province		
Punjab	33.4	66.6
Bengal	32.8	67.2
Muslim Province		
Punjab	73.3	26.7
Bengal	73.5	26.5

The obvious conclusion is that there exists a striking similarity between the Punjab and Bengal even in the matter of communal percentages both in the Muslim and non-Muslim areas.

## XI

In Bengal there are two States, which occupy an area of 5,434 sq. miles and contain a population of 11,53,852. These States occupy marginal areas, and have religious affinity and economic bonds with the Hindu portion of Bengal. One of these Cooch-Bihar is also contiguous to the proposed Hindu Bengal, and may very well join the Hindu province. The fate of the other Hindu State, Tripura is difficult to imagine. It will be bordered on the west and south by Muslim Bengal and on the north and east by Assam. If it decides to join the Muslim Bengal by virtue of contiguity the areas and populations of the two proposed Bengal provinces will be as follows :—

TABLE 41. AREA AND POPULATIONS OF THE TWO PROVINCES INCLUDING THE STATES

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus
Hindu Bengal	42,068	2,84,73,291	93,69,288	1,74,65,522
Muslim Bengal	40,808	3,29,87,086	2,40,02,400	83,36,202
Present Bengal	82,876	6,14,60,377	3,33,71,688	2,58,01,724

In the Punjab there are a number of states, which may complicate the issue of partition of this province from the geographical point of view. In the plains there are as many as 14 states and in the hills four important and a number of minor states. Of these, only three, Bhawalpur, Khairpur and Kapurthala are Muslim-majority states. The first two of these are contiguous to the proposed Muslim province and may gravitate towards it. All the remaining states have not only religious affinity and economic bonds with the proposed non-Muslim but are also contiguous. They may join the non-Muslim province. Table 42 shows the area and population of the Punjab states.

TABLE 42. PUNJAB STATES

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Hindus	Muslims	Sikhs
<i>Muslim State</i>	24,128	20,25,376	2,80,152	15,66,258	1,73,510
Bhawalpur	17,494	13,41,209	1,69,002	10,98,814	70,451
Khairpur	5,989	3,05,787	49,604	2,53,690	1,622
Kapurthala	645	3,78,380	61,546	2,13,975	1,01,437
<i>Non-Muslim States</i>	25,393	45,68,822	26,01,106	7,31,879	12,33,374
Dujana	91	30,666	23,727	6,939	..
Pataudi	53	21,520	17,728	3,655	128
Loharu	226	27,892	23,923	3,960	9
Mandi	1,139	2,32,593	2,27,457	4,328	806
Suket	392	71,092	69,974	884	234
Malerkotla	165	88,109	23,479	33,881	30,634
Faridkot	637	1,99,283	21,771	61,352	1,15,910
Chamba	3,127	1,68,908	1,55,480	12,318	960
Patiala	5,942	19,36,259	5,97,488	4,36,539	9,00,820
Jind	1,299	3,61,812	2,68,349	50,972	42,357
Nabha	947	3,40,044	1,46,430	70,373	1,23,028
Panjab Hill States (Sirmoor, Bilaspur etc.)	11,375	10,90,644	10,25,300	46,678	18,478

If the states join the new provinces according to their religious affinity the position will be as follows :—

TABLE 43. DISTRIBUTION OF AREA AND POPULATION IN THE NEW PROVINCES OF THE PANJAB

	Area (sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Hindus	Sikhs
Non-Muslim Punjab	60,707	1,01,16,741	15,85,452	78,68,169	35,99,702
Muslim Punjab	87,903	1,88,96,276	1,39,29,927	25,63,461	19,723,49
Present Punjab	1,48,610	3,50,13,017	1,85,15,379	1,04,31,630	55,72,051

The communal percentages in both the parts of Bengal and the Punjab will remain about the same. Muslim or

non-Muslim part of each of the provinces will contain population equal to the present strength of their own community in the respective provinces.

## XII

The present Bengal has a more or less triangular shape with its apex in the northern Himalayan mountain and its base washed by the waters of the Bay of Bengal. Three great rivers, the Ganges (known in Eastern Bengal as the Padma), the Brahmaputra (known as the Jamuna) and the Meghna, find their way to the Bay through this province, and it is a common knowledge that the destiny of Bengal lies in the hands of her mighty rivers. Since all these rivers have their sources outside the province, no planning for agricultural reconstruction is possible without the co-operation of the neighbouring provinces through which the rivers flow before reaching Bengal. Thus a united India will add strength to its component parts. This is all the more vital for Western Bengal where swift running and shallow rivers like the Damodar, the Maurakhi (Mor) etc. can be very easily harnessed for generating water-power and supplying water for irrigation.

The relief of land exercises a very great influence on the mode of agriculture and development of industries. It is true that Bengal is essentially a land of plains, but the percentage of low-lands is somewhat less in Gaur-Banga than in Eastern Bengal. The 100-foot contour line runs a little west of the eastern boundary of the former province whereas the greater part of the latter province lies much below 50 feet. Rainfall is also not evenly distributed in the two parts of Bengal. Gaur-Banga receives definitely much less rainfall than Eastern Bengal. The 60-inch annual isohyetal line encloses the greater part of the Burdwan division. In Eastern Bengal, on the other hand, the annual average rainfall ranges between 70 and 140 inches. Relief and rainfall, therefore, give sufficient indications of regional differentiation in the two parts of Bengal. Eastern Bengal possesses rich agricultural lands and must base her economy primarily on agriculture. Gaur-Banga, on the other hand, is not so rich agriculturally and hence here a balance between industry and agriculture is to be effected.

and culturable waste occupy 9.51% and 11.68% of the total area respectively. Another one-fifth of the total area is at present unfit for agricultural use. Rice and jute are the two main crops of Bengal. Besides, there are two important plantation crops, tea and cinchona. Tobacco and sugarcane are at present localised in certain parts, though optimum conditions for the cultivation of these crops prevail in a much wider area. Cotton at present is mainly grown in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Coconut and chillies also constitute cash crops in Bengal. Bengal is very much deficient in oil-seeds and pulses. As to the distribution of arable lands in the two parts of the province, Muslim Bengal will have as much as 56% of the total agricultural land of the province, that is to say, 2% more than the present percentage of the Muslim community.

TABLE 44. THE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF AGRICULTURAL LAND BY DISTRICT.

	Percent of Total agri- cultural land	Location		Factors	
		Agri- culture	Current Fallow	Cultural waste	Uncul- turable
<i>Muslim Bengal</i>					
Rangpur	7.09	1.56	0.81	0.01	0.70
Bogra	2.24	1.25	1.20	1.05	0.71
Pabna	3.77	1.60	0.84	0.26	0.44
Rajshahi	3.99	1.18	1.58	0.84	0.81
Faridpur	5.83	1.90	0.05	—	0.22
Bakarganj	6.53	1.44	0.22	—	0.22
Mymensingh	9.62	1.18	0.18	0.83	1.47
Dacca	5.85	1.70	0.27	0.11	0.49
Tippera	4.60	1.37	0.15	0.11	1.39
Noakhali	2.99	1.32	0.19	0.40	0.89
Chittagong	2.65	0.79	0.32	0.87	0.71
Chittagong Hill Tracts	0.84	0.13	1.52	2.48	1.48
<i>Hindu Bengal</i>					
Darjeeling	0.76	0.49	0.57	0.51	1.41
Jalpaiguri	3.02	0.70	1.48	1.48	0.49
Dinajpur	4.90	0.95	2.29	0.90	1.14

TABLE 44 (Continued)

	Location			Factors	
	Percent of total agricultural land	Agriculture	Current Fallow	Cultural waste	Unculturable
Malda	1.83	0.71	3.00	2.11	0.58
Khulna	3.38	0.55	—	1.26	0.41
24-Pargana	3.32	0.52	1.04	0.97	0.93
Birbhum	2.73	1.22	0.49	0.92	1.18
Burdwan	2.19	0.64	2.93	1.22	1.33
Bankura	2.59	0.76	2.17	0.91	1.57
Midnapore	7.05	1.07	0.47	2.21	0.82
Hooghly	1.15	0.74	2.33	2.36	1.02
Howrah	0.43	0.64	2.18	0.77	1.71
Murshidabad	3.46	1.30	1.02	0.64	0.91
Nadia	2.24	1.17	0.46	1.17	1.19
Jessore	2.95	0.98	2.08	0.98	1.51

Table 44 shows the distribution of different types of agricultural lands in different parts of the two provinces.

A study of the above figures indicates that in Muslim Bengal the location factor for agricultural lands is well above one in all districts except Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts, which means that compared to their areas they have full share of cultivated lands. Of these districts, Dacca and Faridpur are more favourably situated and hence have the maximum location factor (Faridpur 1.9 and Dacca 1.7). It is in this tract that the Brahmaputra has united with the Padma, and with the combined waters the Meghna has joined lower down. Besides, the Lakhya, the Buriganga and the Dhaléswari also help in increasing the acreage under the plough. To the north and south of this rich agricultural zone occur two other zones with the second highest location factor, comprising the districts of Rangpur, Bogra and Pabna in the north, and Barisal, Tippera and Noakhali in the south. The district of Mymensingh, though contains about 10% of the agricultural land of Bengal; has a location factor, considerably less than that of most of the districts in Eastern Bengal. The deterioration of the older Brahmaputra, the depressions lying along the northern and eastern margins of the district and the presence of the

Madhupur Jungle with its infertile soils are responsible for the low location.

Gaur-Banga shows a different picture altogether. Eleven out of the fifteen districts have the location factor for agricultural land below one, signifying that there is a considerable dearth of good arable land. A detailed analysis of the agricultural lands in the district of Midnapore will reveal that the areas adjoining the mouths of the streams are intensively cultivated, and hence the location factor for the district as a whole appears to be higher than that of the adjoining districts. The irrigation system in the district of Birbhum is more developed than elsewhere in Bengal. This accounts for the higher location factor in the district.

The proportions of current fallow, culturable waste and unculturable lands are greater in Gaur-Banga than in Muslim Bengal. Generally speaking, the location factors for these types of bad lands are inversely proportional to that of net cropped area.

It will be interesting to study the distribution of acreage under rice in different parts of the two proposed provinces, as rice forms the 'staff' of life of the people of Bengal, and no meal in the province can be considered complete without rice in some form or other. There is no wonder then that the acreage under rice is ten times greater than that under jute, the second most important crop of Bengal. The percentage of rice-growing land comes to about 43 in Gaur-Banga, and 57 in Muslim Bengal. Assuming the average annual yield at the rate of 11 mds. per acre the position in respect of the degree of self-sufficiency in rice in the two parts of Bengal will be as follows :—

TABLE 45. DEGREE OF SELF SUFFICIENCY IN RICE IN GAUR BANGA AND MUSLIM BENGAL<sup>1</sup>

	Total Production (Mds.)	Production per capita Mds. Sr.	Deficiency per capita Mds. Sr.
Muslim Bengal	13,88,02,400	4 10	(—) 0 10
Gaur Banga	10,54,04,200	3 32	(—) 0 28

(1—For this calculation the population of Muslim Bengal has been taken as 3,25,76,736 and that of Gaur Banga 2,77,29,789).

Both the provinces will remain deficient in rice, though the position will be less satisfactory in the Hindu part: Within each province the degree of self-sufficiency will vary

from area to area as shown in table 46. In Muslim Bengal six out of the twelve districts will be self-sufficient, whereas in Gaur-Banga only seven districts out of fifteen will have enough rice for home consumption. The level of the land is the deciding factor, as to what type of paddy is to be grown—aus, aman or boro. For example, in the northern part of the Tippera district, which is studded with hills, there is paddy growing on land of one level or another all the year round. Hence, what nature has provided in some parts, man can produce in other parts by adopting suitable means.

TABLE 46. PRODUCTION OF RICE IN BENGAL BY DISTRICT IN A NORMAL YEAR (1937-38)

	Acreage	Yield per acre			Production per capita			Excess (+) or Deficiency (-)		
		Md.	Sr.	Ch.	Md.	Sr.	Ch.	Md.	Sr.	Ch.
<i>Muslim Bengal</i>										
Rangpur	10,51,500	12	13	4	20	2	(+) 0	0	2	
Bogra	5,47,000	10	20	4	4	14	(-) 0	15	2	
Pabna	7,76,900	10	16	4	31	12	(+) 0	11	12	
Rajshahi	8,78,100	10	22	5	35	11	(+) 1	15	11	
Faridpur	12,26,300	14	26	4	34	5	(+) 0	14	5	
Bakarganj	17,94,000	11	9	5	27	8	(+) 1	7	8	
Mymensingh	24,54,800	12	0	4	35	9	(+) 0	15	9	
Dacca	10,87,000	10	34	2	31	11	(-) 1	28	5	
Tippera	11,02,600	11	8	3	7	15	(-) 1	12	1	
Noakhali	9,60,500	9	14	4	2	0	(-) 0	18	0	
Chittagong	6,36,400	11	22	3	16	8	(-) 1	4	0	
Chittagong Hill Tracts	1,03,300	10	23	4	16	13	(-) 0	3	3	
<i>Hindu Bengal</i>										
Darjeeling	61,900	10	26	1	5	4	(-) 2	24	4	
Jalpaiguri	4,81,800	10	19	4	25	6	(+) 0	5	6	
Dinajpur	9,63,900	11	32	6	16	10	(+) 1	36	10	
Malda	3,15,100	10	4	2	23	14	(-) 1	36	2	
Khulna	8,82,300	11	27	5	12	0	(+) 0	32	0	
24-Parganas	8,34,900	10	12	2	14	7	(-) 2	5	9	
Birbhum	6,54,000	10	0	6	9	9	(+) 1	29	9	

TABLE 46 (Contd.)

	Acreage	Yield per acre		Production per capita			Excess (+) or Deficiency (-)			
		Md.	Sr.	Md.	Sr.	Ch.	Md.	Sr.	Ch.	
Burdwan	5,45,400	10	30	3	4	0	(-)	1	16	0
Bankura	5,69,300	12	26	5	23	6	(+)	1	3	6
Midnapore	16,54,700	10	21	5	18	5	(+)	0	38	5
Hooghly	3,01,100	12	0	2	25	10	(-)	1	34	6
Howrah	1,08,700	12	21	0	36	8	(-)	3	23	8
Murshidabad	6,93,100	10	33	4	12	14	(-)	0	7	2
Nadia	8,80,500	9	8	4	24	2	(+)	0	4	2
Jessore	6,33,500	11	35	4	4	9	(-)	0	15	7

The present deficiency in rice in Eastern Bengal is partly due to an over-emphasis on jute. Of the total acreage under this crop as much as 82 per cent is to be found here. If necessary, some part of the jute-growing land may be reserved for the cultivation of *aus* paddy. Even then Muslim Bengal will hold monopoly in raw jute. Of the other agricultural products Muslim Bengal grows most of cotton, sesamum seeds, tobacco, mustard seeds and sugarcane; and Gaur-Banga grows most of tea, maize, coconut, wheat, linseed and barley. The percentage of the total acreage under each of these crops in the two provinces have been shown in tables 47 and 48.

TABLE 47. CROPS WHICH GROW MOST IN MUSLIM BENGAL  
(PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ACREAGE IS SHOWN IN EACH CASE)

	Cotton	Sesamum	Tobacco	Mustard seeds	Sugar-cane
Muslim Bengal	96	90	82	70	60
Gaur Banga	4	10	18	30	40

TABLE 48. CROPS WHICH GROW MOST IN GAUR BANGA  
(PERCENTAGE OF THE TOTAL ACREAGE IS SHOWN IN EACH CASE)

	Tea	Maize	Cocoanut	Wheat	Linseed	Barley
Gaur-Banga	97	96	92	80	68	55
Muslim Bengal	3	4	8	20	32	45

Hence it appears that each province specialises in certain agricultural products and can very well exchange its products.

### *Forests*

Forests provide valuable natural resources both for industry and domestic use. In Bengal the reserved forests occupy about one-tenth of the total land surface of Bengal. Of this, over one-half (56.4%) forms the Sundarbans of Western Bengal in the districts of Khulna and 24-Parganas. Another 15% of the reserved tropical and temperate forests occur in the northern part of the province, in the districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. In Muslim Bengal forests occur in the south-western part of the Bakarganj district (0.1%), in the Mymensingh and Dacca districts (Madhupur-Bhawalpur Jungle 2%) and in the districts of Chittagong and Chittagong Hill Tracts (27%). It thus appears that near about 30% of the reserved forests will remain in Muslim Bengal, and 70% in Gaur-Banga.

### *Minerals*

Bengal has huge deposits of coal and some iron ores, all in the western part of the province. Eastern Bengal, on the other hand, is potentially rich in petroleum. The first coal mine was opened in Bengal in 1774 and since then some 300 million tons of coal have been raised from the Raniganj coal fields of Bengal. Most of the coal mines occur in a tract enclosed by the Ajay in the north, the Damodar in the south and the Barakar in the West, occupying an area of 424 sq. miles. It is estimated that the coal deposits of Bengal will last for a pretty long time, say 1,000 years, if exploited at the present rate of 10 million tons per year. Iron ore also occurs in the same area. In the Darjeeling Himalaya, which forms a part of Gaur-Banga, copper ores and some anthracitic coal occur. Besides, some building materials are quarried also in Gaur-Banga, laterites in the Midnapore district and gneisses in the Darjeeling district.

### *Power*

Power for the industrial and domestic life of Bengal is drawn mainly from coal. It is only in the Darjeeling district that power from running water is generated and used locally. Smaller power stations are, however, driven by diesel oil engine. The largest electrified unit which may develop into West Bengal grid in near future is under the control of the Calcutta Electric Supply Corporation. Table 49 shows the respective position of the two proposed provinces in power supply.

TABLE 49. KILOWATT-HOURS  
GENERATED IN 1943(MILLIONS)

Present Bengal	707.603
Gaur-Banga	701.888
Calcutta	594.846
Sibpur	15.429
Gourepore	46.664
Dishergarh	38.559
Darjeeling	2.856
Other Centres	3.520
Muslim Bengal	5.715

*Industries*

Bengal leads in some of the manufacturing industries in India. The jute mill industry is by far the most important. The availability of power resources and the special advantages of Calcutta in respect of transport facilities are primarily responsible for the growth of this industry along the banks of the Hooghly river in West Bengal. The same factors have also influenced the growth of other industries in this region. The iron and steel works are however located on the coal mining region in the Burdwan district. The rice mills are distributed more widely in relation to the distribution of population in West and North Bengal. Table 50 shows the distribution of industries in Gaur-Banga and Eastern Bengal. It is true that most of the mills are located today in Gaur-Banga, but Eastern Bengal with its dense population provides admirable sites for the future location of industries, provided power either from oil or from running water be made available.

TABLE 50. THE DISTRIBUTION OF INDUSTRIES  
IN GAUR-BANGA & MUSLIM BENGAL

Number of mills	Gaur-Banga	M. Banga
Jute	80	—
Cotton	38	7
Silk	8	—
Paper	4	—
Match	1	—

TABLE 35. (Continued)

Number of mills	Gaur-Banga	M. Banga
Paints	14	—
Glass	24	2
Chemicals	57	1
Soap	14	—
Potteries, Cement	17	—
Iron & Steel including re-rolling	17	—
Railway workshop	22	5
General Engineering	268	12
Rice	416	31
Sugar	7	5
Oil	40	3
Tea	277	15
Printing	95	4

### Transport

Transport facilities in Bengal leave much to be desired. The total mileage of roads of all types comes to 18,285 miles in the whole of Bengal. Of this, 8,840 (49%) miles have been constructed in Eastern Bengal. The innumerable waterways are also to be found mainly in the eastern part of the present Bengal. Moreover, the railways have been so constructed in Bengal, that the greater part of these will remain in Muslim Bengal. Hence, from the point of view of transport Gaur-Banga will be at a greater disadvantage than Muslim Bengal.

### Conclusion

A study of the distribution of the natural resources in the two provinces reveals that Muslim Bengal is more rich than Gaur Banga agriculturally, but the latter is industrially more developed. None of the two parts is, however, self-sufficient in cereal foods. What little pulses, oilseeds and other food crops are grown, is also not sufficient for the teeming millions. The cotton goods produced in the different mills can hardly be said to be sufficient for the population. Many other consumable goods are yet to be manufactured. Despite all these defi-

ciencies, one can say that any one of the new provinces will be better off than many independent countries of the world, not to speak of the autonomous states or provinces in North America. Take for instance Britain, where agriculture has been a victim of the rapid growth of industry, with the result that Britain has to import in normal years 80% of the wheat, 46% of the meat, 57% of the butter and 67% of the cheese consumed in the country. And again a country like the Netherlands cannot support her abundant population, despite the extraordinary development of agriculture. Manufacturing industry also could not be developed in that country on a large scale for want of minerals. Hence agriculture and industry are supplemented by commerce. The economy of Muslim Bengal should be organised on the lines of that of the Netherlands.

The economy of Belgium should also be studied, that will help to understand on what lines Gaur-Banga could be developed. It is known to every student of geography that Belgium has a true economic unity joining the diverse regions, of entirely different aptitudes, which go to make up the country. Like Gaur-Banga it is densely populated. Intensive cultivation supplemented by industry is the main characteristics of the economy of Belgium. That country has to pay for the imported food stuffs by the exportation of manufactured articles. This could be possible by first establishing a good system of communications. Hence, Gaur-Banga must develop first her roads, railways and waterways connecting the present and future manufacturing and consuming centres. The method of farming should also be modified on the lines of farming practised in Flanders.

### *Revenue and Finance*

Revenue is realised partly from central heads and partly from local heads. In a typical year (1935-36) before the inauguration of the new provincial constitution revenue from central heads amounted to Rs. 21,86,00,000, mainly from three sources, 'customs', 'taxes on income' and 'salt'. In that year the amount under customs was as much as Rs. 14,81,81,000 (68%); under 'taxes on income' was Rs. 4,46,74,000 (20%) and under 'salt', Rs. 2,22,76,000 (10%)—The nature of the principal sources of revenue indicate that a large percentage of this revenue will be available for Gaur-Banga.

The revenue from provincial heads amounted to Rs. 12,34,00,000, in 1935-36 the principal sources of revenue

being 'land revenue' (28%), 'stamps' (24%), and 'excise' (11%). One of these sources, 'land revenue' may now be selected and the position in respect of land revenue in Gaur-Banga and Muslim Bengal may be studied. For this purpose the year prior to the last world war may be selected (1938-39).

Table 51 shows the land revenue demanded from different parts of Gaur-Banga and Muslim Bengal during 1938-39. It appears that 60 per cent of the land revenue is normally realised from what we call Gaur-Banga and 40 per cent from Muslim Bengal. It is also clear that the land revenue per acre of sown land is much higher in the former than in the latter and that there is yet scope to get extra revenue from lands in Muslim Bengal.

TABLE 51. LAND REVENUE DURING THIS YEAR  
1938-39 (CURRENT DEMAND)

<i>Gaur-Banga</i>	Amount Rs.	Revenue per acre of net area sown:	
		Rs.	A.
Darjeeling	3,91,676	2	2
Jalpaiguri	15,15,675	2	1
Dinajpur	15,34,188	1	4
Malda	4,84,274	1	1
Murshidabad	10,76,322	1	4
Nadia	9,95,772	0	15
Jessore	9,00,034	1	4
Khulna	9,25,848	1	2
24 Parganas	23,50,234	2	14
Calcutta	11,688		
Birbhum	10,42,827	1	9
Burdwan	30,43,529	5	10
Bankura	4,99,191	0	12
Midnapore	27,31,133	1	9
Hooghly	9,34,359	3	6
Howrah	4,57,133	4	5
	<u>1,88,93,883</u>		

TABLE 51 (Continued)

	Amount Rs.	Revenue per acre of net area sown	
		Rs.	A.
<i>Muslim Bengal</i>			
Rangpur	10,43,699	0	9
Bogra	4,95,936	0	14
Rajshahi	10,24,802	1	0
Pabna	5,29,506	0	9
Mymensingh	9,52,940	0	7
Dacca	6,63,648	0	8
Faridpur	7,70,364	0	9
Bakarganj	31,18,454	1	15
Tippera	11,98,651	1	1
Noakhali	12,35,632	1	10
Chittagong	15,36,190	2	5
	1,25,69,822		

Since 1937 new taxes have been imposed by the Bengal Government. A study of the Budget for the year 1947-48, as presented by the present Finance Minister reveals that the provincial revenue has gone up to over 22 crores of rupees (Rs. 22,11,38,000). The nature of the main sources of revenue : excise, stamp, sales tax and taxes on amusement etc, also indicate that the bulk of the revenue is realized from the Hindu part of Bengal. With the increase in revenue the expenditure has also gone up so much so that the province has to depend entirely on Central subventions for post-war reconstruction. The economists of Bengal are, therefore, perturbed over the present state of Bengal's finance, and fear that there soon will occur a financial crisis, which may upset the whole of the economic structure of the province, unless some drastic steps are taken beforehand. The primary causes of Bengal's financial difficulties, according to a Memorandum recently prepared by the Bengal Congress Assembly Party and submitted to the Central Government, "lie embedded in the expenditure incurred under the Demand Heads : Police, Famine, Miscellaneous and Extraordinary charges in India. The expenditure under those heads has swollen inordinately primarily owing to cost of communal tension and riots.....<sup>1</sup>" This is all the more

reason that the present province should be immediately partitioned so as to save it from an economic crisis.

## XIII

*Public Health*

The death rates are abnormally high even in normal years throughout Bengal, due to the low vitality of the majority of the people. In an abnormal year like 1943 the poorer classes died in lakhs, some due to starvation and others being victims of diseases which became prevalent in a famine-stricken land. Table 52 shows the numbers of deaths in different districts from malaria, cholera, small pox and other causes. (starvation !). This list was furnished by Government of Bengal for the information of the members of the Bengal Legislative Assembly.

TABLE 52. NUMBERS OF DEATHS FROM MALARIA, CHOLERA, SMALL POX AND OTHER CAUSES (STARVATION !) DURING THE FAMINE YEAR 1943

<i>Gaur-Bangal</i>	Malaria	Cholera	Small Pox	Other causes & starvation	Total deaths	Deaths per 1000Pop
Darjeeling	3,096	123	7	2,359	11,158	30
Jalpaiguri	10,744	3,850	44	5,337	38,292	35
Dinajpur	17,949	3,408	81	3,184	41,525	22
Malda	11,980	1,272	6	1,008	16,167	13
Murshidabad	39,719	5,297	26	6,579	65,073	40
Nadia	48,931	10,398	151	6,161	77,679	44
Jessore	34,300	4,617	50	3,658	50,418	28
Khulna	13,984	5,286	5	7,385	43,726	23
24-Parganas	13,869	12,741	296	20,331	87,180	25
Calcutta	2,412	1,978	1,320	26,201	52,268	25
Birbhum	21,279	4,046	61	3,645	40,499	39
Burdwan	20,310	5,388	31	6,014	47,467	25
Bankura	11,621	4,681	3	6,142	40,170	31
Midnapur	24,143	8,412	77	24,143	89,866	29
Hooghly	7,645	1,928	47	5,287	27,495	20
Howrah	3,189	4,636	248	9,793	36,674	25

TABLE 52 (Contd.)

	Malaria	Cholera	Small Pox	Other causes & starvation	Total deaths	Deaths per 1000 Pop.
<i>Muslim Bengal</i>						
Rangpur	41,939	20,053	1,832	10,355	1,11,568	39
Bogra	16,798	3,512	140	4,052	33,402	27
Pabna	26,109	8,287	151	5,030	53,650	32
Rajshahi	33,139	6,673	25	4,528	54,741	35
Mymensingh	83,688	24,960	3,469	19,252	1,80,480	30
Dacca	32,595	10,151	4,819	40,694	1,48,923	35
Faridpur	50,432	7,533	586	15,199	90,122	31
Bakarganj	27,907	16,076	1,084	12,332	99,190	28
Tippera	48,695	15,058	2,436	24,992	1,51,161	39
Noakhali	8,768	13,641	4,827	8,271	72,480	32
Chittagong	18,378	8,768	502	20,018	1,04,962	49

It appears that the drier parts (Dinajpur, Malda) in the north of Gaur-Banga had fewer deaths than the more humid districts (Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri). The people of the two central districts—Murshidabad and Nadia were the worst sufferers. The conditions in the two southern districts, 24-Parganas and Khulna and in the city of Calcutta were somewhat better. In the Western industrial districts, Howrah and Hooghly the death rates were also comparatively low. But among the western agricultural districts the death rate was very high in the district of Birbhum. Further south, the death rate was considerably less—Burdwan district. In the districts of Bankura and Midnapur it was about the same (30 per 1,000 pop.)

In Muslim Bengal, on the other hand, the death rates were invariably high throughout the entire area, being the maximum in the district of Chittagong (49 per 1,000 pop.) The Chittagong division on the whole was worse off than the Dacca division. In the north of Muslim Bengal the district of Rangpur was the most hard hit.

### *Public Education*

Now, an attempt will be made to compare the two proposed provinces in the sphere of education. In Bengal there are two universities, one in Calcutta in the Hindu part of the province, and the other in the city of Dacca in Muslim Bengal. The distribution of all types of institution in the two parts of Bengal has been shown in table 53.

TABLE 53 DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS IN THE TWO PROPOSED PROVINCE,

University	Colleges		High Schools		Madrasahs
	Govt. & Aided	Unaided	Govt. & Aided	Unaided	
Gaur-Banga	1	24	29	356	506 285
Muslim Bengal	1	18	10	373	463 866

It is clear that more facilities for advanced study exists in Gaur-Banga than in Muslim Bengal, though it may be remembered, that most of the institutions were started by non-Muslims and still maintained by them. As to the High School type of education, the numbers of such schools are about the same in both the parts, though the percentage of such schools receiving aids from Government is definitely higher in Muslim Bengal. The Madrasah type of education has been receiving considerable attention for some time past from the present Government of Bengal, and hence they are widely distributed throughout Bengal, more so in Muslim Bengal, for obvious reasons. Table 54 analyses the distributional figures of all types of institutions in different parts of the two proposed provinces.<sup>1</sup>

TABLE 54. THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALL TYPES OF INSTITUTIONS IN THE DIFFERENT DISTRICTS OF BENGAL

	Colleges		High Schools		Madrasahs
	Govt. & Aided	Unaided	Govt. & Aided	Unaided	
Gaur, Banga	24	29	356	506	285
Darjeeling	1	5	7	2	2
Jalpaiguri	..	1	7	3	8
Dinajpur	..	..	10	12	50
Malda	1	1	8	9	23
Burdwan	..	3	30	49	10
Bankura	1	..	13	17	2
Midnapur	1	1	29	54	14
Birbhum	..	3	14	18	12
Hooghly	4	1	26	38	23
Howrah	..	2	21	42	14
Calcutta	10	11	42	95	6

1. These figures were supplied to the author by the Bengal Government.

TABLE 54 (Contd.)

	Colleges		High School		Madrasahs
	Govt. & Aided	Unaided	Govt. & Aided	Unaided	
24-Parganas	..	..	50	50	29
Khulna	2	1	32	52	46
Jessore	2	..	23	30	40
Nadia	1	..	30	21	20
Murshidabad	1	..	14	19	22
<i>Muslim Bengal</i>	19	10	373	463	866
Rangpur	1	..	22	21	76
Bogra	..	1	17	10	43
Pabna	3	..	24	12	28
Rajshahi	1	..	8	21	26
Mymensingh	2	2	50	56	129
Dacca	5	3	56	95	61
Tippera	1	1	41	70	131
Noakhilai	1	1	26	26	128
Faridpur	1	1	40	56	72
Bakarganj	2	..	46	74	121
Chittagong	2	1	42	22	51
<i>Chittagong Hill Tracts</i>	..	..	1	..	..
<i>States</i>	..	1	15	..	..
Cooch-Behar	..	1	8	..	..
Tripura	..	..	7	..	..

APPENDIX— AREA AND MUSLIM POPULATION IN EACH THANA  
OF THE DISTRICTS THROUGH WHICH THE BOUNDARY  
LINE IS LIKELY TO RUN.

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total population	Muslims	Muslims (%)
<i>Birgaon District</i>				
Sadar Subdivision	1,164	8,30,742	5,77,833	69
Pirgacha	100	66,567	49,828	75
Kaunia	57	42,045	31,491	75
Kotwali	123	1,26,525	78,916	62
Gangachara	82	73,652	57,537	78
Badarganj	166	1,20,277	89,588	74
Mitapokhar	199	1,23,156	98,293	79
Pirganj	159	91,190	75,697	83
Kaliganj	167	1,20,849	63,300	53
*Hatibandha	111	66,481	33,183	49
Nilphamari Sub division	634	5,98,263	3,65,355	61
*Dimla	127	91,758	40,655	44
*Domar	97	83,740	45,103	54
Jaldhaka	126	1,16,367	69,602	60
Kishoreganj	102	1,07,666	82,845	77
Nilphamari	135	1,29,734	81,973	63
Saidpur	47	68,998	45,177	66
Balmonirhat	131	1,17,618	71,580	61
Kurigaon Subdivision	972	6,78,864	5,05,094	74
Pulbari	50	33,107	23,363	71
Kurigaon	106	80,597	62,274	77
Nageshwari	172	1,13,689	81,867	72
Bhurangamari	91	58,939	36,906	63
Ulipur	213	1,53,774	1,22,914	80
Rahumari	99	57,202	54,763	96
Chilmari	110	63,938	51,427	80

Appendix—(Contd.)	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Muslims (%)
Gaibandha Subdivision	836	7,69,978	6,05,904	79
Govindganj	178	1,52,747	1,15,124	75
Palashbari	74	75,927	64,782	85
Shaghata	88	86,604	71,263	82
Gaibandha	124	1,49,395	1,15,558	77
Fulehuri	121	60,659	47,680	79
Sadullapur	90	87,121	67,722	78
Sundarganj	161	1,57,525	1,24,775	79
<i>Dinajpur District :</i>				
*Balaughat Subdivision	1,179	5,29,424	2,51,864	48
Patnitala	146	68,486	36,568	53
*Dhamoihat	116	61,683	29,241	47
Porsha	194	71,289	45,599	64
*Balurghat	181	92,016	33,802	33
*Kumarganj	111	46,033	19,152	41
Phulbari	134	76,650	46,102	60
*Gangarampur	127	52,892	18,536	34
*Tapan	170	60,375	22,864	38
*Thakurgaon Subdivision	1,175	5,85,228	2,89,101	48
Thakurgaon	250	1,33,678	69,750	52
Baliadangi	110	55,652	35,694	64
Atwari	81	43,218	27,941	66
Ranisankail	111	48,004	26,325	54
Harpur	78	27,808	14,183	51
Pirganj	151	75,039	37,602	50
*Bochaganj	87	45,359	14,861	33
*Birganj	159	68,069	23,326	34
Khansama	69	49,254	27,966	57
*Kaharul	79	39,147	11,459	29
Sadar Subdivision	1,599	8,12,181	4,26,275	52
Barbatipur	167	1,11,596	77,367	69
Nawabganj	180	82,542	50,242	72

Appendix—(Contd.)	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Muslims (%)
Ghoraghat	57	26,678	17,724	65
Dinajpur	137	1,01,918	51,692	50
Chiribandar	121	89,667	58,022	65
*Biral	137	67,612	31,642	46
*Raiganj	171	65,553	24,569	37
*Hemtabad	74	28,747	14,318	49
*Kaliaganj	136	61,425	15,961	26
*Itahar	165	73,231	33,019	45
*Banshihari	134	50,022	20,335	40
*Kushmundi	120	53,190	22,184	42
<i>Malda District</i>				
Kharba	142	1,03,062	61,148	60
Harischanrapur	150	99,974	56,696	57
Ratua	154	1,02,985	58,610	57
*Manikchak	122	64,786	21,646	34
*Gajole	198	73,387	20,807	29
*Bamangola	80	35,973	15,254	42
*Malda	87	33,978	11,722	35
*Habibpur	152	52,307	6,909	13
*English Bazar	98	83,539	37,233	45
Bholahat	48	22,866	16,535	69
Kaliachak	207	1,94,324	1,24,006	64
Nawabganj	149	1,26,918	1,03,924	83
*Nachole	110	30,365	7,150	23
Sibganj	183	1,49,190	1,22,520	82
Gomastapur	123	59,025	35,785	61
<i>Murshidabad District :</i>				
Sadar Subdivision	650	4,99,749	2,99,470	60
Noada	89	57,450	34,294	60
Hariharpara	98	55,069	38,763	72
Domkol	117	76,503	61,010	80
Jalangi	77	56,210	45,326	81

Appendix—(Contd.)	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Muslims %
Beldanga	143	1,44,634	77,300	53
*Baharampur Town	126	1,09,883	42,777	39
Lalbagh Subdivision	522	3,63,885	2,41,980	66
Murshidabad	60	43,229	24,229	56
Raninagar	123	91,116	75,093	83
Bhagabangola	117	79,159	64,327	81
Lalgola	84	70,663	53,217	76
*Jiaganj	20	23,097	2,685	11
*Nabagram	118	56,621	22,429	40
Jangipur Subdivision	437	4,11,618	2,38,388	58
*Sagardighi	133	70,840	33,727	47
Ragunathganj	102	1,27,887	72,317	56
Suti	102	92,174	51,414	56
Samserganj	100	1,20,717	80,930	67
*Kandi Subdivision	454	3,65,278	1,47,909	45
*Khargram	122	81,862	32,779	41
*Kandi	92	75,607	31,022	41
*Burwan	108	87,544	27,924	31
*Bharatpur	132	1,20,265	56,184	47
<i>Nadia District :</i>				
*Sadar Subdivision	562	3,46,350	1,63,204	47
*Kaliganj	113	63,391	27,895	44
Nakasipara	140	66,827	34,786	51
*Kishnagar	138	91,603	38,616	42
Chapra	131	70,321	50,021	71
*Nabadwip	40	54,208	12,086	22
*Ranaghat Subdivision	540	2,66,040	1,23,956	47
*Santipur	75	55,086	17,444	32
*Ranaghat	171	82,073	34,427	43
*Chakdah	126	63,862	25,734	40
Haringhata	65	27,498	14,545	53
Hasnkhali	103	37,521	27,806	74

Appendix—(Contd.)	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Muslims (%)
Kushtia Subdivision	656	5,18,861	3,81,261	74
Kushtia	123	1,23,766	89,282	72
Mirpur	125	89,631	70,588	79
● Bhatramara	61	50,526	35,644	71
Kumarkhali	128	98,297	71,279	72
Khoksa	38	34,703	20,459	59
Daulatpur	181	1,21,938	94,009	77
Meherpur Subdivision	623	3,48,085	2,41,912	69
Karimpur	172	1,01,272	79,832	79
Gangani	132	72,405	59,546	83
Meherpur	144	81,869	49,897	60
Tehatta	175	92,539	52,637	57
Chaudanga Subdivision	498	2,80,510	1,71,674	61
Chuadanga	122	52,215	35,304	68
Alamdanga	133	94,484	67,807	72
Damurhuda	118	71,198	37,172	52
Jibannagar	77	28,511	16,316	58
*Krishnaganj	58	34,102	15,075	45
<i>Parganas District</i>				
adar Subdivision	1,108	12,25,485	3,90,720	32
*Tollygunge	26	80,624	15,433	20
*Sonarpur	66	81,524	11,044	14
*Behala	20	69,482	7,467	13
Metiabruz	4	1,02,868	56,134	54
*Maheshtola	17	54,564	21,714	40
*Canning	344	1,50,612	61,203	46
*Jaynagar	280	1,74,457	51,005	29
*Baruipur	83	1,00,865	26,406	26
*Bishnupur	83	1,31,086	30,660	23
*Budge-Budge	58	1,65,220	43,682	27
Bhangar	127	1,14,788	65,972	58

Appendix—(Contd.)	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Muslims (%)
*Barrackpore Subdivision	119	5,79,995	1,37,465	24
**Baranagar	8	96,996	19,306	20
*Barrackpore	3	23,315	6,554	26
*Titagarh	11	63,211	17,782	13
*Noapara	6	68,889	12,518	18
*Khardah	21	44,392	8,089	19
*Dum-Dum	16	43,492	12,319	28
*Naihati	16	51,755	11,847	24
*Jagatdal	23	1,29,610	37,308	29
*Bijpur	15	58,335	11,742	20
Barasat Subdivision	384	3,17,261	1,82,894	59
*Habra	109	70,718	41,399	58
Deganga	78	64,700	45,199	69
Barasat	104	99,064	59,330	59
Amdanga	54	36,196	20,717	58
*Rajarhat	39	46,583	16,249	35
*Basirhat Subdivision	817	5,94,077	2,51,459	42
Sarupnagar	83	57,542	31,234	54
Baduria	81	83,684	49,830	60
Basirhat	101	1,25,164	72,296	57
*Hasnabad	155	1,16,238	39,246	34
*Haroa	121	90,745	41,407	45
*Sandeshkhali	276	1,20,704	17,446	14
Diamond Harbour Subdivision	1,264	8,18,309	1,85,149	23
*Magrahat	117	1,82,803	67,841	37
*Falta	52	81,819	18,045	22
*Diamond Harbour	76	1,15,230	30,492	26
*Kulpi	123	1,31,538	28,629	22
*Kakdwip	249	86,811	11,623	14
*Sagar	224	44,941	3,586	8
*Mathurapur	123	1,75,167	24,933	14
*Sundarban Forest	4	1,259	493	39

Appendix—(Contd.)	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Muslims (%)
<i>Khulna District</i>				
*Sadar Subdivision	812	6,29,418	2,60,869	24
*Khulna	38	70,798	25,853	37
*Tarakhada	83	66,790	32,070	48
*Daulatpur	34	57,012	25,088	44
Fultola	29	33,255	22,061	66
*Batiaghata	97	57,320	17,652	31
*Damuria	174	1,09,120	47,840	44
*Paikgacha	247	1,70,834	79,659	47
*Dacope	110	64,289	10,646	17
Satkhira Subdivision	889	6,93,836	3,64,068	53
Kalaroa	89	66,207	46,437	70
Tala	130	1,19,395	60,989	51
Satkhira	141	1,16,704	68,132	58
Kaligang	127	1,13,812	59,171	52
*Shyamnagar	176	1,15,546	53,909	47
*Debhatta	68	45,315	19,309	43
*Asasuni	158	1,16,857	56,121	48
Bagerhat Subdivision	790	6,12,490	3,29,310	54
Mollahat	116	1,11,478	57,847	52
*Bagerhat	126	1,20,328	55,014	46
*Fakirhat	61	53,462	20,703	39
*Kachua	65	66,063	31,030	47
*Rampal	194	1,04,877	50,028	48
Morelganj	169	1,24,898	89,463	71
Sarankhola	59	31,384	25,225	80
Sundarban Forest	2,314	7,474	4,925	66
<i>Jessore District</i>				
Sadar Subdivision	798	4,99,652	3,09,820	62
Bagherpara	105	50,007	29,956	60
Manirampur	172	1,09,261	71,160	65

Appendix (Contd.)	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Muslims (%)
Keshabpur	100	77,076	49,322	65
Jessore	168	1,05,967	67,812	64
Jhikarghacha	158	87,093	61,065	70
*Abhoynagar	95	70,248	30,505	44
Jhinaidaha Subdivision	624	3,72,599	2,44,208	65
Kaliganj	147	70,640	47,430	67
Kotchandpur	65	31,762	20,656	65
Salkopa	144	1,17,482	67,165	57
Harinakunda	88	59,842	46,358	77
Jhinaidaha	180	92,873	62,599	68
Magura Subdivision	437	3,06,774	1,83,266	60
Magura	156	1,03,144	57,699	57
Sripur	70	59,437	33,839	57
*Salikha	88	43,313	20,893	48
Muhammadpur	123	1,00,880	70,835	71
Narail Subdivision	417	3,79,109	1,96,905	52
*Narail	148	1,10,683	48,093	43
*Kalia	118	1,23,269	61,535	49
Alphadanga	36	32,466	23,231	72
Lohagara	115	1,12,691	64,046	57
Bongaon Subdivision	649	2,70,082	1,66,514	62
Bongaon	226	94,016	53,061	56
Gajghata	94	39,088	24,041	62
Mahespur	199	76,788	49,678	65
Sarsa	130	60,190	39,734	66
<i>Faridpur District:</i>				
Sadar Subdivision	731	6,62,677	4,58,352	69
Faridpur	205	1,28,419	83,270	65
Char Bhadrasan	53	39,219	23,292	59
Bhusna	139	1,12,328	74,372	66
Nogarkanda	148	1,32,384	98,187	74

Appendix (Contd.)	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Muslims (%)
Bhangā	89	1,33,870	96,318	79
Sadarpur	97	1,16,457	82,913	71
*Gopalganj Subdivision	672	6,23,963	2,68,233	43
*Makhdumpur	237	1,55,326	77,058	49
*Kāsiani	108	1,27,012	59,335	46
*Gopalganj	175	2,02,895	92,653	47
*Kotalipara	152	1,38,730	39,187	29
Madaripur Subdivision	961	12,67,687	9,33,746	74
Madaripur	107	1,87,512	1,32,010	71
*Rajair	98	1,18,227	57,738	49
Kalkini	105	1,42,238	1,05,684	75
Palong	70	1,29,623	80,238	61
Gosairhat	120	87,661	70,173	80
Bhedarganj	140	1,41,604	1,19,753	85
Naria	92	1,74,983	1,22,208	69
Janjira	96	1,05,705	98,619	93
Sibchar	132	1,80,134	1,47,323	82
Goalundo Subdivision	497	3,34,476	2,11,005	63
Goalundo	112	75,527	48,829	65
Goalundo Ghat	46	47,895	32,647	68
*Baliakandi	125	94,755	46,092	49
Pangsa	172	1,16,299	83,437	71
Bakarganj District :				
Sadar Subdivision	1,072	14,23,610	9,30,291	65
Bakarganj	153	1,84,504	1,31,562	71
Mahendiganj	123	1,27,948	1,10,562	86
Hizla	100	1,10,290	87,802	80
Muladi	83	91,033	81,534	90
*Gaurnadi	124	2,12,244	91,367	43
Uzipur	84	1,26,586	67,830	54

## Appendix (Contd.)

	Area (Sq. miles)	Total Population	Muslims	Muslims (%)
Barisal	112	1,63,726	95,237	58
Babuganj	56	78,269	58,405	76
*Jhalakati	80	1,33,465	62,890	47
Rajapur	59	80,438	63,331	79
Nalchiti	90	1,15,107	79,781	69
Pirojpur Subdivision	708	7,93,637	5,04,331	64
Mathbaria	124	1,09,223	84,935	78
Patharghata	96	52,343	41,931	80
Bamna	34	32,547	28,110	86
*Swarupkati	72	1,16,398	55,513	48
*Nazirpur	93	88,502	35,541	40
Banaripara	40	78,345	44,513	57
Pirojpur	100	1,24,453	77,331	62
Kowkhali	27	49,236	29,608	60
Bhandaria	62	77,967	60,559	78
Kathalia	60	64,623	46,290	72
Dakshinashahabazpur (Bhola) Subdivision	669	5,36,117	4,63,403	86
Bhola	116	1,10,453	96,280	87
Daulatkandi	132	1,30,001	1,18,234	91
Baranadi	124	96,723	82,600	85
Tazumaddin	132	69,682	55,304	79
Lalmohan	165	1,29,258	1,10,965	86
Patuakhali Subdivision	1,334	7,95,646	6,69,002	84
Patuakhali	147	1,24,523	99,471	80
Betagi	67	66,373	56,113	85
Mirzaganj	64	61,313	54,074	88
Bauphal	161	1,65,777	1,33,272	81
Amtoli	349	99,847	84,780	85
Kalapara	87	43,821	31,664	72
Barguna	122	91,521	82,001	89
Galachipa	337	1,44,471	1,27,627	88

(\* Non-Muslim majority thana)

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