Chapter II

Hindu and Muslim Responses to Modern Education
in the North Western Provinces

Socio-Economic Condition of the Province

The late nineteenth century has been looked upon by some as the period of religious revivalism on the Indian subcontinent. At the time few recipients of a modern education realized that a liberal education was making inroads into local beliefs and customs. Kenneth Jones has called the movement that emerged in response to this Western influence acculturist. ¹ Those social groups that remained outside the shadow of these influences, he labels transitional. ² Within the polar frame of the traditional and modern that establishes the distinction between the indigenous and the alien, Dalmia considers the transitional as those who saw the traditional as depicting the indigenous standing firm against the pressure of change. A number of Hindu reformist movements of the latter half of the 19th century were in this mould. The Arya Samaj, Bharat Dharma Mahamandal, the Prayag Hindu Samaj could be counted amongst them. The last of these counted Malaviya and his guru Aditya Ram Battacharya amongst the founders. ³ The association’s objective was to bring together all Hindu sects and castes, with a view to participating in government. The Samaj was also active in the Hindi-Urdu controversy. The Samaj played an important role in founding the

Hindi Literary Institute in 1884. Sanatan Dharma Sabhas were organized throughout the region to acquaint the masses of the greatness of “Aryan culture” and the richness of Hindu religion. The Hindu orthodoxy redefined itself in a modern incarnation in the 1860s and 1870s. Benaras was where one of the new images of Hindu orthodoxy was fashioned. The Kashi Dharma Sabha and Tadiya Samaj were organizations exercising spiritual authority and codifying ritual practices.

The invention of the press created a new relationship between speakers of a language and the language. The acquisition of education by the lower and middle classes in Europe was reflected in their growing participation in politics. The romantics considered language as the most significant marker of identity and as a natural marker of national or political boundaries. As boundary marker it facilitates the identification of different social groups distinguishing between neighbours, providing access to a cultural tradition. In the colonial context of a burgeoning Indian nationalism language came to serve as the canonical representation of religion. The opposition to colonial rule brought up the question of substituting English by an “Indian” language. In a multilingual country like India no one language had acquired the position of hegemony, and hence linguistic rivalry for dominance within the nation acquired a peculiar intensity. The movement for Hindi acquired the dimensions of a Hindu

movement that was consciously trying to discard all traces and memory of Muslim influence and domination of North-India.¹

The second half of nineteenth century has been looked upon by historians as a period of interaction between non-Western and Western knowledge forms. The concerned historiography is structured by a multitude of factors arising from the different ways of looking at this process of interaction.² The system of modern education introduced by the colonizers aimed to create few men of similar thinking who could communicate with them in their language and facilitate the administration and governance of the empire. As Krishna Kumar has pointed out that the curriculum developed for lower and middle class Indians was not of the British standard. Consequently, in the early stages very few Indians had access to the Western learning. Either inadvertently or by design educational policy deliberated skirted issues of developing a curriculum for science education. Modern education enabled the upper classes who had access to this education to enrich their repertoire of skills, while for the middle and lower classes education served as a vehicle of 'vertical mobility'.³ In the eyes of the colonial officials the objectives of higher education was limited to their larger agenda of colonialism.⁴

As pointed out in the previous chapter the modern system of higher education was first introduced in the three Presidencies where the concentration of colonial

³ Krishna Kumar, ‘Colonial Citizen as an Educational Ideal’, ibid, p.36-49; Kumar contends that the theory of evolution provided a rationale to the educated minority to spread education to the few who would influence the rest.
⁴ The outreach of modern education in the early half of the nineteenth century was very limited. The egalitarian ideas that inspired modern education in England did not propagate through the colonial system.
officials and British troops were greater. The following discussion is limited to the Bengal Presidency since the North Western Provinces which constitute the specific subject of this study was under this Presidency and also the Bengal was the first to have initiation of modern education. The responses of this modern educated class in Bengal – the Bhadralok – exhibited a variety of responses to the project of colonial education. As a class they were in direct contact with colonial officials and the colonizing process.

By and large the response to modern education in Bengal was positive barring the traditionalists who were opposed to its nature and in as much as it was a vehicle for the spread of Christianity. It was only after the revolt of 1857 that response from the Westernized elites and reformists became more critical and nuanced. The nature of the response of the Muslim and Hindu communities showed similarities and differences. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, a modernizer himself, realised that the backwardness of the Muslims was because they lagged behind in acquiring a Western education. He tried his best to influence the traditionalists in his community and continued doing so with little support.

Sections of the traditionalists who had been exposed to modern education and reckoned with the importance of Western science attempted to establish institutions where education imparted assimilated the best of both the cultures: East and the West. The variety of responses was conditioned by how the cultural impact of Western education was perceived. There were those who saw modern education as threat to the traditional values. Associations were established to domesticate Western learning, but equally to stress the importance of value education and the role of the vernacular through newspapers and articles. Even
as early as 1843, Delhi College had a Vernacular Translation Society whose task was to translate books from English to the vernacular.¹

The variety of responses to modern education has been heuristically characterized into the following modes: traditionalists, revivalists, status quoits, and Westernizing and revitalist.² While this typology provides us with a cognitive map of responses that could suit many cultural contexts, the late nineteenth century was a period when the variety of responses was reflected in the variety of understandings of the role and place of traditional and modern knowledge. In the midst of the intellectual and social upheaval the produced identities began crystallizing around a set of ideologies and imagined ethnicities. Social changes, it must be recognized, was as much as a consequence of the spread of literacy and expansive communication as it was causative agent. One of the several outcomes at the time was the emergence of the educated elites, who were dedicated to group values and were willing to don the leadership in promoting, defending and articulating the interests of their community.

The process of ‘myth construction’ was characteristic of revivalist movements in the South Asia during the period of colonial rule has been the subject of recent scholarly investigation. The founders of nationalism highlighted the importance of the historical consciousness of the nation, its achievements of language, art, literature, music. In this reconstruction the past was glorified in order to

construct a new future. 'The maternal tongue' became sacred and an almost
mysterious vehicle of all the national endeavors. Around several axes of identity
communities of opposition to colonial rule and policy crystallized.

Certain classes of people in colonial society have historically been considered the
carriers of national consciousness: the urban bourgeoisie in Europe and
westernized elite in the colonies especially during the early stages of nationalism
in a country like India. The growth of nationalist consciousness depends upon
the ability of the elites to economically and politically enlist other sections of
society. The colonial officials on the other hand did manage to enlist several
sections of elites such as local rulers, landlords who became spokespersons for
locally, regionally and ethnically invented communities.

The social basis of colonial rule resided in the ability of the colonizer to co-opt
the landed gentry, the princes, urban landed elites and sections of the educated
upper castes into the colonial project. The modern system of education with
English as the medium of instruction opened job and professional opportunities
for a section of society that had access to the system. Over a period of time this
modern educated elite confronted the limited economic, professional and career

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1 Oscar Jazi has described a similar situation in Austria-Hungary in nineteenth century. Oscar

2 Oppressed groups often asserted their identity in opposition to other oppressed groups by
centring their group rights. For details see Lynch’s discussion on the Jatavas of Agra in The
Politics of Untouchability; p. 9 as quoted in Paul R. Brass. 1974. op. cit; p. 29.

3 See Bernard S. Cohn, ‘Recruitment of Elites in India under British Rule’ in Leonard Plotnicov
and Arthur Tuden (eds.), 1970. Essays in Comparative Social Stratification: University of

4 The newly modern educated class or the ‘enlightened insider’ as called by Krishna Kumar calls
them belonged to the traditional elite class. They knew the language of the ruling authority and
had access to the highest positions of governance in the colonial administration.
opportunities in government services that in turn fostered discontentment. This seed of discontentment intersected with brewing resentment around the cultural imperialism of the colonial project and precipitated in the incipient emergence of a national consciousness. This political mobilization was not unique to North India for the fire had begun to spread to other regions of the country.

In the early phase of nationalist development this educated class employed English as the language of communication. But when these same leaders communicated with the masses in the regions they spoke in the vernacular languages. Gradually they came around to championing the cause of vernacular education and helped in the establishment of schools where the vernacular was the medium of instruction. The emphasis appears to have been to integrate modern education with instruction in the values and culture of “India”.

Further this class was critical of practices it considered irrational and superstitious, and those that excluded sections of Indian society from a good life of dignity. They looked upon their own society critically and compared it with the West which they considered materially and economically advanced and developed. The lack of development and stagnation was understood in terms of the prevalence of premodern beliefs and practices: these included “social evils” such as the caste system, sati, child marriage etc. Leading the charge early in the nineteenth century was Raja Ram Mohan Roy, who projects a critical modernity.

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1 Most of these political leaders were well versed in their local language and also learnt the new language of the administration. Educationalist such as Sir Syed or Pandit Malaviya was fluent in Hindi, English, Urdu in addition to Persian and Sanskrit. So we see that these leaders knew most of the languages of use in the region, which helped them, communicate and relate to their respective audiences.

Following on his heels later in the century were intellectuals such as Debendranath Tagore, Keshab Chandra Sen, Akhshay Kumar Dutta, poets like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, radicals like Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar who opposed the teachings of Vedanta and Bishop Berkeley. While this class had been socialized within the colonial education system, the system dialectically turned many of its 'products against those values'. Colonial education was designed to create a certain class of individuals who would be rational in behavior and would be loyal to the interests of the state in maintaining order. This agenda was soon to be subverted. The second generation of the Western educated class, however, had a critical response to the claims and weaknesses of both the Indian and Western system of knowledge. The revitalists like P.C Ray, P. N. Bose, J. C. Bose and others advocated the critical assimilation, redefinition and rejection of the exaggerated claims of either system of knowledge.

Similarly, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan became a votary of the modern system of education, albeit domesticated to the local context and environment, since the system was seen as an instrument of social change and of removing the evils of Indian society. His supporters, like him, felt that Western Society had progressed social evils such as those prevalent in Indian society had been dispelled by the new knowledge. The path Sir Syed had undertaken was a very difficult one, as

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2 Krishna Kumar, ibid, p. 46 and Dhruv Raina and S. Irfan Habib, *ibid*, p. 15.

he faced staunch resistance within his community. This did not deter him from founding the renowned institution that he did.

Building National Consciousness through Education

In the late nineteenth century the newly educated class was gravitating towards a quasi-nationalist quest for improvement and social change. There arose fractured sense of self-hood and in certain sections education was seen as a mechanism for promoting the interests of their communities. The limitations of Western education were reckoned with and thus but for the sciences there arose the demand for the inclusion of Indian languages, culture, arts and music. The attempt then was to reverse those areas that had been excluded from the curricula with the installation of Macaulayan educational policy.

By 1880s local and the modern educated classes in the North West Province of Oudh and Agra acquired sensitivity to the inculcation of Indian values and tradition within their communities. During this period the education which was brought later included religious education as well. Their exposure to modern education had convinced them of the relevance of education in social transformation. In this deeply shaded reform movement these actors also became agents of change in a deeply conservative society. They condemned certain practices of the past and looked forward to a better future where institutions that did not preclude religious education would have a role to play. Education thus would serve as a double edged weapon – on the one hand to affect internal change in society and on the other to liberate them of the burden of colonial rule. Bengal came to serve as a role model of this kind of education for other regions
in the country. In this burgeoning nationalist environment education played a role in cultivating different kinds of identity. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century many the new loci for forging and expressing these identities were schools, colleges, universities, community and meeting halls, newspapers and journals, new rituals and the associated symbols.

Those heading these movements in education directed towards the welfare of a community had acquired a modern education and were deeply influenced by their own culture and tradition. This group of "conservative modernizers" educated in the modern education system that they wished to promote simultaneously did not wish to disturb the social order. Thus while the reckoned with the role of educating the masses in the struggle for freedom they did not wish to alter the social and power relations within traditional society. The emphasis was on domesticating western knowledge to the local context. Thus the periodicals of the time such as Saraswati, Hans, Prayag, Khatri Hitaishi, Khatri Hitkari etc occasionally carried articles promoting Indian culture and values such as respecting elders, scholars, and cows, the abolition of child marriage and practices such as dowry, obtaining permission to travel abroad, refraining from

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1 The nationalists were committed to reform and were largely progressive. They entertained an idea of a glorious past but simultaneously emphasised the importance of modern education. For more details see Nita Kumar "Why Does Nationalist Education Fail? The Case of Benaras: From 1880s to 1930", in S. Bhattacharya, 1999: Contested Terrain, pp. 83-98.

2 For a discussion on "the role of actors in Benaras in spreading education between1880-1930"; see Nita Kumar, ibid in S. Bhattacharya, 1999: Contested Terrain, p. 85.

3 The term communal has taken on sectarian overtones in contemporary discourse. However, in 1927, the 'communal award' referred to different caste groups existing in India. For a detailed discussion see Bidyut Chakravarty (ed.), 2003: Communal Identity in India: Its Construction and Articulation in the Twentieth Century: New Delhi: Oxford University Press, p. 4.
gambling and drinking. In other words they were attempting to invent a Hindu or Sanatani way of life as a counterpoint to Western, Christian or British ways.\(^1\)

In the cities of the North Western Provinces most educational institutions, meeting halls, newspaper press and journals sought to impart and propagate both religious values with scientific knowledge in the hope of instilling a Hindu national consciousness in them. This strain of national education visualised its role in resisting the cultural imperialism unleashed by colonial rule. Thus important cultural figures such as Bhartendu Harishchandra,\(^2\) Pandit Bal Krishna Bhatt,\(^3\) Mrs. Annie Besant,\(^4\) Dr. Bhagwan Das,\(^5\) Babu Shyam Sunder Das, Pandit

\(^1\) Similar instances are encountered in Benaras, Agra and Oudh in Nita Kumar, ibid in S. Bhattacharya, 1999: Contested Terrain, p. 88-90.

\(^2\) Bhartendu Harishchandra founded an association of Hindi writers and poets for the spread and popularity of Hindi language. In addition to which he founded Hindi periodicals such as: 'Kavi Vachan Sudha', 'Harishchandra Magazine' and many other monthly magazines. He authored approximately written 140 books comprising drama, history, poetry etc, in a short life time of 35 years. A school was opened in his name to inculcate a love for the country and language of the region. He has been criticized strongly for his partisan stance on the Hind-Urdu controversy. Belonging to the elite of Benaras, he was open to modern education but mobilized the populace along linguistic and religious lines. Thus he is seen as one side of those who adhered to the two nation theory that led to the partition of India. See Vasudha Dalmia. 1997. The Nationalisation of Hindu Tradition

\(^3\) Pandit Bal Krishna Bhatt had a command over Hindi and Sanskrit and he participated in and supported the Hindi movement from Allahabad. He initiated a new type of prose writing through his monthly journal 'Hindi Pradeep'. The journal raised social, political, philosophical and other issues. His Hindi was highly sanskritized and was the teacher of Malaviya. For more details see Shri Jyoti Prasad Mishra 'Nirmal' and Shri Yagyadutta Sharma, 1967: Sankhipta Hindi Sahitya (Concise History of Hindi), Hindi Sahitya Sammelan: Prayag, pp 128-9.

\(^4\) She was ardent theosophist with an appreciation of Hinduism and the Vedas. She participated in the nationalist struggle and founded Central Hindu College at Benaras in 1898. The objective of the college was to provide a religio-secular education to the Hindu boys. The school provided the base for establish in Benaras Hindu University in 1916. For details see Central Hindu College (CHC) Magazine, March 1, 1904. Also quoted in Nita Kumar, ibid in S. Bhattacharya, 1999: Contested Terrain, p. 89-90.

\(^5\) Dr. Bhagwan Das from Haridwar was one of the leaders supporting the foundation of Central Hindu College as well as Benaras Hindu University. He was also instrumental in founding the Kashi Vidyapeeth in 1923 with the help of Mahatma Gandhi. The Vidyapeeth was an institution where 'Hindustani' was to be the medium of instruction and was a national education institution.
Madan Mohan Malaviya\textsuperscript{1} and many others established schools, presses, and journals that reached out to a Hindi speaking and reading public. Their goal was to revive a sense of Hindu tradition that simultaneously was at home with the offerings of modern education. We have here an assemblage of modern education with a variety of traditionalism.

**National Education in the Late Nineteenth Century**

The morality and relevance of came to be questioned for the first time in the last decades of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth century by the National Council for Education (NCE).\textsuperscript{2} This movement commenced before the emergence of *swadeshi* and the partition of Bengal in 1905, but was spurred on by these events. Under the umbrella of *swadeshi* the question of indigenous knowledge and practices and their relation to the form of life called modernity were discussed and debated. The compromise reached within the group was that while modern science had mastered the outer material world.\textsuperscript{3}

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\textsuperscript{1} Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya from Allahabad came from a middle class orthodox Brahmin family and was lucky to have an exposure of modern education that he effectively harnessed in the development of his educational programme as an educationist. He was a visionary who understood the need for the traditional ancient education for the youth of India. He had a long political career and he demonstrated the skills as a journalist, social reformer, lawyer in his public life of more than fifty years.


One of the goals of missionary education in India like elsewhere was evangelization. Missionary orders during the early half of the nineteenth century published and distributed books contrasting Christianity as a superior religion with local superstitious religions. Traditional Hindus condemned the conversions of their co-religionists to Christianity. The first major opposition came from the Sanatan Dharma Sabha formed in Calcutta in 1831. The opposition was evident in their protest against the law which banned sati, child-marriage, widow re-marriage etc. They saw in these laws a colonial onslaught on indigenous values and cultural traditions.

The English educated class appeared to constitute the elite within the colony, and a symbolic capital came to be associated with those who could speak and communicate in English. They were seen as modernizers precisely because they could speak in the language of the rulers and therefore could speak for all Indians. The situation was acute because English education was not available to all. The opportunity to actually speak on behalf others arose in the last quarter of nineteenth century when they could form many local associations and later the Indian National Congress in 1885. The leaders of the Congress communicated with the masses in the vernacular. Clearly a new class had emerged as intermediary between the colonizer and the masses at large. And the bilingualism of this class exposed to speak for and mobilize the masses. The educated class at the regional level opened schools to impart education in the vernacular and to inculcate community values of the groups. They also formed associations to advance the economic and political interests of their communities.

3 Group identity and formation is discussed in chapter IV of this thesis.
These educated elites sought to mobilize the populace for the nationalist cause, and sought strategies to mobilize those who fell outside their field of influence. This involved the collection of data related to literacy and education, occupational structure, newspapers and publications, rate of urbanization etc.¹

The nineteenth century movements for social reform consolidated national consciousness, provoked in part by the critique of colonial economic policy that found expression in "drain theory" proposed by intellectuals such as Dadabhai Naroji and Radha Kumud Mukherjee.² This led to the realization that widespread education was linked to the economic growth of the country. The proposal for national education envisaged a curriculum suited for the Indian masses and for their benefit, which in turn would be economically beneficial for the nation. The idea is evident in the speeches of the nationalist leaders like Bipin Chandra Pal, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and others during the first decade of twentieth century. The first attempt to construct such a curriculum and implement it is to be encountered in the Bengal Presidency during the high tide of the Swadeshi movement.³ Schools and colleges established by the government were boycotted and new schools and institutes were opened as a part of the agenda of national education.⁴

¹ This data was available to the educated elite through the census of 1872s. It is difficult to tell how this shaped several projects of social engineering and mobilization. However, modern education and methods of administration did underscore their importance. For details see Paul Brass. 1974. Op. cit. p. 32-33.
The Hindu Educated Intelligentsia in the Nineteenth Century

The response to modern education was mixed in the nineteenth century. What was the impact of the activities of reformers, revivalists, traditionalists and revitalists¹ and how did this shape the social and cultural movements of the nineteenth century India? The response amongst the upper class Hindus in Bengal was initially positive towards the science and technological development in the West which was due to the modern education. Thus they welcomed modern education initially.

The first among the promoters of modern education was Raja Ram Mohan Roy, which is why later generations considered him 'The Father of Modern India'. Descending from a devout Brahman family, he eagerly promoted western learning that would dispel superstitions that prevailed within Indian society. He had mastered Persian, and went to Benaras, Hinduism's major seat of learning, to learn Sanskrit. Between the ages of fifteen to twenty he traveled as far as Tibet, to learn about Buddhism. Later he even mastered English, and secured a position for himself in the Bengal Civil Service.² He went on to found and edit newspapers in English, Bengali and Persian; establish several secondary schools, and led successful campaigns against existing social evils such as: widow-

² B. N. Seal a known scientist in early twentieth century has described about Rammohun Roy and his understanding of the ancient Hindu religion. For details see B. N. Seal. 1915 (reprinted in 1985). The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus, Motilal Benarasidas: Delhi.
burning (*Sati*), and finally organized society of God or *Brahmo Samaj*. Through this society he tried to influence the social, intellectual and religious life of Indians. He refuted idol-worship, and considered it as an exaggeration of thoughtless custom and belief, which was mainly due to growing ignorance in the absence of truth. He appealed to the Hindus to go back to Vedas, and acquaint themselves with an understanding of the true devotion, and the unity of an omnipresent God. Further, he was deeply interested in the religious teachings of the Christian missionaries; in particular he was influenced by the New Testament. He was catholic enough to be open to the teachings of all religions.

Defending Hinduism against the evangelical onslaught, Rammohan Roy explained that it was historically evident that the world was indebted to South Asians for the first dawn of knowledge, for the special philosophical and copious language which was distinct from other nations who were not able to express their scientific and abstract ideas without borrowing the language of the foreigners.¹ He found the quarrel between the two religions unjust since the two were unable to comprehend the truth of each other’s religion due to the lack of command of the language.²

In 1823 the East India Company passed an ordinance restricting the freedom of press by requiring all newspapers to be licensed under the terms laid down by

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² Ram Mohan carried his campaign to a successful conclusion by helping the British overcome their doubts about proscribing the custom of *sati*. He staged an imaginary debate between himself and the orthodoxy, between an advocate and an opponent of the practice of burning widows alive. The opponent won by appealing to humanitarian standards of justice and mercy, and a passionate defense of rights of women. Quoted from *English Works*, pp. 359-63 as referred in Wm. Theodore de Bary (ed.), 1958. *op. cit*, p. 81.
the government. Rammohan Roy drew up a memorandum to the government on behalf of Indian community, contending that Indians would be loyal when they enjoyed the civil liberties which had reconciled them to British rule - a similar argument was offered during the early stages of Indian nationalism much later. ¹

In a letter in 1828 to his English friend, Rammohun Roy predicted the rise of Indian nationalism: 'over 100 years after the intercourse of Europeans and the Indians and acquirement of the general and political knowledge, as well as the modern arts and science, they would not accept unjust and oppressive measures which would degrade them in this state of society'.²

The introduction of English education in India had a long lasting influence on modern Indian thought. On the one hand it greatly accelerated the diffusion of western ideas and on the other there was a rapid diffusion of Western attitudes, reflected in the publication of Hindu classics in English translations which stimulated movements defending Hinduism or demanding greater political opportunities for Indian movements, whose leaders often wrote or spoke in English.³ English education thus offered Indians the opportunity of creating a common modern culture of their own by promoting the concern for a common language and cultural background for citizenry from all parts of India who were separated by linguistic, regional, and cultural differences. The conditions for unity that India lacked thereby materialized and gave birth to political self consciousness and nationalism.

¹ English Works; pp. 441-43; ibid, p. 585
² Ibid, p. xxii; ibid, p. 587
³ Ibid, p. 588
However, sections of the Muslim elite resented the new order as English replaced Persian as the main language of government, diplomacy, and culture throughout the Indian subcontinent. This displacement acquired an emotional turn among the Muslims as they considered it a personal insult. This was also a set back for those Hindus who knew Persian and were officials in the Mughal court and other kingdoms of Northern India. Sections of the Hindu community enthusiastically learned the new language and capitalized on the new job openings in the colonial government. As a result with the passage of time the gap between the two communities increased and Muslims felt that the English educated Hindus would dominate both politically and economically.

Hindu reform and revivalist movements emerged in the wake of the founding of the Brahmo Samaj. In other words orthodox sections of Hindu Society responded vehemently to these trends towards reform of the social structure. The late nineteenth century has been looked upon as the period of the rise of religious revivalism in the Indian subcontinent. A section of society that had received a modern, liberal education felt that their beliefs and customs were threatened. Reacting to these changes they sought to revive the traditional order and save it from being contaminated by the ‘others’. This ‘other’ was the ‘enlightened outsider’ or English educated ‘enlightened insider’.1 The objective was to assimilate the scientific knowledge and technological developments of West while keeping the accompanying values out. Clearly among the Ram Mohan Roy must be counted among the enlightened insiders,2 and the like minded thinkers

2 Rammohan Roy had recovered a rational theory from the traditions of Islam and Hinduism. He argued that a modern education would free India from the poverty and backwardness. He was a pioneer among modern reformists. For details on Ram Mohan Roy see S. Sarkar. 1975.
such as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Karamat Ali, Maulana Imdad Ali. These enlightened insiders desired affecting positive change in their communities. However, the leaders of the religious revival movements in the late nineteenth century were not necessarily the members of this educated class but were from the newly formed English educated middle class, who intended to change the personal laws and reform in religious laws.

"Rammohun and the break with the past" in V. C. Joshi (ed.), Rammohun and the Process of Modernization of India, Vikas Publications: New Delhi, pp. 46-68.

1 Sir Syed was aware of missionary activity even before 1857 and he has already written a couple of treatises on Islam vis-a-vis Christianity. For this see Aziz Ahmad, 'Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Jamal Al-Din al-Afghani and Muslim India', Studia Islamica, XIII, Paris, 1960. pp. 56-57. Sir Syed criticized his own community's backwardness by reinterpreting the Koran and tried to explain in simple language its importance as religious work that was not only relevant during the life of the Prophet but for all time. This led him in to confrontation within his community. This was also the period of rising tide of nationalism and thus he attracted a lot of flak for his collaborative politics. See the modernization initiated by Sir Syed in S. Irfan Habib 'Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Modernization: The Role of Aligarh Scientific Society in the mid­nineteenth Century India' in Asloob A. Ansari (ed.), 2001: Sir Syed Ahmad Khan: A Centenary Tribute; Adam Publishers: Delhi pp. 214-231. See also S. Irfan Habib, 2000. "Reconciling Science with Islam in 19th century India", in Contributions to Indian Sociology, Vol.34, No.1.


4 Maulana Imdad Ali founded the Bihar Scientific Society in 1868 to spread modern scientific knowledge through Indian languages. The society's publication included Akhbar-ul- Akhiyar; vernacular schools were opened to teach European sciences. Books of modern knowledge and significance were translated into Urdu. He even demanded to teach and take University exams in Urdu or Hindee This is quoted in S. I. Habib and Dhruv Raina, The Introduction of Scientific Rationality into India: A Study of Master Ramchandra—Urdu Journalist, Mathematician and Educationalist, in Annals of Science, 46, 1989, pp. 597-610, p. 605.

The reformers wishing to bring change in society faced stiff opposition from within and without. The opposition had realized that they would be the losers once the masses were enlightened by understanding the richness and equality of all religions. This meant that the scriptures were to be understood and followed without misinterpretation by mediators. The devout Hindus who exemplified this tendency included Debendranath Tagore (1817-1905), Keshub Chundra Sen (1838-1884), Swami Dayanand Saraswati (1824-1883), Sri Ramakrishna Paramhansa (1836-1886), and Swami Vivekananda (1863-1902), Sri Aurobindo Ghosh (1870-1950), to name a few.

The Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century

By the last quarter of the nineteenth century there arose a split within the Bhadralok class in Bengal a split of two cultures, the one pressing for a scientific and technical education on modern lines and the others who felt that a scientific and technical education ought to be guided by a cultural and value education. Several arguments were used by both sides to gain advantage. Thus the practically inclined argued while the country was technologically underdeveloped mental and spiritual progress was not lacking. This ideological difference between the members of NCE, led to the split during 1905-1912, and two institutes were formed: the Bengal National College (BNC) and the Bengal Technical Institute (BTI). The BNC’s executive body was composed mostly of the

2 This was the period when swadeshi movement was summed up as ‘renaissance materialism’ as referred by P. N. Bose in his work A History of Hindu Civilisation during British Rule in Four
scholars and philosophers from human sciences and only one physicist,\(^1\) where as BTI consisted of doctors, engineers, chemists and physicists, who were not ready to accept moral education as a part of the new curriculum.\(^2\) Thus by the beginning of the twentieth century scientists like P. C. Ray,\(^3\) and philosophers such as B. N. Seal were writing books to inform Indian audiences of the history of science in ancient India.\(^4\) This was linked to the contemporary relevance of science. The historical consciousness of the early phase of nationalism betrays a faith in the optimism in science.\(^5\) Further the period is marked by ambiguity concerning change.\(^6\) The scientifically oriented nationalists wished to shift the debate to scientific and technical education appropriate for India that would facilitate the process of industrialization.\(^7\) The need for setting up a system of science under “national management” and along “national lines” dated back to

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\(^1\) Members of BNC were B. K. Sarakar, Satish Mukherjee, Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore, Radha Kumud Mukherjee, Dhammananda Kosambi, Ramendra Trivedi, Haran Chakladar and those of BTI were Tarak Nath Palit, Nilratan Sarkar, Rajendranath Mukherjee, P. N. Bose, P. C. Ray, J. C. Bose, P. J. Bruhl, Jatin Das Gupta, Gopal Sen as quoted in Dhruv Raina and S. Irfan Habib, “The Moral Legitimisation of Modern Science: Bhadralok Reflections on Theories of Evolution”, \textit{ibid}, p. 36.

\(^2\) For details on division of NCE see Raina and Habib, “Institutional Proliferations Embodying Bhadralok Perception of Science, Technology and Cultural Nationalism (11905-1912)”, \textit{Indian Economic and Social History Review}, (New Delhi), Vol. 32, No.1 (January-March 1995), pp. 95-117. Even though the members of NCE were intellectuals and very sophisticated nationalist from Bengal there was a traditionalist group within them which these members who were committed to modernity had to overcome.

\(^3\) P. C. Ray was a son of a traditional Sanskritist and Persian Scholar, and he received a doctoral degree from England and is considered the father of modern chemistry in India. During 1905 when militancy was spreading in Bengal a section of the Bengali scientific community supported Swadeshi (economic self reliance), or constructive modernization.


efforts of M. L. Sircar.¹ The ground work for what was to come in the early decades of the twentieth century was undertaken by these figures in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Another source of inspiration for the Indian nationalists arose from the European anti-enlightenment. These Europeans with a romantic attachment to the Indian tradition and the richness of its culture desired that it should be introduced in the modern curriculum of the schools. They hoped that the students would have the better of two cultures and then serve their nation. Amongst these Europeans was Helena Petrovna Blavatsky from England and Henry Steel Olcott from America, who founded 'The Theosophical Society' in 1875. The society was instrumental in bolstering the self confidence of a section of the Hindu community who supported the nationalists and helped mobilize political support in the early decades of twentieth century. Educationalists such as Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya were influenced by these developments even while being committed to Sanatan Dharma.²

The second half of nineteenth-century as suggested earlier saw the emergence of religious sectarianism. There were efforts to redefine Hindu and Muslim identities in order to purposively ensure the development of the respective communities. Thus educationalists such as Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya appealed to members of their respective communities;

¹ These were men with a scientific bent of mind and they knew that real progress was only possible when India had its own system of scientific research and development. For details see Dhruv Raina, 2003: Images and Contexts; p. 28.
² Sanatan Dharma is said to be the ancient religion of India. Its followers believed in its unchanging nature which existed since time immemorial. Most of its principles were derived from the Vedas and Puranas. The advocates of Sanatanta shifted their ground and adjusted and articulated their views according to the need of the hour. For details see Vasudha Dalmia. 1997: op. cit.
created unawareness about education through newspapers, booklets, journals etc; and formed associations etc. The hope was to create communities that would serve the welfare of both community and nation, however conceived. Thus the initiative undertaken by Sir Syed was for the education and upliftment of Muslims and Urdu was the vehicle of this transformation. In a speech delivered at the All India Muslim Education Conference he confided that he never intended to mobilize his Mohammedan brothers against another community, but unfortunately these groups emerged as two separate entities with nothing in common—mainly language and religion and thus they were two separate nations. This resulted in a polarization between the communities along religious and linguistic lines.

Similarly, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was interested in founding different associations and groups that would uplift his co-religionists. Anchored deeply within Hinduism of the N. W. P and wished to inculcate these values amongst the youth. Though he was not opposed to any other religion but was an orthodox Hindu and staunch follower of Sanatan Dharma. According to him Sanatan Dharma was oldest religion on the earth, and derived its recognition from the Vedas, Smritis and Puranas. The essence of Sanatan Dharma is to give alms, mercy...
on living beings, celibacy, truth, compassionate, patience and forgiveness, which places it beyond other religions.¹

The Traditionalist Hindu Response to Colonial Modernity

The movements and responses among the Hindus to Western modernization have been distinguished by scholars like Kenneth Jones, as acculturist² and transitional.³ The polarization between the traditional and modern thus establishes, according to V. Dalmia, the distinction between indigenous and alien.⁴ The transitional respondents saw the traditional as depicting the indigenous standing firm against the pressure of change. In the latter half of the nineteenth century this produced the popular dichotomy of the indigenous and alien among the common masses. This dichotomy was not prevalent in South Asia during the medieval period. Prior to communities separated their religious feeling from their commercial or official relationships. In the late nineteenth century communities congregated around religion, language, caste etc. Sanatan Dharma was the anti-reformist traditional Hindu movement which adjusted to the challenges posed by the modern age. The vital issues relating to culture, religion and identity were thrashed in the traditionalist quarters. This period of

¹ Awadesh Pradhan (chief editor), also Balraj Pandey, Mridula Sinha and Sadanand Shahi (editorial board), 2007. op. cit, p.2.
² Kenneth Jones. 1989. Socio-Religious Reform Movements in British India, Cambridge University Press: Cambridge. Jones has studied the growth of the Arya Samaj in Punjab in the late nineteenth century. These reform movements are seen as 'acculturative' since they were initiated by South Asians who had received a modern education and thus the movement was a response to the colonial encounter. Transitional movements had roots in traditional society and were based on the traditional forms of socio-religious dissent and had a low impact on the colonial milieu, though later they were influenced by it and made some nominal adjustments to survive.
change, accommodation and re-articulation in the Hindu reform movements has been dubbed the Hindu Renaissance or simply Renaissance.\(^1\)

This modernist reform did extend across the entire sub-continent indicates that the conception of one nation was still to gain currency. The common features of these movements included a return to the original books of the ancient religion, mobilizing Hindus around issues such as cow-protection etc. The varieties of these responses have been lumped under the rubric of ‘neo-Hinduism.’ These neo-Hindu formations of *Brahmo Samaj*, *Arya Samaj*\(^2\) could be considered manifestations of the modernization of Hinduism.

The first among these transitional organisations in North India was the *Sanatan Dharma Sabha* that emerged as an extreme response to colonial policy. These included support for missionary activities or the abolition of certain traditional practices prevalent since time immemorial. The advocators of *Sanatan Dharma* projected themselves as the saviours of traditional Hindu society with its own customs and observances. The *Dharma Sabha* in Calcutta was founded in 1831 on the pretext of countering the ban on *Sati*, and checking missionary activities etc. Interestingly these *sabhas* were organized on the modern pattern of the British Parliament with an elected President, Secretary and defined organizational

\(^1\) Vasudha Dalmia. 1997: *op. cit.* But there are differences among scholars in labelling this the Hindi Renaissance. (based on interviews of Hindi scholars at Allahabad and Benaras)

\(^2\) *Brahmo Samaj* (The Society of God), was founded by Rammohan Roy and was re-created by Debendranath Tagore. This was an organization committed to the common worship of one true God. The movement aimed at bringing dispersed communities together. For further details see Debendranath Tagore, *Autobiography:* see also *ibid,* Chapter-xxii, 605-627.

\(^3\) The *Arya Samaj* was founded in 1875 in Bombay and espoused a militant Hindu nationalism. Dayanand Saraswati, the founder, enjoyed religious debates, with orthodox Hindus. His attitude towards them was very harsh and his later followers had serious intermittent exchanges with Muslims and *Sanatanis.* For more details see Har Bilas Sarda, *Life of Dayanand Saraswati:* *ibid,* Chapter-xxii, pp 628-636.
structures. Membership was not confined to Brahmins alone but included the western educated intelligentsia. The period witnessed the translation of original scriptures that were made available to those who had no earlier access to them.\(^1\)

The objective of the *Sanatan Dharma Sabha* was to acquaint the masses of the greatness of “Aryan culture” and the richness of Hindu religion. While the *sabhas* were established in different regions the seat of Hindu orthodoxy was aggressively concentrated and in the United Provinces.\(^2\) This possibly arose from its geographical location as the heartland of the ancient Hindu culture and the proximity of important pilgrimage centres like Prayag, Kashi, Ayodhya, Braj, Mathura, Haridwar, Rishikesh, and Vindhyachal. These centres were controlled by orthodox Brahmins who responded vehemently to the attack on their faith. Reform movements in Bengal and other parts of India were of a different nature.

The Hindu orthodoxy redefined itself in a modern incarnation in the 1860s and 1870s. Benaras was the centre where one of the new images of Hindu orthodoxy was fashioned as it gathered momentum from the responses from other communities. The *Kashi Dharma Sabha* and *Tadiya Samaj* were organizations codifying ritual practices and exercising spiritual authority in the last quarter of nineteenth century. Other organizations such as the *Bharat Dharma Mahamandal*\(^3\),

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\(^2\) This will unfold in the following chapters including this.

\(^3\) *Bharat Dharma Mahamandal* was founded in 1887 in Haridwar. The main patron was the Maharaja of Darbhanga, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was elected its ‘Mahopadeshak’ or chief preceptor. In 1902 this association was formally registered and had a Board of Directors. These organizations were structured on the line of modern associations. In 1903 this association opened its branch in Benaras to counter the *Arya Samaj*. The goal was to promote religious education according to the norms of *Sanatan Dharma*, impart knowledge of the sacred text books, promote Sanskrit language and Hindu Literature, reform the holy places and religious institutions in colonial India according to the principles of Hindu *shashtras*, Further, they sought to found and manage Hindu institutions, colleges, schools, libraries, and publishing houses to promote the
the Prayag Hindu Samaj spouted. The last of these counted Malaviya and his
guru Aditya Ram Bhattacharya amongst the founders. The association's
objective was to bring together all Hindu sects and castes, and participate in
government. From 1910 the Bharat Dharma Mahamandal came under scrutiny as
one of the organisations involved in promoting seditious activity. Though
Malaviya dissociated himself from Mahamandal he continued attending its annual
meetings. Later under the leadership of Swami Gyananand and Swami
Dayanand he was associated with the Hindu Mahasabha, and participated in the
'Shuddhi' and 'Harijan Movement'.

Prayag Hindu Samaj was founded in 1880 in Prayag and this association was for the promotion of Hindu society and religion. It also trained Hindus to oppose and resist the enemies: meaning the English colonizer and Muslims. The organization attempted to strengthen communitarian feelings among Hindus, and led the Hindi movement, propagating the idea that the language of the masses was not being accepted as the main language and that a foreign language had acquired a higher status. They were also opposed to the use of the English language and Roman script and desired the introduction of the Nagri script in the place of the Persian script. The Nagari script was seen as a sacred script as it was used in the sacred books.

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3 The Hindu Mahasabha was a traditionalist organisation whose members, especially the Brahmans, felt that modern education and culture was eroding the rich religious significance of Hinduism and the leaders who led the Mahasabha were trying to save Hinduism from foreign contamination. The organization was religious as well as political, and in its early years had the support of orthodox leaders like Pandit Malaviya, Lala Lajpat Rai. Later when Gowalkar and Savarkar sought to counter every action of the Muslim League it acquired a communal flavour. Malaviya dissociated himself from it in the early 30s when it became a mouth piece of fundamentalists. The organisation openly criticised any community in India which did not accept the faith of the majority. It was permitted to have its office inside Benaras Hindu University For more details on this see chapter V; See Richard Gordan. 1975. “The Hindu Mahasabha and the Indian National Congress, 1915 to 1925”, MAS, 9, 2, pp.145-203.

4 Shuddhi movement was mostly initiated by the Hindu groups which were more with the traditionalist ideas and believed in the supremacy of the Vedas. These leaders of the religious groups like Arya Samaj, Sanatan Dharma wished to stop the spread of Christianity among the
Madan Mohan Malaviya was whole-heartedly involved in the Hindi-Devanagari movement of the Benaras School (which was active since the time of Raja Shiv Prasad and became prominent during Bhartendu’s life) and had prepared the ground for the Allahabad’s phase. He was one of the founders of many societies which were formed during the last two decades of 19th century.

However, we shall discuss only those necessary to our problematic. He was founding member of Prayag Hindu Samaj which was very active in promotion of Hindi and the Nagari script in the place of Urdu and the Persian script. He took up the question of character of the courts in the province and pursued the matter for more than three years. His complaint was exhaustive and resulted in the famous resolution of Sir Anthony McDonnell’s government. This became a subject of controversy and generated bitterness amongst the Muslims several years after the issue was taken up. The loss of jobs for the Muslims who could read and write Persian was the source of contention. Malaviya’s intention was to help larger number of people to follow court instructions but he was

lower classes and the deprived sections of the Hindus. They allowed the depressed classes the privilege of wearing the sacred thread, educating them to higher ideals and giving them also the access to Vedas and entry to the temples where it was possible. This was all in order to bring the depressed classes in the fold of Hinduism. These organizations were doing a great job by allowing the depressed classes to come back into the Hindu fold during the early twentieth century. It began mostly from 1905 onwards. This all was more in the North India. For more discussions see Richard Gordon. 1975. ibid, pp. 145-203.

1 Pandit Malaviya played an important part in the removal of untouchability and in giving direction to the Harijan movement. The Harijan Sevak Sangh was founded at a meeting in 1933 which was presided by Pandit Malaviya. Mahatma Gandhi and Dr. Ambedkar had also led this issue to bring equality in the Indian society.

2 This court character petition was first initiated by Raja Shiv Prasad of Benaras. Memorandum Court Character in the Upper Provinces of India, Benaras, 1868; See Appendix for details from Memorandum of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Also see Veer Bharat Talwar. Rassa Kasi; for details about Shiv Prasad and his social background and the public transformation of his character due to changes in the political condition of India after the Revolt of 1857.
misunderstood. The Hindu Samaj also played an important role in founding the Hindi Literary Institute in 1884. Malaviya saw Hindi as a national language and with this in his mind he established a Hindu Educational Institution. He was also associated with Nagari Pracharini Sabha and the All India Hindi Sahitya Samelan. A parallel institution was the Indian Press that brought out a number of publications in humanities. It also started a leading journal of Hindi "Saraswati" edited by Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi who took charge of the magazine

1 It is reported that the population of the region were unable to read the Persian script and had to travel long distances to get official notices read and then act according to it. This memorandum was not against anyone in the offices. It has been suggested that Malaviya raked up the issue because he wanted to get jobs for his co-religionists and Brahmins. See Appendices at the back of this thesis related to this topic where the relevant portion of the Memorandum supporting this argument is provided.


3 Nagrai Pracharni Sabha (NPS) was established informally in the last decade of the nineteenth century (1893) with the help of Babu Shyam Sunder Das, Pandit Ram Narayan Mishr, and Shiv Kumar Singh. Its purpose was to promote Hindi and Devnagari script as a national language. It also supported Pandit Malaviya in the agenda of promotion of Hindi and Devanagari script in the Courts and government Offices. Most of the initiators of Hindi were a part of this Sabha, which was also responsible for publication of handwritten Hindi works. Even Saraswati magazine was published by NPS for the first three years. This Sabha was more active during the first decade of twentieth century and helped in the growth of Hindi literature and to promote Hindi for the status of national language.

4 All India Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was formed in 1910 and the movement was launched more vigorously under the leadership of Malaviya. Many Hindi literary figures and virtually the leadership of Hindi of both the cultural centres collaborated and joined the cause, but now the full fledged venue was Allahabad itself. On the advice of his friends Gandhiji attached himself with the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. He upgraded ‘Hindi’ as "Rashtrabhasha" on the political plank of the nationalist movement. He presided over the Sammelan convention of 1917. Actually he himself gained a lot from the Sammelan and Rashtrabasha Prachar Samitis in the south and elsewhere and gave a national stature to Hindi in the real sense later. For details see book by Gandhiji on ‘Hindustani’ language.

5 Saraswati magazine started by Indian press had articles on soico-political issues, education, religion, etc. These were more to make the general masses aware of the problems which were keeping the Indians poor. There were articles on women empowerment and their education and health. This magazine

6 Mahavir Prasad Dwivedi was a Hindi writer, whose period 1903-25 is known as Dwivedi yug. In 1903 he became the editor of Saraswati, published from Allahabad and established it as a prestigious Hindi magazine of its time. He helped in the development of Khari Boli. See Charu Gupta, 2001. Sexuality, Obscenity, Community: Women, Muslims, and the Hindu Public in
in 1903 and worked with it for approximately twenty years. Diwedi contributed to the development of Hindi language and literature, and standardized the language possible. This phase in the history of Hindi has been termed as "Hindi Navjagran". Malaviya was whole-heartedly involved in the Hindi-Devanagari movement of the Benaras School and also led the Nagari movement. At the behest of the Nagri Pracharani Sabha and possibly sponsored by it, a new organization, the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan was formed in 1910 and the movement was launched vigorously under the leadership of Pandit Malaviya.

The Hindi Movement

The politics of language has been a source of divisiveness amongst peoples since second half of nineteenth century even while it has created a new sense of community amongst those who share a language. The North Western Provinces were the breeding ground of such politics. However, these leaders who played communal politics in the name of language were hardly aware of the history of the development of the language whose cause they were espousing. The politicisation of language was premised on the politicisation of the religious sphere. The purpose was to create a community of Hindi speakers who were bound together as Hindus. The Identitarian politics woven around Hindi

Colonial India, Permanent Black: New Delhi, chapter 5. He remained almost aloof from the Hindi-Hindu and Urdu-Muslim controversy and also did not speak when the compromise language 'Hindustani' came, but he developed a national oriented structure of Hindi language.

1 Hindi Navjagaran is the period beginning in 1903 when Mahavir Prasad Diwedi inaugurated Hindi prose and it was recognised by people and they were coming forward to write in Khari Boli. For details see Ramchandra Shukl, 1929. Hindi Saahitya Ka Itihaas (History of Hindi Language), Kashi (now available 8th edition of 1952).
language was triggered off the Urdu movement by the Muslims and erupted into the Hindi-Urdu controversy.¹

The Hindi-Urdu Controversy

In 1837, English replaced Persian in government offices at the higher level, and the regional languages at the lower levels.² This decision prompted a feeling of injustice in the Hindi-speaking region where Urdu was seen as a variant of Persian since its script derived from the latter. Hindi was written in Devanagari script which was little known in government offices. Urdu was proclaimed as the local official language, as a result of which the Hindi-speakers demanded of the British government that Hindi in Devanagari script should replace the Persian script as most of the inhabitants of the region were not familiar with Persian script. Thus began the Hindi-Urdu controversy which was a controversy over which script must be used for official purposes.³ Sir George Campbell had found

¹ Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Amrit Rai, Krishna Kumar, Christopher King, Paul Brass, Francesca Orsini, Vasudha Dalmia, Alok Rai, Veer Bharat Talwar, to name a few and other authors like Bimal Prasad, Mushirul Hasan etc who have given an account of the communal politics which developed in the name of language and identity in North India particularly in NWP of Agra and Oudh during the second half of nineteenth century. These works have been discussed in detail in Chapter III and IV.


³ This debate began with the foundation of Fort William College in 1800 where this question was discussed whether Hindi and Urdu were one and the same language—sometimes called ‘Hindusthani’, written in two different scripts or despite their similar grammar and common basic vocabulary, these were two distinct languages with a separate vocabulary, literature and genealogy. For details on the used of ‘Hindustani’ and the language development in the nineteenth century See Dr. Lakshmisagar Vaishnav.1941. “East India Company Ki Bhasha Neeti”, Hindustani-Hindustani Academy Ki Timahi Patrika, April-June, Vol. 11, No. 2, pp. 129-177; For details on establishment of Fort William and initial years of language development see Dr. Lakshmisagar Vaishnav. “Fort William College College: Gilchrist”, Hindustani, pp. 66-119; Dr. Lakshmisagar Vaishnav. “Fort William College Aur Gilchrist”, Hindustani, pp. 253-266; See also the portions of Pandit Malaviya memorandum in this thesis related to this where the portions of
that the language that was spoken in the North-West, Oudh, Central Provinces, and Behar was worthy enough for consideration as the spoken language of North India by the examining body of Calcutta University. But the Syndicate of the University opted for Urdu.¹ In the case of languages belonging to different families, the script became a marker of distinction. In the case of languages that were close, such as Hindustani meant the language and script (Devanagari) became markers.² Leading Hindi writers such as Bhartendu accused government officials for ignoring the language of the region and forcing on them another which subjected them to unnecessary trouble and expense, besides making them the victims of unscrupulous law touters.³ The question then is how language came to mark the educational efforts of the partisans of the newly emerging middle class divided by language. Several reasons were offered for promoting Hindi as an official language in courts and offices of administration. There was nevertheless a hidden agenda, that of linking Hindi as the language of the Hindus. This was also an issue with Hindu revivalist movements. The leadership of Hindu revivalist movements supported the status of Hindi as a national language in the next century.

Hon'ble Fredrick John Shore's language related arguments are reproduced from his 'Notes on India Affairs' Vol. 1. part 2, published in 1837.

¹ Harishchandra Magazine (ed.,) February 15th, 1874, 'Bengal Magazine' January, pp. 118-121. It has been argued in this article in the Magazine that there are several languages which are derived from Sanskrit but there is none which has such wide-spread influence over India as Hindi or common Hindustani. Hindi was not only the spoken language of the people but also the language of commercial transactions. There were supporters of Hindi who grouped together all the peoples who understood the language from Punjab to Bengal. This inflated the numbers of Hindi speakers enormously.

² Ibid, pp. 118-121.

³ Ibid. p. 120. The spokespersons of the Hindi and Urdu movements during the late nineteenth century were blaming each other and government officials for promotion of one language at the cost of other. They did not take the popular perceptions into consideration. Though the truth is that Hindi and Urdu had the same grammar, the difference being Hindi had more Sanskrit words in it and was written in the Devanagari script and Urdu had more Persian words and written in Persian script. There have been many scholars who have written extensively on the issue. See V. Dalmia. 1997. The Nationalisation of Hindu Tradition; see articles on
Pandit Malaviya, it has been pointed out, never asked for the removal of Urdu and Persian script from the courts. He did make a plea that petitions are permitted to submit in the Hindi language and Devanagari script. He did not become a part of the Hindi movement before 1880-1900. Hindi was accepted as one of the languages in which petitions could be filed along with Urdu in the NWP. In 1908 he started ‘Abhudaya’, and later ‘Maryada’. These Hindi periodicals also supported the growth of Hindi language. These were political periodicals opposing the moves of the colonial government, while propagating traditional values amongst his readers so that they did not develop a love for the English language and culture and forget their own. In addition to which they strived to promote a sense of communitarian identity. These periodicals created a threat perception among the Muslims, and provoked a response in favour of Urdu among the Muslims. Language and religion became conjugates and the periodicals were the vehicles and weapons of the communal battle that ensued.¹

Newspapers carried a stream of letters on the subject. Prayag Hindu Samaj, Madhya Hindu Samaj, was run by families associated with the cause. Pandit Malaviya was involved in these movements and their successes were linked with his leadership. On account of this he was given the responsibility of furthering the Hindi movement. He was known in Allahabad as a good orator, and lawyer. This advanced his leadership in the Hindi movement grew and he consolidated like minded Hindus together into a unit. The strengthening of the Hindi movement in Allahabad gave reason for associating Pandit Malaviya with the Hindu movement, when linguistic identity was considered synonymous with religious identity. Pandit Malaviya was only one of the causative agents in this

¹ From the files of the magazines at Nehru Library, Delhi for Abhudaya and Nagari Pracharani Sabha in Benaras for Maryada.
conflation, though he was not responsible. The Hindi-Urdu controversy had already met the Hindu-Muslim controversy before Pandit Malaviya even came into the picture. He took up the leadership of the Prayag Hindi Prabodhini Sabha, Prayag Hindu Sabha, Cow Protection movement and many other organizations. This is why he is seen to be responsible for conflating the two identities. Allahabad became the fount of this conflation. Secondly, he was also a member of the Congress Party and his guru Bal Krishna Bhatt was a member of the Congress party and Hindu Samaj. The meetings of these organizations naturally acquired a political flavour. Bhartendu Harishchandra, Bal Krishna Bhatt, Pratap Narayan Mishra, Shreedhar Pathak, and Badrinarayan Khatri, Kashinath Khatri used to write for Hindi in the newspapers. Malaviya had just taken the issue of Devanagari script and its use in the courts.

Pandit Malaviya's vision for the University was to have Hindi as the medium of instruction for all the subjects. In 1910 the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan under his leadership passed a resolution to have a Hindi University. But the idea of a university where Hindi or Urdu was the medium of instruction was first independently proposed by Bhartendu or Sir Syed respectively. The controversy was the most heated in Allahabad where the Hindi movement was more popular and Pandit Malaviya was one of the popular leaders in the region. Thus his name became synonymous with the movement as it acquired momentum. The citizenry of Allahabad and Benaras desired a university where Hindi was the medium of instruction. One of the ironies is that Malaviya who wanted a university where Sahitya and Hindi were taught could not do much to concretise 

1 The cow protection movement in India was intense 1880-1920 and has been exclusively studied by scholars. For details see Charu Gupta. op. cit., p. 213-221; see also the note by her on the works done on cow-protection movement: note 76 on p. 214.
this idea when the university actually came into being. Bal Krishna Bhatt who was an ardent lover of Hindi and wrote some passages in *Hindi Pradeep* to strengthen the Hindi movement and its use as a medium of instruction. English was the medium of instruction for Hindi Sahitya when the Hindu university was established. Pandit Malaviya was petitioned for the medium of instruction to be altered for this particular course. Leaders like Bhartendu and Malaviya from the Hindi speaking region could not come terms with the language question felt that education should be imparted in such a way that students had a chance to imbibe their own values and develop a good understanding of their culture. At the same time they wished to educate the students in modern science, but these books were available in English and it was needed for the students to catch up with their counterparts in Bengal and Maharashtra.

The social background of leadership of the Hindi-Hindu movement in the last decades of the nineteenth century was upper caste but they were not part of the economic or political establishment of the times. Hence their exposure to the West and modern education was a very limited one and so was their understanding of underdevelopment. However, they did share a symptomatic understanding of “underdevelopment” with their modernist contemporaries: for example the place of superstition and social inequality.

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1 Benaras Hindu University bill presented before the member of education in 1911, Sir Harcourt Butler and he laid the conditions of the government as was in case of Aligarh Muslim University, another denominational University for the Muslims. Among these conditions one of them were the medium of instruction was to be English. Hindi or Urdu, the vernacular of the people were not accepted by the British administrators in India who facilitated the process of founding of the new universities on the research and teaching model based on Oxbridge model.  
2 Described in detail in the Hunter commission report in 1882.
Pandit Malaviya was from a Brahmin family but did not belong to the economic or political elite. However, he was an effective mobilize of his co-religionists and an active participant in the religious reform movements in the late nineteenth century (Prayag Hindu Samaj etc). The same could be said of the litterateur Bhartendu. As hinted earlier, that among the several ironies surrounding Malaviya was his fervent demand that education be imparted on the lines of the dharma shastras and the Hindu tradition. But when he founded the University of his Dreams he recruited faculty who were all educated on the Western pattern. Even most of the teaching was undertaken in English. This widening gap between Malaviya’s conceptualisation and implementation, his dream and reality will be one of the subjects for discussion in the forthcoming chapters.

It appears then that two poles of education and mobilisation had emerged in the NWP by the early decades of the twentieth century, the one deriving inspiration from Sir Syed and the other led by Malaviya. After 1857 one of Sir Syed Ahmad’s concerns was to obtain the help of colonial officials in setting up his system of education. This help was required not only for establishing a system of modern education but equally to develop courses and pedagogy for scientific and technological education. This vision of the complexity of the education system was not present in Malaviya’s scheme of things, but he did mature rapidly as the years went by. Sir Syed opened schools in Moradabad and Ghazipur to educate Muslims in the 1860’s and 70’s when Malaviya was not even born. But at the time Bhartendu was speaking of women’s education, Bal Krishna Bhatt desired that the system of modern education in India should be no different from the British one. Bhartendu reiterated the programme of the Vernacular Translation Societies that preceded him by half century in demanding that knowledge from all regions of the world be translated in to our languages and then through our languages
go out to the world as was happening in the case of English and Japanese. By 1885 even a traditionalist like Bal Krishna Bhatt made a demand for the education of women but said nothing about the nature of education for women. The women of Bhartendu’s family were not sent to school or. Bhartendu felt that Indians were not capable of opening their own universities, that they were not capable of coming together and opening educational institutions and thus responsibility resided with the colonial government.\footnote{Bhartendu said this before Hunter Commission in 1882.} Despite differences there appear to be points of convergence in the conceptualization of the role and manner of education in Indian society in the thinking of Raja Rammohun Roy, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, and Sir Syed. Bhartendu and Sir Syed were contemporaries predisposed to modern education. Similarly, though there were points of intersection in the views of Sir Syed and Pandit Malaviya, they differed in that Sir Syed did not place much emphasis on religious education.

Pandit Malaviya was more orthodox and committed to the idea that religion and religious education (Hindu dharma and Samskriti) should go hand in hand with the modern education if Indian culture was to revived. He did not implement this scheme successfully in BHU, but he did envisage such a possibility when expression his views in the Hindu Dharma Mahasabha, Prayag Hindu Samaj. In forum such as these he emphasised the importance of the Sanatan adarsh pranali and Gurukul Paddati in the system of modern education. Why was Malaviya unable to implement this scheme? Were the two systems irreconcilable?
Education and the Hindi Renaissance

The nineteenth century has been described as the period of Hindi navjagaran (new awakening). The terms punarjagaran and navjagaran could be used synonyms at the time for the modernisation of techniques, the need to improve the quality of health, the opposition to the caste system. These ideas drew upon discourses of modernisation that derived from the West and maps fairly well the connotation of navjagaran. On the other hand punarjagaran refers to the revivalism of religion, culture, tradition, and the assertion of the superiority of these over others. A standard argument at the time was that India was advanced in all respects but foreign rule had prompted its decline and deterioration.¹ The past was glorified with respect to the dismal present ad thereby explained the present as being produced by forces external to Indian society.²

Hindi navjagaran commenced with a proliferation of writing in Hindi that was published in new journals and newspapers. These articles discussed the importance of religion and caste on India’s development, the growth of Hindi language and Nagari script etc. They also carried articles on history, geography, science. The intent was not merely to promote a Hindi readership but to create a Hindi speaking public and an identity woven around Hindi as a spoken and written language. In order to ensure that these newspapers did not become weapons of sedition the colonial government censored them by passing the Vernacular Press Act in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. These Hindi

¹ Economic History of British India; see also R.P. Singh 1998. op. cit. p.
² Even the British historians were engaged in writing ancient histories where India’s ancient past was glorified. They praised the period before the advent of Muslims in India as the golden period and the 700 years of Muslim rule as the dark ages. For more details see Rassa Kasi by Veer Bharat Talwar.
papers and journals took up the cause of women's education, caste issues, sahitya. By 1915 books were published in Hindi on science, law, the education of women, travels etc. Small community associations began publishing journals and newsletters in Hindi for e.g. castes such as Kayasthas and Brahmins had their own journals and books. The Arya Samaj published many journals and the first one was published in Hindi from Allahabad. The intent was to create an identity around Hindi as a spoken language of a community.

The fallout of the Hindi-Urdu controversy that had progressed into a Hindu-Muslim polarisation was to find expression in higher education and colour the topography of the university. For quite sometime Benaras Hindu University and Aligarh Muslim University carried the signatures of two religious communities and each university was seen as working towards the welfare and development of a religious denomination, both finally in the service of the nation. Did these universities play a role in exacerbating the rift between the two communities since they were committed to reinforcing these very identities?

The desire to establish a university for Hindus where Hindi was the medium of instruction had been current in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Bhartendu Harishchandra had stridently articulated this point of view in the 1880's, and some scholars propose that Malaviya was merely giving concrete form to the aspirations of the community. The Hindu Mahasabha, Hindu Dharma Mahamandal had passed resolutions demanding the creation of a university for Hindus. In contrast the college and schools created by Sir Syed had no special reservation for Muslims and the institution was open to all. The school founded in Ghazipur and Moradabad had more Hindu than Muslim students. Benaras Hindu University had no seats reserved specifically for Hindus.
However, Malaviya had insisted that attendance for prayers and meetings organized according to the tenets of the Hindu religion were compulsory.

The rise of Gandhiji to the leadership of the Congress and the freedom struggle would alter the future of the Hindi-Hindu debate. In fact, he wrested Hindi from the controls of the NWP leadership who had thus far steered its orientation as the language of the Hindus. In Gandhiji's national vision Hindi would replace English as the national language of India and in doing so he checked the onward march of Hindi under the leadership of the Hindi-Hindu movement.

However, the arena of the politics of language began to be transformed after the Khilafat movement and the language controversy erupted once again. This time the debate took on a different turn, as the idea of two nations with two different linguistic and religious identities began to be proposed.1 This time around even Gandhiji could not arrest the politicization of the language controversy since those playing the Hindu card amongst the congressmen defied him. The relationship between the Indian National Congress and members of the Muslim League were particularly strained on the question of language. Gandhiji, had proposed Hindi as the 'Rashtrabhasha', proposed instead the term Hindustani alluding in the process to the composite linguistic identity of Hindus and Muslims in NWP. Literary giants such as the novelist Prem Chand, and a number of historians, jurists and sections of literati were in favour of 'Hindustani'. But the leaders within the Sammelan like Purushottam Das Tandan2 rejected the name Hindustani. Consequently, Gandhiji had to disassociate

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2 He was an advocate of Hindi from Allahabad in the pre Independence era and did not agree with Gandhiji's compromise 'Hindustani'. See Lakshmi Narayan Singh. 1982. *Rajshri Purushottam Das Tandon; Hindi Sahitya Sammelan: Prayag.*
himself from the organization. This battle could not be resolved and the language was divided with the division of India.

The Hindustani Academy of Allahabad still exists as a historic symbol of Gandhiji’s vision. A Hindustani magazine ‘The Naya Hindustan’ which was printed in both Nagari and Urdu script was launched by the followers of Gandhiji.¹

The Role of the Press in the Hindi-Urdu controversy

The role of the printing press expanded with the expansion of empire. This was witnessed in the proliferation of newspapers, journals, books, articles, and pamphlets in the nineteenth century. The printing press was not necessarily new to India, but it was not so visible till the onset of British rule. Newer printing technologies were introduced for communicating information and justifying colonial rule. Over time the colonised appropriated the press in the form of the newspaper and created a new public sphere. By the end of the nineteenth century, in NWP, the press walked into a community polarised initially on linguistic lines.

The press played a role in redefining the relationship between the speakers of a language and the language. The press was not only an instrument for the propagation of ideas and fashioning of national, it served as an agenda broker in political negotiation and helped consolidate regional and communitarian

¹ The three followers of Gandhiji in this issue were Pt. Sunder Lal, B.N. Pandey and Mahmud Ahmed Huner.
identities.¹ These educated leaderships of the movements we refer to were acquainted with Hindi, Urdu, English and the local vernacular. This familiarity enabled to employ the language of power within and outside their sectarian borders. In the United Provinces Hindi joined the contest as another language of power.² And thus while publications in Hindi multiplied, the speeches of the leaders of these movements were voiced in an increasingly chaste, sanitised language purged artificially from its organic roots.

The East India Company had founded a printing press in Mumbai in 1674, in Madras in 1772 and in Calcutta in 1779. With the founding of the printing press the newspaper was not far behind. The 'Hikki Gazette' or 'Bengal Gazette' was first published by James Augustus Hikki on 20 January 1780. This newspaper openly criticised the policies of the company and was critical of Warren Hastings, the then Governor General. Initially the newspapers were published in English and Persian, as Persian was widely read in the eighteenth century. Print publications in Hindi commenced in May 1826. Once the medium became available it could be appropriated for a variety of communitarian agendas. But soon it was realised that the company's policies were not in favour of supporting the vernacular publications, and press laws subsequently introduced put a number of restrictions in place.

The acquisition of education by the lower and middle classes in Europe was reflected in their growing participation in politics. The romantics considered language as the most significant marker of identity and as a natural marker of

¹ Charu Gupta 2001: Sexuality, Obscenity, Community: Women, Muslims, and the Hindu Public in Colonial India; Permanent Black, Delhi, Introduction.
national or political boundaries. As boundary marker it facilitated the identification of different social groups distinguishing between neighbours, providing access to a cultural tradition. In the colonial context of a burgeoning Indian nationalism language came to serve as the canonical representation of religion. The opposition to colonial rule brought up the question of substituting English by an "Indian" language. In a multilingual country like India no single language had acquired the position of hegemony, and hence linguistic rivalry for dominance within the nation acquired a peculiar intensity. The movement for Hindi acquired the dimensions of a Hindu movement that was consciously trying to discard all traces and memory of Muslim influence and domination of North-India.

From 1800 to 1866 Hindi did not display the expansion of Bengali. The centre of modern education was Calcutta and the educated intelligentsia was in Bengal. Though, the Hindi speaking public outnumbered the Bengali speaking public, the educated class in NWP was fluent in Persian or English. The first newspaper published in Hindi was the Uddand Martand and the first Urdu newspaper was Jahe Jahannuma. They commenced publication together but the Hindi newspaper had to be discontinued after a year for financial reasons lack of government support. The newspapers sought to raise the status of Hindi to a language, affect change in society, inform its readership of international and national events, and sensitise government to the problems of the citizens.

2 John J. Gumperz. 1964, Linguistic Ideas in the study of Modernization, University of California: Berkley.
The pioneers of Hindi journalism included scholars like Pandit YYugalkishore Shukla and Mudrak Mannu Thakur. *Uddand Martand* was a weekly publication and its masthead carried the message: “As there is no light without sun, similarly an uneducated society cannot get knowledge without a newspaper. Thus I am making an effort”.¹ Since the readership was small at the time the circulation was low. Thus Hindi newspapers had to struggle for survival during the first phase extending from 1826 to 1867. This is the period before Bhartendu Harishchandra. This had to do with the small Hindi reading audience since most of the educated spoke and read Urdu, Persian, Bengali or English. The general levels of literacy were low.²

The number of newspapers was also low and included *Bangdoot* (1829), *Prajamitra* (1834), *Benaras Akbar* (1845), *Shimla Akbar* (1845), *Malwa Akbar* (1848), *Sambhya Martand* (1850), *Sudhakar* (1850), *Buddhi Prakash* (1852), *Payame Azadi* (1857),³ *Balabodhini*,⁴ Radhakrishna Das discusses ‘Benaras Akbar’ in his

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¹ Ibidem; p11, This quotation appeared in the first newspaper in Hindi ‘Uddand Martand’ on May 30 1826, written by Pandit Ugalkishore Shukla.
² Ibidem; pp 14-18
³ Ibid; pp 14-18
⁴ This was the first women’s journal started by Bhartendu. See Charu Gupta. 2001. *op. cit*, p. 210. During this period there were many other journals and magazines dedicated to women and social issues like *Manorma, Kanyakunj, Saraswati, Prema Prabha* etc. Few of these leaders felt that the women of their community needed education but at the same time they also wanted to standardize the guidelines of the language in which they should be educated. They also specified that since Hindu women were the prestige of a family they were not supposed to read and speak in Urdu for that matter even English and thus most of the schools for girls taught in Hindi. It was clearly indicated that the women of the bazaar women were the ones who spoke in Urdu. Thus the Urdu was demonized by the votaries of Hindi; and they linked Urdu with the Muslims. For details see Charu Gupta, *ibid*, chapter 5.
book 'Hindi Bhasha ka Samayik Patron Ka Itihaas' (The History of the Hindi papers of the Time). The first couplet of the newspaper was addressed to Lord Shiva, but the patron Raja Shiv Prasad thought it was in his honour.\textsuperscript{1} The Hindi newspapers during Bhartendu Harishchandra's life (1867-1884) were extensively instruments for creating a new identity amongst a Hindi speaking and reading public. Newspapers and journals addressed the social issues that the leadership wished to bring to the notice of their constituencies. They thus played a role in making events out of episodes and elicited public response that in turn facilitated political mobilization. The "cow-movement" was the subject of discussion of many magazines and books published during this period. Newspapers like Gausewak were published since the 1890s from Benaras; Gaudharma Prakash was a monthly from Farukhabad.\textsuperscript{2}

Government feared that press was used as a tool in the hands of leaders to spread seditious ideas. The press subjected the economic, social and educational problems in the country to critical analysis. The government moved to curb the freedom of press at least in the regional languages - the Vernacular Press Act of 1878 was one such act designed to curb the freedom of the press. The Hindi newspapers continued played a crucial role in politically sensitising its readership to the central issues of the time. Thus the publications during the

\textsuperscript{1} According to Dr. Dhirendranath Singh, Shiv Prasad was not behind the publication of the first newspaper from Kashi (Benaras). The language of the paper possibly was oriented towards Urdu since it was published from a press called the Matwa Benaras Akhbaar in Benaras which also published 'Benaras Gazette' in Urdu. The language commonly used by the people of Benaras had many Urdu words and the only difference between the two languages was the script. As we see that when people demanded a change in language of the court, it was a shift from the Persian Script to Nagari Script. See Dr. Dhirendra Nath Singh 2003. pp. 8-18.

\textsuperscript{2} There were many pamphlets and handbills published and distributed during this time in North Western Provinces. For details see Charu Gupta, \textit{ibid}, page 215, notes 83 in this book.
period 1867-1900, became the agents of social reform in the region. This did not prevent a politically motivated leadership in using the press in inventing and imagining new communal identities.

Hindi journalism of the period could boast of stalwarts like Raja Shiv Prasad, Bhartendu Harishchandra; Badrinarayan Chaudhary also called ‘Premghan’, Pandit Bal Krishna Bhatt, Keshavram Bhatt, Ramdeen Singh, Lala Srinivas Das. Bhartendu was considered the leader of the movement during 1870’s. A new trend in Hindi writing was inaugurated injected as it was with ideas of social reform resistance to the arbitrariness of colonial rule and stoking a rising nationalism.

Hindu social reform movements such as the Arya Samaj attempted to unite all Hindus under one umbrella by redefining the Hindu Karmakanda (being Hindu). Swami Dayanand Saraswati thought like others that this unitary Hinduism could be constructed through the trope of Hindi, Hindu and Hindustan. Interestingly enough the first newspaper of the Arya Samaj was published in Urdu, but gradually the movement in NWP shifted its loyalty to Hindi. What kind of Hindi did they employ? Clearly not highly Sanskritized Hindi that was being developed in NWP. On the contrary it was Urdu written in Devnagari and not the Persian script. This was a typical manifestation of the politicisation of language in the name of social awareness, and religious identity. Communal sentiments fed on the divisiveness produced through such politicisation.

1 The role of the press has been studied by the scholars who have worked on Hindi-Urdu controversy. See notes in this chapter on Hindi-Urdu controversy which has the names of scholars involved in this issue.

2 V. Dalmia calls these elites from upper India to be politically motivated and they used press as a medium of propagation of their thoughts. For Details see V. Dalmia. 1997. op. cit. chapter I.

3 Details about few of them are provided in the appendix XIX at the back of this thesis.
Muslim Response to the Nineteenth Century Hindi Renaissance

The rise of colonial power in India had a different impact on Hindus and Muslims in NWP. The Hindus quickly saw professional opportunities opening up under the new regime and quickly gravitated towards acquiring them. The Muslim elite held the British responsible for the destruction of the Mughal Empire and clung tenaciously to their ways and cultural traditions. The Muslim elite approached the modern system of education that was making inroads in the traditional sphere with kid gloves and reserve. The reserve of the elite percolated down to other sections of Muslim society and there arose the feeling that the new regime had conspired to keep them out.

However, in the eighteenth century the Lucknowi intellectual Mirza Abu Taleb Khan\(^2\) had predicted that the Indian Muslims would ignore the Western learning out of “zeal for their own religion.”\(^3\) This attitude was prevalent if not widespread till the mid-nineteenth century, when Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, (1817-1898)\(^4\) arrived on the scene, and propagated the importance of education and its

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2 Mirza Abu Taleb Khan was born in Lucknow in 1752. He was of Persian and Turkish descent. He served the governors of Bengal and Oudh and later joined the British, whom he assisted in putting down the rebel Hindu princes. He learned English and with help of Scottish friend traveled to England. *The Travels of Mirza Abu Taleb Khan*, written in Persian on his return to Calcutta gives us a unique insight into the reactions of an aristocratic Indian to English life.


4 Sir Syed Ahmad Khan was born in a noble family in Delhi and respected for its learning and piety. He was educated in the traditional Muslim institutions and served as a subordinate judicial official in the company’s government. He wanted to reorganize the Muslims as they were
induction among the Muslim masses. The idea was extensively opposed by a section of the Muslims and he was criticized for being a Christian and not a Muslim. The period after the mutiny of 1857 was marked by hostility between British and Muslims. In the colonial scheme of things they were reluctant to believe that Muslims could be ever loyal to them as they considered the revolt was instigated by Muslims to regain lost power.

Sir Syed had to work under very challenging conditions. This he did by forming a group of intellectuals who came to be known as the ‘Aligarh School’ from backward because of their hostility towards modern education introduced by the British. He established a scientific society (1863) for translating standard English books to Urdu to popularize such ideas among Muslims; founded British Indian Association (1866); and started the magazine in Urdu the Improvement of Manners and Morals (Tahdhib-ul-Ahkaq and ‘social reformer’), devoted to social and religious problems; founded the All India Muslim Educational Conference (1886). He like the Enlightened Hindu Reformers wanted to assimilate the best in western education and thought into the Indo-Muslim culture without compromising the fundamentals of his own faith. He tried to re-interpret Islam, where he criticized those beliefs and opinions which were not based on scriptures and yet had become part and parcel of Islam. His article on “Religion and the Supernatural” emphasized the natural mysteries in the universe which are beyond understanding of men He added that he was sincerely convinced about Islam as it was absolutely free from strange stories and unnatural and irrational mysteries. On “Western Education”, he said in a letter to Mawlawi Tasadduq ‘All I have drawn upon myself because I advocate the introduction of new system of education which are not neglect the Islamic basis of our culture nor, for that matter, the teaching of Islamic theology itself... Today there are no Muslim rulers to pattern and to patronize those who are well versed in old Arabic and Persian learning. The new rulers insist upon knowledge of their language for all advancements in their services and in some of the independent professions like practicing law as well”. in Sir Syed [chand nadir khatut; On 'The Indian National Congress' He was critical of 'of ‘the aims and objects of the Congress which were based on ignorance of history and present day realities” That it did not take into consideration that India was inhabited by different nationalities; he was of the opinion that that India was a continent and not a small country like England, Scotland etc. “India was not ideal for the representative form of government as it was inhabited by different peoples, each one of whom is numerically large and different from the others in its culture, its moral code, its social organization, its political outlook, its religion, its physique, and its historical associations.” He added that “the Muslims are in a minority, but they are the highly united minority. At least traditionally they are prone to take the sword in hand when the majority oppresses them. If this happens, it would bring disasters greater the ones which came in the week of happenings of 1857..... The Congress can not rationally prove its claim to represent the opinions, ideas, and aspirations of the Muslims” in Sir Syed Ahnad Khan, Akhari Madamin, pp. 46-50. For details see Wm. Theodore de Bary, (ed.), ibid, pp. 743-747.
where the Aligarh Movement of with its headquarters at Aligarh would emerge. He wrote voluminously to dispel British suspicions regarding Muslims and Islam. He also tried to convince his own people that it was futile to attempt to overthrow British rule, and requested them to take the full advantage of what modern education had to offer. The fruit of these efforts was the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental School founded in 1875 that progressed into a college in 1877.\(^1\)

This college in 1921 was upgraded to the status of university and came to be known as Muslim University of Aligarh.\(^2\) In his writing he alluded to the need for an organization supported by enlightened members of his community from all over the country to debate the subject of national education. The All India Mohammadan Educational Congress was formed in 1886.\(^3\) During this phase he walked a tightrope by negotiating between colonial educational policy makers and the reservations of members of his own community. As the years went by he expressed fears regarding representative forms of government for India, since the Hindu majority would overwhelm the Muslim minority. On account of these reservations he is often considered one of the founders of Pakistan movement.

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\(^1\) The address presented to Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India: The foundation stone reflects the thinking of the Aligarh school. The founder of the college hoped that the “Seed (college) we sow today and ... may spring up a mighty tree, whose branches, like those of the banyan of the soil, shall in their turn strike firm roots into the earth, and themselves send forth new and vigorous saplings; that this college may expand into a university whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free inquiry, a flat hearted toleration and of pure morality.” In Shan Muhammad. 2003: *ibid*; p.xii.

\(^2\) Details on establishment of this college and university will be discussed in later chapters.

\(^3\) All India Mohammadan Educational Congress was founded in 1886. This organization met annually to think over the means of development of Muslim Education. The membership of this organization was open to all those who at heart thought about the well-being of Muslims and their educational development on the payment of rupees five annually. This Congress aimed at propagating among the Muslims knowledge of the European sciences and that inspiring them to attain higher degrees in these disciplines; to find conditions for religious instruction in English schools established by the Muslims. For more details see Abdul Rashid Khan. 2001. *The All India Muslim Educational Conference: Its Contribution to the Cultural Development of a Indian Muslims 1886-1947*; Oxford University Press; Karachi; Appendix III.
though Pakistan or a separate Muslims state was not defined clearly during his lifetime.¹

Even after the death of Sir Syed, sections of the Muslim leadership continued to maintain a policy of cooperation with the British; though soon they realized the futility of this position. Muslim suspicion of the Indian National Congress increased when the leadership passed into the hands of Tilak. The last two decades of nineteenth century witnessed growing hostility between traditional Muslims and Hindu revivalist movements like the Arya Samaj, the glorification of Shivaji’s rebellion, Hindi-Urdu controversy and the expanding demand for substituting Persian with Hindi as the language of the court. The Dharma Sabhas (Mahamandal) organized at different places created the impression of increasing Hindu solidarity culminating in the partition of Bengal (1905). Hindus vigorously opposed the partition gesturing hereby to the Muslims and the Hindus were reluctant to part with power and influence. These factors led to the founding of All India Muslim League in 1906.² The proposal of separate electorates provided official recognition to the idea that the Muslims and the Hindus were not a single nation. A multitude of factors thus operated in the crystallization of different linguistic identities; identities that were otherwise quite fluid during the early quarter of the nineteenth century.

¹ Wm. Theodore de Bary. 1958: ibid, chapter xxv.
² This was a political organisation founded in Dhaka in 1906 which had divisive forces and culminated into the division of Pakistan from the Indian state. In order to see more on the background of Muslim League and the foundation of Aligarh Muslim University as one of the research and teaching residential University for the Muslims see David Lelyveld. 1978, (2nd 1996). Aligarh’s First Generation: Muslim Solidarity in British India; Princeton University Press: Princeton; 2nd edition, Oxford University Press: Delhi.