CHAPTER 5
CHAPTER 5
MUSLIM AND EARLY INDIAN NATIONALISM

RISE OF INDIAN NATIONALISM:

The political development of Modern India is but an aspect of the Indian Renaissance of the 19th century. Indian nationalism has been much more than the agitation of political coteries. It is the revival of historical tradition, the liberation of the soul of a people.

The different phases of Indian life were during the 19th century permeated with the spirit of revival and recreation spread from sphere of the national life, and while deeply affecting society, religion, and literature, it passed on into the field of politics.

—What is nationalism? asked Aurobindo. He put nationalism on the high pedestal of philosophy and replied himself, —Nationalism is not a mere political programme. Nationalism is a religion that has come from God. Nationalism is a creed in which you shall have to live. It is an attitude of the heart, of the soul. Complex of all those factors past, present and future which lend solidarity to group of people. It implies a community of ideas, ideals and beliefs which is consummated by two conditions which must be present location or common territory, and government of common loyalties to a political ideal and organization. In other words, it is a state of mind in which the loyalty of the individual is felt to be due to the nation state.

Causes of rise of Nationalism in India:

The first important factor was the British imperialism which gave India political unity. Secondly, the intimate contact with the west brought about a change in the political outlook of the Indians. Thirdly, scholars, poets and religious reformers have also had their share in generating in the minds of the Indians a feeling of regard for and pride in their motherland. Fourthly, various economic troubles among the masses and growing unemployment among the middle classes have played their parts in fanning the flame of Indian national discontent.

Growth of Nationalism in India:
The religious and social reformers of 19th century India, like Ram Mohan Ray, Devendra Nath Tagore, Keshav Chandra Sen, Ishwarchandra Vidyasagar, Dayanand Saraswati, Ramkrishna Paramhansa and his great disciple Vivekananda impressed on the minds of the people the greatness and universality of much of the ancient thought of their country, and thus served to awaken in them a keen desire for national regeneration on the basis of the best in the past.

Mrs. Annie Besant pointed out that “it was Dayananda Saraswati who first proclaimed: –India for the Indians‖.

The writings and speeches of Vivekananda exerted a considerable influence upon young minds in India. –The queen of his adoration‖, says sister Nivedita, –was his motherland‖. The Indian Press and literature also acted as powerful stimulants in arousing national consciousness in the country. The Bengalee, The Indian Mirror, The Amrit political influence. The works of writers like Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, Rabindra Nath Tagore, Smt. Sarojini Naidu, Smt. Sarala Devi Chaudhurani and several others were full of national sentiments.

Indian Nationalism, viewed broadly, has thus passed through (i) the religious cum cultural phase during the 19th century and (ii) the political phase commencing as of 1886 – the year when Indian National Congress was founded.

National Sentiments among the Hindus:

The Hindu Character of nationalism was a marked feature in all these developments. In Bengal periodical literature, poems, songs, novels and dramas produced in profusion, struck the cord of patriotism and nationalism in every heart. Swami Vivekananda was the priest of the current Indian patriotism.

Bankim Chandra Chatterjee, the author of Anand Math and the Vande Mataram hymn was the high priest of Indian nationalism.

In Maharashtra the message of nationalism was preached by Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh and Bhaskar Pandurang Tarkhdkar, of Vishnu Krishna Chiplunkar, Mahadev Govind Ranade, Gopal Ganesh Agarkar and Bal Gangadhar Tilak.
The ary Samaj gave a great impetus to nationalism in the northern India especially in the Punjab.

A great awakeng in this connection was also affected by the activities of the Theosophical Society.

Rise of Muslim Nationalism:

But the Muslim nationalism was also growing apace under Sir Syed is an acknowledged fact. He had a keen desire to place the Muslim on a footing of equality with the Hindus who had half a century’s start over them. As a necessary corollary, the Muslim nationalism developed a strong anti Hindu spirit, for the Hindus were anti British and demanded representative Government, which meant their permanent domination over the Muslims who formed only. Also because the Muslims did not meant to oppose the British so soon after 1857. Thus it is obvious that, such kind of thinking gradually made Muslims and consequently Hindus more and more self conscious politically.

The Cleavage Hampered the Growth of Nationalism:

As a result, most of the Muslims opposed the Swadeshi movement which was an integral part of Indian Nationalism, although the success of the Swadeshi was likely to benefit them very materially since the handloom industry was principally in their hands. In return they received from the British Government substantial benefits in the shape of large grants of money for educational purposes, a larger percentage of posts in government service, a larger number of titles and honours, a separate and larger representation in the councils and so on.

In its inception and for sometime thereafter, the Nationalist Movement in India was thus a pre eminently Hindu movement.

Theodore Morison in Imperial Rule in India has admitted that –We have never aimed at the creation of national sentiment in India and with the best intentions have founded institutions which have a disintegrating tendency. And in the conservatiosm of Muslim leaders the British discovered a good check against the growing congress movement.
This attitude of Muslim mind also proved fatal for proper growth of Indian nationalism.

Besides, while the Hindu leaders were only interested in Indian problems and drew inspiration from their ancient of their own land; in fact their sympathies travelled wherever their co religionists lived Turkey, Iran, Egypt, Arabia, Tripoli, Morocco and even China. H.H. the Agakhan wrote.

—Twenty five years ago (i.e. about 1885), the average Indian Muslim looked upon himself as a member of a universal religious brotherhood, so journing in a land in which a neutral Government, with a neutral outlook, kept law and order and justice. His political and communal pride was satisfied by the fact that his co religionists in Turkey, Persia, Morocco and (nominally at least) in Egypt enjoyed independence and national sovereignty. While his allegiance was to Queen Victoria, his political self respect was satisfied by the existence of the Sultans at Constantinople and Fez and of the Shah asnd Khedive at Tahrar and Cairo. In consequence, an inevitable cleavage between the two leaderships developed and it widened with political awakening. This cleavage hampered the growth of Indian nationalism.

INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (1885): EARLY HISTORY:

Origin:

By the middle of the 19th century A.D. there emerged two broad ideas as a result of the evolution of political was a united stand of all Indians on one political platform for the demand of political rights, and the second was a conception of administrative reoform leading to a sort of self government. This was the beginning of what led gradually towards a political nationalism wwith aspirations for colonaial self government.

These ideas led to the establishment of a new political association in Calcutta in 1876 called the Indian Association. Its leading spirit was Surendranath Banerji. Giving a concrete shape to Indian Nationalism, based on political unity, this association conceived the idea of an all India political conference.

The National conference held its first session in Calcutta in 1883. Anand Mohan Bose, in his opening speech remarked it was the first stage towards & National Parliament.
The second session was held again in Calcutta in December 25, 26, 27, 1885. It was more representative than the first and was converted by the three leading political associations of Calcutta, namely, the British Indian, the Indian, and the central Mohammadan Association. It will be noteworthy to say that the questions that formed the chief planks on the platform.

The conference also sent a telegram to the approaching political conference at Bombay expressing sympathy with it. This conference, which met in Bombay the day following that on which the National conference concluded its second session, came to be known as the Indian National congress. How the two coalesced together is thus described by Surendranath:

―The two conferences met at about the same time, discussed similar views, and voiced the same grievances and aspirations. Henceforth those who worked with us joined the conference and heartily cooperated with it.

This is an over simplified explanation of an intricate if not mysterious, problem offered by the silent self effacement of the National conference in favour of the Indian National congress, a new institution without any political background, and avowed object of holding back the Indian intelligentsia from joined an imminent general revolutioneryo outbreak in India against the British Government but the Muslim indifference towards this‖ great movement‖ was regretted and it was hoped that ―their children will be wiser than themselves‖. However in Sir Syed is eyes the congress movement was a civil war without arms. Its resolutions aimed at the establishment of parliamentary government which according to him was impossible to achieve such resolutions prompted the Muslims to oppose it.

Early History and Anti congress Leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad:

The second session of the congress was held in Calcutta in which Surendranath Benerji took a leading part. There is no doubt that the new political organization was impregnated with the advanced political ideas of Bengal. Sir Syed Ahmed addressed a public meeting at Lucknow in order to dissuade the Muslims from attending it. In the course of his speech he said, ―If you accept that the country should groan shoes, then in the name of god jump in to the train, sit down and be off to Madras‖. There years later, in 1890, G.B. Malleson, the great historian of the Indian Mutiny, referred to the
congress as started by the noisy and cowardly Bengalis, but not countenanced by the real people of India. But the congress gradually developed into a powerful political organization of an all India character. It focused the political ideas of English educated Indians and gave them a definite shape and form. It was founded on the twin rocks of unswerving loyalty to the British sovereign and strictly constitution, agitation which practically meant humble prayers and petitions to the Government. With the exception, probably, of the Indian councils Act of 1892, this mendicant policy as it was nicknamed by the critics of the congress, produced no tangible result during the first twenty years. But the value and importance of the congress should not be measured only by the actual grant of political reforms demanded by it. For it indirectly helped the political advancement of India in various ways. The annual gathering of leading representative men from different parts of India gave a reality to the ideal of Indian unity, developed patriotic feelings, and awakened political consciousness among a steadily increasing circle of English educated Indians. Besides the discussions, often on a high level, or the more important political economic and administrative problems of India, widely diffused very useful and accurate knowledge necessary for the political development of India and educated public opinion on all questions concerning the welfare and progress keep pace with the wave of Nationalism which was sweeping over India.

The Hindu Nationalist View:

The Hindu nationalists looked upon the congress as a too effere and outmoded machinery to serve their ends. Bankim, Aurobindo, Tilak, Bipinchandra Pal, Lajpat Rai (BAL, Pal, Lal) were the leaders of this Nationalist School. They disapproved of the mendicant policy for securing reforms, and decided upon a bold assertion of right with the strength of the mass of people.

The old guards of the congress felt a strong dislike for Tilak on account of his bold utterances and extreme views, but he grew more and popular with the nationalist leaders.

Despite the differences the congress continued to represent the political aspirations of the people and champion their cause in the sphere of India politics and administration.

The Surat Fracas:
In view of the fundamental differences amid the Moderates and the extremist of the assembly together in admiration of conjecture and do it was almost inevitable that there would be a serious clash within the congress camp. The Banaras congress of 1905 and the Calcutta congress of 1906 met in tense atmosphere. The three resolutions supporting boycott, Swadeshi reaffirmed at Surat congress and the excuses offered for this serious lapse were unconvincing. The result was the breaking up of the congress Meeting at Surat. A free fight took place in the congress pandal, the police were called in and the Moderate leaders, by adopting a new constitution, excluded the Exremist party from the congress. In this context Gokhale had

Issued a press statement on January 8, 1908, designed to refute the mistake merit concerning himself in the statement put out by the rowdy section 21(a) For nine years after Surat fraces, the Moderates ruled over the congress in splendid isolation with their old ideals and programme. But the country had lost faith in them, and the congress had very little following. The congress held its annual session as usual, but the spring had gone out of the year

Criticism:

It is thus amply clear that the Indian National congress Movement was not born overnight. It was, on the other hand, the culminating point of certain factors that had created a stir in the Indian mind for some decades in the past, some of them are: (1) the reactionary nature of the British rule (2) the impact of the Western culture and thoughts and (3) the influence of the earlier socio-religious reform movements.

This background imparted a broad ideology to the congress. So much to that it made no difference between British India and between one province and another, between the classes and the masses, between towns and villages, between the rich and the poor, between agricultural and industrial interests. Between castes and communitis or religions in other words, it sought to express the grievances, demands, and aspirations of the teeming millions of India, without any distinction or discrimination whatsoever, and this gave it a truly national Colour.

For the first 30 years, the congress remained a disputed prize. On the one side were those British rulers and non official loyalitists who liked this—safety valve—to grow at
best into a means of –ascertaining the real wishes of the people‖; on the other were those enthusiastic Indian patriots who were struggling to develop it into a vigorous national organization; they knew and made it known openly that the primary function of a national political organization was to work for freedom of the country. It was this difference around which is woven the congress history of thirty years.

Comment of 'The Times', London:

Conservative opinion in British received the news of the birth of the congress with considerable misgiving and hostility. The most outspoken representative of that opinion was The Time, which, in a spirit of wishfulness, said, commenting on the first congress: No Mohammadan took any part in the proceedings. No meeting of Mohammadans held, and no resolution was adopted, and yet The Times told its readers that the Muslim community had –refused to have anything to do with‖ the congress.

The comment of The Times on the second year’s congress made this clearer: –The Mohammadan community appear to hod a loof.

The underlying idea of The Times comment was reechoed in India again and again for years by Back. He was the most effective force of British conservative opinion in India to arouse Muslim hostility towards the congress by telling young Muslims that if they joined the congress, they would be inviting for themselves and their families, the tragedy of the repressions of 1857.

Detailed account of Beck and his successor’s activities has been included later in this chapter to show to what extent they, alongwith Sir Syed, were against the congress.

Muslim National Association of Bombay Founded by Agakhan I (1881)

Of the Muslims of the Ismaili sect. it was first accorded to Hasan Ali Shah (1880 - 1881) who was born in Persia and established in Mumbai beneath the defense of the British administration.

At final, nonetheless, he brought about the Mortal disappointment of Fateh Ali Shah. He fled from Persia and looked for assurance in British region, liking to settle down in the long run in India, making Bombay his central command. In this process, he discovered chances to render significant administrations to the British armed force in Afghanistan and consequently join up with the British. A couple of years after the fact
he rendered prominent administrations to the British sometime during the Sind fight, simultaneously o repressing the boondocks tribes countless affirmed the Aga's power as their profound head.

When he at last settled down in India, his position as the pioneer of the expansive Ismailiah area of Moslem British subjects was distinguished by the Government, and the title of his Majesty was met on him with a huge annuity.

He remained devoted to the British tenet, and his unlimited and unchallenged impact around the boondocks tribes on the northern fringes of India demonstrated of extraordinary administration in the some undertakings headed by British arms. He was likewise equipped to check the more turbulent Moslems in British India by composing them in the fold of an Association called the Muslim National Association of Bombay in the most recent year of his existence.

The establishment of the Indian National congress had incredible response upon Syed Ahmed. The congress interest for delegate establishment on law based lines and a more terrific experience the organization of the nation was, in his feeling, an incredible danger to the Muslim interest. In any vote based set up the number was certain to check in the long run and the position of the Muslim as an interminable minority of 25 the populace was seen with alert.

On this assumption, which later proved baseless, he virtually grew hostile to Indian Nationalism and advised Muslims to hold aloof from political agitations. In December 1887, he delivered his memorable philippic against the Indian National congress the effect was electrical the Mohammadans as a body quitted the congress comp.

As the congress movement grew, Sir Syed’s hostility towards it also grew and that of his satellites too. This hostility became in the course of years, the most potential hurdle in the way of the congress growing into a truly national organization. A development of this kind must have been pleasing to such of the rulesrs and non official Englishmen as were apprehensive of the congress growing into a home rule movement. The consummation of their hopes came when Sir Syed and others of his way of thinking deprecated the demand for representative political institutions.
Sir Syed had made up his mind that Muslim should have nothing to do with the congress. Sir Syed and his satellites completely ignored the congress and behaved as if nothing had happened.

His Logic:

Sir Syed’s was a powerful personality and during 1888, Badruddin Tyebji and A. O. Hume constantly to Secure his conciliation with the congress. Sir Syed gave Tyebji a stunning reply. (At just about that time, another honour had been conferred by the British Queen on Sir Syed He said, I don't grasp what the statements "National Congress" mean. Is it assumed that the distinctive ranks and statements of faith living in India fit in with one country, or can turn into a country, and their points and goals be one and the same. I suppose it is very incomprehensible, and when it is inconceivable there could be no such thing as a National Congress, nor would it be able to be of the incorrectly named National congress helpful to India, however I am sad to say that I see them as injurious to our own particular group as well as to India in question. I question each congress fit as a fiddle or shape whatever, which sees India as one country.

School Pricipal, Theodore Beck, structured a conglomeration, the United Indian Patriotic Association. He was euphoric at this victory, and composed Col. Graham, a high cop and later his biographer: "I have embraced an overwhelming undertaking against the alleged National Congress, and have shaped a companionship".

One of the points of this cooperation was to evacuate those awful sentiments from the hearts of the Indian individuals, which the supporters of the congress were blending up all through the nation and by which extraordinary disappointment was being raised around the individuals against the British Government.

It would be under estimating Sir Syed’s intelligence to suggest, as some Muslim writers have done, that in the later years of his life, he came very much under Beck’s spell. It was Sir Syed’s deep rooted loyalty to the British which justified his vehement opposition to the congress. The congress demanded reduction in the army expenditure, and Sir said, it should be increased.

His Perversion towards Nationalism:
In a personal letter dated January 22, 1888 which Hume wrote Tyebji, he attempted to
study casually what it was that had made Sir Syed so perverse to nationalism: -I am
by no means sure that he understands the game that most of the prominent men
working with him are playing. But he is puffed up to a degree, and he has altogether
ceased to be the man he was ·······. Only a few years ago he advocated the very
things he now so vehemently opposes ······· I do not believe that he is the willful and
shameless and a turncoat that his speeches and writings would make him appear. I
believe that his popularity with European officials and his KCSI and favour recently
shown immediate entourage have completely turned his head, and this is the view
taken by some at any rate of his own personal following.

THE ALIGARH MOVEMENT:

The political views and ideals of the Muslim nationalism took definite shape under the
impact of the Aligarh Movement started by Sir Syed by the end of the 19th century and
may be formulated in the shape of four fundamental principles as follows.

The Hindus and Muslims from two differentiate political elements and two nations. The
give of delegate establishments might be inconvenient to the investment of the
Muslims in light of the fact that India's populace was not homogeneous. Thusly the
Muslims may as well respect the centrality of the British as the boss defends of their
diversions.

The Muslims might as well limit their regard for instructive social and improvement,
and stay away from political with the exception of in so far as it is indispensible to
offset the insidiousness of Hindu political instigators.

There is undoubtedly that Syed Ahmed succeeded in holding back the main part of
Muslims from the congress. They no discharge of the purposes behind their movement.
In 1896, Rahimatullah Syani, a recognized Muslim, directed the Congress session. Haji
Mohammad Ismail Khan, a companion of Syed Ahmed, inferred to the congress
President that the congress might as well pass a determination such that the Hindus and
Muslims may as well have equivalent number of seats in the Legislative Councils,
region boards and Municipalities. This demonstrated where the shoe squeezed. Sayani
couldn't acknowledge Ismail Khan's proposal. Syed Ahmed, in any case, embraced it,
and composed in an article that the Muslims could join the Congress just if the congress consented to the proposal of Ismail Khan.

FATHER OF MUSLIM NATIONHOOD:

It can (therefore) safely be asserted now that the father of Muslim –nation hood‖ was not Mr. Jinnah but Sir Syed, that all the arguments the Mr. Jinnah later advanced for partitioning the sub continent were not only the same, which Sir Syed used while opposing the congress, but were apparently copied from the latter’s utterances because even the words used by Mr. Jinnah are at places, the same as in Sir Syed’s speeches and writings.

Apart from the fundamental principles of the Aligarh movement, his communal attitude can be seen in his suggestion for the formation of separate regiments of Hindus and Mohammadans, so that in the two antagonistic races the feeling of brother hood may not arise. British rulers received this suggestion with gratitude.

THEODORE BECK:

Having suppressed the upsurge of 1857; the British followed the policy of rapprochement with Muslims.

In Hunters in his volume –The Indian Musalmans‖ contended that the Muslims were too weak for rebellion and it was –expedient now to take them into alliance rather than Continue to antagonise them‖.

In bringing about this „new rapprochement‘ an important part was played by Mr. Beck, persuade that great Muslim leader Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that –while an Anglo Muslim alliance would ameliorate the condition of the Muslim community, the nationalist alliance would lead them once again to sweat, toil and terror‖ and that –supporting the government was the surest way of making up the leeway for his community‖. As a result in northern India, Muslims were kept away from the congress.

In 1883, Beck took over the Principalship of the Mohammadan Anglo Oriental College of Aligarh. Before be left for India, Beck made a speech in England, in expressed himself thus on Indian aspirarions
The parliamentary framework in India is generally unsuited and the investigation might demonstrate useless if agent organization is presented. The Muslims will be under the greater part slant of the Hindus, a thing which will be profoundly loathed by Muslims, and which I am certain, they won't acknowledge quietly.

He was, therefore an exceptionally enthusiastic illustrative of the preservation idea who possessed a key position at Aligarh the heart of Muslim politicule action.

Beak was the privileged proofreader of the united Indian energetic cooperation structured in eminent, 1888 by sir syes Ahmed. with his assistance, and in the limit ready articles and removes for dispersion in Britain and India. In one of his articles, he gave Muslims a stern cautioning, holding out dread of an approaching uprising: 'the English might not lose their national being, while the Mohammedan might be hopelessly demolished. This is the reason the Mohammedans pioneers wish to keep their individuals from the whirlpool of political tumult. My respected head, sir syes Ahamd whose lowly teach in matters political I bost myself has contentions, however set up of explanation for why, a shower of mud and ill-use has been flung at him….

The Bengali has made huge advance under British tenet his political star is in ascendant; in what manner would he be able to place himself in the position of the Mohammedan whose significance is previously, and who sees ruin gazing his noxious written works around Mohammedans, have not Mohammedan loyalists a right to be furious ?........' Like the time, beck sometimes contended his casesanely. He might not clarify how the congress disturbance might expedite an insurrection; why the congress cooperation of Muslim with well versed Bengalis might be ruinous to the previous. He didn't him sitcle to enjoy in tangible lies. In the same article he watched: 'an alternate syed Ahmed, the incredible wahabi, and Maulvi Ismail, his supporter, raised an extraordinary ubiquitous unsettling, however urged their devotees never to strike the British. They battled the Sikhs, however after that what took place?’ beak, astutely the way that in the ‘sixties and seventies.

The Wahabi made numerous attacks on the British authority, and made Muslims enemies of the British.
According to Maulvi Tufail Ahmed Malabari, it was Beck who helped Sir Syed to formulate his opinions about the congress, about politics, and about what should be the Muslim attitude towards competitive examinations (that opposition to competitive examinations would inspire Muslims to raise their educational standards). He succeeded in converting the nationalist Sir Syed Ahmed into a loyalist.

The hatred in his mind regarding the National congress may be best conceived from the following extract in which he left no stone unturned in opposing the congress. Addressing a meeting of the Siddons Union Club on June 25, 1889, Beck said:

We will leave the National congress as it has left us. The place of its temporary abode this year as you know was to have been Lahore. (The congress Annual Session of 1889 was proposed to be held at Lahore but due to some reason, Bombay was later on selected for annual session. Beck points to this fact). But the road to Lahore lay through Aligarh and the grand old lion of Aligarh drove them back. He has a roar and they dared not advance, but retreated to Bombay.

He asked with dismay what would happen if this storm rising from Bengal would reach northern India. Wilayat Husain, an eye witness of the Aligarh drama, says that had not Beck, who took over the editorship of the Aligarh Institute Gazette from Sir Syed, begun abusing Bengalis and their movement through the editorial column, the relations between Aligarh and nationalism would not have become as bitter as they did. Again it was Beck who not only sponsored Muslim opposition to Charles Bradlaugh’s Bill, presented before Parliament in 1889, but fraudulently obtained some 20,735 signatures of Muslims on a memorial he had drafted for submission to Parliament.

The Association gave Beck an impression that it tended to develop in to conservative counterpart of the congress. Therefore, in December 1893, with Sir Syed’s support, he founded another organization, and named it the Mohammedan Anglo oriental defence Association of Upper India with himself as its secretary. He said that what Muslims needed was a wholly Muslim organization. The objects of this body were (i) to acquaint the Government with the views of the Muslim their political rights (ii) to support measures designed to strengthen British rule in India (iii) to prevent political agitation from spreading among Muslims, etc.
He was of the opinion that the agitation of National congress was against the English and that of cow slaughter against the Muslim. It was, therefore, imperative for the Muslims and the British to unite so that they might face Hindu agitators and prevent the introduction of democratic form of government unsuited as it was to the needs and genius of the country.

Beck drafted another petition for presentation to Parliament and got it signed by thousands of Muslims. It prayed for repudiation of the congress demand for holding the civil service examination simultaneously in England and in India. The British Government had no intention of conceding the demand and thankfully accepted the Muslim proposal. It was acknowledged with gratitude by the Defence Association.

In 1895, Beck proceeded to England where he addressed the annual meeting of the London branch of the Association. A rundown of his discourse was distributed in the Aligarh College Magazine of March, April and June 1895. Consistent with Beck said that.

Was conceivable, however not between Muslims and devotees of different religions; for instance, the adherents of Shivaji and those of Guru Govind Singh might never concur with the Muslims in tolerating Aurangzeb as their model; Muslims might never acknowledge an arrangement of government in which the Hindu greater part might run over them; the Muslims of Kashmir who were existing under the yoke of Brahmin officers envied the favorable luck of the Muslim who were existing cheerfully under the British guideline;

They favored Monarchy;

(4) Muslim conduct throughout and the rebellion (of 1857) had cautioned the neighborhood against Agitational strategies of Hindus, and they were currently cleverly following up on the counsel of sir syed-it was the exhortation of unwaveringness to the British;

(5) Muslims were contradicted to the holding of the focused examinations in Indian, for they realized that this step might mean the reinstatement of numerous fair-minded British officers by against Muslim Hindus.

Beak and sir syed complemented and supplemented each other;
Beck died in 1899, one year after Sir Syed’s death. He believed, with that intensity of his most remarkable qualities, the happiness and civilization of the people of India.

Perhaps no one was more worried at the turn of events after the death of Sir Syed, than Beck. He knew that the situation could get out of control and took the lead in preventing this, working harder than ever before. He appealed to the Muslims for a memorial fund for Sir Syed and initiated the idea of turning the M.A.O. College into a full-fledged Muslim University. Beck was convinced that if the energies of the educated Muslims were not diverted towards this channel, they were bound to join in political agitation, which he sincerely believed would undermine their position with the government.

He worked so hard that his health broke down and within less than a year he followed his master to the grave. His death, so soon after that of Sir Syed, came as a shock to his colleagues and students. It was mourned from the viceroy down to the lowest of the educated Muslims at Aligarh. Among educated Muslims at other places the loss was felt no less intensively. In fact, at one of the memorial Mohsinul Mulk publicly confessed that after the death of Sir Syed it was to Beck that the Muslims turned. He pointed out that there had never been such universal grief among the Muslims at the death of anyone before, Sir Syed alone excepted.

Then Rs. 8000/- were subscribed to the Beck memorial fund. Sir John Strachey, the chief of justice of the N.W.P., who presided, was so moved that he had no doubts that for all time Theodore Beck will stand side by side with Sir Syed Ahmed in the grateful recollection of the Mohammad for the great impulse which they jointly gave to the cause of national regeneration.

Theodore Morrison

Aligarh’s contribution to the education of Muslims during the life time of Sir Syed was insignificant, and there is no warrant for the assumption that but for the Aligarah movement, Muslims would not have received higher education.

The most prominent and conspicuous among those who wanted this assumption to prevail were this English principals of the Aligarh college. The second principal, Theodore Morrison, denominational institutions; the general principle which I believe is
capable of very wide application is that a university should be the university of a community, not of an area; there should, for the Hindus of Eastern India, etc., but

No university for the Punjab or Madras or Bombay he cited the central Hindu college at Aligarh as worthy examples to be emulated, and observed: I cannot help recognizing that a large their merits in other directions, are indifferent to religion, and many of them have no faith at all. this is an acknowledged evil which is growing with the spread of English education.

Aligarh was in a whirlpool of confusion. While the cause of the lack of higher English education among Muslims was the disproportionate emphasis on religious instruction, the English principals of the M.A.O. college preached from the rising current of political consciousness. while the emphasis was shifted to creating an anit-political and antipatriotic atmosphere; the Aligarh Institute Gazette. Instead of devoting it self to educational matters, specialized in abusing and deriding political activities. In the whole series of the Gazette and hardly comes across an endeavour to prepare Muslims for life in the competitive world. on the contrary, they were told that unqualified co-operation with the Government and loyalty to the British would get them government jobs as a matter of course.

Thus, it is clear that after the deaths syes and beck, their policy and polities were kept alive by beck’s successor, Theodore marrison, trained by his predecessor for political work. In fact, his training had begun much earlier, in London, where he had started a branch of the patriotic association, and subsequently became beck’s chief representative in England.

Morrison began his career as principal by establishing an employment bureau for securing jobs for Muslim students.

This was in keeping with the tradition of the Aligarh college;

Morrison faithfully continued to follow in the footsteps of beck and sir syes, and declared that democracy in India would reduce minorities to the position of hewere of wood and drawers of water. While Morrison was preaching his sermon, the Hindi, Urdu controversy again raised its head. On April, 18, 1900, the U.P. Government published a resolution saying that in future court summons and government announcement would be issued in both Urdu and that for ministerial appointments, a
knowledge of both scripts would be compulsory. This resolution was interpreted by Muslims of Aligarh school as reducing the status of Urdu. For months together an angry controversy was carried on in the press, widening the gulf between Hindus and Muslims.

Incidentally, the controversy disturbed the still waters of Aligarh. The secretary of the Aligarh college nawab mohsinui malk who presided over a meeting of Muslims in august 1900 at lucknow, displeased the lieutenant governor, who asked him to choose between the secretary ship and the politicule. On the advise of the friends and on the authoritv of svedls directive, he withdrew himself from the agitation. Morrison also pleaded that the proposed move would mean going the congress way', and would create differences among Muslims. Fear of position would not join a political organization for fear of offending the government. For 25 years, the government had been giving Muslim preferential treatment, and a political association would in jure Muslim interests then help them.

They should leave future in the hands of the government and refrain from aping the congress. Government servant helped Muslims private ; They would be depriving themselves of this privilege if they drifted into politics.

By this advocacy, Morrison terrified the Muslim leaders of Aligarh, and the projected move was abandoned. He had all praise for his predecessor beak. At one of the memorial meeting he emphasized that next to sir syes no man cared for the Muslims more then beak, who was not a Muslims . . upon whose devotion neither by birth nor by religion the Muslims of India any claim.

ARCHBOLD

Archbold was the successor of Theodore beak and Morrison as principal of M. A. O. College Aligarh. When constitutional reforms were in the air, the Muslims for the first time demanded separate electorate. H. H. the Agakhan lead a deputation to the Viceroy lord minto for this purpose. As a matter of fact it was a command performance arranged by Mr. Archbold. Correspondence among various political personalities who dominated the scene. According to Dr. syed Mahmud, Maulane mohammad ali, friend of mohis-mulk in the presidential address at coconada congress said, that this deputation was a command performance.

146
One of the Muslim leaders of Dacca, bemoaned in a letter to Mohsin-ul-Mulk: “If only the Muhammadans of Bengal, instead of following the government, had agitated like the Hindus and had enlisted the sympathies of the mohammedans of the whole of India, and raised their voice up to the parliament, they would never have seen these unfortunate consequences.” Quoting at length from this letter, Mohsin-Ul-Mulk told Mr. Archbold:

“This is only brief quotation of what I am getting from the whole of India. These people generally say that the policy of Sir Syed and that of mine had done no good to Mohammadans. They say that government has proved by its actions that without agitation there is no hope for any community, and that if we can do nothing for them we must not hope to get any help for the college; in short, the Muhammadans generally will desert us, because the policy of the college is detrimental to their interests. Muhammadan feeling is without its justification. The liberal government is at the bottom of it, and is responsible for it. I consider it a wrong policy arising out of the ignorance of the real condition in India. Mr. John Morley is a philosopher and might well have been contented to give lessons in philosophy; and cannot but feel sorry that the destiny of India has been placed in his hands. His policy has done a lot of injury to India and may do much more. Is it right for which has always supported and even depended on government to safeguard its interests, to be disappointed and get up a spirit of agitation like the Hindus? Only hope that the government of India will do something to subside the growing Muhammadan feeling and remedy their hopelessness.”

In the postscript to this letter, Mohsinul-Mulk hinted at the idea of a Muslim deputation to Lord Minto. In recommending the request of Mohsinul-Mulk for a favourable compliance, Mr. Archbold wrote to the private secretary to the Viceroy, Mr. Dunlop Smith: vide his letter dated, Simla, August 9, 1906: “If the Muhammadans were informed (privately) that a deputation would be received and a statement made, what would happen would be that representatives of Muhammadans from various parts of India would come to Simla and present a carefully drawn-up petition. The number would not be very large, as the people who ought to be on it are very known. From my knowledge of those who would lead, I am sure that nothing in the slightest degree disloyal or objectionable would be brought forward. There is no wish on the part of the Muhammadans to give trouble to the government in any way only, if I may judge,
a certain widespread nervousness and uneasiness as to the future, a fear lest they
should be left out in the cold.

After this assurance from Mr. Smith wrote to Mohsinul Mulk informing him that
his excellency.

It is thus obvious that Archbold was the architect of the Muslim polities after his
predecessor principals. His activities were in keeping with those of the first two
principals of the first two principals of the Mohammedan Anglo-oriental college,
Aligarh.

Their Anti Congress Activities:

Some of the British rulers, if not all, thought their agents instigated Hindu-Muslim
differences: at any rate they encouraged them. There was some meaning in the
simultaneous anti-congress agitation among Muslims in northern India, in the Bombay
presidency and in Bengal, without an organization and without an all-embracing
leadership; their was some meaning in Dufferin thinking in terms of communal
representation formed in 1888, when Muslims from different parts of the country,
participating in the congress a few months before under the presidency of an
eminent Muslim, made no indication of such demand. There is some meaning also in
Sir John Strachey declaring: ‘the better classes of Mohammedans are a source to us of
strength and not of weakness. They constitute a comparatively small but energetic
minority of the population whose political interests are identical with ours’. It was a
peculiar way of withholding Muslims from the main political currency of India. How
were Muslim interests identical with British and with British rulers? Between the two
parties the British and the congress-Muslims had to choose one and for many years the
choice had been going in favour of the former. Persuasion from the congress platform,
however, continued.

Congress leaders, inspite of repeated rebuffs, persisted and emphasized, again, that
the congress was a non-communal organization. To prove it once more, they invited
Rahmatulla Sayani, a well-known Bombay solicitor, to preside over the twelfth
congress held in Calcutta in 1896.
Sayani critically examined the Muslim attitude to the congress. He denied, at the outset, that all Muslim were against the congress and inquired, how their could be such a positive attitude on their part when most Muslims, due to lack of education, had not even heard of the congress movement. He knew that there were some Muslims either educated in English or well-versed in Hindustani, who were against the congress; indeed, they took delight in abusing the congress.

What were the objections of those Muslims who opposed the congress? Sayani listed them one and discussed them at length, summarizing some of their most important objection as follows:

That it was anti-religious for the Muslims to join the Hindus.

That if the Muslims joined the congress, government would maltreat them when for their very survival they needed government’s help.

That the success of the congress would eventually end in the British and the substitution of Hindu rule. That the congress was not representative of all races of India; nor were its Motives honest; nor its aims and objects, practical.

That the modes of government prevailing in the west, namely, examination, representation and election, were not suited to India; and that if they were put into practice all government offices, would go to the Hindus and Muslims would be completely ousted from employment.

That the Hindus, being in an overwhelming majority in India, would always dominate the proceeding of the congress and make that body an instrument of their own benefit.

Sayani gave point reply to these and other objections requesting not to be frightened by phantoms created by their own imagination, phantoms which have no please in the realm of realities. He advised them that instead of raising puerile and imaginary objection from a distance, they should attend the congress meeting and see for themselves what want on within its portals. Then they would know that every reasonable proposal was always given a most careful consideration by the congress.
Sayani’s plea, however, went unheeded. Instead of producing a response it infuriated a number of influential Muslims, who accused him of distorting facts and running away from the realities of the Indian situation. The moslem chronical, in a series of editorials, tried to show, the many fallacies in sayani’s arguments and accused him of being their master’s voice. It characterized his speech as unreasonable and untrue, full of uncalled for abuses, invectives, and vituperation against his own co-religionists for no other fault, but because 99/ of the Muslims, him. If he really desired the co-operation of the Muslims, why did he evade Ismail khan’s challenge? surely, for the sake of his own reputation and for the sake of the presidential chair which he was called upon to adorn and for the sake of his own friends-the congressites who put him at the head of this annual meeting; the honourable gentlemen should have thought twice and spared the incalculable mischief which his speed has done to the cause he meant to serve.

However, his speech did inside some Muslims to think seriously about the congress. As one of them asked; –what have we gained by not joining the congress? Our main objection against that body was its demand for representative’s institutions; but could we prevent their introduction in India Inspite of Muslim resistance, the government had acknowledged the principle not only in municipalities and local boards but also in legislative councils. So, they pleaded for a rapprochement and reconciliation between the two communities, before it proved too late.

But in this controversy, A majority of the Muslim participants with the views expressed above and were satisfied that the policy of non-co operation with the congress had been in the best interests of their community. –do you believe—one of them salahuddin asked Azad, that the Hindus are in a mood to welcome you as equals? . . . . but what then was to be done by the Muslims? That was a fair question and salahuddin had a simple reply: –make yourself imperious and strong in your own castle and then snap your fingers at your foes.

Theodore beck in an article entitled the congress and the Muhammadans also joined them saying the Muslims had gained immensely in prestige and respect (as also in jobs) at the hands of the government by having refused to join the people who talk non-sense.
All this, whatever are its merits or demerits, was hardly conducive to a proper understanding of the Hindu-Muslim differences which were being more embittered.

But it must be admitted that since the death of sir syes there was much less open hostility against the congress on the part of the Muslims. The Muslim press was not also as anti-congress as before and there were even some occasional demands from some Muslim leaders for Hindu-Muslim unity and Congress-Muslims co-operation.