The British policy in India extended its grip through diplomatic maneuvers. The East India Company retained its power through manifold intrigues and by cleverly setting one party against the other.

The position was accurately stated by Macaulay in the House of Commons speech on the Charter Act of 1833:

"It is impossible to fix on any one day or any one year as the day or the year when the company became a great potentate. Long before 1756, the company had the reality of political power. Long before that year they made a Nabob of Murshidabad; they made and unmade Nabab of Bengal; they humbled the vizier of Oudh; they braved the Emperor of Hindoostan himself. After the grant of Dewany in 1765, the company was not, in form and name, an independent power. It was merely a Minister of the Court of Delhi. Its coinage bore the name of Shah Alum. Even to this day, we have never formally deposed the king of Delhi."

The Charter Act of 1833 was the hallmark of company's rule. The Company, since the passing of this memorable act, ceased to be a commercial association and became a political instrument for the administration of India.

1. The Birth of Pakistan - by Dr. Sachin Sen. P-II.
Getting hold of political power the company took a different and unprecedented measure of a great bearing and significance. It proclaimed through Cl. 87 of Charter Act of 1833 :— "And be it enacted that no native of the said territories, nor any natural-born subject of His Majesty resident therein shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them be disabled from holding any place, office or employment under the said company."  

In 1858, India was placed under the direct rule of the British crown. A controversy arose about this time regarding the introduction of English education into India. With the fervent zeal of Raja Ram Mohan Roy among the Hindus, and Macaulay among the Britishers, English education was liberally introduced and was sponsored by the establishment of a number of universities in 1858. 2

Under the Muslim rule, preferences were given to those who knew Persian, and as such Muslims had basic advantages over the Hindus in the key posts in the administration. Thus, with the introduction of Western education, the Muslims felt that their political and intellectual

1. The history of Indian Congress - P.B. Banerjee, p. 6.  
2. Ibid., pp. 6 & 13.
superiority was being deliberately assailed.

In fact, they held aloof for a long time from the system of English education introduced under the British rule.

Sayyed Ahmed, born in 1786 in the native district of Rai Bareli, led an insurrection against the ruling Sikhs of the Punjab in the Peshawar frontier. A fanatical war followed on, and this fury reverted on the British power with their annexation of the Punjab. This was the beginning of the Wahabi movement, the fiery outburst of Islamic fanaticism, led by the insurgent leader Sayyid Ahmed. He had an enormous following in the country and established a regular organisation for supplying men and arms from Bengal to the Punjab rebel camps. It was recorded that between 1850 and 1857 the recurrent frontier disorders forced the British to send out armed expeditions and between the years 1850 and 1853, the number of the British expeditions mounted up to twenty. The Wahabi insurrection caused great alarm to the British in the frontiers as stated by Sir William Hunter:

"It has three times organised great tribal confederacies, each of which has cost British India a war. One

1. The Indian Musalmans - by Hunter.
2. The Birth of Pakistan - by Dr. Sachin Sen p.21."
Government after another has declared it to be a source of permanent danger to our rule, yet all our efforts to extirpate it have failed.

Patna was the fountain of Wahabi revivalism in India. The Patna Khalifa raised money, covered India with their emissaries. Every district had its permanent preacher, whose zeal was sharpened from time to time by visits of the itinerant missionaries and whose influence was consolidated and rendered permanent by the central propaganda at Patna.

In Bengal, Southern India and N.W. provinces they stirred the Muslim population to its depths. To quote the magistrate of Patna:

"they have under the very nose and protection of Govt. authorities, openly preached sedition in every village of our most populous districts, unsettling the minds of the Muselman population and obtaining for evil as extraordinary as it is certain."

The State trial of Ambala in 1864 disclosed the secrets of Wahabi conspiracy.

1. The Indian Musalmans - By William Hunter.
2. Ibid.
3. The Birth of Pakistan - by Dr. Sachin Sen, p. 22.
To quote Sir William Hunter: "the evidence recorded in the Ambala trial of 1864, rendered necessary the Patna trial of 1865; and the cumulative facts then disclosed led to a host of new arrests, with the Veldah trial of September 1870, the Majimpal trial in October 1870 & the trial of 1871.\(^1\)

As a result the Muslims were put very much in disfavour of the British Govt.

A Calcutta Persian paper, Durbin of 14th July, 1869 commented upon it:—

"All sorts of employment, great or small, are being gradually snatched away from the Mahomedans and bestowed on men of other races, particularly the Hindus."\(^2\)

It was not merely in the matter of jobs that the Muslims were treated unfairly. The permanent settlement, too, damaged the interests of the landed Mohammedan gentry — "who but yesterday were the conquerors and governors of the land", sympathetically reflected W.H. Hunter, "can find no subsistence it today."\(^3\)

\(^1\) The Indian Musalmans - By William Hunter.
\(^2\) Muslim politics in India, Binayendra Moham Choudhury p-6
\(^3\) The Indian Musalmans - By William Hunter.
The officer, Mr. James O' Kinealy C.S. who studied the permanent settlement most minutely in connection with the present Mohomedan disaffection wrote:

"It elevated the Hindu Collectors who up to that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of landlords, gave them a proprietary right in the soil, and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Musalmans under their own rule. They (the Musalmans) are a race ruined under the British rule. Indeed, from the highest official to the lowest there is now a firm conviction," wrote W.H. Hunter, "that we've failed in our duty to the Mahomedan subjects of the Queen." 2

By the seventies of the last century, the need was felt in the British ruling circles to a gradual reversal of the favoured policy towards the Hindu community, who were showing signs of a new dynamic political consciousness.

The Govt. of Lord Mayo (1869-1872) showed signs of 'counterpoising natives against natives' 3 and began to

1. Muslim politics in India - by Binayendra Mohan Choudhury p.73
look upon the Muslims with favour.

Under Lord Curzon, the policy became more accentuated. In his address to the people of Dacca, on the eve of the partition, Lord Curzon said:

"A proposal is put forward which would invest the Mohammedans in Eastern Bengal with a unity since which they have not enjoyed since the days of the old."

The Aligarh Movement, so to say, flourished under the British patronage.

In the post Mutiny period, the Muslims population came under the influence of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, the leader of the Aligarh Movement. Sir Syed from the very outset enunciated his policy to be:

(a) opening the gates of western education for the Muslims;

(b) accepting the British rule in India as a blessed fact and emphasising the need for his community to cultivate the friendship of the rulers, and to stay away from the anti-British agitation launched by the Hindus;

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1. The Partition Agitation explained - By P.C. Roy - P.6
(Printed by Sasi Bhushan Chakravorty at the Cotton Press, 1906)
(c) and applying all his efforts to remove from the minds of the foreign rulers their bias against the Muslim community.

To win over British favour Sir Syed Ahmed published, in 1860, a pamphlet titled:

"The Loyal Mohammedan of India".

Sir Syed Ahmed's main purpose, in the article, was to focus the loyal nature of Her Majesty's Mahomedan subjects. He wanted to lift the veil of suspicion that embittered their relations with the rulers. He emphatically stated that the Muslims as a community were not involved much in the Mutiny of 1857. He proved to Her Majesty's Govt. that the Muslims were loyal to their backbone. "If in Hindustan there was one class of people above another who, from the principles of their religion, from habits and associations and from kindred disposition were fast bound with Christians, in their dread hour of trial and danger, in the bonds of amity and friendship, those people were the Mahomedans".1

To further strengthen his own statement, he repeated in the same vein of loyalty the unflinching faith of the

Muslim community to the British rule.

"It is to the Mḥamedans", delineated Sir Syed Ahmed, that the credit belongs of having stood the staunch and unshaken friends of the State amidst that fearful tornado that devastated the country, and shoot the empire to its centre; and who were ever ready, heart and hand, to render their aid to the utmost extremity ...........

As reflected upon by C.P. Andrews, Sir Syed Ahmed's policy was from the very outset to help the Muslims in India to stand by themselves and work out their own salvation as a community with the help of the British rulers. In coherence to this principle, Syed Ahmed did not, at all, encourage his community folk to join in the Indian National Congress, which was rapidly incurring British suspicions.

Sir Syed Ahmed's attitude to the Congress was not at first motivated by any hostile feelings for the Hindus as such, but solely by the reason that he wanted back British confidence in his own sect of people, and it is with British collaborations and spread of western education, to elevate the fallen Muslim community, that he so deliberately opposed the Indian National Congress.

But it became Sir Syed Ahmed's planned scheme to work among his community so as to set up strong feelings of Muslim opposition against the Congress ideals and beliefs. His later political feeling became violently anti-Congress as revealed by his Lucknow Meerut speeches.

"Now suppose that all the English were to leave India, then who would be rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances, the two nations, the Mahomedans and the Hindu, could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable."

This attitude is further established by Syed Ahmed's letter to Lt. Col. Graham, written in December, 1888. It illustrates the Muslim attitude to the Congress organisation as represented by their able leader Sir Syed Ahmed.

"I am at present so much pressed with the heavy work of the Aligarh College ................. that besides the hours I sleep, I'm sorry to say that I spare no time to do any other thing. Still more I have undertaken a heavy

1. Summary of the 2 speeches of Sir Ahmed:
(a) At Lucknow on the 22nd Dec. 1887. (b) At Meerut on the 16th March 1888. Richard Symonds, p.31
task against the so-called National Congress, and formed an association, the work of which is greater than other work.1

G.F. Andrews in his documentary history of the Rise and growth of the Congress reveals Sir Syed Ahmed's attitude:

"In the origin and foundation of the Congress Sir Syed Ahmed seems to have taken no part. He was entirely absorbed in the work of his college at Aligargh.2"

G.F. Andrews further added emphatically; "Sir Syed's decision to oppose the congress and his advice to hold aloof from it received after his death in 1898 almost a religious sanction. In the north of India his counsel sacrosanct prevailed and his verdict was quoted as precedent for a whole generation.3"

The Aligarh Movement, sponsored by Sir Syed Ahmed, served purposes of far-reaching consequences:— (a) It enlightened the minds of the muslims with modern western education which whetted their political consciousness and demand for separate political entity.

3. Ibid.
Secondly (b) - It opened a new chapter of close Anglo-Muslim co-operation, which had created marked communal bias.

And finally it led to the creation of the Muslim League.

It was strongly felt amongst the Muslims that they, too, should take active part in politics in order to assert and establish their separate political entity. Their demand for a political association, the Muslim felt and thought, was a historical necessity. This was the resolution, passed by, Nawab Waquar-ul-Mulk, at the All India Educational Conference, held at Dacca. The Moslem leaders, trained in the Aligarh ideology, and imbued in the philosophy of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, were convinced that any attempt at amalgamation between the Hindus and Muslims, would mean "the submergence of an ill-organised, badly equipped and badly trained minority under a majority vastly superior in number and immensely better organised".  

Thus to plan out a new political future a Muslim deputation, of about 70 delegates from all parts of India, proceeded to Lord Minto, the Viceroy, at Simla on October 1, —

1. The Birth of Pakistan - By Dr. Sechin Sen, p.56.
1906, under the banner of the Aga Khan.

In December 1906, the All India Muslim League was established as a fruitful result of this delegation.

A bulk of the League members waited upon Lord Minto, the Viceroy, with the charter of an exclusive Muslim demands. These were:

(a) the election of their own representatives to the Council;

(b) the number of seats in excess of their numerical strength;

(c) a Muslim member on the Viceroy's Executive Council, if there is a Hindu on it.

The Reform Act of 1892 contained the elective principle on communal and sectional grounds, the Act of 1909 upheld the Muslim separate electorate claim fully, and launched the period of Muslim political ascendancy. Gopal Krishna Gokhale in opening the proceedings said: "There was no doubt that the Reform regulations had been received with deep disappointment throughout the country except in Mahomedan circles. It

1. The Birth of Pakistan - By Dr. Saebin Sen. p.56.
was not merely that a large representation had been given to the Mahomedans than could be justified on any fair or reasonable basis, but the difference made in the treatment of the two communities, in regard to the franchise and the qualifications for candidates, was quite marked and entirely unnecessary. 1

In the next Congress sitting, Surendra Nath Banerjee protested the terms of the newly introduced measures of constitutional reforms, as were being embodied in the Indian Council Act of 1909. He deemed it necessary for the Congress to place on record its trenchant sense of disapproval of the creation of separate electorates. 2

The little tie of alliance, of a certain section of the Muslims with the Congress was jolted at this period, by the rise of indigenous Hindu revivalism within the Congress itself and the strong religious accent of its Nationalism. The Sivaji festivals, glorifying Sivaji and his works against the Muslims, antagonized the Muslims very much. "The Sivaji festival was popular not only in Maharashtra, wrote the widely circulated paper 'The Bengalee', "but was frequently celebrated not merely in Calcutta but in almost every district in Bengal." 3

1. India (The Congress mouth piece) Jan. 7, 1910 p. 116
2. Ibid. Jan 21, 1910, p. 30
3. The Bengalee, June 7, 1906
Tilak's encouraging Ganapati festivals and Sivaji festivals helped Hindu revivalism but led to adverse feelings of the Muslims towards the Congress. Their attendance to the annual Congresses became meagre.

But that the nationalist Muslims, within the Congress, always remained faithful to the Congress ideals was illustrated by the memoir of Moulana Abul Kalam Azad. In the preface of 'India wins freedom', M.A. Azad stated how he started the famous Urdu journal 'Al Hilal' in 1912 and invited Indian Muslims to join the Congress. But the Govt. suppressed the paper and interned him in Ranchi in 1916 to serve the first of several terms of imprisonment. 1

Nawab Syed Mahomed Bahadur, another staunch nationalist Muslim, who presided at the 26th session of the Congress sitting at Karachi, 2 also urged that the various communities of India should advance together rather than in separate groups. It would, perhaps, be no overestimation to say that the Hindu-Muslim concordat as well as the Congress-League scheme of Lucknow were offspring of the seed sown by Nawab at Karachi in a spirit of lofty patriotism and with pure nationalistic outlook.