Chapter 1

SEPARATISM AS A FACTOR TO THE EMERGENCE OF DENOMINATIONAL UNIVERSITIES IN INDIA
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The birth of a Hindu University at Banaras was closely associated with the Aligarh Muslim University movement. The newborn was conceived principally by the Hindu-Muslim separatism. The last flicker of the lamp of the Hindu-Muslim unity was the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. The Hindus and the Muslims fought side by side in the battlefield, against their common alien usurper. The British power became fully aware of their united strength and to combat the combined force they started to sow the seeds of separatism by following the old Roman Motto 'Divide et Impera' through the policy of favouritism. In spite of Government favouritism towards the Hindus at the expense of the Mohammedans, the latter could not immediately protest against it due to several reasons. In the first place the memory and the spirit of unity inculcated by the Mutiny, had a temporary effect upon their minds and sentiments. Secondly, the extra sensitive sense of self-preservation, the first law of nature, against the British wrath, was widespread not to alienate the Hindus - the majority section of Indian population. On the contrary it instigated them to create a joint resistance against their common enemy by following the policy of mutual co-operation and lastly, the Muslim community terribly suffered from a lack of cohesion and absence of a guiding spirit under an able leader, until they found their Messiah Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, an English educated, government retired, aristocratic Muslim of upper India.
The above mentioned factors also prevailed upon Sir Syed Ahmed and inspired him to work for the welfare of the people of Hindusthan. He preached his famous 'one nation theory' to the masses, advocated the sensitive slogan, 'Educate, Educate, Educate' and taught his own community the peaceful co-existence with the Hindus and the British government. The outcome of his noble inspiration was the foundation of Aligarh Scientific Society (1864) and the Aligarh Institute (1866) where both the communities had free access. The institute also brought out a journal, known as Aligarh Institute Gazette (Weekly).


2 In this period the people of India were commonly called as 'Hindustanee'. The Muslim accepted the term 'Hindu' as their introduction. Sir Syed Ahmed was fond of referring the people of India in general as 'Hindooestane'.


4 K.A. Mizami, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, p. 48; Shan Mohammad, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, pp. 54-69.

5 Jamiluddin Ahmed, Muslim Political Movement: Early Phase, p. 9.


7 The Movement of the Scientific Society started in 1863 and the first meeting was held at Gazipur, 1864. The Society was later transferred to Aligarh in the same year. For details see Yusuf Husain, Selected Documents from the Aligarh Archives.
The symbol of Hindu-Muslim cooperation also extended to and reflected in his personal life. One of his best friends was Raja Jai Kishan Das - an active member (Secretary) of the British Indian Association and the Aligarh Scientific Society.

Though a strong advocate of English education Sir Syed Ahmed, an upperclass ambitious Muslim political leader found that the simplest way to draw the attention of the nation, as well as the government, was to protest against the prevailing system. And he protested against the English predominance in the University education. The British Indian Association of the North Western Provinces under the Secretaryship of Sir Syed Ahmed sent a petition and suggested the government for the creation

8  Raja Jai Kishan Das reported to have said that the writings of Syed Ahmed Khan in his journal Loyal Muhammadans of India conceived an impression in his mind that Syed Ahmed was a fanatic. When he met him and wanted a clarification of his fanatical sentences in the journal, the latter apologized and confessed that it was due to his slip of pen. Jai Kishan Das was moved by his affection, sympathy, humbleness, modesty and noble soul. He became one of the closest friends of Syed Ahmed Khan. K.A. Nizami, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, p. 50; Shah Mohammad, compiled and edited, Writings and Speeches of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, pp. 34-58.

9  For details of the upperclass selfish attitude for leadership see, Prabha Dixit, Communalism - A struggle for Power.

10 In a meeting on 10 July 1867 Raja Jai Kishan Das became the Secretary as Syed Ahmed Khan had to leave the district for a short time. He was elected as an Honorary Secretary of the Association for life. Proceedings of a meeting of the British Indian Association (held in Aligarh on the 10 July 1867). The Aligarh Institute Gazette, 26 July 1867; Shah Mohammad, ed., The Aligarh Movement, vol. I, op cit., p. 256.
either of a vernacular department in the Calcutta University using the Urdu, or a separate university for upper India. The British Government, who so long actively pursued the separatist policy, without having any glaring result, found an ample scope to cultivate the same policy intensively.

The government supported the petitioner's demand in principle but rejected on the ground that they had not sufficient translated vernacular works for teaching and learning. At the same time the government of India did not forget to throw the simple but dividing question to the people of North Western Provinces, through their local governments asking to enquire the views of different associations, societies and important persons, which vernacular and script was the language of North India—Urdu with Persian scripts or Hindi with Nagri scripts? The question was an old problem. It was not merely a single question of language.


12 As the petition tallied with the policy of the Education Despatch of 1854.


It involved the status of the communities and included the whole gamut of nationalism.

In the United Provinces so long as the Persian script was favoured as the court language, Hindi was neglected. Now, the Hindus got a chance to champion their cause. They apprehended that if the government verdict was not favourable for them the Hindu nationality would extinguish. With reference to the vernacular university using the Urdu, a Hindu - Deena Nath Gangooly wrote: "it is not...too much to conjecture, that with the extinction of Hindi, the death-knell of Hindu nationality will begin to ring".

The government refusal to the scheme of a vernacular university using Urdu was both blessing and curse for the people of India. From educational point of view it had a tremendous effect on the simultaneous growth and development of Hindu-Muslim vernacular literature, journals, press associations, etc. Moreover, people of both communities became conscious about their ancient heritage, oriental classics, traditional culture

15 Ganesh Lal Varma; op. cit., p. 99.
16 The Harish Chandra's Magazine of 15 February 1874 republished from the Bengal Magazine a lengthy essay on "Common Hindooostanee" which presented an argument in support of the claims of Hindu for adoption as a court language in preference to Urdu. Native Newspapers Report (North Western Provinces and Oudh), MCFR 3, pp. 72-73, MMML. Hindi Pradis, 1 September 1878. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), MCFR 5, p. 502. MMML.
17 Francis Robinson, Separatism Among Indian Muslims, op. cit pp. 71-72.
18 Vrita Dhara, 1 July 1878, NNWR (NWP & Oudh), MCFR 5, pp. 78-79. The Oudh Akbhar, 23 June 1874. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), MCFR 3, p. 245. N.A.I.
and religion. They felt the necessity of providing religious education to their children and urged the establishment of the denominational academic institutions for their respective communities. The root of separatism did not enter deeply into the soil. Till 1870, private enterprises for the improvement of both the vernacular of Hindus and Muslims could be noticed. A translation department was established by the Maharaja of Kashmir at an annual expense of 30,000 with a pandit and a maulavi for translating old and standard sanskrit and persian and Arabic works on philosophy and ethics into Urdu. Moreover a 'baboo' was also appointed for the translation of useful English works into vernacular. Raja Lalji, a gentleman of Bareilly established a vernacular school at his house in which Persian and Hindi were taught. He also opened four schools of this kind in his villages supported entirely at his own expense.

Under the auspices of Nawab Mohammad Mardan Ali Khan, Minister of Jodhpur, a vernacular school (Hindi was the only language taught at the time of beginning) in each pargana, maintained entirely at the cost of the state. The Nawab also took active interest in the Anglo-Vernacular School in the city where he imparted instruction in English, Hindi, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit.

20 Vidya vilas, 20 August 1870, NNWR (NWP & Oudh), 1870. N.A.I.
21 The Dabdaba-i-Sikandari, 22 August 1970, ibid.
22 The Marwar Gazette, 18 July 1870, ibid.
But gradually, a strong competitive and communal feeling developed in people's mind. The British Government was at last successful in counterpoising one class against another and creating a wound in the body politic of India. The wound soon aggravated in such a way that it became an easy prey ground to spread the germ of septic gangrene and ultimately required surgical interference to cut India physically into two pieces.

Sir Syed Ahmed's favourite "one nation" theory was soon replaced by "two nation theory". His one eye which he had himself destroyed in the Punjab was restored. The mission and goal of the two communities could not be one. He decided to dedicate himself only for the Muslim cause. Before going to England in 1869 he had an interview with the Commissioner of Banaras where he expressed that when in 1868 some prominent Hindus in Banaras decided to try to replace Urdu (written in the Persian script) with Hindi bhasa (in Devanagri characters) as the language of the law courts he became convinced that the fusion of Hindus and Muslims into one people or their co-operation in mutually beneficial efforts would be an uphill task. From 1871 onwards there was a steady growth of sporadic private denominational institutions, associations, literary works in northern India under the auspices of the two communities - Hindu and the Muslim.

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23 In the Punjab on the occasion of his first visit he delivered a speech where he expressed a wish that he had only one eye, so that he might see both the Hindus and the Muslims with the same eye. The Hindustan, The Hindu (daily Kalakankar), 4 and 5 April 1890. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), 1890. N.A.I.

The evil spirit of separatism soon cast its spell over the personal life of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and Raja Jai Kishan Das. The two closest friends and the "leading lights of British Indian Association" drifted apart. At last they realized that their obligation to heredity and race was greater than friendship. Two stars did not keep their motions in one sphere. Jai Kishan Das resigned from the Aligarh Scientific Society on a flimsy ground, and became the Secretary of the Indian Sanskrit Association and plunged into activities for the Hindu cause. After his return from England Sir Syed Ahmed, the transformed communal leader, began to row the Muslim boat vigorously. His first goal was to educate his community and with that purpose he set up a 'Committee for better diffusion and advancement of learning among the Muhammadans of India'. He was deeply impressed by the educational system of Oxford and Cambridge universities at England and appealed to the Muslim nation to establish an institution of their own on the model of the Cambridge University. As a prelude, he decided to found a Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. The scheme of the college was published in the Aligarh Institute.

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26 He was going to be stationed at Allahabad. Francis Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 74.
27 The Indian Sanskrit Association was established at Hathras, a few miles from Aligarh.
Sir Syed Ahmed subscribed Rs.1,000/- in 1875.

The publication of Sir Syed's scheme created a great stir among the Hindu community. In imitation of the example set by Syed Ahmed Lala Luchmee Narayan, a well known gentleman of Bareilly, took an active enthusiasm for establishing an Anglo-Oriental College for the benefit of the Hindus.

Subscriptions of Rs.15,000 and Rs.5,000 were collected from Rohilkund and Delhi respectively. It was resolved that the Hindu Maharajas of the Native States would be requested to render aid in the furtherance of the benevolent project.

Another attempt for the establishment of a Hindu College was made at Amritsar. Under the auspices of Rai Bahadur Pandit Bihari Lal, Extra Commissioner, and President of Dharma Sabha at Amritsar. In a grand meeting of about 1,000 persons "pathetic speeches" were delivered on the importance of the projected scheme by the President and other gentlemen. The audience cheerfully volunteered to assist in the furtherance of the movement.

The most successful Hindu educational movement at this period was establishment of the Janskrit College at Banaras (1876). The prime mover of the scheme was Swami Vishwadanand. He took upon himself the task of collecting subscriptions. He made an appeal to Maharajas and Rajas and got an enthusiastic response from

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29 The Aligarh Institute Gazette, 24 May 1872.
30 The Nagri Prakash, 28 January 1873. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), 1873, p. 95. N.A.I.
31 The Hindoo Prakash, 13 February 1874. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), 1874, MCFR 4, p. 81. NMML.
It was decided that the Maharaja of Banaras would be the patron, and the managing committee would consist of highly educated Hindu gentlemen. In the matter of collection of subscriptions a communal colour of competition between the two communities was given by the writer of Koh-i-Nur. The writer commented that the actual amount raised might be said to be seven lacs, which was highly creditable to the Hindus, seeing that notwithstanding the zealously and persevering exertions of Syed Ahmed Khan, and other Mohammedan gentlemen, only about Rs.1,62,000 had been raised from the whole of India, which was raised to about three lacs by a grant of an equal sum by the government.

Sir Syed Ahmed created the College in 1875 with a mind of converting the institution ultimately into a Mohammedan university. At the opening ceremony of the college, he said:

"...the seed we sow today there 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 shall send forth new and vigorous saplings, that this college may expand into a

32 The Maharaja of Kashmir promised a grant of Rs.12,000 per annum, Maharaja of Gwalior, Indore and Banaras Rs.15,000, 3,000, 3,000 respectively. Probably Malaviya was inspired by the mode of collection from the native chiefs towards the establishment of the Sanskrit College at Banaras. Koh-i-Nur, 13 June 1874. Ibid., MCPR 3. P. 244.

33 The Koh-i-Nur, 13 June 1874. NNWR (NWP & Oudh). MCPR 3. Pp. 244-5. L. HFMF.

university, whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the gospel of free enquiry, of large-hearted toleration, and of a pure morality. (35)

But his proposal for the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental University was criticized as whimsical and chimerical. In the eye of orthodox Muslims it was too much of "Angreziat" while its projector was stigmatized as "an apostle from Islam", whose brain was full of European notions and sentiments of civilization and reform. The editor of Benares Akhbar remarked: "...Syud's (sic) proposal cannot be favourably entertained by the Muslims at large, unless he yields to their sentiments and ways of thinking".

The Hindu reaction against the scheme of a Muslim University by Sir Syed Ahmed was retorted by a counter-movement for establishing a Sanskrit University. The Hindu gentlemen of Rohilkhand, with Lalla Luchhme Narayan and Raja Jai Kishan Das started the movement participating in it actively with vigour and enthusiasm. A meeting was held at Moradabad at the house of Raja Jai Kishan Das. Lalla Luchmee Narayan delivered a speech on the need of opening a Sanskrit University in India and appealed to his countrymen to assist in the furtherance of the cause. The proposal was cheerfully accepted by the people. Subscriptions amounting to Rs.10,062 were collected on the spot.

35 Quoted in ibid.
36 The Benares Akhbar, 1 May 1873. NAWR (NWP & Oudh), 1873. N.A.I.
37 Ibid.
38 Rajah Sheo Raj Singh of Kashipore contributed Rs.5,000. Raja Pertiap Singh of Tejpore, Raja Jai Kishan Das and Lalla Luchmee Narayan, contributed Rs.1,000/- each. NAWR (NWP & Oudh), MGFR 3. pp. 691-2. NKML.
Subsequently, parallel attempts were made to raise the fund of the denominational universities for Hindus and Muslims.

Sir Syed Ahmed expressed his regret in 1887 in a speech before the Viceroy Lord Elgin that the college had attained much greater progress than they ventured to hope. But still it was very far from the attainment of the ultimate end which they were supposed to have set before them. He said: "...we cannot hope to live to see the foundation for the Mohammedans of India, similar to the great English universities of Oxford and Cambridge".

Sir Syed Ahmed's prediction became true. He died in 1898 keeping the idea of a Muslim University alive in the hearts of the Muslim community. And to follow his legacy he had established the Educational Conference in 1886 - an assembly of the upper class elite Muslim community which was more a political institution than educational. In 1895 a Muslim critic observed that it had done nothing practical so long for the furtherance of Muslim education.

In the meantime, the religious and political animosity between the Hindus and the Muslims had been growing and had received a great impetus from the few congressites and the anti-


40 Ibid.

41 See David Lelyveld's very interesting and well-documented recent work, Aizakh's First Generation for fuller details.

42 Criticism by One Abdur Rahman, Azad (Lucknow), 4 January 1895. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), MCFR 6, p. 21. MKML.
congressites. Sir Syed Ahmed Beck and Company used to call the National Congress delegates "hired" delegates. It seemed, a newspaper reported, in the year 1890, that authorities of the Muslim Educational Conference, themselves would pay the travelling expenses of the men who would attend the educational congress of the Muslims. Other two political organizations viz. the Mohammedan Anglo Oriental Defence Association of Upper India (1893) and Central National Mohammedan Association were created and acted as boosters to widen the gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims. The infectious germs of separatism even divided the student community. The students of a college at Lucknow in the North Western Provinces had established separate associations of their own, the one being called the Hindu association and the other the Mohammedan literary club.

The campaign for a Muslim university again started in the year 1898. Different Muslim leaders and prominent scholars

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43 The Akhbar-i Alam (Meerut) (Weekly in Urdu), 1 April 1890. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), p. 208. N.A.I.

44 The Urdu Punch (Lucknow), 13 November 1890. NNWR NWP & Oudh), 1890, p. 828. N.A.I.

45 Canning College of Lucknow.

46 The Hindustani, 6 November 1895. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), MCPR 6. NMML.

47 One of them was Rafiuddin Ahmad, the founder president of the Muslim patriotic league, an anti-Congress organization.

48 Ziauddin Ahmad, an assistant professor. Rafiuddin Ahmad founder of the Patriotic Muslim League, in London, published an article.
raised the issue and started writing about it. Syed Memorial Fund was established with the object of raising the college to a university. Morison and Beck added fuel to the fire, and stressed on the political aspect of the project. In the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Lahore in December (1898), there was a long discussion about the Muslim University. Morison and Beck, the two British agents threw the bait to the Muslims by saying that the university would be the Indian Muslim's "passport to office". Morison emphasized the point that the institution would be 'a useful focus for Muslim political development'. Aga Khan raised the issue in 1902, and as the chairman of the Reception Committee appealed strongly to Muslim community in 1903 for its establishment. His intention was to be the 'chief' among the Muslim community. Aga Khan, Morison and Beck's purpose to divide the Muslims from the Hindus even in the educational world was fully appreciated by Lord Curzon. Despite his approval and


51 For details see B.N. Pandey, The Break Up of British India, pp. 59-62.

52 Gaul, Minault and David Lelyveld, op. cit., p. 149.


impetuous support to the scheme for a Muslim university suffered dejection. The University Commission's report was strongly against the denominational institutions. The Raleigh Commission reported that the scheme of a Mohammedan university could not take shape in reality due to inadequate support necessary to give the scheme a practical character. The Commission moreover observed which implied the failure of both the denominational universities for the Hindus and the Muslims. It said: "And even if resources adequate to the formation of a complete university were forthcoming it is for government to decide as to the expediency of creating a denominational university". Still Morison continued its efforts to espouse the cause but with no concrete effect. On the other hand in 1903 Mrs Besant in an open lecture expressed her hope of denominational universities of the Hindus and the Muslims grown out of the Central Hindu College and the Aligarh Muslim College.

The year 1904 is a significant year in the history of education. The protest against the University Act provided a new impetus to the private enterprises to throw away the artificial barriers put forward by government in the growth of higher education. Both the communities strongly advocated to eliminate the


57 For details see Gaul Minault and David Lelyveld, op. cit., pp. 155-7.

58 See Annie Besant Chapter.
objection of University Commission (1902) regarding denomina-
tional institution on the ground that cultivation of distinctive
cultural tradition would enable the Hindus and the Muslims to
live together - amicably. It was nothing but a camouflage over
the dividing spirit of both the communities. In the same year
(1904) when Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya in his mint house meeting
invited the Hindus to establish a Hindu University. Mohammad Ali
at a regional meeting of the Educational Conference in Ahmedabad
propounded his project for Muslim universities with new efforts.

At the third sitting of the Mohammedan Educational Con-
ference of 1906 a resolution was passed to form a committee for
the purpose of preparing a definite scheme and estimating the
probable outlay for a Mohammedan university. The proposal to
give one month's income for the university was enthusiastically
responded.

On 1 October 1906 a deputation under Aga Khan put forward
their university scheme along with other demands. Minto expressed
his support implicitly without making any reference to it.

Malaviya pursued his efforts and circulated the prospectus
of the Hindu University to the nation in 1905 in the social
conference at Banaras in 1906. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjea gave
a lecture about the scheme of a National University of Hindus in

59 See Malaviya Chapter.

60 Gaul Minault and David Lelyveld, "The Campaign for a
Muslim University, 1898-1920", op. cit., pp. 156-7.

61 "A Mohammedan University only means a larger Aligarh", Mohammed Ali told at the conference.

62 The Tribune, 4 January 1906.
support of Pandit Malaviya's scheme and rupees three lakhs were collected for that purpose. Then started the agitation against the partition of Bengal. Because of its large Bengali population Varanasi (then Benares), was naturally most deeply affected by the events of Bengal. A Hindu University at Banaras by Pandit Kadan Kohan Malaviya, who did not whole-heartedly support the agitation, was difficult to push through. So he thought it wise to sleep over the matter for the time being, and the Hindu University movement suffered a temporary setback.

The Muslim University movement also suffered for the same reason and also for internal conflicts. The Muslim League was created against the Indian National Congress in 1906. An impending great rupture between the two communities was imminent and the well-wishers of the two communities strongly felt the need of promoting union and goodwill between the two communities.

Men like Surendra Nath Banerjea in Calcutta attempted to bring about such a union by means of Id reunions and mixed dinners.

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63 The Tribune, 2 January and 5 January 1906.
64 Autobiography by Sampurnanand, Sampurnanand Collection, Literary item No. 9, p. 11. N.A.I.
65 For details see Gaul Minault and David Lelyveld, "The Campaign for a Muslim University, 1898-1920", Modern Asian Studies, op. cit., pp. 157-60.
66 Nawab Moin-ul-Kulk's speech at Aligarh.
   The Rohilkhand Gazette (Weekly) (Bareilly), 24 April 1906; The Bharat Jiwan (Benaras), 7 May 1906; The Express (Lucknow), 17 May 1906; The Tribune, 29 June 1906; The Tohfa-i-Hind (Bijnor), 4 June 1906; The Urdu-i-Mualla (Aligarh), June 1906; The Tribune, 2 January 1907; FNWR (NWP & Oudh), 1906-1907. N.A.I.
67 The Tribune, 2 January 1907.
To prevent separatism, Mrs Besant prescribed Nation Building by pride in common past and emphasizing on "hope for a common future". To show the common past she called upon education to help them. She said "history must be taught in school in a new way". To hope for a common future she sang: "Hindu and Muslim and Parsi are we, but all of us one in our worship of Thee our mother". She appealed to the nation that the advocacy of denominational colleges and schools tend to divide Indians rather than to unite. She apprehended that fanaticism and intolerance may hold the helm of denominational institutions at this crucial transitional period and offered the nation an ideal plan to have an institution open to all religions. With this view, she left her idea of founding a Hindu University, an enlarged version of Central Hindu College and presented to the nation her scheme of an autonomous national Indian university with different theological departments to unite the different religious sects of India.

Again the evil spirit of separatism prevailed upon the good. Hindus by the revival of religious festivals (for political purposes) Arya Samaj movement, cow protection and Nagri movement enraged the Muslim community more and more. British government silently pursued the "divide and rule" policy by following a pro-Muslim policy in order to counteract the 'one sided agitation'

68 Annie Besant "Nation Building", The Tribune, 11 January 1907, p. 7. F.A.I.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid.
71 For details see Annie Besant Chapter.
over the Bengal partition issue. Minto believed that the revolutionary ideas would be suppressed by the growing tension of communal disturbances.

Minto was correct. The growing tension of Hindu-Muslim antagonism was fanned by the heinous individual and press efforts. By their utterances and writings they did not lose any opportunity to embitter their mutual feelings. Hindus and Muslims formed different associations to protect their political rights and privileges. And Mrs Besant's dream to unite India by her University of India - an undenominational institution was shattered. The Muslims did not like her statements which supported the pre-eminent claim of the Hindus to be considered as the true owners of the land, the real Indians. Moreover her recommendations - Hindi as the common script for India opposed the views of six crores of Indians who treat Urdu as their mother tongue. So the Muslims held themselves aloof from her scheme of University of India. A counter proposal to Annie Besant's University of India was made by Abdulla Sharwadi, only for the Muslims, of the world, to found a Pan Islamic university in India. For this purpose he went even to Constantinople to seek the patronage of the Sultan of Turkey. But the proposal was strongly criticized by

72 NNWR (NWP & Oudh), 1906-1907. N.A.I.
73 For details see Annie Besant Chapter.
74 Mrs Besant's lecture on Nation Building, The Tribune, 11 January 1907.
75 Al Bashir (Etawah), 12 February 1907. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), January to June, p. 215. N.A.I.
the people of his own community and the idea could not progress further. The denominational universities' movement again started in the year 1910.

Mrs Besant's proposed University of India could not see the light of earth but her idea to commemorate the coming Durbar by presenting a souvenir in the shape of a University knocked both Aga Khan and Malaviya. Both Malaviya and Aga Khan were two great political leaders. They did not care the acute feelings of hostility, between the Hindus and the Muslims. Amidst severe political antagonism between the two races they pushed through their schemes to seize the golden opportunity of the coming Durbar in India - ignoring the repercussions of it on people and society.

Aga Khan issued a 'now or never' appeal at the educational conference at Nagpur 1910: Syed Memorial Fund Committee was replaced by a Muslim University Fund.

76 The Rohilkhand Gazette (Bareilly), 16 March 1907.
NNWR (NWP & Udh), January to June 1907, p. 370.
1908

77 In the meantime on 10 December/Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya revived his scheme by correspondence with the private secretary to the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, Education Department, Deposit Proceedings, February 1909, Nos. 10-11.

78 The Morley-Minto reform was passed and Pandit Malaviya himself warned Gokhale not to support it. (Malaviya to Gokhale, 4 March 1909, Gokhale Papers, File 319). The Hindu Minority got scared and did not spare time to get themselves heard. They formed a Hindu Sabha to form a common platform in furtherance of the common aim of the amelioration of the Hindu community which ultimately turned into Hindu Mahasabha. Gokhale depicted that the movement was frankly anti-Mohammedan, as the Moslem League was frankly anti-Hindu and both were anti-national. Gokhale Papers, File No. 203, pt. II. N.A.I.
The Hindu and Muslim University movement took its fullest form in 1911.

The factors which had stimulated the growth of the Hindu University scheme in 1911 was the enthusiasm to political causes viz. the Hindu-Mohammedan agitation of the last five years, the Mohammedan university campaign and the unfair concessions made by government to the Muslim League. Malaviya's appeal was fully wrapped up by the Hindu racial sentiment. The nation's pretty general opinion was that there must be a Hindu answer to Muslim Aligarh.

The Hindu, Muslim and British opinion unanimously held that the Muslim University movement was antecedent to and responsible for the Hindu University movement. The Maharaja of Bikanir wrote to Butler:

There can be no doubt that the zeal with which the leading Muhammadans have been working for the last four months for a Moslem University has greatly stirred enthusiasm among the Hindus. (82)

A Mohammedan gentleman of great influence said that the idea of

79 The Leader, 26 July 1911.
80 See Malaviya Chapter.
81 Butler's note on 4 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.
82 Maharaja of Bikanir to Butler, 9 May 1911, ibid.
83 The name is not mentioned in the Educational Records. The gentleman came to see the Commissioner of Banaras Division, H.V. Lovett. From Lovett to H.C. Hose, 6 September 1911, ibid.
a Hindu University was in consequence of the Mohammedan movement and the government pronouncement thereon. The British Commissioner of Banaras Division held the same opinion. All through, in the fund collection campaign for the Hindu and the Muslim University each community harped their sentiment against each other. The press played a significant role in this respect.

The competitive zeal of the Hindus was thus kindled against the Mohammedans and was nurtured by their superiority complex. It was preached that the Hindus had excelled other nationalities in the matter of education. So they should endeavour their cost to found a denominational university when the Mohammedans who always lagged behind them in educational matters had collected funds to establish a university of their own. Muslim women even presented their jewels - some without even knowing what education is, but simply realizing that they were forwarding some *Islamia-Kam* or work for Islam. The Leader urged that the Hindus were on their trial and if they had any intention to emerge victorious they must grudge neither labour nor time nor money in supporting Mr Gokhale's Educational Bill and the Hindu University of the Hon'ble Pandit Kadan Mohan Malaviya.

84 Fortnightly demi-official letter from the Commissioner of Banaras Division, 2 September 1911, *Ibid*.
85 *Ibid*.
86 The *Vaishya Hit Kari* (Meerut) (Monthly) for April 1911. *NNWR (NWP & Oudh)*, January to June 1911, p. 377. N.A.I.
88 *The Leader*, 15 July 1911.
The editor of the Abhyudaya remarked that the Hindus were at their 'last trial', and if they failed this time they would forfeit all claims to exist as a living nation on earth. Lack of unity and inactivity for their cause among the Hindus was deplored whereas the bright prospect of the Muslim university was stated by saying that the proposed Mohammedan university would be an accomplished fact in a short time. Sometimes they were asked not to contribute to the funds of the Mohammedan University. The Abhyudaya proposed to establish branches of the Hindu Sabha in every town and village to work systematically and pointed out that any apathy would help the Muslim League to give practical shape to their University scheme long before the Hindu scheme would emerge even from the stages of discussion. Appeal was made to the Hindu princes to help the cause in the same manner as the Nawab of Rampur, Begum of Bhopal and other Mohammedan chiefs had done for the Muslim university.

The Muslim announcement that the promoters could have no difficulty in getting the charter if they could deposit 25 lakhs of rupees in some bank was envied by the Hindus. They protested

89 The Abhyudaya, 20 July 1911.
90 The Arya Mitra (Agra), 16 February; The Abhyudaya, NNWR (NWP & Oudh), January to June 1911, pp. 97 and 319
91 An article in the Hindustan (Lahore), NNWR (NWP & Oudh), ibid., p. 162. N.A.I.
92 The Abhyudaya, 11 June 1911.
93 The Abhyudaya, 2 April 1911. The Rahbar (Moradabad), 14 April 1911. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), January to June 1911, n. 319. N.A.I.
against it by saying that the feeling of the country was as much behind Mrs Besant and Pandit Malaviya as it was at the back of the supporters of the Aligarh University. The editor of Advocate remarked that if the Muslim University as told by the government required 25 lakhs to get the charter, the Hindus also should be told how much money over and above the funds of the Central Hindu College should be got together before a charter could be granted.

The Muslim argument for their denominational university was that the existing Indian universities were mainly controlled by the Hindus. So they would not have their own. The Mohammedans alleged that the Hindu university was nothing but an imitation of the Muslim University. It had been made only with the object of thwarting the efforts of the Mohammedans. The Hindus had no college which was proposed to raise to the status of a Hindu university and religious education was not proposed to be compulsory there. So it appeared to them that there was really no need for it.

Those Hindus who discredited Syed Ahmed's two nation theory were paid back by saying that the Hindu University movement showed that Hindus like the late Syed Ahmed Khan had begun to realize

94 The Advocate (Lucknow), 4 June 1911, ibid., p. 483.
95 A. Yusuf, ICS, "A Plea for a Muslim University", The Indian Review, January 1911, p. 67.
96 Al Bashir, a leading newspaper of the Muslims expressed satisfaction at the announcement of the proposed Hindu University. Al Bashir (Etawah) (Weekly), 18 April 1911, but the same paper on 16 May 1911 accused them. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), 1911, p. 337.
97 Al Bashir, 23 May 1911, ibid., p. 460.
the importance of their separate national existence and the
difficulty of the Congress propaganda of forming a United
Nation. Some newspapers criticized the article which appealed
to the Hindus not to contribute to the Muslim university fund
and asked their co-religionists not to receive contributions from
the Hindus. The Hindus called the Muslims "expert beggars".
The Muslim answer was that the necessity had compelled Mohammedans
to resort to begging, seeing that the educational department had
been entirely monopolized by the people of another community, and
so they had to make their own arrangements for the education of
their children. Saiyid Muhammad Ismail, a vakil of Hamirpur
in an article expressed that the attitude of the Hindus was
always hostile to Mohammedan interests' and so the Muslims should
work out their own destiny separately in their own way. In the
collection campaign the same history like the Hindu University
movement was repeated. The Muslims were also deplored for not
being as enthusiastic over the question of their Muslim University
as they were before and expressed regret that they had so far
collected only four to five lakhs for the purpose.

98 Ibid., 31 October 1911. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), July to
December 1911, p. 975. N.A.I.
99 The Tajir (Meerut), 13 February 1911. NNWR (NWP & Oudh), 191
p. 162. N.A.I.
100 A Congress journal with reference to the extraordinary
success gained by the Mohammedan leaders in collecting subs-
criptions for the proposed Muslim University, ibid., p. 337.
101 Al Bashir (Itawah), 18 April 1911, ibid.
102 The Naiyar-i-Azam (Moradabad), 19 July 1911. Mashriq,
1 August 1911. NNWR (KWP & Oudh), 1911, p. 682. N.A.I.
Thus a racial feeling was the most dominant factor in the growth and development of the denominational universities in India. The germ of political rivalry did not spare to contami-
103 nate even their social and educational life. Still some press 
104 and individuals warned against the sectarian denominational universities in India as it was calculated to do no good to the society and the nation at large. But their advice was unheeded, because a third party which was the most dominant and shrewd force was silently at work for the division between the two major communities in India for their vested interest. This force played the game of 'balance of power' between the two communities in order to weaken the Hindu-Muslim union and thereby strengthening their hold in the subcontinent. This force was no other than the British Raj in India.

XXX XXX XXX XXX

The British support towards the denominational university movement in India was neither positive nor negative expressively. Though the Universities Commission recommended against it a mild tacit support was indicated all through towards the Muslim University, and specially by not giving any clear verdict against it.

103 The Naqar-i-Azam (Moradabad), 9 September 1911. 
Ibid., p. 975. 
Abhyudaya, 12 October; Al Bashir, 10 October; Musafir, 
6 October; Oudh Punch, 12 October; The Rahbar, 14 October; 
The Awar-i-Khalq, 16 October; Mushrig, 17 October; The 
Rahbar, 21 October; The Safia, 19 October 1911. LHR 
(NWP & Oudh), 1911. N.A.I.

104 Sir Sankaran Nair was one of them.
Curzon and Minto personally favoured, supported and encouraged the idea only because of their policy of Muslim favouritism against the Hindu solidarity and suppression of seditious movement by diverting their mind to communal and racial animosity. Moreover they believed "Education" in India was the stronghold of sedition. So the influence of religious and moral training, as they were accustomed in England might bring a good result in India by fostering loyalty towards British Government.

Minto's rule though supported, sustained and encouraged Anglo-Mohammedan rapprochement, however, did not entertain the idea of strengthening Aligarh so as to make it the centre of Muslim politics in India. In his note on 27 February 1910 Minto wrote:

There seems to be some risk in centralising Muhammadan education at Aligarh, and I hope in the future the establishment of local Muhammadan colleges may be possible. (105)

During Lord Minto's tenure the denominational universities' movement did not take such a well formed shape that he had to commit specifically in response to their demands. He could easily avoid the controversial issue by casually referring and supporting the cause.

Lord Hardinge's Viceroyalty faced the issue most gravely. Apparently, no change was visualized, at the beginning of Lord Hardinge's rule, in pursuing the policy towards the Hindus and the Muslims. The same old policy of Muslim favouritism was

105 Education Department, Deposit Proceedings, April 1913, no. 25, p. 5. N.A.I.

106 Hewett's note on 15 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, nos. 54-59. N.A.I.
followed. He was repeatedly warned and advised to follow a pro-
Muslim policy. He was told to strengthen Aga Khan's control
and support as he was the father of Muslim League of 1906 - a
counterpoise to the Congress. Moreover he was loyal, weak,
power-loving and brain-washed by the British influence. Through
him the British Government in India wanted to control the power-
ful section of the Muslim community. Chirol suggested even to
confer some special honour on Aga Khan.

Hardinge, though had no special inclination towards Muslims
could not overrule the advice as he had no Hindu fascination
either. He assured that he would do all he could do to keep the
Mohammedans in India on his side though he knew that it would
be necessary for him to deal with the matter carefully. Because
the feeling between Hindus and Mohammedans, at that time
was more strained than had been known for a great number of years.

He agreed with Butler to conciliate Mohammedan opinion in India
through educational means. The opportunity soon came.

The political scene was changing rapidly, during this
period, with the rise of hot-headed younger Muslim generation into politics. Aga Khan's popularity was on the wane. To tame the stem he urged special favour, help and concession from the British Government and gave a 'trumpet call' to the Mohammedans to demand a university charter for Aligarh - the 'pet movement of the Muslims'. Government promised Rs.25 lakhs for the cause as Hardinge government did not want to wreck the Aga Khan's scheme. In the meantime Hardinge was very much impressed by their loyal bearing. Aga Khan requested Butler to let him know in the greatest confidence and most secretly the absolutely essential conditions required by the government to form proposed university, and promised that they would accept whatever terms and conditions the government was willing to grant. Though as yet Aga Khan had no definite idea and scheme for the proposed Muslim university he seemed to be in a 'devil of hurry'. Butler, one of the most intelligent persons of Viceroy's executive Council rightly observed the reason of Aga Khan's hurriedness. He wrote to Hardinge: "He is in a hurry, I suppose, as he fears the Mohammedans


114 Hardinge to Butler, 9 April 1911. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 1. NMML.

115 Hardinge to Butler, ibid.


117 Hardinge to Butler, 13 February 1911. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 1. NMML.
may grow cool and split up among themselves, which was harmful for him. The Muslim University movement progressed satisfactorily and prompted Hindu activities. The Hindus took alarm and placed a counter demand for their own university. It was difficult for the British Government to hold the scale uneven. There was already a strong feeling amongst the Hindus that the government treat the Mohammedans more favourably than they treat them.

The whole perspective of the denominational university movement had completely taken a new colour with the entrance of Sir Harcourt Butler, the new Education Member of the new Education Department. With his positive ambitious mind he perceived the problem in a new angle. He could realize the grave political danger in establishing denominational universities in India but at the same time did not fail to see the silver lining in the apparent crucial issue. He was prepared to take risk as it provided him an excellent opportunity to make a new educational experiment by deviating from the old university system and by introducing variety in it.

Hewett, the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces viewed the Hindu university as more harmful than that of the Muslim university. J.L. Jekins, the Home Member of the

118 Butler to Hardinge, 16 February 1911. Hardinge Papers, MCPR 1. NMML.

119 Butler to Hardinge, 14 April 1911. Hardinge Papers, MCPR 1. NMML.

120 Butler's note on 4 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59.

121 For details see Hewett's note on 15 August 1911, Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.
Viceroy's Council upon general ground did not put any objection against the denominational institutions, but particularly for India he apprehended political danger. Ali Iman, the Muslim Law Member in the Viceroy's Council wrote: "If the Muhammedans are to have a university there is no reason why the Hindus should not. We have to hold the scale even". Crewe, the Secretary of State for India had no love for these quasi-religious institutions.

Hardinge's personal opinion was opposed to denominational universities. But why he entertained the idea he explained in a letter to Crewe: "...when I came here the tide was already too strong to stem, and our aim has been to control the current.... How I wish these two universities could have been strangled at their birth..." Though Hardinge had a tremendous faith on Butler's political and educational sagacity and depended on him in all matters, he tried to avert the issue for the time being. Ultimately circumstances forced him to

122 J.L. Jenkins' note on 10 August 1911. Education Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.
123 S.A. Iman's note on 22 August 1911, ibid.
125 Hardinge to Crewe, 16 July 1912, ibid., No. 34, p. 102.
126 Ibid.
127 Hardinge to Butler, 9 April 1911. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 1. NMNL.
128 Ibid.
interfere in the Hindu university movement. He apprehended that the refusal to the Hindu demand specially after the announce-
ment of the promise by his government would face a great politi-
cal repercussions. Because a feeling had already been created
the general purport of the Hindus to insinuate that government
had combined the Mohammedans to oppress the Hindus to deny the
Hindu demand. So, he acceded to Butler to lead the Hindu Univer-
sity movement. As originally suggested by Butler and others
Native chiefs and other trustworthy persons whose loyalty was
beyond reproach were involved into the Hindu University movement.
Among other conditions they were asked to follow the Muslim tread,
viz

1) The Hindus should approach government in a body as
the Mohammedans did.

2) A strong efficient and financially sound college with
an adequate European staff should be the basis of the scheme.
(The M.A.O. college was in view).

3) There should be the same measure of government super-
vision and opportunity to give advice as in the case of the
proposed university at Aligarh.

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129 Butler could convince Hardinge that the birth of the
Hindu University was going to be 'an inevitable fact'.
If they did not control it then the Hindu Maharajas
would join hands with Kalaviya's scheme and the govern-
ment would lose support of genuine Native chiefs.
Butler's note on 4 August 1911, Education Department,
A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.
See Darbhanga Chapter.

130 Obvious with the view of Aligarh Muslim College and with
a purpose to grab central Hindu College of Mrs Besant
under their control.

131 Butler to Maharaja of Darbhanga, 12 October 1911. Education
Department, A Proceedings, March 1912, Nos. 54-59. N.A.I.
The Hindus were rejoiced for placing their proposal on the same footing as the Muslims.

The British Government could not apprehend the imminent danger from the Muslim community. They thought that the teachings of loyalism at Aligarh had a permanent effect. So they suggested the Hindu leaders to follow Aligarh as the model. But things were changed with the war in the Near East. From 1912-14 Balkan and Turko-Italian wars seriously affected Muslim attitude. The young Mohammedans were greatly excited and pan-Islamic feeling was beginning to run strong. Though their heads were dictating them to foster loyalty towards the British Government their hearts were with the co-religionists in the other parts of the world. The Muslims at Aligarh strongly protested the British policy in the Near East under the leadership of Muhammad Ali and his group. The London Muslim League openly advocated combination with the Hindus against the British. The government endeavoured hard to control the situation through Aga Khan. Aga Khan assured them that he would do everything to convince the Mohammedans by saying that the British action in Persia had been dictated solely for the protection of their commercial interests and for the regeneration of the country itself. But soon he proved himself a failure. In the crucial juncture,

132 Sunderland to Butler, 19 October 1911, *ibid*.
133 Butler to Father, 8 August 1912. *Butler Papers, MCPR 3. NMMIL*.
134 *Ibid*.
135 Hardinge to Chirol, 2 February 1911. *Hardinge Papers, MCPR 6. NMMIL*.
when the Muslims were simply seething with excitement, the unfortunate decision of the Secretary of State was announced. Crewe and his council refused to accept the Muslim university's terms and conditions over the issues of all India affiliation, the title of the Muslim University and Viceroy as the Chancellor which added fuel to the fire. The most heated subject was 'affiliation'. Aga Khan, Raja of Mahmudabad, and the older generation of the Muslims were discredited. Their attempt to accept the government control by yielding to the terms were strongly opposed. Muhammad Ali wrote to Butler:

My dear Bhai Saheb, the Muslim University is not the property of the Rajah of Mahmudabad who could dispose it off to gratify the wishes of those dear to him. (137)

Aligarh University scheme seemed to be a hanging fire. Muhammad Ali and his group prevailed upon the moderates. The old leaders had been compelled to retreat owing to the strong stream of opinion adverse to the decisions of government. They were called flatterers 'time servers' and 'title hunters'. In the

136 Hardinge to Butler, 29 October 1912. Butler Papers, MCFR 10; Butler to Hardinge, 3 November 1912. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 2. NMMIL.
137 Muhammad Ali to Butler, 20 July 1912. Butler Papers, MCFR 10. NMMIL.
138 From George S. Clarke, Governor of Bombay to Hardinge, 14 May 1912. Hardinge Papers 1912, MCFR 2, NMMIL.
139 Hewett to Hardinge, 13 August 1912. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 2. NMMIL.
140 Butler to Hardinge, 15 August 1912. Butler Papers, MCFR 10. NMMIL.
141 Education Department, Deposit Proceedings, January 1916, No. 13. N.A.I.
agitated meeting of the Foundation Committee in July 1912 after heated exchanges, government terms for Aligarh University were refused by the Muslims. Aligarh was turned into as disloyal and anti-British as that prevailing in the Sikh and Arya Samaj Colleges of Punjab and Hindu colleges of Bengal. Meston wrote to MacDonnel, "There is a decided similarity between the present Muhammadans agitation and the upheaval among the Hindus in 1907". Aga Khan was reasonable but his hands were forced by the Musalman extremists, who were quite ready to throw him over. All India Muslim League at Lucknow preached the union with Hindus for the purpose of agitation. "Coward" but "clever" Aga Khan whom Butler treated as 'weathercock' was alarmed. In order to get rid of the turbulent waters he suddenly departed to abroad. Aga Khan's departure was due to, as Chirol depicts, nothing but blue funk.

142 Ibid.
143 The Commander-in-Chief expressed in his note "Education Department, A Proceedings, October 1913, Nos. 58-60. N.A.I."
144 Meston to MacDonnel, 11 September 1913. Meston Papers, MCFR 3. NMML.
146 Butler to Hardinge, 15 August 1912. Butler Papers, MCFR 10. NMML.
147 Butler to Hardinge, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 3, vols. 85-86. NMML.
148 V. Chirol to Hardinge, 12 March, 24 March 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 6, vol. 92. NMML.
Hardinge was seriously concerned at the state of Mohammedan feeling in the country and at the failure of the local governments to grapple with it. British change of attitude and policy towards the Muslims was glaring at that time. Hardinge government was extremely annoyed with the Muslims' anti-British attitude and Aligarh as the hot bed of sedition. Both Hardinge and Butler felt the necessity of a 'strong', but 'careful', 'firm' but 'tactful' handling of the situation.

The British Government perceived that the Muslims at that time was being like-sheep without a shepherd. Aga Khan had fled. Mahmudabad, was as "weak as water", so was Rampur. The Nawab of Dacca hated Aligarh. The Secretary of the Muslim League Wazir Hassan was a born intriguer and a mischievous fellow. Muhammad Ali, the most 'dangerous' poisonous, pestilent, utterly unscrupulous, was always trying to stir up trouble and to fish in troubled waters. So the British Government had no one to rely on.

149 Hardinge to Butler, 8 March 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 3, vols. 85-86. NMML.
150 Hardinge to Chiroli, 15 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 7, vol. 93. NMML.
151 Butler to Hardinge, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 3. NMML.
152 Ameer Ali considered Muhammad Ali, Crewe to Hardinge, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 15. NMML.
153 Hardinge to Chiroli, 28 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 7, vol. 93. NMML.
154 Hardinge to Crewe, 16 July 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 15. NMML.
155 Butler to Hardinge, 3 November 1912. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 2, vol. 84. NMML.
156 Ibid.
The most worrying issue, to the government, at that time was the probable Hindu-Muslim unity for agitation over the terms and the conditions of the proposed universities. Butler was not shaken at all because of past experiences which told him that the Hindus and the Muslims would not be able to combine. If at all they could it would not last for a long time. Butler fully realized that the Muslims had the fear to be swamped over by the Hindu mass. They were too shrewd to allow themselves to be made 'cat's paw' by 'Surendra Nath Banerjea and company'.

The Hindus in the meantime were looking on in the hope of seeing the Mohammedans pull 'the chest-nuts out of the fire', and were undoubtedly hoping that the Muslims would fall into discredit with government. Butler wrote to Hardinge that the Muslims could not join the Hindus for long at any rate, if at all would probably take the opportunity to show that they were more loyal than the former. He perceived no danger as his experienced eyes found that the Muslims were hopelessly divided. The East

157 The Hindu reception of Amir Ali's transparent proposal for union had been very cold. Aga Khan had the similar proposals, a reception committee met only once to appoint sub-committees. The feeling was never more intense between the two committees than at present in the Punjab and U.P. Butler to Hardinge, 15 August 1912. Butler Papers, MCPR 10. NMML.

158 Hardinge to V. Chiroli, 8 May 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCPR 7, vol. 93, no. 21, p. 22. NMML.

159 Hewett to Hardinge, 13 August 1912. Hardinge Papers, MCPR 2, vol. 84, no. 91, p. 101. NMML.

160 Butler to Hardinge, 15 August 1912. Butler Papers, MCPR 10. NMML.

161 Ibid.
Bengal Mohammedans and Aligarh were far apart. The Nawab of Dacca looked Aligarh as the next of infidelity and the Aga Khan as a kafir. The Peshawar Mohammedans had refused to have All India Muslim Education League at Peshawar, and disliked Aligarh. The Bombay Mohammedans were jealous of Aligarh and wanted to have a college of their own. So he deduced that it was not possible for the Muslims even to bring unity among their own sections. Butler proposed certain steps against anti-British wave at Aligarh and to wipe out the Pan-Islamic flavour. He suggested isolation of Aligarh by strongly supporting the Islamic College at Peshawar, the Islamic College at Lahore, the projected colleges at Bombay and at Dacca and even at Calcutta. Butler's point was that by supporting other Muslim centres Aligarh would cease to hold the key position what it had acquired. Butler designed that this support and encouragement could be done in the name of furtherance of Mohammedan education and receive the plaudits of all Mohammedans. Another step suggested by

162 Butler to Hardinge, 14 April 1911. Butler Papers, MCFR 14. NMML.
163 Butler to Hensman, 12 May 1912. Butler Papers, MCFR 14. NMML.
164 Butler to Hardinge, 15 August 1912, ibid., MCFR 10. NMML.
165 Butler to Hardinge, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 3. NMML.
166 Butler to Hardinge, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 3.
167 Ibid.
Butler was the policy of Hindu favouritism and to go ahead with the Hindu University movement. He argued that if they settled with the Hindus, the Mohammedans would not have a leg to stand on. Butler was very confident regarding his opinion that the Hindus would not give trouble over terms. He knew that the chief Hindu promoters had a strong anti-Mohammedan feeling at heart, though they put on a mask as the well wisher of both the communities and tried to act likewise. Regarding the trouble in the Near East the Hindu promoters of the proposed university could not suppress their genuine feeling. They were looking on in the hope of seeing the Mohammedans defeated. Regarding Sunderlal Butler wrote to Hardinge that he used not to favour the university but the anti-Mohammedan feeling dragged him on and induced him to contribute a lakh of rupees himself to the proposed university.

The Maharajas of Banaras and Darbhanga made no effort at all to conceal their delight at the defeat of the Turks. Malaviya's anti-Muslim attitude was an open secret. In general the Hindus were very happy about the news of Muslim humiliation in the Near East. The last method as prescribed by Butler was

168 Ibid.
169 Butler to Hardinge, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, KCFR 2. NMML.
170 Butler to Hardinge, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, KCFR 3, vols. 85-86. NMML.
171 Butler to Hardinge, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, KCFR 2. NMML.
172 See Malaviya Chapter.
'wait and watch' policy unless the older generation of the Muslim
prevailed again on Aligarh.

Hardinge fully agreed with Butler's analysis of the situations and entirely approved Butler's suggestion to foster the tendency to isolate Aligarh, and to let the Hindu University get ahead. He wrote to Butler:

Darbhanga has written to DuBoulay to say that he is coming up to Simla at the beginning of May. This will be your opportunity for fixing up certain details with him.... I am not in the least alarmed over the Mohammedan situation - in fact the more it develops the less alarm do I feel.... (175)

He also thoroughly agreed with Butler's suggestion of waiting and having a close watch upon the events. Regarding the possibility of Hindu-Muslim union he wrote to Crewe that the relations between the Hindu and the Mohammedan communities were so strained that they would be flying at each other's throats and the Muslim League's preaching of Hindu-Muslim union - a mere pretence. He advised Crewe, the Secretary of States for India, to push forward the Hindu demand and assured him that the Hindus seemed to be ready to agree to any terms that they would dictate and expressed his hope of being successful so as not make them discontented.

173 Butler to Hardinge, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 2. NMML.
174 Hardinge to Butler, 9 April 1913. Butler Papers, MCFR 10. NMML.
175 Ibid.
176 Hardinge to Crewe, 3 April 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 15. NMML.
177 Ibid.
Hardinge and Butler's presumption was fully correct. The chief three promoters did not object despite vehement protests from some of the members over the issue of government control. Muhammad Ali rightly observed to Butler that "What is humorous in the whole affair is the show of intention of protest on the part of the Hindus. Perhaps it is a game to collect money". Lust for power, Hindu-Muslim antagonism, racial and provincial supremacy, and overall, the desire to have the full credit of being the pioneer in the denominational universities movement reigned supreme over the psychology of the Hindu leaders. They were agreed to accept any term for the settlement on the issue of government control.

The factors which precipitated the matter by the government were:

1) The British design to weaken the national Congress by creating another Hindu group under the leadership of orthodox Hindus.

2) To control the Hindu mass through those leaders of Hindu University movement.

3) The beginning of great war.

4) End of tenure of Hardinge and Butler.

178 See Malaviya Chapter.

179 Muhammad Ali to Butler, 20 July 1912. Butler Papers, MCFR 10, NMML.

180 Meston wrote to Butler that Maharaja of Darbhanga and Malaviya's credit are so tied up with the success of business that they ought to be able to push it through. Meston to Butler, 21 August 1914. Education Department, A Proceedings, July 1915, Nos. 56-67, N.A.I.
5) Their desire to be remembered for ever in the denominational Hindu University movement.

6) To kill the pan-Islamic flavour by favouring the Hindus and thereby provoking the communal feeling among the Muslims by injecting jealousy in their minds. Though the denominational universities' movement started with the Muslim demand the Hindu University Act was passed before them.

Since we are mainly concerned here with the emergence of the Banaras Hindu University, the First Denominational University in India, in 1915-1916, the events leading to the emergence of the other, that is, the Aligarh Muslim University, which has already attracted a lot of attention from scholars may be briefly told here. The policy of "wait and watch" as expounded by Butler in early April 1913 regarding Aligarh came to be true. Muhammad Ali's bold declaration that 'the yielding of Hindus to the decision of the government' would not in the least affect their demand and would only result in 'a greater protest from Muslim community' and would 'no way strengthen government's hand' proved false. The policy of coldness and aloofness to the disloyal subjects and of active repressions of the seditions succeeded. The brain storm which had swept over the whole Muslim community had subsided with the end of the Balkan wars. The moderate group seemed to come forward and regain control. Dr Ziauddin, a moderate leader called on Butler and said that he was going to

181 From R.H. Craddock to Neston, 5 January 1913. Neston Papers, MCFR 3. NMML.

182 Hardinge to Crewe, 17 November 1913. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 15, no. 47. NMML.
write articles with a view to reviving the Mohammedan University. 

Government preferred silence until it was again in a satisfactory state. They left Mohammedans alone for a time, avoiding taking sides as between the 'ancient sages and the young blood'. Ultimately after four years of the establishment of the Hindu University the Aligarh Muslim University Act was passed in 1920.

The idea of United India was a far-off vision. Only racial hatred of the European produced a certain temporary surface union among the politicians. Actually the lines of cleavage grew deeper and stronger every year. Carmichael wrote to Hardinge:

"This has its good side no doubt from our point of view", ultimately the factors which made the Hindu-Muslim Union - a failure led to divide India separating Hindus from the Muslims permanently. Aga Khan rightly observed that the independent sovereign nation of Pakistan was born in the Muslim University of Aligarh. It was nothing but the lust for exclusive power by a handful of respective leaders of the Hindu and the Muslim communities. The birth of the denominational universities in India signalized the

183 Butler to Meston, 30 January 1914. Meston Papers, MCFR 3.

184 Ibid.

185 Theodore Morison expressed the view to Crewe. Crewe to Hardinge, 3 April 1914. Hardinge Papers, MCFR 16. NNML.

186 Butler to Mother, 4 and 12 February 1914. Butler Papers, MCFR 3.


188 Aga Khan, The Memoirs of Aga Khan, p. 36.
imminent great political rupture between the Hindus and Muslims dividing India and Pakistan. The politics which played behind the screen tempts one to remark that the birth of the Hindu and the Muslim Universities were like miniatures of India and Pakistan in the educational world.