While discussing the making of ideology Mannheim observes:

"The distrust and suspicion which men everywhere evidence towards their adversaries, at all stages of historical development, may be regarded as the immediate precursor of the notion of ideology. But it is only when the distrust of man toward man ... becomes explicit and is methodically recognized, that we may properly speak of an ideological taint in the utterances of others. We arrive at this level when we no longer make individuals personally responsible for the deceptions which we detect in their utterances, and when we no longer attribute the evil that they do to their malicious cunning. It is only when we more or less consciously seek to discover the source of their untruthfulness in a social factor, that we are properly making an ideological interpretation." 777

Taking this as a useful interpretation it can be said, on the basis of discussion of the preceding chapters of this thesis, that communal Hindu ideological utterances of nineteen twenties' northern India had a direct link with the new consciousness of the intelligentsia of the last fifty years - at least since the 1870s. The intelligentsia of this same period is credited as the creator of nationalism 778 which came with a new consciousness which had been spreading largely through the efforts of the intelligentsia. This may be a correct assessment but it can be suggested that this new consciousness created not only nationalism but also communalism. Any history of Hindu communalism, so clearly visible as an ideology in the 1920s and 1930s northern India, should be written similarly. As the history of nationalism and communalism existed side by side and their discourses often overlapped, it was difficult to have a clear-cut distinction between the exponents of composite nationalism of the Indian National Congress


778 This 'nationalism' was not the nationalism of the mass phase, 1905 onwards, but it was linked ideologically with the formation of the process of the making of nationalism. Due to massive influence of studies of Bipin Chandra, S.R. Mehrotra and other historians the story of 'nationalism' of nineteenth century colonial India is largely seen as first phase of modern nationalism.
variety and the communal ‘nationalism’ of Hindu Mahasabha variety till 1920s. Even, after that, there existed, at least at the level of expectation, an association between the Hindus Hindu communal organizations and the ‘Congress Hindus’.

* * *

Jagat Narayan Lal, the most important Hindu Mahasabha leader from Bihar who became national General Secretary of Mahasabha, wrote a letter to B.S. Moonje, a stalwart of Hindu communal politics from Maharashtra:

This morning, I read your latest opinion in the “Patrika” in which you say that if the Congress does not openly condemn the (Communal) award the Mahasabha will have to set up its own candidates. I do not know how you are thinking (of it)... to me the matter seems to be very delicate indeed. I am sure, the Congress Board will not openly oppose the “communal award”. I feel equally doubtful if the Mahasabha would succeed in returning a satisfactory number of candidates if it were to run the elections in its own name or that of any other party. In case, success is very doubtful, will it be politic to alienate the Congress Hindus whose sympathies would otherwise be with us in the matter of the award and go into the assembly with a few men who when they got up to denounce the award in the assembly would be received coldly by the Congress Hindus and opposed strongly by the Moslems and the government group which is bound to support the award of its own premier. The chances of successfully opposing the award with any degree of effectiveness are more favourable in the case of the Congressmen coming with us than by opposing them... To me, it is clear that the safest course might be for us to set a few of our chosen men on independent tickets and to

779 On this we will return later.
see that they are not opposed by the Congress and to send as many men in sympathy with us on Congress ticket as possible. 780

In the twenties and thirties it was not unusual for the Hindu communal organizations to look upon the 'Congress Hindus' for support on issues which involved 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' interests. Multiple examples from the newspapers and literary writings of the twenties can be cited from Hindi speaking regions to support this. 781 The present study examines the details, the existence and strengthening of communal ideology in Bihar in the last fifty years before the 1920s. It also signifies the extent to which these years of communalism can be seen as precursor to Hindu communalism of the 1920s and thereafter.

Like the history of nationalism in India the history of communalism can also be discussed retrospectively. There was no nationalism, as we understand it in its ideological sense today, before the mass movement began in India. A history of nationalism, before the mass movement, is prepared by attaching meanings to different kind of ideological manifestations. Similarly, if we attempt to write the history of communalism, which was also identified as an ideology in the 1920s, we need to go back to the late nineteenth century to find out how different kinds of writings and activities were bringing about this ideological positioning. 782 This thesis looks for evidences towards this.

780 Jagat Narain Lal's letter from Bankipore, 10 June 1934, Patna, B.S. Moonje papers, File No. 37, Vol I, 1934, p. 75.
781 Some examples are cited in Chapter 5 and 6 of this thesis. For more examples one can see Abhyuday, (Allahabad), Rasik Punch (Calcutta), Sesa Sansar (Calcutta) and other newspapers of this period.
782 On the basis of historical accounts available on Hindu organisations' activities and programmes it can be said that for the supporters of Hindu 'nationalism' the 'work of Hindu renaissance' had begun in full swing in 1920s. "The momentous session of Banaras had awakened the whole of Northern Hindustan" says Indra Prakash, a historian of Hindu Mahasabha. (See, Indra Prakash, Hindu Mahasabha: Its Contribution in India's Politics, New Delhi : 1966, p. 24.) He adds further that, "by 1926, the Hindu ideology had taken firm root in the political arena of the country. In almost all the provinces, including Burma the Hindu flag began to fly. (Ibid, p.27).
It has to be accepted that in the 1920s different kind of 'nationalisms' were present in India. The ideology which is referred to as communal nationalism was trying to compete with the Congress' ideology of composite nationalism. There were strong differences between the latter and communal Hindus who were unwilling to accept many views of the Congress. So the differences between them were obvious. For many Hindus the issue of cow protection was of paramount importance and supporting this under any circumstance was imperative for any Hindu. An example can be cited here. October 5, 1928, a daily in Calcutta carried the front page news that Mahatma Gandhi allowed the killing of a calf. Since it amounted to a sin for any Hindu, whoever he was, the act was condemned. Gandhi held that if the ailing calf had no chance of recovery it was not violence to kill it. The paper paid no attention to Gandhi's arguments and he was condemned as a "corrupt Mahatma". His logic was countered by saying that if the same logic was applied to an old man (Gandhi) who remained un-well half of the year he might be killed himself.

In spite of these differences, this study shows that in the nineteen twenties and thirties a kind of communitarian association between both types of nationalists existed. These Congress Hindus were criticized but were expected to share a communitarian perspective. One Professor Lautusingh Gautam, in his article 'Desh-hit ya Hindu-hit' in Hindu Punch, one of the most clearly written texts on this anguish over the role of 'Congress Hindus' wrote: "When a Hindu leader wishes to be a leader the first thing he does is to criticize Hindus and start finding faults with Hindus all the time." The Professor concluded his essay by saying that, "the root causes of communal conflict between Hindus and Muslims are the Muslims

783 For a number of articles and views see Seva Sansar (Calcutta), daily, 5 October 1928 and thereafter for various articles on this issue to get the idea of how these Hindus had disliked this 'crime' of Gandhi.
love for foreignness, their religious frenzy, the meekness of Hindus and some other factors.\textsuperscript{784}

This was not an isolated example. Continued communal tirade against the Muslim community was a running theme in Hindu communal writings of nineteen twenties and thirties evident in a number of newspapers. Simultaneously, the expectation was that 'Congress Hindus' would, sooner or later, be able to see the light and rally behind the 'Hindu' cause.\textsuperscript{785}

These Hindus had been critical of 'Congress Hindus' and they were looked upon as opportunists who did not care much about the Hindu cause. Existence of the term 'Congress Hindus' served a dual purpose. They could be criticized for behaving more like Congressmen than Hindus. But, as it turned out to be, if these Hindus did not have enough political clout to challenge their rival - Muslims these 'Congress Hindus' could be expected to support the Hindu cause. This was the strategy of Jagat Narain Lal, mentioned in the letter cited above.

* * *

If any history of communalism in Bihar is to be written, the period of present study would automatically be in the focus. It was during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries that intelligentsia came into existence as a powerful social group. They were fully conscious of the need to progress along the modern lines. The development of Press and the national regeneration were the two prime objectives of the intelligentsia. Its thinking was broadly in agreement with the progressive model of national development. The intelligentsia

\textsuperscript{784} Hindu Punch, Calcutta, 13 January, 1927. In this long essay the writer further added: "At least, we should learn from the pages of history. Hindus have always sacrificed themselves for the country. In 1761 Indian empire was about to begin. Ibrahim Gardi was also with Marathas but our Muslim brothers called on Ahmad Shah Abdali and helped him."

\textsuperscript{785} The Hindu Mahasabha leaders expressed these sentiments again and again and they often appreciated the Congress leaders for their work for the country. This fact was often highlighted that most of the Hindu Sabhaiites were ex-Congressmen. See, Indra Prakash, Hindu Mahasabha: Its Contribution in India's Politics, New Delhi: 1966, p.7. Even in 1937 session of the All India Hindu Mahasabha, in the Presidential address Vinayak Damodar Savarkar made it a point to say: "...let every Hindu Sangathanist be just and generous in brotherly appreciation of the patriotic motives of those of the Congressites who had been highly selfless and sacrificing." (See, Savarkar, V. D., Hindu Sanghathan Its Ideology and Immediate Progress, Bombay, 1940, p. 166).
earnestly believed that this nation should also progress like those of Europe. In the Indian context, the progress made by the Bengalis had been a good model for them to emulate. For some of them the best thing for every citizen to do was to develop the press and work for the society's uplift. Once newspapers and other avenues opened Keshavram Bhatt, Ramdeen Singh, Shivanandan Sahay and many others took to writing and publishing magazines and books and campaigning for what they believed to be new ideas for the progress of society.

It is in the context of the spread of self-awareness among the intelligentsia that this study suggests that the intelligentsia got involved in the construction of a new social order. In their attempts to build a new social order they endeavored to develop notions of nationality and community. In this entire exercise, history became the great symbol of a new age and eventually affirmative history of “we” as a nation was propounded, argued and shared. History meanings were thus, constituted by intelligentsia within a definite communal ideological framework. This study documents many ideological manifestations which produced stereotypical figures of the ‘Muslim’ endowed with a ‘national’ character: bigoted, cruel, quarrelsome, beef-eater, idol-breaker etc. While doing so the intelligentsia, it has been argued, developed the ideologies which could be discerned as nationalism and communalism. Viewed internally, the intelligentsia by propounding their own notions of community and nationality were aiming to serve nationalism. But, as it is evident in Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 the intelligentsia strengthened the forces of communalism as well. The study documents how activities of the Sanatan dharma organizations and individuals projected the ideology of “Hinduness” which was believed to be the focal point of Indian nationhood. Any external reading of their writings would clearly show that communalism is a very obvious part of their world view. One of our

786 See Khadag Bahadur Malla’s article ‘Samachar Patra Aur Bharatvasi’ in Kshatriya Patrika (Bankipore, Patna), Vol I, 1882, p. 245. For some more views of leading writers of Bihar see Chapter 3.
findings is that the intelligentsia which emerged in Bihar articulated their own ideas about nationalism in a manner which could also be interpreted as communalism. In this respect, these findings replicate the findings of Sudhir Chandra, Pradip Kumar Datta and some other scholars, who have argued that in the making of new history and new literature, the ideology of communalism was also constructed.787

In Bihar, the intelligentsia took inspiration from the emerging modern Hindu communalism in Bengal which was promoting ‘vicarious nationalism’ and popularizing the concept of Muslim foreignness and tyranny as a subsidiary to their concept of a new nation. This study suggests that this new nation concept was close to the idea of a Hindu nation.788 On the other hand, the image of the Hindu was also created as a helpless, upright, peace-loving, kind and law abiding people. These writings helped in the creation of what Pradip Datta has called in Bengal's context the “Hindu common sense”.

One of the major difficulties in studying communalism in this setting is that the discourse of communalism ran close to the discourse of nationalism. That is obvious when we look into the new social order that the intelligentsia sought to promote. Their view which has been designated as Hindu view was very different from the view promoted by votaries of Congress who undoubtedly expressed a form of composite nationalism. The Congress was in no way supportive of this ‘Hindu’ view of nationalism, but nonetheless, Hindu nationalism

787 Talking about the three leading writers of late nineteenth century of the United Provinces Sudhir Chandra observes: “Communal consciousness runs as a kind of recurring theme in the works of these three writers and urges inextricably into national consciousness and even attempts to arrogate to itself the status of nationalism. (See Sudhir Chandra, ‘Communal Consciousness in Late 19th Century Hindi Literature’, in Mushirul Hasan (ed), Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India, Manohar, Delhi, 1985, p. 181.). Working on similar kind of literary evidences in his study of communalism in Bengal Pradip Kumar Datta also finds history and literature responsible for the production of communal mindset. He says: “... in nineteenth and early twentieth century Bengal, it was possibly literature that was equally, if not more, responsible for the production of a communal mindset.” (See Pradip Kumar Datta, Carving Blocs: Communal Ideology in Early Twentieth Century Bengal, Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1999, p. 6).

788 See p. 113 of this thesis.
exerted a pressure on the Congress led nationalist ideology. On two major issues which served as rallying points for the intelligentsia – Hindi-Urdu controversy and Cow protection many leaders of Congress in Bihar held views similar to those of the Hindu nationalists.

This study suggests that communalism and nationalism coexisted in this period and for many Congressmen communalism was unavoidable. In 1946 Rajendra Prasad, the most respected Congressman from Bihar, candidly admitted this:

Although Hindu revivalism had preceded political awakening, till 1906-07 the Hindus had not developed the Gandhian ideology of super-communal nationalism and everybody was frankly Hindu or Muslim, and communalism had not become a term of abuse. 789

This study suggests that what Rajendra Prasad had perceived seems to have been shared by a large number of the intelligentsia. This explains the propensity of the communal organizations to use of Congress’ organisational resources for propagating their own concerns. The use of Congress pandals and the participation of Congress delegates in Hindu Mahasabha meetings immediately after the conclusion of Congress meetings have been cited as examples of the close proximity. The closeness of Hindu organizations like Hindu Mahasabha and the Congress was operative at a level wherefrom the politics of Hindu communal forces could be effective even when the communal organizations were not apparently politically significant.

Hindu communal ideology had been created in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. But, equally significant is the effort made by Sanatani (orthodox) Hindus to negotiate with the social and political changes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. This aspect of Hindu mobilization has not been adequately researched so far. Some historians believe that as the Hindu communal organizations had not been powerful, there was hardly

789 Dr Rajendra Prasad, India Divided (Bombay: Hind Kitabs, 1946), p17.
any need for extensive historical interpretations. This study suggests that this proximity is crucial because of the consistent ideological and political mobilization for the Hindus against the Muslims. As Suranjan Das reminds, since the nature of a community embodies a sense of discrimination it can be said that there had been attempts to project a Hindu community. Undoubtedly, it involved a process whereby the idea of a unified singular nation got legitimized. This study gives an account of the process in which the intelligentsia had helped in the construction of overarching collective networks behind the creation of this unified Hindu community. This construction had many interesting aspects, most important being the Sanatani response to reformist challenge. This study alludes to writings which had argued that the regeneration of a nation depended on a strict adherence to Varnashrama dharma ideals of Hinduism. Supporters of Varnashrama dharma opposed efforts of Congress and the Caste association to loosen caste barriers. To these writers and social activists, the meetings must be presided over by the Brahmins and the account keeping business was not the job of Brahmin as the laws of dharma prescribed it only for a Vaishya. It is true that most of Varnashram dharma supporters welcomed the activities of the Congress but this support was a qualified support. A writer sums up it aptly: “... all Hindus should contribute towards the efforts made for swaraj but they must not lose their Hindu perspective (drishtikon).” This was not something which can be taken as the individual opinion of a writer. This study has gathered

790 Justifying little attention to the history of Hindu communal organizations or ideology Salil Mishra observes: “the importance the Hindu communal forces have received from the historians is in proportion to the importance they enjoyed in the pre-Independence period.” (See Salil Mishra, A Narrative of Communal Politics Uttar Pradesh, 1937-39, (Delhi: Sage Publications, p.289).

791 Suranjan Das, ‘Communal Violence in Twentieth Century Colonial Bengal: An Analytical Framework,’ Social Scientist (Delhi) 18, 6-7 (June-July 1990). For his views see Chapter 1 of this thesis.

792 For an insightful discussion on this see Madhav Mishra, Madhav Mishra Nibandhavali, VII, pp.8-9 in which he says that these political and social organisations cannot be supported wholly as these are guided by foreign (vidutya) ideas and based on foreign bhav (feelings).
some significant pointers towards this kind of thinking. In 1910, Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, the most important Sanatani organization, says in its organisational report stated that due to organizational power Hindus had survived the onslaught of Muslim rule and had been able to save their religion. It added further that Mahamandal was not concerned with the changes within the Congress; it was more concerned about the overall development of Sanatan Hindu - the development of their dharma, education, society and property.\footnote{For details on this see page 186 of this thesis.} Even in the 1920s when Hindu leaders like Madan Mohan Malaviya were sensing the need of mobilizing all Hindus\footnote{Due to Madan Mohan Malaviya’s efforts and somewhat liberal stance towards the lower caste Hindus the Hindu Sabha conferences had been very successful in 1922, 1924 and 1928.}, including lower castes, Darbhanga Maharaj strongly pleaded for the adherence to *Varnasharm dharma* ideals. To him if a Hindu got the highest post by losing ‘Hindutva’ he deserved no respect. He kept on repeating that the crucial question was the question of *Varnasharm dharma* and social organization. He lamented the loss of values in the age of commercialization due to western education and western influences. In a remarkable speech delivered in 1923 he summed up the sentiments of his Sanatan dharma supporters: “To those people who believe that *Varnashram dharma* and the caste system are hurdles in the path of the progress of national consciousness, I want to say that if we progress in commerce and political fields by ignoring our national (here implying caste) identities that progress would not be the progress of Hindu Bharat.”\footnote{For details of his speech see Page 167 of this thesis.} Clearly, this was different from what some other Hindu leaders like Malaviya were saying. To him, the support of lower caste people was crucial and he gave clear indications to his followers in his speeches in Bihar that low caste Hindus are to be included in Hindu mobilisation schemes.\footnote{For details on Malviya’s views see Chapter 5 of this thesis.}
This study also tries to document some representative examples of the writings and speeches of Sanatanists to vindicate the point that, even in 1920s when "Gandhian ideology", was preponderant, upper caste Hindi arrogance was by no means a trivial issue. Some of the speeches are worth reiterating to underline how insensitive the supporters of *Varnashram dharma* had been to the lower castes. It needs to be stated that not all Hindus had been part of this new social order which had been projected in the name of nationalism. Any study on Hindu nationalism or communalism must allude to the attitude of the Hindu leaders' attitude towards fellow Hindus, who belonged to lower castes. A Sanatan dharma leader Kaluram Shastri says: "If a *dwija* (twice born) takes water from a *chandal* he should vomit the entire intake to be pure. He should do *praysachit.*" One other utterance is also worth noticing: “Chandals should be allowed to live out of the village and they should be allowed to possess as wealth dogs and donkeys only. Their clothes would be the left over of the dead or the old ones. During the time of any religious occasion do not see, talk or interact with them at all. They should interact and marry among equals. They must not wander at night in village or cities.” The context of this is also significant. Such assertions were made during the occasion of a *shashtrartha* (discourse and dialogue) between Sanatan dharma supporters and a Hindu Sabha leader at Chapra. Clearly, Hindu communal leaders were not all in complete agreement and a study focusing on them must indicate the serious difference of opinions about the new social order which they were all promoting on the basis of their own understanding.

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797 *Sanatan Dharma Pataka*, year 26, No.9, p.11.


799 For more details see p. 169-70 of this thesis.

800 About the greatness of Brahmins and its status as the leaders of Hindu society the Sanatan leaders had absolutely no doubt at all.
This thesis also shows how the language issue became communalized in course of the intelligentsia's engagements for a new social order for 'national regeneration'. The evidences discussed in this thesis point towards the circumstances under which the language issue came to be equated with a community issue. In one of the significant speeches, Madan Mohan Malaviya observed: "For Hindu jat's (nation's) organization and growth of feeling of oneness all Hindus should study Hindi."\(^{801}\) If we try to go back to a write up of 1882 of a prominent man Khadag Bahadur Malla\(^{802}\) published in *Kshatriya Patrika*, titled 'Hindi par Hindu Dharma Aur Urdu par Musalmani' it is evident that this stand of Malaviya had evolved through a period of time in which people like Khadag Bahadur Malla had contributed.\(^{803}\)

The Hindu view of national regeneration needs to be given proper historical attention otherwise the history of communalism would not be able to document the strengths of communal forces in India. Even when this Hindu communal ideology was unable to match the popular support enjoyed by composite nationalist ideology of the Congress, the mere presence of Hindu communal ideology in the political spectrum proved to be crucial.

Karl Mannheim had once observed: “In Germany the ideas of paganism or anti-Semitism do not spring in the present dimension directly from the actual circumstances of society, but depend to a large extent on ideas previously held by the smaller or larger groups now risen to power."\(^{804}\) This thesis suggests that there had been consistent and ideologically driven efforts on the parts of the intelligentsia to sustain a 'communal' view of their


\(^{802}\) An influential man from Gorakhpur who had strong links with Bihar's Ramdeen Singh, the owner of Khadavilas Press. It is said that the famous press of Bihar Khadavilas Press was named after him.

\(^{803}\) See this remarkable essay of Khadagbahadur Malla in *Kshatriya Patrika*, Bankipore, Patna, 1882, pp. 4-12. (NMML, New Delhi). Also see an article Hindi Bhasha included in the same volume p. 192 for further details of the views existing in early eighties of the nineteenth century.

nationalism. It can be suggested that like the history of nationalism the history of communalism should also be seen with retrospective insights. The structuring of nineteenth century Hindu communalism needs to be detailed adequately so that we can have "adequate ideas", to use Mannheim's phrase, to understand the strengths of ideology called communalism. This thesis aims to cover some distance towards this.