Chapter - 5
CHAPTER 5

5.1 DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION AMONG MUSLIMS AND ITS ROLE IN THE RISE OF NATIONAL MOVEMENT WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ANTIPARTITION MOVEMENT

During the late 19th and the early 20th century, the Muslim Society of Bengal was divided into several socio-economic groups. These groups were commonly known as Asraf, Atraf, Ajlap and Arjal groups. These groups were divided on the basis of their place and the country of their origin, the racial identity, the kind of job they were generally engaged and social conditions. Majority of the Bengal Muslims belonged to Ajlap and Arjal groups who were generally known as commoners. The realization of the difference between an indigenous and foreign role was quite late and slow among these Muslim commoners (Ajlap and Atraf). The growth of Nationalism was the product of the exploitation of British rule and the process of development of National political consciousness among different groups of people was non-linear process. The response of the Muslims, of Bengal toward National Movement was not the same as that of the Hindus.

The growth of political movement could only affect the upper class Muslims of Bengal while the lower class Muslims of Bengal were politically untouched and on many political situations they remained politically aloof. The 19th century and early 20th century Bengali Society specially the rural Bengali Society were controlled by the Ulemas or Muslim intelligenties who were also hostile towards modern and scientific form of education. The rural Bengali folk who remained aloof in remotely located villages did not have the opportunity to
come in association with newly emerged political leaders and also these political Movements. Infact the Ulemas and the intellegentias who controlled the rural masses could not grasp the newly changed political situation. The elite Muslims or the ashraf Muslims completely disasociated themselves from National political activities and the National political Movements which have grown around themselves. The British separatist policy also played as great factors and also working force towards non participation of upper class elite Muslims in National Movement.²

Some of the traditional Muslim aristocrats e.g., Nawab Abdul Latif and Syed Amir Ali opposed the participation of Muslims in Congress Movement. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan’s anti-congress stand influenced the Urdu speaking elite Muslims of Bengal to develop negative stand towards congress Movement. These Urdu speaking elites of Bengal had great contact with different kinds of Muslim centres of Northern India specially Aligarh Muslim University.³ The protagonist of National Movement realized the lesser participation of the Muslims of Bengal. Many of the congress leaders of Bengal and also of India actively sought Muslim participation in the congress.⁴

In contrast to the attitude of the Urdu speaking Muslim elites the awakening amongst a section of Bengali Muslim society tended to be positive in the participation in Indian National Movement, but the larger sections of the Bengali Muslim society remained aloof with the development of modern education. Among Muslims in the first half of 20th century, a small bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie Muslim class grew up in Bengal. The development of modern middle class Bengali Muslim society was delayed due to non-acceptance of modern education and their dislikeness to adopt public and political activities. A section of Bengali Muslim society responded positively towards their
participation in National Movement: Mir Musharraf Hussain\(^5\) and some other Muslim intellectuals highly praised the foundation of the India League, the Indian Association and the National Congress and also put forwarded the thesis of National progress through their writings in Hitakari (1899) and Kohinoor (1898).

Lord Curzon’s Vice Royalty started as an important and very special period in British Colonial period with the passing of amendment to change Calcutta Corporation in 1899, Official Secrets Act of 1904 and finally the partition of Bengal of 1905. The official membership of Calcutta Corporation was increased and it was given clear European majority. The partition of Bengal was formally executed on the 16\(^{th}\) October, 1905.\(^7\) A letter was written by Lord Curzon to Broderick on 17\(^{th}\) February, 1904 and an intention was expressed to suppress the rising political consciousness in Bengal.\(^8\) The people of Bengal regarded the action of partition as a challenge to their Nationalism and felt the whole of their future was at stake and that it meant the partition of a Nation, an attempt to divide a homogeneous people, a deliberate and sinister attack upon tradition, history and culture of the Bengalees.\(^9\)

There was strong protest against the partition and the anti-partition agitation spreaded not only in Bengal but also in whole of India.\(^10\) The Muslim elites of Bengal with some educated people who were generally influenced by Nawab Abdul Latif and Syed Amir Ali initially opposed the Congress and the Movement led by the congress. A very few Bengali Muslims were drawn to the National Movement. The Muslim indifference towards National Movement has been defined by ‘The Muslim Chronicle’ as one of the passive indifference’.\(^11\)
The Ashraf Muslims of Bengal who were mostly Urdu speaking elites, owned some of the journals and magazines urged the Muslims of Bengal to keep themselves aloof from political activities and to be loyal to the British rule. On and around 20th century, a small section of Bengali Muslims who received modern education became conscious of India’s condition under British rule and started taking initiative for political agitation.

The newly emerged educated Bengali Muslims did not accept the British view of Muslims and views presented by Urdu speaking elites of Bengal. The anti-partition agitation drew some of the newly educated elites on it’s fold and some of the educated Muslims of Bengal specially Abdul Gafur of Barisal, Akram Khan of 24 Parganas, Abul Kasem of Burdwan, Abdul Rasul of Comilla, Ismail Hossain Shiraji of Serajganj, Moniruzzaman Islamabadi of Chittagong and Liakot Hussain took part actively in anti-partition agitation and Swadeshi Movement. Many of the British inclined journals published by the Urdu speaking elites of Bengal critisized these small Nationalist Muslims for their participation in Boycott and anti-partition agitation. The British Government took strong repressive measures and Liakat Hussain was sent to imprisonment for three years and rest was figured into proposed prosecution for Sedition list. A lot of journals owned by Bengali Muslims and quite a handful of periodicals owned and published by Bengali Muslims actively engaged in propagating the Swadeshi Movement and promoted Nationalist cause.

On 1906, in one of the articles of Sultan, it was appealed before the masses to be united for the cause of partition in Bengal. Ms Sharifunisha, in one of the articles in Nabanur appealed fellow Bengali Muslim women not to wear British cloths and use cosmetics produced by British owned factories. One of the leading periodicals of the period, ‘The Mussalman’ published the news of the
visit of Amir of Afganisthan in 1906 AD. It also published the news of a public appeal by Amir to the Indian people for mutual cooperation to fight against British Raj in the “The Mussalman” with the title, “Do Mussalman’s benefit better than Hindu’s by Swadeshi”? Provides an insight into an initiative to bring two communities together against Britishers. It was also highlighted that fruits would be borne by both of the communities through active participation in Boycott Movement.

In an other article in “The Mussalman” with the topic entitled, “Swadeshi Boycott and Swaraj”, it was mentioned: that “Our country must therefore either use their best endeavour to secure self Government of Swaraj or be prepared to have unpleasant duty of carrying on a vigorous of Boycott of foreign goods for the purpose of protesting and developing their nascent industries. If they fail in this duty of their, they will deserve to remain for ever the hewers of wood and drawers of water of the foreigners”.

The small section of Bengali Muslims under the leadership of newly emerged intelligentia, participated in Nationalist agitation but there were some inherent draw backs which restricted the Muslim participation in Nationalist agitation. The chanting of ‘Bande Mataram’ during Swadeshi processions and demonstrations was the most inspiring slogan for nationalists, but it was not so popular with the Bengali Muslims by the reasons of it’s association with the Hindu Goddess Kali.16

The non-participation of larger Muslim rural masses of Bengal in anti-partition agitation can not only be explained by Hindu religious inclination but by antagonism created by mullas against Zamindars and money-lenders.17
The Swadeshi and Boycott Movement could not wholly rouse the sentiments of the larger section of Muslim masses or even the Hindu peasants is well explained by Rabindranath Tagore in his presidential speech of the Bengal provincial conference at Pabna in 1906 when he said that fault lay with the Hindu elites who had never cared to be at one with either their Muslim fellow countrymen or the masses of the common people. During Anti Partition agitation and Swadeshi Movement, many of the newly emerged educated Muslims appealed before the Muslim masses to discard the ways and means of the aristocratic leaderships and must pay increasing attention to the National Movement that was making way towards Bengal.

During the first half of the twentieth century, the newly emerged educated Nationalist Muslims of Bengal stressed on united long term political struggle for both of the Hindu and Muslim community to attain Swaraj. These Nationalist Muslims stressed that though Hindus and Muslims professed different religious beliefs but their economic and political interests are identical. The establishment of Bengal Mohammedan Association on 3rd November 1906 stressed much emphasis on friendly relationship between both Hindu and Muslim communities and an initiative was taken to bring different communities together for long term political struggle against a common enemy, the British Raj. The activities of Bengal Mohammedan Association were centred around Calcutta and it attracted Muslim leaders from all across India. It’s objective was to streamline the socio, political and economic interests of the Muslim community with the interest of the majority communities of India. The members of the Bengal Mohammedan Association were attached to the Congress and were actively engaged in Swadeshi politics. In the course of time the educated Nationalist Muslims started separating themselves from upper class
elitist leadership and streamlined their activities much on the lines of National Movement.

British Government tackled the anti-partition agitation and Boycott Movement with different modalities like repression and Conciliation. British policy of separatism played a big role in protecting ‘Muslim interest’ as against ‘Hindu dominion’. The upper class Muslim interest tried to counterpoise the Nationalist Muslim interest in the first half of 20th century. The failure of Morley-Minto reforms, the growth of terrorism and the establishment of secret societies and the samities played a big role in the annulment of the partition of Bengal.  

The annulment of the partition of Bengal was not been well accepted by the Muslim aristocratic leaderships and it was considered as the hurdle in protecting the interest of the Urdu-speaking Muslim elites. The younger educated Muslim elites led by Dr Abdullah Suhrawardy did not accept the tradition and policy of dependence upon the Government and in the process adopted an attitude of Independence towards the self proclaimed leaders of the Community.

Abdullah Suhrawardy in many occasions criticized the activities of Muslim league leaders and in the course of his political activities was critical of the communal strategy of the conservative aristocratic leadership. The Nationalist leadership of the Muslim community and few of the journals and magazines were throughout critical of the British-Raj and carried it’s political activities during the 2nd decade of 20th century.
References


   Sir John Starchy wrote in 1888: “The better classes of Mohammedans are a source to us of strength and not of weakness, and a continuously wise policy might I believe make them strong and important supporters of our power, they constitute a comparatively small but energetic minority of the population, whose political interest are identical with ours, and who, under no conceivable circumstances, would prefer Hindus dominion to our own”.

3. M.A.O. (Mohammedan Anglo Oriental College) was found in 1877. The idea was to educate better class Muslims on western line with a bias to oriental culture by which the organizers meant Persian culture which was prevalent among Muslim aristocracy in northern India. The college authorities wanted the students to be Mohammedan, English and Oriental at same time as the name of the college implied. Some Muslim aristocratic families from Bengal, like those of other areas, sent their sons to this college because they thought that it would put a seal of aristocracy on them and having been encouraged by the colonial authority and they hoped it would give their sons, an opening in the Government hierarchy. And thus some Muslim elites in Bengal were influenced by the Aligarh Movements’ strategy of dependence on the Colonial Government rather than to support Nationalist activity (Ahmed Kamruddin, *A Social History of Bengal*, p. XXXVII).


5. Mir Mosharraf Hossain (1848-1911) was a famous writer in Bengali literature. His important writings were Bishad-Sindhu and Zamindar Darpan (1874). Anisuzzaman, ‘Bangali Musalman Lekhaker Bhabjagat’, 1870-1920, Swaruper Sandhane, pp. 60-64.


8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. *The Muslim Chronicle*, 15 December 1900. Notwithstanding this attitude it must be admitted that since the death of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan in Northern India and Abdul Latif in Bengal, there was much less hostility against the congress. The press owned by Muslims, was also less critical of the congress and there were even some occasional demands from some Muslims for Hindu-Muslim unity and cooperation with in congress. This fact was pointed out in an editorial on 15 December, 1900 by the Moslem chronicle of Calcutta.

12. Islam Pracharak, 5th issue, 1312, B.S.

13. The Bengalee, 1 October 1905, The Bengalee has mentioned a good deal of Muslim participation in virtually every aspect of the Swadeshi Movement. The Muslim participants in the Movement included a few Zamindars and locally prominent men who, like many of the Hindu counterparts signed petitions against partition and occasionally presided over Swadeshi meetings.

14. Islam pracharak, 3rd issue, 1314 BS and 8th issue, 1314 BS.


16. The story of the novel is that of a group of Hindu ascetics devoted to the Goddess Kali. The ascetics fought vigorously against “oppressive Muslim Nawabs and their British allies after pledging themselves to set up a Hindu-State”. The articulate Muslims were hardly aware of the plot of the
novel but orthodox Muslim edited journals like Islam Pracharak, projected anti-partition agitation as anti-Muslim, repeatedly stressed the anti-Muslim bias of the Bande-Mataram hymn. Islam-Pracharak, various issues, 1313 BS.

17. The Mihir-O-Sudhakar, A Pro-Partition Muslim owned journal on 14 June 1907 also pointed out that the ‘oppression of the Hindu Zamindars’ as the first and the most prominent cause of the riots (mentioning in particular insecurity of tenure, abwabs and ban on cow slaughter).


20. The Musalman, 11 January 1907, Editorial under the heading of ‘The Mohammedan League’. It wrote, in part: ‘the interest of the two communities are identical in almost all cases and their grievances would naturally be identical, and it is therefore desirable that there should be united actions.”

21. The Musalman, 14 December, 1906: Govt. of India, Home Poll (A), January 1907. The Association was organized by men like Abul Kasem, a pleader from Burdwan, Mujibar Rahman (Editor of the Musalman), and men of similar background such as Akram Khan, A.H. Ghuznavi; and others.

22. Ibid.


24. Govt. of India, Home Poll (A), May 19th, No. 111.
5.2. DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATION AMONG MUSLIMS IN BENGAL AND IT'S ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF KHILAFAT AND NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENT

The word 'Khalifah' is used in the Holy Quran for Adam as the Vice-regent of the Almighty on Earth. 'Khilafah' is also a Arabic word derived from 'Khalifah'. Generally Khalifah is the title given to the Successor of Prophet Muhammad, the Quran (Surah ii : 28) says, "And the Lord said to the Angels. I am about to place a Viceregent (Khalifah) on the earth". The Schism between Sunnis and Shias during the first quarter of 20th century became wide on the question of Khilafat. The Shias took the view that Ali, was the first and last legitimate Khalifah. The Sunnis, however, who at all times constituted the major part of Islamic society, had recognized the legitimacy of those Khalifahs, who, after, Ali’s death had seized and held the offices de facto.

During 19th century, the influence of the west upon the Muslim world started increasing and a new form of influence in the form of military and diplomatic pressures opined a new era in the history of the Khilafat. During 19th century became the most important interNational affairs. The British Government itself had for political reasons promoted in the past image of the Ottoman Empire and the Ottoman Khilafat in the eyes of Indian Muslims. During the revolt of 1857, the British Government thought it politic to obtain a farman from Sultan Abdul Majid calling upon Indian Muslims to remain in Peace with the British Government since it was friendly to Khalifah.

The sense of brotherhood of the Muslims of India was expressed through the recognition of Ottoman Khilafat of Constantinople and it certainly proved to be a great path of inspiration towards devotion towards Ottoman Khilafat.
idea and the concept of Khilafat Movement was popularized by Moulana Abul Kalam Azad who gave the intellectual justification to it. During the last quarter of 19th century, British administrators in India were trying to give Indian Muslim a stake in British Rule, it appeared, and correctly, to the Muslim intelligentia that the British Imperial Government was moving away from its policy of giving diplomatic and military support to the Ottoman Empire against Russia in favour of its own physical control of the Muslim lands along the route to India. 4

The British acquisition of Cyprus, the abandonment of Tunisia to French occupation in 1881 and the physical occupation of Egypt by the British after suppressing the revolt of Arab, Pasha, a staunch Egyptian Freedom fighter, in 1882, had dismayed some Muslim intelligentsia. 5 The Muslim intelligentsia of India and Bengal dismayed by the British aloofness during Greco-Turkish war and the outcry in England against the Ottomans to push them out of Europe in "bag and baggage". During the first quarter of the first half of the twentieth century the Muslim masses in Bengal expressed great concern in the fate of Turkey and this interest was also conditioned by events at home following the war which affected them in the same way as it affected the Indians as a whole, the development of modern education and also the development of modern secular ideas helped the Muslims of Bengal to take several issues with new approaches.

The Muslim newspapers and journals took great interest in the course of events in Muslim countries of the middle east. During the first decade of the twentieth century the growing interests of the educated Muslims in the affairs of Turkey and other Muslim countries gave birth to the Pan Islamic society in London under the initiative of Dr. Abdullah Shurawardy, a prominent Muslim
leader from Bengal who up to the second decade of the twentieth century provided and gave leadership to the Pan Islamists of Bengal specially the Pan Islamists of Calcutta. The revocation of the partition of Bengal on 12 December, 1911 proved to be a turning point. The annulment of partition of Bengal proved to be milestone in the realization of the Muslims of Bengal that the British Government could no more be relied upon as a protector of Muslim interests in India than in the world at large. The Government gave another blow in August 1912 by rejecting Muslim university project, in which so much money and energy had been invested by the aristocratic as well as younger Muslim politicians.

During the first world war, the involvement of Turkey in the war against Great Britain and her allies created a situation fraught with difficulties for Muslims of all political persuasion. The Ottoman Empire had been their last source of pride, it was just the temporal symbol of Islamic power, for the Ottoman Sultan who was also the Khalifah, when Turkey joined the war against Britain, which the Government thought might give them a greater cause to agitate, the British Government in India first struck at its root. In Bengal some leading Urdu newspapers including Al-Hilal was closed and some other newspapers were put into stringent Governmental control. The British Government went for strong repressive measures and tried to curve the rising intensity of anti-British and Pan Islamic feeling. though the anti Government feeling of the Muslims continued. The Muslim run periodicals specially the Mussalman and the Muhammadi continuously propagated Hindu Muslim alliance and Nationalist political agitations and many of the occasion ridiculed by communal and pro-Government newspapers, were able to create a
considerable Muslim public opinion for joint action. The development of modern education helped in the development of Hindu-Muslim alliance in all across Bengal.

Infact the efforts were made to bring together educated Hindus and Muslims together to rise great political enthusiasm. The princes of basic commodities rose after the war and it pressed so hardly to the people. Against this background of material distress of both the urban and rural people Hindus and Muslims, the urban population were also pray to variegated pressure and tensions occasioned by the war and were angered by British policies during the war and at the end of the war, at home and abroad. During this period a lot of Muslim leaders specially pro-Nationalists were arrested and were also detained. The Muslim press in Bengal voiced the concern of the Muslims at their continued detention and the pro-Nationalist Muslim politicians of Bengal continued to press for their release through different platforms – through organizing deputations, sending memorandums to the Government signed by thousand of people and passing resolutions in the Muslim league meeting.\(^9\) At the tenth annual session of the Muslim League held in Calcutta at the end of December 1917, Abdul Latif Ahmad, a Muslim Leader of Bengal, who was chairman of the Reception Committee of the said session condemned in strong words the Government repression.\(^11\) The British Government had already done everything possible to antagonize not only Muslims but also the Hindus by following a repressive policy.

The British Government during this period come out with the ‘lame’ Montague Chelmsfors Reform proposals which were published in July 1918. The Muslim leaders of Bengal expressed disappointment at the provisions of the
New Scheme. The combination of all those factors, the uneasiness of the educated Muslims, their unsatisfied political aspirations, the distress of the masses – tended to create a climate of depression, anxiety and distrust among Muslims of all classes. In the early September 1918, however, the Muslim resentment in Bengal was further stimulated by an event which finally exploded in an Orgy of violence in Calcutta. The immediate cause of the outbreak was an article published by an English owned newspaper of Calcutta, the Indian Daily News which contained an insulting reference to the Prophet and his tomb. The Government of Bengal in a final outburst of activity arrested the editors of all the Urdu newspapers in the city, externed them from Bengal under the Defence of India Act, and interned them in other provinces.

The Muslim press in Bengal had continued to show interest in Turkey and holy places of Islam and the war made the people aware of the situation by publishing the proceedings of the peace conference at Paris and through editorial comments. In the Council of the Bengal presidency, Muslim League for the first time took up the cause of Khilafat and holy places at its meeting held on 8 February, 1919. On February, 9th, Calcutta witnessed its first Khilafat meeting, organized by the Bengal Muslim League and attended by large number of Calcutta Muslims. When Khilafat cause was taken over by Mahatma Gandhi at the all India level, the Khilafat propaganda among the Muslims in Bengal increased and, by September 1919, a Government report from Bengal noted that "there can be no doubt that interest and anxiety regarding the fate of Turkey is increasing". It was on 21st September, 1919 that an initiative was taken in All India Khilafat Conference held in Lucknow that 17th October of 1919 would be observed as Khilafat Day. It also decided that "Hartal and Bandh" would be
observed all over India and an all India prayer would be organized for as an important action for celebration.\textsuperscript{18} Though the response to the call for All India celebration was not uniform but atleast it gathered momentum among the masses of India and also in Bengal. The response to the call for the celebration of ‘Band’ was not equally shown by the Muslims of Bengal but it was infact quite intensive in few of the districts of Bengal like Kolkata, Dacca, Chittagong, Chandpur, Gaibandha and Bhola'.\textsuperscript{19} The Day of the celebration of Khilafat day was considered to be an initiative towards the rising political consciousness of educated Muslims of Bengal.

The month of November witnessed tremendous growth in the political activities in India. An All India initiative to form several sub-committees was taken in the month of November, in 1919 to start non-cooperation activities with the British Government and the British people. The first step was to ‘Boycott’ peace celebration by the British Government after the first world war. Several periodicals including ‘The Mussalman’ criticized the Muslims of Bengal who participated in “the peace celebration”.\textsuperscript{20} The Muslim youths of Howrah town urged the Muslims of Bengal not to participate in peace celebration occasion. They also protested the event by carrying out peace procession and march and also distributed pamphlets.\textsuperscript{21} In one of the resolutions taken by joint action committee of Indian National Congress and All India Muslim League, a plan of action was prepared on 8\textsuperscript{th} of September, 1920 to Boycott judiciary, legislature and all kinds of educational institutions of Calcutta.\textsuperscript{22} The Muslim run periodicals of Bengal urged the Muslims of Bengal to participate in such Boycott Movement in all across Bengal. It was also stressed and urged to the people of Bengal to go for all round non-cooperation to the British authorities.
Subsequently in order to materialize the plan of actions, a new office of the Provincial Khilafat committee was opened in Calcutta which was chiefly engaged in registration of new volunteers for the execution of these plans.

A strong non-cooperation Movement was started under the able guidance of Moniruzzaman Islamabadi, Akram Khan and Qutubuddin Ahmad. Qutubuddin Ahmad tried to reorganize the workers of jute mills of parts of Calcutta and the surrounding areas. Provincial Khilafat Committee also opened several branches in different parts of the mofussil towns of Bengal as the centres of Non-cooperation Movement.

In Burdwan district Syed Shahidullah played great role in organizing non-cooperation Movement as a part of Civil Disobedience Movement. As a part of action taken by local Khilafat Committee Muslims of Burdwan town took out processions and protested against British policies. Hamshira Khatun played a huge role in bringing the women of the district in the non-cooperation Movement.

While addressing in a gathering of mass of students in Munshiganj, on 6th October, 1920, Maniruzzman Islamabadi urged the Muslim students to groom themselves on the lines of students of Gurukul University. Mr. Akram Khan tried to colineate Khilafat Movement with Indian National Movement and also tried to create a bigger platform for Hindu-Muslim unity. The leaders of the provincial Khilafat committee while preaching ‘Boycott and swaraj’ as the important plan of action and goal of non-cooperation Movement also stressed on organizing the ryots of Rangpur, Faridpur, Bakhergunj and Tripura. The most
important step during this period of non-cooperation was to create a consciousness against the British rule and also British policies.

The ryots of the district of Rangpur were organized and were encouraged them not to pay taxes and the extra cesses to the local zamindar. Moulvi Ismail Imanuddin also stressed on organizing labourers who worked in steam Navigation Company and jute Mills and delivered several lectures before these masses regarding mode of exploitation by the Britisher’s against them.

During this period, “All India Khilafat Committee and Jamiatul Ulema” decided to launch a non-violent non-cooperation against British Raj on 31st October, 1920. ‘Anjuman-i- Bangala’ put great emphasis on the establishment of National School and also stressed on the establishment of National Madrasa and Colleges.

During 1921s, a strong Movement was also organized against British rule and it was also stressed for greater cooperation between Indian National Congress and All India Khilafat Committee. The Non-cooperation Khilafat Movement took it’s final shape when ‘prince of Wales’ visited England in 1921. A mass hartal was observed in all across India and even some of the members of ‘provincial legislative Council’ were sympathetic towards the protesters.

When ‘Prince of Wales’ visited Calcutta, the programme of ‘carnival of Arrest’ was organized against such visit. The Nationalist leaders of Bengal and the Khilafat leaders were arrested during this protest Movement. During 1922, it has been declared by the ulemas of the Bengal that to take part in ‘Civil Disobedience’ is a noble work for the Muslims and to get arrested on the question of swaraj and Khilafat is a noble duty.
The incidence of Chaurichaura, brought a change in the plan of action of Civil Disobedience Movement and All India Khilafat Committee, on the line of Gandhiji withdraw Civil Disobedience Movement. The kind of change that had brought by Khilafat non-cooperation Movement and Civil Disobedience Movement had tremendous impact into the minds of Bengal Muslims and their participation in National Movement. The change of ideas and course of action was certainly a product of development of modern, scientific and secular education among Muslims.
References

6. A.C. Niemeijer, *Khilafat Movement in India, 1919-24*, p. 38. the important members of the Society were Shaikh Abdul Qadir and Mushir Hussian Kidwai.
7. An officer of the Government’s Intelligence Department reports in early 1912 that “the belief, held upto that time by Mohammedans in India, that the British Government was a safe custodian of Islamic interests. Has rapidly evaporating and further that a rumour was gaining credence to the effect that the Christian powers had set themselves out with deliberate purpose to encompass the ruin of Islam, with which object great Britain had entered into secret alliance with Italy...with respect to the latter’s attack on Turkey”.
8. In 1909 the Muslim league had passed a resolution in favour of the foundation of a Muslim University with power to affiliate Colleges and in 1911 subscription had been collected by less a loyal leader than the Agha Khan. The British Government, fearing that such an All India Muslim Educational Institution would propogate Pan-Islamic ideas and become an instrument of the ‘young Muslim’ elements, did not favour it.
9. Home Political Department, 1916 March, No. 50.

11. The session was held on 30 December 1917 to 1 January 1918 and was attended among others by Sarojini Naidu and M.K. Gandhi, Bramford P.C., Histories of the Non-Cooperation and Khilafat Movement, p. 130.


13. Speech of Fazlul Hoque at the All India Muslim League meeting in Bombay on 1 September 1918, in support of the resolution of self Government for India.


17. The Mussalman, October 24, 1919, p. 2.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.


21. Ibid.


23. GI Secret Home, Deposit Progs, December, 1920, No. 84.

24. Ibid.


5.3 DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN EDUCATION IN BENGAL AND IT'S ROLE IN SECURING EMPLOYMENT IN GOVERNMENT SERVICES

The Muslims of Bengal were most backward in educational front and the impact of such backwardness was reflected in socio, economic and political activities. Due to backwardness in modern, western and scientific education, the Muslims of Bengal could not make themselves competent in securing employment in Government Services. The degeneration of the Muslims in educational front put the Muslims of Bengal in worse condition as the situation became more pathetic when the Government introduced the system of minimum standard of educational qualification for Government Service, the report of 1871 reveals the fact that Muslims were really under represented in Government Services.

In 1871, out of the 734 government officials in the executive and subordinate positions posted in the various district headquarters of Bengal proper, only 44, or 5.9 percent were Muslims, 311 or 41% were Hindus and the rest mostly Europeans. In the judicial department where the Muslims had been holding important appointments prior to the switch over to English, Muslim representation was not well or even it could be considered negligible. In 1887, the Muslims occupied only 3.18% of the total positions in the subordinate judicial service, there being 214 upper caste Hindus, 66 from the other Hindu castes and only 9 Muslims. The Bengal Civil list of 1880, the Muslims of Bengal occupied 53 positions of the upper rank of the unconvented service while the Hindus occupied 451.

The process of acquiring employment in higher level post was slow for the Muslims and the opportunities to such employment depended in the kind of
competition they took up and qualified in such competition. The percentage of Muslims in Magisterial level rose from 10.8% in 1885 to 11.5% in 1894.\(^5\)

The report of the Education department shows that Muslims were primarily found to be in the Madrasas and also in exclusive Muslim Schools.\(^6\) The report also reveals the fact that on and around 1893 out of 144 teachers in the Governmental schools not more than half a dozen were Muslims.\(^7\)

**TABLE - 50**

The following figure shows that the number of Muslims and Hindus in Government employment in 1881 in Bengal proper.\(^8\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Different Government Official classes</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Officers of Central Government</td>
<td>3351</td>
<td>7590</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Officers of Municipal, Local and Village Government</td>
<td>35177</td>
<td>59124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Officers of Independent Government and Native States</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total no. of official class</strong></td>
<td><strong>38528</strong></td>
<td><strong>66725</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Muslims in different official levels were much less represented. Infact Hindus were near about 2 times in terms of their representation in Government jobs. This could be well explained by the fact that Muslims even in 1880s were not well represented in college, collegiate and higher education. The Muslim upper classes had undoubtedly suffered the loss of exclusive right to certain higher posts in the state through the loss of their sovereign power. Nawab Abdul Latif himself disputed the contention of the National Muhammadan Association, stated in its Memorial of 1882, that it was the policy of Government that rendered the situation intolerable for the Muslims and made their conditions
worse day by day. The educated persons of Bengal in subsequent years did not want justice but generosity in the matter of employment.

**TABLE - 51**

The following table provides the information regarding the comparative analysis of the Muslims and Hindus in other professions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Literature professionals</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Lawyeras, Law Stationers, Law stamp dealers</td>
<td>1600</td>
<td>5445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Physicians, Surgeons, Druggists</td>
<td>8324</td>
<td>25210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Teachers</td>
<td>5939</td>
<td>16261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Authors and Literary persons</td>
<td>422</td>
<td>2394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Scientific Persons</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>1643</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The total literate professionals</td>
<td>16476</td>
<td>50953</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table reveals the fact that in literate profession, Hindus were represented 3 times more than their Muslim compatriot. On and around 1880 the Muslims and Hindus represented with the same numerical strength. This means Muslims lagged far behind than their Hindu compatriot in securing employment in any form of services be it higher services or subordinate services.

It is very interesting to that only in Defence Service that is only in Army and Navy, Muslims were better represented. The total number of Muslims in Defence Service were 3836 while Hindus were 2465. But the notable fact revealed out of the table is that in case of Defence Service, the Muslims were mostly non-Bengalis who were generally selected from outside Bengal proper.

The Muslims of Bengal in general were against the Principle of competitive examination in appointment to statutory services. Muslim backwardness in education, it was argued, made it imperative that they should
not be ‘put against the Hindus’ in an open competition, but should be allowed to compete between themselves. Many of the Muslim run periodicals strictly objected the principle of open competition because that would mean ‘the absolute exclusion of the Mohammedans from the Public Service.

The Muhhamedan observer on around 1894 did not strongly oppose the ‘open-competition’ but strongly believed that the open-competition should be delayed until the Muslims attain certain level of proficiency in higher education.

The statistics of the progress of Muslim employment from 1886-87 to 1887-88 provides the information that in Burdwan district, the Muslims moved from 425 officials in 1886-87 to 388 officials in 1887-86 AD meaning there by they were down by 37 officials in the subsequent year. On and around 1880, the Bengal Government came to the decision on the basis of reports received from various departments that Muslims needed special protection in terms of employment.

A circular by the Bengal Government was passed and it thus stated that, “where qualified Muhammadans are available they should get a preference in filling up a fair proportion (of appointment); if there are two candidates for the appointment, each of them possessing the requisite qualifications, the Lieutenant Governor considers that a preference should be given to the Muhammadan Candidate.” In 1899 it was further decided to fill two-thirds of the vacancies in the sub-ordinate executive service by nomination, instead of open competition, in order to restore balance in higher government jobs between the communities.

The Muslim Public opinion was very sensitive on the matter of disproportionate representation of the community in the Government Service.
The Mussalman wrote, "... it has become necessary for the Mussalmans to turn out agitators, to try to stand on their own legs and demand the satisfaction of their claims as a matter of right".

During the early parts of the first half of twentieth century, Muslim legislators ventilated their demands through various questions asked in the Bengal Legislative Council.

Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Choudhury, took part in budget discussions for 1913-14, and observed, "the Mohammedans have not been fairly treated in Public Services both in higher and in the lower order,... I advocate adequate representation, ... on behalf of the Mohammedan community who form more than 50% of the population... not only for the sake of justice and fair play to the Mohammedans, but for the sake of purity, efficiency and stability of the administration. He further argued that as the Muslims were backward in education, the Mohammedan, need some special treatment. He also have argued, "If a minimum standard of qualification is not prescribed for all government services, a great injustice will have been done to Mohammedan."17

A.K. Fazlul Haque moved a resolution in the council to form a staff selection Board consisting of official and non-official members. With due proportional of Mohammedans was proposed to be set up to look after the whole process of recruitment to the Government Services.

In the course of time, Muslim legislators demanded the reservation of certain vacancies for the Muslims was raised by the Muslims legislators in the course of time. A.K. Fazlul Haque demanded the reservation of certain vacancies in 1919 and similar demand was put forwarded in 1920 by Musharaf Hussain. Musharaf Hussain, in his resolution moved that, "... 80 percent of appointments
be given to the Mohammedans of Bengal till the number of Mohammedan officials in each class in the employment of the Government of Bengal becomes 55 percent of the whole ...”.

Musharraf Hussain demanded that there should have balance between Mohammedan and Hindu officials in the administration. After the formation of Swaraj party, Muslim legislators of Bengal became divided into the Swarajists and the non-Swarajists. The non-Swarajist Muslim members, on the other hand, vehemently supported the original motion of Musharraf Hussain and argued that the Bengal Pact was not supported by a large section of the Hindus and the ways of non-cooperators and Swarajists must lead ultimately to anarchy and revolution” which would put the Muslims in a worse condition.

Tamizuddin Khan one of the important legislators of Bengal moved a motion for reduction on the ‘Demand for grants’, under the head ‘22L’ in 1930; observed that the old Government circular for reserving 33% of appointment for Muslims were misinterpreted as that 33% was taken as the maximum portion of the Muslims. Tamizuddin Khan moved a resolution that 45% of the Ministerial posts should be reserved for Muslims.

The Muslim legislators of Bengal and the other Muslim politicians constantly debated the issues of the reservation of vacancies for the Muslims and other minority communities in the Government Services till the end of 1930s. The aims and objectives of these legislators were to press the Government to adopt some definite steps to ensure jobs for the Muslim community. Muslim legislators of Bengal took different interest in different services like Police Service, Executive and Subordinate Executive Service, Judicial Services and also Employment in Education Services. Similarly the Muslim legislators,
politicians and also the other social activists were concerned with the employment in Registration department, in jail department and also in Medical department. In 1871, out of 109 gazetted officers of all grades in police department none were Muslims. Similarly Khawaja Muhammed Azam pointed out that in 1922 that out of 25 Assistant Commissioners in the Calcutta Police none was a Muslim.

**TABLE - 52**

The following figure provides the statistics of proportion of Hindu and Muslim officiating Sub-Inspectors in the District Police during 1927-29.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>1927</th>
<th>1928</th>
<th>1929</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hindus</td>
<td>Muslim</td>
<td>Hindus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>% age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of officiating Sub Inspectors</td>
<td>76.1</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>76.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proportion of officiating Inspectors</td>
<td>74.3</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the mid of 1920s, Muslim Legislators demanded, the recruitment of the Muslims in larger number of the higher and subordinate grades and demanded the promotion of junior Muslim officers so as to fill 45 percent of the post and also demanded direct recruitment to the subordinate police service. According to Tamizuddin Khan, one of the important Muslim legislator brought a statistics before the legislative council that out of a total recruits as Sub-Inspectors during 1920-27, the number of Muslims was 93 in accordance with the new policy. By the mid of 1940s Muslim representation rose in Calcutta, Bengal and Railway Police Forces.
Muslim legislators of Bengal were also equally concerned about the representation in terms of employment in Executive and Subordinate Executive Services, Syed Shorfuddin one of the legislators in the Legislative Council raised a issue in 1906 that there were only 5 Muslim Deputy Magistrates in all the districts of Bengal where the Hindus were 11 in number whereas there were 34 Bengali Hindus and 2 Bengali Muslims in the position of Sub-Deputy Collectors in all the districts of Bengal.  

During 1920s Muslim Legislators of Bengal were more concerned with the representation of the Muslims in provincial and subordinate civil services. The system of open competition and the academic degrees played a big role in the recruitment procedure. This made the Muslims of Bengal anxious. It is revealed from the official statement for ten years from 1920 to 1930, that 65 candidates were recruited in Bengal civil service from East Bengal alone out of 112 candidates selected. This figure does not reveal that Muslim were selected from East as most of them were Hindus. Here the Muslim legislators became more vocal regarding reserving few of the seats of subordinate executive seats for Muslims of Bengal.

From the establishment of Muslim rule in Bengal till the first half of 19th century, the judicial administration was almost in the hands of the Muslims of Bengal. With the change of court language and the introduction of different procedural aspects, the position and situation of Muslims in Judicial Service went out in different directions. In 1871, out of 263 gazetted appointments of Judges of small causes courts, subordinate judges and Munsifs, the Muslims held 45 posts, while Hindus and Europeans held 203 and 15 posts respectively. The situation of the Muslims of Bengal become worse as in 1880 out of total
appointments in Additional judges posts, sub judges posts and also in Munsif level when Hindus occupied only 246 posts where Muslims held only 18 posts.²⁹

The Muslim legislators were deeply concerned with the very negligible representation in judicial services while Muslims comprised of more than 52% of the total population. During late 1920s Muslim Legislators of Bengal became concerned about the Muslims representation in the Higher provincial judicial service. Sir Abdul Rahim, the famous Muslim Legislator were deeply concerned by the fact that out of 300 officers in judicial service only a dozen were Muslims. The Muslim Legislators were also shown interest and they also shown great concern about the appointment of the Muslims to the rank of Honarary Magistrates, Furors, Assessors, Circle officers and that of the Lawyers and Public prosecutors. Muslim Legislators were also concerned about the appointment of different official positions in the judicial administration of the province. Muslim legislators were also concerned about lower grade employees like typists and copyists is manifested from their demand for implementation of better job condition for them.

The most striking fact reveals out of the fact that the Muslim legislators, inspite of their primary attention to the cause of the Muslim community, did not fail to uphold the cause of the deprived classes, Hindus and Muslims alike in case of appointment in judicial department.³⁰ The Muslim representation in the services of the Education Department was not satisfactory and even it was not encouraging. The Muslim Legislators were fully aware of the backwardness of their community in Education. The Muslim Legislators claimed more employment of the Muslims in non-teaching position in the Education Department.
The following table provides the information regarding the number of Teaching and Inspecting staffs of Education Department of Presidency Division and the number of Muslims therein.\(^{31}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Europeans</th>
<th>Hindus</th>
<th>Muslims</th>
<th>Percentage of Muslims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teaching Staff (Excluding colleges)</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inspecting Staff</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>47.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is revealed out of the table that Muslims were better represented in non-teaching posts than in teaching posts. The Muslim legislators welcomed the decision of creation of the office of Deputy Director of Mohammedan Education. The Muslim legislators also welcomed the decision of creation of the post of the Inspectors of Schools for Muslim Education and the necessity to appoint Muslim candidates to these posts was greatly highlighted by them. The grievances were shown by the Muslim legislators regarding the appointment of Muslims in various teaching and non-teaching posts of Calcutta University and that of Arts colleges of Bengal. Syed Emdadul Haque raised the issue of raising the status of the Maulvis teaching Arabic and Persians in relation to that of school teacher.
References:

1. Calculated from the Quarterly civil list for the Lower Provinces of Bengal, XVIII (new series), (Calcutta 1871), pp. 11-80.


3. Public Service Commission (1887), vi, p. 43.

4. Ibid.


7. Ibid.

8. Calculated from *Census of Bengal* (1881) iii, pp. 768-810.


10. The Census of Bengal (1881), iii, pp. 768-810; Table XXVIII.

11. Ibid.


15. Letter from the Secretary, Government of West Bengal, to all Commissioners of divisions, 15th September 1897.


19. Ibid.


27. Ibid.


29. “Provincial Muslim Education Committee”, by Mirza Abul Fazal in Nabanur, 1st year, 4th issue, Sraban, 1310 BS.
