CHAPTER - V

Education and Employment in the Construction of Monolithic Identities

Constructing Hindu identity by attacking the anti-caste reformers and non-Brahmin leaders was on an unreliable and inconsistent ground. Unreliable because the reformers and the non-Brahmin leaders had the support of the colonial rulers and the support of a vast majority of people. Inconsistent because of Tilak's close links with merchants and moneylenders and his consequent stand regarding the Deccan Agriculturists Relief Act, and the rights of big landlords, made him suspicious in the eyes of the majority of the population. Tilak realised that opposing the colonial rule was in itself an insufficient ground to unite the various sections of the society and reestablish the leadership of anti-reformers in the society. This necessitated the creation of a common enemy, common to all sections of the population.

The eighteen eighties saw a gradual worsening of relations between Hindus and Muslims throughout India. Two important reasons were responsible. Firstly, there was a growing concern among the Muslims throughout the country, that they were lagging behind the Hindus due to their failure to take up western education and thereby their access to administrative positions was limited. The colonial government responded by appointing a commission in 1881 headed by W. W. Hunter. As the commission began to make inquiries Muslims began to organise public meetings, rallies and debates in the press to impress upon the commission to recommend special scholarships and preferential treatment in the
appointments. The commission recommended the same but the colonial government did not alter its policies. It decided to make efforts to improve the educational standing instead of giving any special exemption to the Muslims. However, the societies that came into existence during this period began to encourage and support Muslim educational activities and oppose the Indian National Congress's demand for simultaneous examinations.

The second important reason was the development of communal consciousness by both Hindu and Muslim elite. The main concern of Hunter commission was the condition of aristocratic Muslims of Bengal. The remedies suggested by Hunter and the claims and counter claims made by the Hindu and Muslim organisations regarding the appointments to the government posts and seats in the councils and municipalities concerned the interests of the elite. Both began to organise themselves militantly to counter the interest of each other. The Arya Samaj under Lala Munshi Ram and Pandit Lekh Ram took a very militant anti-Muslim stand. Similarly, Syed Ahmad Khan and the Aligarh school demonstrated intense hostility towards the Indian National Congress. The rivelry for positions and the subsequent emphasis on communalisation of public discussions led to the formation of monolithic communal identities in the north.

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The situation in western India however differed largely from Punjab, United Province and Bengal which had substantial Muslim population. In Western India the percentage of Muslim population was less and led a life of peaceful co-existence. During the medieval period, the Sufi saints produced rich literature in Marathi which was accepted by all. Various Bhakti movements, like Varkari, Mahanubhav, Nath, Nages and Datt did not make any differentiation and they also welcomed and appreciated the Marathi writings of these Muslim saints. Shaikh Muhammad was a Varkari, he wrote Yog-Samgram a treatise on the concept of Bhakti in Varkati Sampradaya (sect). Shaha Muntoji Bahmani, who belonged to the ruling Bahmani Dynasty wrote Siddhasamket-Prabhand, Advait Prakas, Anubhav-sar, Prakasdip and Panchikaran. He belonged to the Naga sect. Alam Khan followed Nages and wrote Padas (Poetry) in Marathi, explaining the relation between Atma (soul) and Paramatma (almighty). Shaha Muni wrote Siddhant-bodh explaining the Dvaita philosophy of Mahanubhav Sect. Shah Turab who belonged to the Ramdasi sect translated Manaceslok into Hindi. These saint poets found certain common principles in Islam and Hinduism. They advocated the cause of real devotion, without any rituals. All these saint poets lived during sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.5

So the Hindus and Muslims in Western India lived in comparative peace for centuries.6 The Muslims followed business as the main occupation and lived in separate quarters in towns and cities. Since they were not the rulers of the region the establishment of colonial rule did not


6 Tilak too accepted that the Hindu and Muslim lived in peace harmony. Maharashtra Aug 12 1888, p.4. Editorial.
touch any emotional chord. On the contrary, their business interests were furthered by the infrastructure provided by the colonial rule. Muslims in western India, whom minor differences of faith and practice prevented from presenting an united religious front, belonged to various sects.\textsuperscript{7} The population of Muslims in Poona district in 1885 was 42,036 or 4.66 percentage of the total population. Except for the rich upper class the poorer Muslims had strong Hindu leanings. The Gazetteer reported that, “they do not mix with other Muslims. They almost never go to the mosque, they eschew beef, keep Hindu holidays and openly worship and offer vows to Hindu gods.”\textsuperscript{8} Ranade attributed this to three formative reasons. Firstly, the great distance that separated the Deccan Muslims from the more politically confrontationalist Delhi based rulers, secondly, the inter-marriage of Muslim rulers with Hindu girls whose offspring’s become rulers and thirdly, the revenue management, treasury and military departments remained in the hands of Hindus.\textsuperscript{9} These developments contributed to the peaceful co-existence of both the communities.

1.Early Efforts in Muslim Education in Bombay Presidency

Since the main occupation of Muslims in western India was trade, they neglected English education. In 1885 there were only 18 Muslim boys as against 333 Hindu boys in the Elphinstone Education Society.\textsuperscript{10} So their

\begin{table}[h]
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\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|}
\hline
 & Hindu students & Muslim Students \\
\hline
Ahmednagar & 1593 & - & 44 \\
Sholapur & 500 & - & 13 \\
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\end{tabular}
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\textsuperscript{7} S. Abid Hussain, \textit{The Destiny of Indian Muslims}, (Bombay 1965), p.18.

The entire Poona district had 36 Muslim High school students as against 1508 Hindu students. For the rest of western India
presence was equally small in the government services. In the subordinate judicial service the Muslims dominated in the rest of the country including Madras presidency where they consisted of 8 percent of the population and held 40 out of 186 posts, their presence in Bombay presidency was non-existent. In 1885 Badruddin Tayabji and few educated Muslims in Bombay began the efforts to spread English education among the Muslims. He established Anjuman-i-islam at Bombay to encourage the Muslims to take up Western education and began to address memorials to the government to accommodate educated Muslims in the government services. Tilak immediately began to oppose the efforts of Badruddin Tayabji. Tilak condemned such memorials as “a good deal of exaggeration in the picture of the present condition of the Musalman population in India”. The article quoted the memorandum, which appealed to the government to issue strict orders to the heads of the departments to fill up vacancies with Musalman candidates until a due proportion was established between the two communities. To this Tilak commented “better say immediate orders should be issued that the Hindu being a conquered nation should be deported bag and baggage and the Mohamadans again restored to the throne of Delhi”, the memorandum itself was ridiculed as

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For the entire Bombay presidency including the Gujrat and Kannada speaking districts, there were 7916 Hindu Students and 222 Muslim Students. B.B. Misra, *The Indian Middle Class: Their growth in Modern India*, (London 1961), p.404. As late as 1893 the number of Muslim boys in the Poona Municipal Schools was 284 as against 1102 Brahmin, 1252 other Hindu, 84 Mahar and Mang and 11 Jews and O Christian *Mahratta* Nov 26 1893, p.4. Report on the working of the Municipal schools in Poona.


the Muslims had lost self respect. It is very hard to believe that "the descendants of those Pathans and Moguls who were once a terror to all have lost self respect, all stamina, all nerve in asking the government to grant them special privileges as against their fellow-subjects." Tilak criticised the Anjuman for asking the government to set aside "the born administrators like Brahmins and Kayasthas". The article also opposed the request for proposal for providing special teachers to teach them in their Vernacular and asked "now if these Mahomedans have settled in the Mahratta country, why should they not try to learn the vernacular of the country which they have adopted?"13

The tone and content of the first article appearing in Mahratta was confrontationist. The articles regarding women's education, non-Brahmin education and the emancipation of Deccan Ryots began with a sympathetic tone and became critical gradually. The articles concerning Muslim education assumed its critical stand from the very beginning as Tilak projected the perceived occupational threat from the Muslims on a greater scale. Another important aspect of the article was constructing the Muslim identity as alien, Muslims were descendants of "those Pathans and Mongols who were once a terror",14 an identity that was consciously attempted to create fearful images in the minds of the readers. The second article on Muslims education also argued on similar lines, by stating that the government was giving the educated Muslim a preference over his Hindu fellow candidate in government service. In Madras and Bombay,

we are told Mussalman candidates for the public service have always received exceptional favour. We can corroborate this as far

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13 ibid

14 ibid. However, the Muslims in Western India consisted of descendants of peaceful Arab businessmen.

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as this presidency in concerned. There are executive officers of the
government with whom it has become an article of faith to employ
Muslims or non-Hindus in preference to Hindus. There are
officers even in the highest ranks who believe that Brahmins are
determined to keep up the prestige of its caste by fair means or
foul. A Brahmin is an eyesore to them.\textsuperscript{15}

Tilak argued that in the North West province and Oudh and the
Punjab Muslims have secured not only a fair proportion "but almost an
unduly liberal share of patronage. But have the Hindu inhabitants of the
provinces even complained? Let our Muslim brothers take for once a
lesson from their less fiery fellow men."\textsuperscript{16}

The picture presented by Tilak was exaggerated and misleading.
The question of Muslim education was raised by not only educated
Muslims like Badruddin Tayabji but Hindus also wholeheartedly supported
it as can be derived from the fact that, the Muslims of Bombay elected Lala
Shankar Uma Shankar as the Vice President of Bombay presidency
Mohamadan Educational Conference,\textsuperscript{17} who strongly supported the efforts
in Muslim education and appealed to the colonial government for
encouragement

The establishment of Indian National Congress and the subsequent
opposition by the Aligarh School of thought for the Muslim participation'
did not affect the liberal Muslims in western India. Badruddin Tayabji and
Rahmatullah Sayani were among those who founded the Congress.\textsuperscript{18}
Badruddin Tayabji played a dominant part in keeping the Congress from
the influence of Aligarh school. The National Mahomeden Association of

\textsuperscript{15} Mahratta, July 26 1885, p.3.
\textsuperscript{16} Mahratta, July 26 1885, p.3. The Question of Mahamedan Education to the Front Again
\textsuperscript{17} Shan Mohmad, \textit{Indian Muslims A Documentary Record}, (Meerut, 1980), p.XVI
\textsuperscript{18} S. Abid Hussain, (1965) p.44.
Calcutta called for boycotting the second secession of the Indian National Congress on the grounds that there is no question before the Congress which has not been receiving the attention it deserves from the Government.\(^\text{19}\) In 1887, Syed Amir Ali, the secretary of the National Mohamadam Association of Calcutta wanted to hold a political conference of local Muslims and invited Tayabji to attend it. Tayabji refused to do so. He suspected that the object of the conference was to prevent Muslims from joining the Congress and advised Syed Amir Ali against starting a separate political movement of the Muslims.\(^\text{20}\) Badruddin Tayabji suggested that the Muslims should join the Congress and if they disliked any proposal passed in the Congress, they should oppose it. He stated that Muslim opposition within the Congress would be for more effective than from outside. Tilak stated,

> it is a question of principle how for the majority should be prepared to concede to the wishes of the minority — we must, at the same time, see that in securing the co-operation of one community we do not lose sight of the original objects that we have set before ourselves.\(^\text{21}\)

However in 1888, Tayabji was successful in eliminating the introduction of subjects concerning particular communities or localities and restricted discussions to subjects affecting the whole of India, in the meetings of Indian National Congress.\(^\text{22}\) The Muslim opinion regarding their participation in the Congress was itself divided.\(^\text{23}\) The Deobond school of thought, opposed the British rule and was ready to support a movement which would oppose the British rule. In 1888 the spiritual

\(^\text{19}\) *Maharatta* Dec. 26, 1886, p.2 The Mahomedans and the INC.


\(^\text{21}\) *Maharatta*, Apr 15 1888, p.4. The Mahomedans and the National Congress.

leaders belonging to Deoband school issued a fatwa signed by about one hundred leaders from all parts of India and some from Madina and Bagdad permitting the Muslims to join the Congress and forbidding them to join the Patriotic Association established by Syed Ahmad Khan. Syed Ahmad Khan opposed the Deoband School's confrontationalist attitude and preached that collaboration with the British was in the best interests of the Muslims. Syed Ahmad Khan argued that since economic and educational backwardness had already placed the Muslims far behind the Hindus and if the representative institutions were introduced as demanded by the Congress, they would be overpowered by the Hindu majority.

A pamphlet called "India" was issued by a Mahomedan Gentleman, which discussed the fall of the Mussalman empire and the state of nineteenth century Muslims. The pamphlet argued that "over confidence and importance given to luxury were the two important reasons for the fall of the Mussalman Empire". The State of the nineteenth century Muslims could be improved only by keeping these two principles in mind. The pamphlet asked the Muslims to follow the "austerity practiced by Brahmins" which "enabled them to retain their hold upon the people all along and no force from within could displace them". The pamphlet

24 S. Abid Hussain, (1965), pp.43-44.
25 Syed Ahmad Khan opposed the pro-Tukish Khilafat stand of pan-Islamic movement. His successor Nawab Moshinul Mulk opposed the holding of pan-Islamic meetings on the (Aligarh) campus Mushirul Hasan *Communal and Pan-Islamic Trends in Colonial India* (New Delhi, 1985), p.4.
26 Munir-ud-Din Chughta - "The Indian National Congress and the Muslims 1885-1894" in Donovan Williams and E.Daniel Potts. *Essays in Indian History*, (Bombay 1973), and p. 92.
suggested the acceptance of English Education and participate in the Indian National Congress.  

The Muslims public opinion in western India reflected the above trends. As early as 1882 a Sunni organization was established in opposition to Anjuman and by the mid-eighties the Muslims were attacking the involvement of the Anjuman in the Congress, a policy with which B. Tyabji was closely associated. The "image of the Hindu majority every where swamping the Mahomedan minority" was ridiculed by Tilak who questioned that, "are we to suppose then that morally and intellectually the Mohamadans are cowards however big they may talk of their physical superiority, we hardly thinks so".  

Syed Ahmad Khan opposing the Muslim participation in the Indian National Congress activities explained that it was not motivated by "feelings of racial hatred but to the diversities of interests". *Mahratta* argued that,  

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this diversity of interest question is a very grave question and may, we fear, lead to serious misunderstanding. In plain terms it means that either the Hindus or the Mahomedans ought to go out of India... It might be the dream of these delighted enthusiasts to drive the Hindus out of India, but this is not an easy feat.
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So Tilak argued that  

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if this was not the motive of the Muslims than our interests are not divided and should not be we are both of as required to serve a common master and we are labouring under the same political
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disabilities which a foreign government imposes upon the governed.\textsuperscript{31}

Since the National Congress has no locus standi to discuss social issues, Muslims should feel safe with it and the interest of both of us is that all should be able to properly feed and clothe themselves, that the cost of government should be lowered, that those who pay taxes should have the power of properly husbanding the state revenue and that equal justice should be meted to all.\textsuperscript{32}

Tilak assured that the Muslims that they need not fear from the Hindu even though the latter formed a majority.

The year 1888 was a landmark in the history of the Indian National Congress. An extensive publicity was geared up through public lectures, distribution of pamphlets, explaining the aims and objective of the Congress. In the Allahabad secession, 222 Muslim delegates attended as against merely two when the Congress was started. This success on the part of the Congress leaders did not last long. The severe opposition from Syed Ahmad Khan and the entry of Hindu revivalists into the Congress, discouraged the Muslims from participating in the activities of the Congress.\textsuperscript{33}

Tilak's association with the Indian National Congress was surprisingly limited at this stage. When the Indian National Congress was being formed in 1885, \textit{Mahratta} hoped that it would be a kind of permanent association\textsuperscript{34} to guide our national political activities,\textsuperscript{35} but did

\textsuperscript{31} ibid.
\textsuperscript{32} ibid.
\textsuperscript{33} Madhvi Yasin. Emergence of Nationalism, Congress and Separatism (Delhi, 1996), pp.132-142.
\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Mahratta} 20 Dec. 1885, p.4. Edn. 9\textsuperscript{th} item.
not give any major importance to it as the leading articles continued to be the political developments in England. Tilak did not recognise the importance of Bombay meeting. He perceived it as a kind of socio-political body, but mentioned it as an unmistakable sign of happy times to come. \textit{Mahratta} did not report the event even in the yearly round up of events. The earliest mention of the Congress and its activities was in March 1886. Throughout the year when the debates were taking place among the Muslim community as to whether the Muslims should attend the Congress or abstain from it, \textit{Mahratta} did not report the discussions nor it took sides. It was only in December 1887 that Tilak entered the fray criticising the Muslim opposition to the Congress. Tilak wrote that the Muslims had abstained from the 1886 conference over the cow-protection movement and stated that,

\begin{quote}
we are not at all prepared to believe that our Mohamedan fellow subjects in any part of the country however backward, are not prepared to put forth better representatives than butchers in a meat market.\textsuperscript{43}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{35} \textit{Mahratta} 27 Dec. 1885, p.4. EdN. 5\textsuperscript{th} item.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{Mahratta} 6 Dec. 1885, p.1 The sequence of articles published as follows - England's Elections, Botanical Garden for Poona, p.2, Lord Ripons address before Edinborough Philosophical Society and the suggestion to hold the secession in Poona which appears in the \textit{Source Material II}, p.6. appears in the EdN. p.4, 4\textsuperscript{th} item.
\textsuperscript{38} \textit{Source Material II}, p.7.
\textsuperscript{39} \textit{Mahratta}, Jan 3 1886, p.5. Edn. 16\textsuperscript{th} para.
\textsuperscript{40} \textit{Mahratta}, Jan 3 1886. Year that was. p.1.
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Mahratta}, March 7 1886, National Congress, What should we do next? p.1.
\textsuperscript{42} 33 Muslim delegates attended the Calcutta Secession of the Indian National Congress. Madhavi Yasin, (1996), p.142, Mushirul Hasan states that 42 percent of the total number of deligates in 1989, and 55 percent in 1890 from U.P. were Muslims. \textit{Nationalism and Communal Politics in India} (New Delhi, 1991), p.39.
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Mahratta}, Dec 18 1887, The Coming Congress, p.2.
Tilak called the attitude of the Muslims as suicidal. But did not make any personal efforts to bring the Muslims to the Congress. Tilak's attempt to hold the 1892 secession at Poona was criticized by the Congress leaders and Tilak published an explanation in Mahratta. Tilak lost interest in the Congress as it was dominated in western India by the reformers in Bombay and his local antagonists M.G. Ranade and G.K. Gokhale. Who, though belonged to Poona, worked mainly in Bombay where they found the fellow Prarthana Samagists easy to work with. Tilak too acknowledged the importance of Bombay. Speaking in the industrial conference which was held in Poona. Tilak admired "Bombay commercial pursuits.... political energy earnestness and enthusiasm. Poona on the other hand is conspicuously wanting in the former and it is just reasonable that Bombay and Poona should try to bring up both to the level of civilized towns which are strong in either respect". However, Tilak's ideas were not appreciated by the Congress leaders. Tilak criticised "the short sighted politicians among the Congress-wallahs" and supported "the leading delegates of the province who had given the blatant social reformers a bit of their minds". Tilak observed that "if Ranade, be permitted to use his tact and influence, the Social Conference would be placed on a firm basis during the next decade". So reporting the fifth secession, Tilak wrote, "the Indian National Congress came and gone and we can now afford to look at it without being blinded by its glamour". By 1893 Tilak felt so

44 Mahratta, Jan 8 1888, p.4. Editorial Notes.
45 Mahratta, Jan 25 1892, p.1. Indecent Haste.
49 Mahratta Jan 12, 1890 p.5.
isolated in the Congress, that he wrote "that the Congress would die, is an unpalatable truth". 50

By 1892, Tilak realised that he was losing the grip on the situation in Poona. Firstly, the reformers were successful in the Age of Consent issue. Secondly though he was able to prevent the establishment of the Agricultural banks, he was unable to repeal the Agriculturists Relief Act, as a result of which he was unable to satisfy the money lending communities. Thirdly, his writing against the Agricultural Bank and the Agriculturist Relief Act, exposed his caste bias. He was not only anti-reformist but was considered by non-Brahmin movement leaders counter productive to the movement. Fourthly, Tilak's failure in the Age of Consent and the Agriculturists Relief Act made him realise that the anti-colonial struggle required support from all classes of the society. Fifthly, since the British rule itself was an insufficient ground to bring together reformers, non-Brahmins along with the anti-reformist Brahmin-merchant moneylender groups, it was necessary to create an enemy by constructing an image of fear and threat.

2. The Construction of "The otherness" Belgaum and Bombay Riots.

Tilak had begun the task of creating an image of Muslims as physically strong, 51 ruthless descendants of Mongols and Pathanas 52 and

50 Mahratta Jan 8 1893, p.3. The Vitality of the Congress Movements. Editorial.

51 Mahratta, Aug 12 1888, p.4. Editorial.
52 Mahratta, May 31 1885, p.1.
favoured by the British government. In contrast to Hindus as mild people and disfavoured by the British government. The cow-protection movement which spread to western India in 1889 assisted Tilak in furthering such images. Mahrratta reported an “instructive and interesting speech by a great apostle of the cow protection movement. Sriman Swami, who stated that 80 percent of the cattles killed for the purpose of food were cows and daily at a rate of 7000 cows were slaughtered. He proposed for an appeal to government to make a law prohibiting the slaughter of cows.” Tilak proposed a national effort, wherein all castes, creeds and professions agreed to,

spare the cows for agricultural, economic and other reasons... we hope that the Mahomedan would join the Hindus in putting a stop to the whole sale slaughter of cows even though a section of Bombay Mahomedans is opposed to the movement.

The differences built over a period of decade reflected in 1890. In that year the Mohrum festival coincided with the Balaji festival. Tilak reported that, “the Muslims of Kalyan appealed to the Mamlatdar to prohibit the procession of Balaji through certain streets in which the Muslims had already tied the Taboots and Panjas. the Mamlatdar Bhao Ramachandra Adhvakar issued orders accordingly and the Hindu appealed to the District Magistrate to set aside the order. The District Magistrate ordered the dispute to be settled by a Panchayat. The Hindus appointed their own panch but the Mamladar set them aside and himself nominated

53 Mahrratta, July 26 1885, p.3.
54 Mahrratta Aug 12 1888, p.4. Editorial.
55 Tilak assumed a leading role in Poona's go-Raksha Mandali, Stanley Wolpert Tilak and Gokhale, (1962) p.43.
56 Mahrratta, June 30 1889, p.2.
57 ibid.
some gentlemen to represent the Hindus". When the *Panchnama* (the decision of the panch) was drawn up "in accordance with previous orders of the *Mamlatdar*. All except one by name S.M. Sathe refused to sign it. When the Hindus again appealed to the District Magistrate, he upheld the original order after visiting the streets of Kalyan". Tilak considered it as partial, injudicious and unjust and the Hindus in his opinion had been dealt "with unjustly and in a highhanded manner. The order had caused no little mortification sorrow and pain to the Hindus, their religious feelings had been wounded". Tilak expected the government to interfere in the matter and cancel the order and restore the confidence of the people. Tilak argued that,

the Muslims on their part had threatened to break peace ... Moharrum festivities generally come in collision with the one or the other Hindu festivities. One would naturally expect therefore that it is they who would be prepared to show consideration to the feelings of the Hindus. Hindus were prepared to co-operate with Muslims but Muslims had shown intolerance by obstructing... the performance of a religious act. Hence all repressive and prohibitive measures must be directed to their festivities.

Reporting the first tension between the Hindus and the Muslims, Tilak betrayed the strategy that he was to follow for next two decades. For the first time Hindus and Muslims were depicted as two monolithic and diametrically opposite communities. The clashing identities of Hindus and Muslims were upheld. They formed two distinct entities, Hindus mild, law abiding and Muslims, aggressive, unreasonable and first to break the


59 *Mahratta* 12 Jan 1890, p.2. Editorial.

60 ibid.

61 ibid.
The idea of the Hindus baptised with milk and the Muslims with blood prevailed in the north India too. In the northern India such an identity was created by Pratap Narain Misra, Radha Charan Goswami, and Bharatendu Harishchandra. Confined to literary circles, though these men were connected with the Indian National Congress they were not in a position to direct the policy of the Congress. In Western India, such an identity was created not by writers like, N.B. Kanitkar and K.P. Khadilkar, the dramatists and Prof. Bhanu who wrote derogatory poems and dramas on Afzal Khan but by Tilak, whose self-assumed role as the spokesperson on behalf of Hindus in matters relating to social, cultural and political ideas of the Hindus determined what was to be a Hindu. Henceforth to be a Hindu was meant to combat the Muslims. Tilak in the context of Cow-protection movement wrote that,

> a genuine Hindu always abominates the butcher, especially the Mohamaden butcher with his knife red with the blood of the sacred cow, he knows well how he is looked upon by the Hindu and he therefore uses a trick to secure than what he cannot obtain openly. The guile generally succeeds. The innocent simple headed countryman finds that the man to whom he sold his cow was a traitor to his faith and acted as the agent of the Mohamaden butcher and his bile rises up and he goes for him. This leads to a more or less serious riot.

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62 Mahratta, Oct 5 1890, p.2. Editorial.
64 ibid. p.190.
68 Mahratta, April 20 1890. Butchers and Hindu Fairs
To Tilak reporting a riot constituted a major devise to consolidate the Hindu identity. *Mahratta* reported a riot in Western India between the two communities in Belgaum in the first week of March 1890. Tilak wrote that the cause of the riot was due to "the rancorous feeling harboured by the Mahomedans ever since they had received a severe drubbing" at the hands of Hindu some two years ago. As a result last year,

the Hindus were not allowed to take part in the Moharrum festivities as they had been accustomed to do so till then. So this year they wanted to additional * to the Panchmi procession in connection within Holi by appearing disguised as Tigers. This the Mahomedans resented. Why they should do so is not explained. When the procession was on the way the party accompanying one of the tiger was suddenly attacked by the Mahomadans and the poor fellow (in the Tiger Mask) was killed. The Marathas got exasperated at this and they retaliated upon the Mahomedans with good effect.\(^{69}\)

Tilak at this stage was still unclear regarding the identities. In the same report he referred to a meeting where "leading men of both the races are invited" and called upon "both these sections of the community to enter into a concordat". Discussion regarding the riot continued through 1890. A letter to the editor explained that the,

Hindus and Muslims lived in peace in Belgaum till 1884 and Hindus took part in Moharrum festivities. In that year, the Mahomedans had represented Hindu gods in mimicry. Hindus resented it and began to celebrate their own Rang Panchmi (Holi) with greater pomp and show. The Mahomedans would not brook... and obstructed the Hindus. By some strange fatality the local magistracy and the police authorities did not agree with the arrangement of routs. The police since then somehow or the other favoured the Mahomedans and was determined to irritate the Hindus as a result the Mahomedan attacked the Hindus.\(^{70}\)

\(^{69}\) *Mahratta*, April 13 1890, The Belgaum Riot

\(^{70}\) *Mahratta*, Sep 7 1890, Hindu and Musalmans at Belgaum, p.6.
Another letter to the editor signed as Historicus stated that the Rangpanchmi fell on 11th of March 1890.

The police issued a notice prescribing routes and other matters on the 15th. The Hindus did not like some of the clauses and the route prescribed by the police for the Rangpanchmi and wanted to make appeal to the District Magistrate. On the 8th March when the Hindus were singing quietly in front of their Homes and a Holi post, the Muslim constable appeared on the scene and abused the Hindus. A war of words followed and he summed up the entire police force.. and attacked the unlawful assembly of the Hindus, assaulted and dispersed them. The Hindus appealed to the DM who was on tour and the procession was postponed to 24th March. When he returned, the District Magistrate prescribed an almost unknown route for any auspicious procession. When the procession was in progress, the Muslims 'savagely' attacked the Hindus and in the ensuring fight persons belonging to both the sides were wounded. The police made indiscriminate arrests of Hindus and sent a wire to the district superintendent of Police that Hindus had routed and hurt Mussalmans but not a word about the Mahomedan was said. The next day the superintended visited the place, investigated the matter and declared that the Hindu were aggressors. As a punitive action 60 police constable at the cost of Hindus was proposed.71

Tilak's editorial72 repeated the same argument. Firstly, the Mahomedans "in their fanatical zeal... were aggressors who attacked the Hindus... Hindus being exasperated did not show white feather". The "attack was deliberate"... as "they were jealous of the Hindus". Secondly, the government under the disguise of religious neutrality was actually supporting the Muslims as there was a riot in which the Mahomedans attacked the Hindus in the presence of the police. The police had arrested only Hindus, though the Muslims were aggressors and it was on the

71 Mahratta, Sep 7 1890 p.6. The Holi of 1890
72 Mahratta, Oct 5 1890, p.2 The Belgaum Riots. Editorial
Hindus, that the government imposed punitive action. Though Tilak actually did not call upon the Hindus to defend themselves, he laid bare before them his thesis that the Muslims were by nature aggressors who would attack the Hindus unprovoked, and the colonial government was in fact hand in glove with them and would do nothing to prevent the Muslims from attacking the Hindus. The message was clear that the Hindus were vulnerable, did not have unity and did not have leaders. Tilak argued that “some Hindus who claimed to be the leaders of the community were in fact betraying the community”.73 This was an indirect attack on the reformers who preached moderation during the riots.

The Belgaum riots taught Tilak the intricacies of a riot, like how a riot began and how it proceeded further. Tilak's editorial74 discussed in detail about the routes of the Hindu procession and the problem of playing music in front of the Mahomedan places of worship. A sequence that was to repeat in series of riots throughout Western India during Ganapati festival in 1894. In August 1893 riots took place in Prabhas Pathan in Junagadh state in Gujrath, which was in turn provoked by the cow protection movement.75 The Junagadh government appointed a special court consisting of a Hindu and a Muslim judge to try offenders in the riot. Tilak expressed his satisfaction over such a measure.76

A section of Hindus most of them involved with cow-protection movements in Bombay reacted differently. They conducted meetings and collected funds and resolved to demand an enquiry into the atrocities

73 *Mahratta*, Oct 5 1890, p.3.
74 *Mahratta*, Oct 5 1890, p.2 & 3.
75 *Mahratta*, Aug 13 1893, p.4. Serious Hindu Mahomedan Riots at Bombay
76 *Mahratta*, Aug 20 1893, p.4. EdN
committed on the Hindus in Junagadh. Under the chairmanship of Seth Lakshmidas Khimji, a sum of rupees twenty thousand was collected. Muslims too began to mobilise themselves and started collecting funds for the Muslims who suffered in the Junagadh riots. Kesari reported that since the Muslims lack the patience to follow the due process of law, they decided to avenge the situation by creating a riot by desecrating and destroying temples. Kesari also argued that the cow-protection movement was not responsible for the riots, it was the support and encouragement by the colonial government that led to the concrete expression of violent tendencies among the Muslims.77 The riot that took place between Hindus and Muslims, in Bombay found graphic description in Maharatta. Tilak wrote78

the Muslim Congregation emerged from the great Jumma Musjid which held 6000 worshipers, a certain number of them raised the cry of Din Din and proceeded at once in the direction of a large Hindu temple in Hanuman lane with the intention of attacking and destroying it... some Hindu temples were desecrated and four persons killed and several persons injured. The riots have made it plain that the Mohamedan may attack the Hindus unprovoked at any time.... this tendency cannot be checked unless the government takes a firm attitude in such matters and inflicts exemplary punishments upon the aggressors... The Jumma Masjid holds nearly 6000 people and it is highly dangerous that 6000 roughs should be allowed to assemble there at any time under the ostensible purpose of worshipping without any notice to the police.79

The commentary on the riots continued in the same column, which remarked that,

77 Kesari Aug, 15, 1893.
78 Maharatta, Aug 13 1893, p.5.
79 Maharatta, Aug 13, 1893, p.4.
serious riots between the Muslims and the Hindus which commenced last afternoon still continues unabated. stray Hindus and Muslims are cruelly handled and even killed. Hindu fared worse yesterday and are but taking partial revenge today. The Bazaar is still closed... shops are fearlessly broken into and looted. 80

Such were the thoughts of Tilak on the day of the riots at Bombay.

The cause of the starting of the riot was the unprovoked attack on the peaceful Hindu public ... who was unable to protect their lives and property and all else that was sacred to them from the Mahomedan fury, as the authorities had almost failed to protect the Hindus against the Muslims, ... the Hindus resorted to counter attack not just to defend themselves but to give an opportunity to Muslims to experience vindictive power of those whom they had so seriously offended. The Hindus counter attack contributed in no small degree to the minimizing of the contingency of similar outbreaks in future. 81

Tilak declared that “the police commissioner was fully aware of the possibility of a disturbance breaking out... but did nothing to prevent the Mohomedan roughs from gathering in the Masjid”. Tilak attacked the Times of India, which advised the Hindus to refrain from doing anything whether lawful or unlawful, that would disturb the religious fanaticism of the Mussalmans. Tilak wrote that the Times of India advised the Hindus put a stop to the cow-protection agitation and not conduct meeting to help whose relations have been butchered by the Muslims. Tilak stated that the Anglo-Indian press had in fact “asked the Hindus to honour and fear the fanaticism of the Mohamedans and purchase the peace from them”. 82 Tilak explained that,
the people of Maharashtra if left to themselves, have sufficient
capacity and intelligence to make the Mohamedan respect the
rights of the Hindus... (and the present riots showed that the spirit
is not yet extinguished) we in the Deccan, never lived by the
sufferance of the Muslims. It is true that the Marathas are not as
rash and inconsiderate as the Muslim roughs so as to be aggressive
but recent riots have made it plain that they will not be slow, if
assaulted to take revenge upon the Mohamedans...that the history
of the Marathas bears testimony to the fact that had it not been for
the appearance of the British on the stage, the Hindus of these
parts would have wrested the power out of the hands of the
Mogul.83

The editorial notes84 discussed the setting up of defence committee
to help the Hindus accused in the riot. The Times of India had suggested
that such committees set up by both Hindus and Muslims were to be
dissolved and let the law take its own course. Tilak replied that "the
Mohamedans may be more fanatic than Hindus, but that is no reason why
the government should depart from its just course and circumscribe the
liberty of the law abiding people". Tilak also stated that they had opened
subscription to support the Hindus accused in the riots.85 Tilak's next
editorial86 titled “Adding Fuel to Fire” mentioned two riots in Ballia and
Azimgar87 districts in the North Western province in which;

We are grieved to find that the responsible head of the local
government should have undertaken upon himself the
responsibility of charging the Hindu landed aristocracy of four
districts in North West Province with having instigated the lower
classes of the Hindus to commence the riots.

83 ibid.
84 Mahratta, Aug 20 1893, p.4.
85 Stanley A. Wolpert, (1962), p.66. Tilak and his followers sponsored a mass meeting in
Poona to discuss the ways and means to defend the Hindu Community.
86 Mahratta, Aug 27 1893, p.3. Adding Fuel to fire.
87 The spellings of Azamgarh as printed in Mahratta has been retained.
The editorial quoted the Lieutenant Governor's statement that the government did not "wish to prosecute and punish foolish villages who were induced to join these crimes ... but detect and punish those men of better education and position who had led the ignorant away". Tilak criticised the government action. The editorial quoted one Bishen Narayan Dhar, a Barrister from Lucknow, who stated that "it was the collector of Azimgarh who ordered wholesale slaughter of cows, the Muslims offended the religious sentiments by carrying out the order which they could have avoided". Tilak accepted that the Hindus were the aggressors but explained that it was due to insensitive behaviour of the Muslims and the administration.

The next paragraph stated that "the collector authorised the wholesale slaughter of cows by Mohamedans on Bakrid day and asked the Hindus to sign an agreement not to interfere with the cow-slaughter on that day. A riot followed and the Hindu and Mohamedan gentlemen of light and leading kept themselves aloof and only the lower classes took part in the riot. The district administration "arrested 400 Hindus but not Mahomedans". Tilak blamed colonial government for having shown bias towards the Hindus and always supported the Muslims as the Muslims were allowed to go scot-free.

By giving this example, Tilak attempted to prove that not only in Bombay riots but elsewhere that the government held the Hindus responsible for the riots where as the Muslims had been successively

88 Mahratta, Aug 27 1893, p.3.

89 In the riots that took place at Azamgarh in 1893, the Landlords played a prominent part. Sandra B. Freitag, "Sacred Symbol as Mobilizing Ideology: The North Indian Search for a "Hindu" Community". Comparative Studies in History and Society XXII, (1980), p.613.
supported by the British. So Hindus needed a strong leader who would defend them from both the Muslims and the colonial government. Tilak argued that,

the masses in Bombay are now sadly in want of a strong and independent leader to defend their rights and to represent their case to the government in its proper light. The Hon'ble Mr. Telang is out of question is this regard.90

The riots provided Tilak another opportunity to criticize the reformers, who had betrayed the Hinduism and the Hindus by adopting the Western values. Such people had no right to speak on behalf of the Hindus.

We raise our voice against those who are deceiving themselves and their government by expressing what they believe is untrue and by concealing what they know is true. There are Anglo-Indian journals like the Bombay Times and Allahabad Pioneer; and there are some anglicized gentlemen who arrogate themselves the position of leaders of communities without in the least being entitled to it.91

Tilak's editorial totally dismissed the right of the reformers to intervene on behalf of the educated opinion particularly the Hindu one to re-establish the trust between both the Hindus and the Muslims.92

We are sorry to find however that our Anglicized leaders through their mouth piece the Times of India are dissuading people, ...the cause which our prattling local reformers expose is the cause of those whose teachings and preaching denationalize and kill the sparks of loyalty, patriotism and good citizenship. The reconciliation cause which in Poona has now been taken up by the natural leaders of the Hindu Committee has been denounced by Times and run down by the said patriots of the Consent Act times,

90 Mahratta, Aug 27 1893, p.4.
91 Mahratta, Sep 10, 1893, p.3 Today's Hindu Mass meeting. Editorial.
we can therefore safely recommend it for the unreserved acceptance of all true Hindus.\textsuperscript{93}

Tilak argued that unlike the earlier times,

the Hindus in Poona were now led by the people who are in touch with the masses like the Bankers, traders, merchants, pleaders, landholders and sardars and not by Rao Bahadurs.\textsuperscript{94}

Tilak was jubilant that the riot enabled a shift in the leadership. Tilak’s attack did not confine to the reformers who had defeated him in the age of consent issue. In consolidating the old elite leadership over the Hindu society, Tilak spared none. The orthodox leader who opposed the Age of Consent and supported Tilak in his struggle against the reformers refused similar support in his anti-Muslim endeavour.\textsuperscript{95} Besides the reformers and several orthodox leaders, Dadabhai Naoroji and Maulvi Rashidduddin Khan too refused to pin the blame on any section of the society for the riots. Dadhbai Naoroji\textsuperscript{96} stated that “in his own experience every community had its good and bad men. The Muslims and the Hindus were not worse than each other and each religion had its own good moral effect on its followers”. Naoroji’s opinion endorsed the reformers\textsuperscript{97} opinion in Western India which was based on individual freedom and equality of all religions. Naoroji considered that Indian did not belong to any particular religion but to India as a whole comprising of Hindu, Muslim, Parsis, and Christians.\textsuperscript{98} Since the national identity comprised of one and all residing in India, there was no question of

\textsuperscript{93} Mahratta, Sept. 10, 1893, p.3.
\textsuperscript{94} Mahratta, Sept 27 1893, p.3. The Mass Meeting and its Critics. Editorial.
\textsuperscript{95} ibid.
\textsuperscript{96} Naoroji’s interview in Pall Mall Gazette, quoted in Mahratta, September 10, 1893. pp 6-7.
\textsuperscript{97} Mahratta, September 17, 1893.
\textsuperscript{98} Verinder Grover, Dadabhai Naoroji, (New Delhi, 1993), p.197.
blaming any particular individual or the community for the riots. Naoroji suggested that justice and impartially was to form the basis of the feeling of nationality, and all educated Indians were collectively responsible for maintaining peace among various communities.

Maulvi Rashidduin Ahmad was less categorical in emphasizing such a clarity of thought regarding the basis of Indian nationality. Maulvi agreed with Naoroji that “there was no hatred between the Hindu and the Muslims and three fourths of the taboot were made by the Hindus”. Maulvi stated that two causes were responsible for the riots. Firstly, the Hindus having taken advantage of being majority had offended the Muslim feelings and secondly, the visit by some Hindu preachers from the north who had begun since 1889 a vigorous campaign of cow-protection in Bombay. The role of the Cow-protection societies in the ‘Bombay riot has been widely discussed. The Bombay government and the Muslims widely held that the riots were largely due to the preaching of the cow-protection societies, Tilak has been considered an active member of cow-protection movement. It is difficult to prove as there are no records of his involvement and he had written only one article regarding cow-protection between 1889 to 1893. The next article was the editorial published on October 1, 1893 well after the riots. It referred to the Allahbad Congress Session of 1888 when Anand Charlu of Madras moved

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100 Maulatta, September 10, 1893, p.647.
101 Maulatta, October 29, 1893, p. 7 and 8.
103 S.L. Karardikar, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, (Poona, 1957), p.88
104 Maulatta, April 20, 1890, Butchers and the Hindu fairs.
105 Mahratta, Oct 1 1893, The Cow-Protection Societies and the Recent Hindu Muslim Riots, p.3. Editorial.
a resolution to drop any subject which would be found to be distasteful to either Hindu or Muslims. He found cow-protection as "one of those subjects which would be avoided as (it was) liable to cause offence". The resolution was seconded by Pandit Adjudhinath who had a very high opinion of Muslims and it was he who asked the Muslims to "educate, excel and advance".¹⁰⁶

In North India, the cow-protection societies, the local Congress leaders, and the Hindi-Urdu controversy were rolled into one in the consolidation of Hindu identity.¹⁰⁷ However, in Western India, the cow-protection societies did not make any major impact.¹⁰⁸ It was after the Bombay riots, that the articles and editorials appeared in Mahratta discussing issues like involvement of cow-protection societies, whether the killing of the cow was necessary for Islam and the cost of beef and mutton etc. Tilak argued that,

the cow protection movement is headed by Anglicized natives who has broken their caste.. This discontented class (is) availing itself of already existing elements.¹⁰⁹

Tilak in his editorial refuted the charges by the London Times, The Times of India and the official circles that the cow-protection societies were responsible for the riots.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ ibid.
¹⁰⁹ Mahratta, October 29, 1893.
¹¹⁰ The colonial rulers were apprehensive about Tilak's role, "Tilak did not take part in the anti-cow-killing movement...but took advantage of the ill feeling between the Hindus and Musalmans of which the movement was a symptom". A Montagomerie Asst. Judge's letter to L. Robertson the Secretary to Govt. of Bombay R. Kumar, Select Documents of Lok Tilak, Vol.II, (New Delhi, 1992), p.226.
We seem to see something more in all this agitation by the society for the preservation of cows than appears on the surface. Some of us old residents in Bombay feel we could lay our hands on certain notorious Hindus of influence and position, who are conspicuous by the absence of their names from the list of conciliators, men who, for half a century or more, have been accustomed secretly to ferment discord, not only between Hindus and Mohamedans but between different sects of Hindus. There are not many and they have influence and they use it most unscrupulously. By the mention of one single man I could strike the key note, but I must not. Every educated Hindu gentleman in Bombay will understand what is meant, not a few of them have suffered at various times from the malicious intrigues emanating from certain quarters.\(^{111}\)

So Tilak made it clear that he was not associated with the cow-protection movement though the cause was closer to his heart. In the North, the cow protection movement was sustained by a vigorous campaign by the Arya Samaj. The orthodox Hindus considered the Arya Samaj more dangerous than the British rule and openly clashed with the latter. The cow protection movement was the only cause, which was dear to both of them. Hence, it was used effectively by the latter to construct a monolithic identity for the Hindus.\(^ {112}\) However, in western India, the reform movement led by Ranade, Gokhale and Agarkar had little Hindu bias, and was based more on universalistic principles of rationalism and equality. They held on to their own and were successful in containing the onslaught of Tilak's propaganda. Tilak considered the Arya Samaj inspite of its pronounced Hindu militancy, an anti-caste organisation. Tilak had more reason to be suspicious of the Arya Samaj's activities. Firstly, the teachings of Dayananda were relatively closer to his opponents, the reformers and secondly, when Dayananda visited Poona, Phule had given protection to Dayananda from the physical attack by the anti-reformers.

\(^{111}\) *Mahratta*, Oct 1 1893, pp.3 - 4.
The growing distance between the two communities expressed itself in other fields also. Syed Ahmad Khan, the founder of the Aligarh movement established Anglo-Oriental Defense Association to protect the political interest of the Muslims. As the Congress began to demand more vigorously for holdings simultaneous examination for filling the posts of covenanted civil services, introduction of competitive examination for all appointments and expansion of legislatures to include a considerable proportion of elected members. Muslims regarded these demands as detrimental to their interests as they lacked western education and were not in a position to compete with the Hindus for the Government appointments. The Director of Public Instruction of Madras traced the Muslim backwardness in education to their excessive conservatism while his counterpart in Bombay observed that it was due to their depressed social status. As the Hindu militancy grew particularly in 1893, the Muslims began to oppose the Congress demands. The proposal for the simultaneous examination was passed in 1893 and Muslims felt that it expressed the aspirations of Bengalis and Brahmins alone. Mahratta reported of a meeting called to oppose the simultaneous examination in Madras. The speakers at the meeting expressed their apprehension regarding the advantages of such a scheme.

The speakers at the meeting warned that if "India was to be held by persons whose political antecedents were in antagonism to the people that

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would practically subject to their rule. It was only natural to expect and to fear that the Hindus should remember their wrongs at the hands of the Muslims in days of yore and now wreck upon them”. The Speakers also stated that except the two classes, which were benefited by the simultaneous examination, the Hindus who shared educational backwardness with the Muslims opposed the examinations. A Speaker wondered "whether the Sikhs would submit to the government of Pigmies who they knew were fit only for the desk and not for the field and whom they held in utter contempt". A speaker said that: “the Babu and the Brahman arrogated to themselves the power of controlling the destinies of the country, and they stoutly maintained that the only legitimate opinion was their own opinion, while they, the Mahomedans, would be accused of a dog-in-the manager policy of selfishly denying the straw they could not eat to the cow that could eat”. Another speaker stated that, the question was not one of passing the examination, but it was one of transferring the government of India to the Brahmans and the Bengali Babus. At the same meeting “certain gentlemen who announced themselves as delegates deputed by the Autnee Dravida Sabha” spoke in English and in Tamil in support of the resolution pointing out the disastrous results that would follow the introduction of simultaneous examinations.116

The meeting of non-Brahmins and Muslims which opposed the class interests of the educationally advanced Brahmins and other forward castes like Kayast and Bhadralok was not an isolated one. Such meetings were taking place everywhere. In western India Phule refused to support

Congress's demand for Indianisation of services because he considered that it would lead to brahminisation of the service.  

3. The Consolidation of “Otherness”, The Yeola and Poona Riots:

The animosity developed over a period of eight years did not diminish after witnessing the severity of Bombay riots. Riots broke out in October 1893 in Yeola in Nasik district. Tilak’s editorial called it aggression by the Muslims of Yeola.  

Tilak criticised the district government for “displaying pusillanimity” before “the defiant attitude of the Mahomedan community” which “encouraged that community to prefer further demands for unjust interference, with the exercise by the Hindu community of their customary right of carrying their idols in a chariot in procession accompanied by music according to established customs.”

Tilak suggested that the government should allow such religious procession with a strong hand and preserve public peace. He criticised the Bombay government for not allowing the Nagpanchmi processions to take place in Bombay which if the government had allowed, he argued, would have prevented fears of a fresh riots that every now and then disturb the peace of the mind of the Bombay citizens. Tilak argued that the riots made the government and the people change their opinion about the Hindus. Now the mild and patient Hindu was also being spoken with respect and sympathy. There were a series of riots at Bhiwandi and Rajapur.

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117 M.S., Gore, Non-Brahmin Movement in Maharashtra, (New Delhi, 1954), p.3.
118 Mahratta, October 22, 1893, p.3 Hindu Muslim Riots at Yewala in the Nastik District Editorial.
119 Mahratta, December 3, 1893, p.3 The Sequel of the Recent Hindu Mahomedan Riots at Yeola in the Nastik District, Editorial.
120 Mahratta, December, 10, 1893, p.3. Editorial.
Yeola, a small town in the Nasik district witnessed riots in September 1893. *Maharatta* reported the incident but Tilak was busy with the meeting he sponsored in Poona to uphold the rights of the Hindus. The incident did not evoke any prejudices from Tilak and he advised the Hindus "not to break all commercial and social intercourse with the Mahomedans" and asked them to establish their claim in a civil country court. During this period western India slowly returned back to normalcy *Maharatta* reported in February 1894, that the Hindus of Yeola presented a petition to the government, which gave a full account of the disturbances that took place previous year. The tension had taken place on the day of Ganesha festival (Sep 14, 1893) when the Hindus after purchasing the idol were returning to the temple, "the Muslims were lying in wait at the Patel’s Musjid to attack them". A riot was averted. Later the Hindu Union Club "apprised the Collector of the possible nay probable, breaking out of the suppressed ill-feeling between the two communities". The report discussed the ill feeling as the result of Muslims disturbing the Hindus in the latter's performance of their religious duties during the September-November of 1893. No actual riot was referred to in his report.

The Hindus of Yeola held a meeting on February 4 1894 to send in a petition to the Bombay government regarding the disturbances that had taken place during the previous year. The meeting led to tension between the two communities and culminated in riots. Tilak in his editorial expressed "the renewal of riots at Yeola is the chief event of the week and

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121 *Maharatta* December 10, 1893, p.3. Hindu Muslim Riots.
123 *Maharatta* Feb. 11, 1893, p.3.
we are glad to find that prompt measures have been taken this time to suppress them" 124 Tilak reported that four Mosques and a temple was burnt down in the riots". The Mohammedan version was different. According to them the Hindus had met on the fourth of February and “resolved to defile the mosques”. 125 Tilak blamed the “revenue and the police authorities for openly encouraging the Muslims to insult the Hindus” by burning their temples and it was “a wonder that they (the Hindus) did not sooner take law into their own hands... we doubt if the people of any province or town in India would have shown so much patience under the circumstances”. 126

The local administration arranged a meeting of twelve representatives of each community and a compromise between the Hindus and the Muslims was reached in Yeola. 127 Tilak criticised the local authorities for one sided nature of the compromise and supported the Hindus of Yeola for practicing social exclusion as it was the only legal remedy in the hands of the people when the officials would not and did not listen to their just demands by deciding the matter on the lines suggested by old-customs and practices. 128

The government on its part considered Ramachandra Ganesh Barve, Sardeshmukh of Yeola who drafted petition on behalf of the Hindus responsible for the riots. The government resolution clearly stated that Barve was encouraging the Hindus to boycott the Muslims to maintain the feeling of animosity after the compromise was reached between the two

124 Mahratta, Feb. 25, 1894, p.4, A Compromise between Hindus and Mohammedan at Yeola.

125 Mahratta, Feb. 18, 1894, p.3. The Recent Riots at Yeola – The Mohammedan version, Reported in the Times of India quoted by Tilak.

126 Mahratta, Feb. 11, 1894, p.3.

127 Mahratta, Feb. 11, 1894, p.3 The Renewal of Riots at Yeola, Editorial.

128 Mahratta, March 18, 1894, p.3. The Bombay government on the Yeola Riots Editorial
communities. Tilak criticised the government action of arresting the Hindus when the culprits were the Muslims. Tilak wrote,

It is true that a number of Mosques have been destroyed by fire but it seems to us highly ridiculous and absurd to argue therefore that a certain number of Hindus must be sacrificed on that account.

The question was "the abuse of power given to the magistrates by the law of the land" and Tilak upheld the right of the Hindus to play music near the mosques as the tradition demanded it and "it was preposterous to claim the right of stopping music in its front". It was therefore, the duty of the magistrate in these cases to use the authority and influence in favour of the Hindus. Tilak declared that "in no riot were the Hindus the aggressors in our firm conviction".

Tilak's defence of the rights of the Hindus to play music had its immediate effect. Disturbances took place between the two communities during the Palki procession, a procession taken out by the common people all over western India commemorating the Bhakti saints. People then carry these Palkis to Phandrapur on pilgrimage. The disturbance was a minor one and the Police quickly controlled it. Tilak warned the authorities that "unless prompt and definite action is taken, it is likely that the spirit now displayed by the Mahomedans may lead to more serious misunderstandings

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129 Mahratta, April 15 1894, p.1. The Riots of Yeola
130 Mahratta, March 25, 1894, p.3 Reign of Terror at Yeola, Editorial
131 Mahratta, April 29, 1894, p.3 The Riots and the Magistracy, Editorial
132 Mahratta, May 20, 1894, p.3 Government of India's dispatch on the Riots, Editorial.
133 Mahratta, July 1,1894, p3 A Second disturbances between the Hindu and the Muslim at Poona. Editorial.

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and disturbance. The Moharum festival took place in the same month. The festival passed peacefully. Tilak wrote,

it is only the police and other government officials concerned that are in jubilation over peace that prevailed during the Moharram. We cannot persuade ourselves to believe that the officials do not know that the quite was due more to the Hindus keeping aloof than to the restoration of good feeling and harmony between the two communities. 135

Tilak argued that the Hindus held themselves aloof,

not because they have begun to love the Mohammedan less because they feel bitterly for the shortsighted conduct of some officials who have been the cause of mischief. 136

Tilak explained his strategy regarding the issue that,

the government did not show strength enough to let justice prevail, the people will combine to make use of the only means left unto them of defeating policy of injustice and misrule. They certainly will never rise in open meeting against government; for against the constituted government in the land they have no grudge. They can, without making themselves liable to any, the remotest thought or act of sedition make it too hot for the Mohammedan themselves and compel them to give up the wings and shelter of government in trying to advance their own interests... If government, however, persist in its policy of indifference, the Hindu nation will, as one-man resolve to have nothing to do whatever with the Mohammedan. 137

After this incident, Tilak began a campaign supporting the playing of music. Tilak discussed at length the District Police Act of 1890 which prohibited the playing of music within forty paces of all places of

134 ibid.
135 Maharatta, July 22, 1894, p.4, Editorial.
136 ibid.
137 Maharatta, July 22, 1894, p.4. EdN.
worship during hours of services and at all times when passing a mosque.
2. When *Puran* or *Kuran* is being read near a street. 3. While passing public offices 4. When carriages or horses are passing. Tilak argued that the clauses of the act "speaks of music in or near a street and not specifically of music on the occasion of festivals and ceremonies". 138 So the police under the act had no power to regulate music in procession.

We think that a person who chosen to drive or ride along a public road must take care to see that his horses do not take fright at the sound of music. In exceptional cases music may stop and as a matter of fact it is stopped even now when the owner of a carriage or a horse so desires. But to extend the rule to all cases would not only inconveniently but unreasonably ridiculous. 139

Tilak questioned the appointment of police as sole arbitrators of where music should cease than all the evils apprehended by R.B. Ranade would be instantly realised and enforcing such an act-endangered the public peace. 140 M.G. Ranade warned Tilak about his potentially inflammatory argument and Ranade and Gokhale cautioned against it for fear of stirring further command conflict. 141 Tilak continued his work of vigorous campaign against the prohibition of music near the mosques and the opportunity came in the form of Ganapati festival to put the campaign to practical test at Poona.

After a year of continuous communal tension and clashes in which the non-Brahmin played a major part. Tilak conceived the idea of

139 ibid.
harnessing such a power to reestablish anti-reformist leadership of the society. In September 1894 Tilak began the mass celebration of the Ganapati festival at Poona which involved the Public celebration with singing parties and large-scale processions.\textsuperscript{142} The songs sung in the festival were anti-Muslim and anti-reformers. Songs were also sung to encourage the Hindus to stay away from the Muhrum festival.\textsuperscript{143} The festival also helped the Tilakites, like Tatiasaheb Natu to aggravate the already existing communal tension by deliberately playing the music near the mosque.\textsuperscript{144} The procession was attached by the Muslims.\textsuperscript{145} The colonial government this time was more prepared than the earlier riots, as it was able to contain the riots and arrest the concerned persons before an extensive damage to either side could take place.

Tilak’s editorial blamed “the anti-Hindu European reporters in the Times of India and Bombay Gazette” for misrepresenting the facts and gave an elaborate account of the riot that took place at the Daruwala bridge near the mosque and how the Mahomedans waited for Tatiasaheb Natu’s procession to pass the bridge with the intention of attacking him.\textsuperscript{146}

It should be here mentioned that only a couple of hours before, the mela of the market Ganapati, consisting of a large number, had passed by the same mosque without stopping their music, the Mahomedans not even asking them to stop it, possibly because, they did not care to have a row with them. To resume, however, our narrative the Mahomedans, without even waiting for a reply,

\textsuperscript{142} Richard Cashman, (1975), p.78.
\textsuperscript{143} ibid. pp.83.
\textsuperscript{144} D.P. Karmarkar, (1956), p.83.
\textsuperscript{145} S.L. Karandikar, (1957), p.114.
\textsuperscript{146} Mahratta, Sep. 16, 1894, p.3 Editorial. The Hindu Mahomedan Disturbances in Poona.
attacked the party with cries of 'din, din' and are Mahomedans rushed upon Mr. Tatya Saheb Natu, who was with the party.\textsuperscript{147}

Tilak did not give further information as to why the Market Ganapati Mela\textsuperscript{148} was allowed to pass the mosque with music and not the Natu’s but concentrated on how the Hindus could not retaliate initially and when the sight seeing Hindus joined them in attacking the Mahomedans, the Hindus were able to retaliate successfully. As a result the Mahomedans fled the place and took shelter in the Mosque. “The Hindus were however, not in a mood to allow these to shelter themselves” attacked the Mosque and “in this fight the globes and other things were destroyed”. At this stage the police arrived and charged on the large Hindu mob that had that assembled there. People began to “run in the direction of Mosque to concede themselves somewhere near there for a time. And these men were soon arrested. It is an absolute fact that all the Hindus arrested by the police on the spot at that time were arrested in this manner”.\textsuperscript{149}

Tilak alternatively stressed the mild Hindu, as a rule, never resists authority” while the Muslims were “always the first violators of law”.\textsuperscript{150} Hence always the aggression and the ill feeling between the two communities were due to the “foolish intermeddling of certain government officials”.\textsuperscript{151} The inborn qualities and the official support made the Muslims to “escape scot-free and the poor Hindus are* in the sum of

\begin{footnotes}
\item[147]\textit{Mahratta}, Sep. 16, 1894, p.3. Hindu Mahomedan Disturbance in Poona. Editorial.
\item[148]The Poona City in 1885 had 24 markets and the transaction was dominated by the non-Brahmins. The Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency Poona, vol.IXVIII Part III (1992 reprint). P.313. If the Market mentioned is Reay Market, which was the biggest market in Poona, than the mela was dominated by poor vegetable sellers. Dhananjay Keer, \textit{Mahatma Johirao Phooley}, (Bombay, 1974), pp.226-227.
\item[149]\textit{Mahratta}, September 16,1894, Editorial
\item[150]ibid.
\item[151]\textit{Mahratta}, November 18, 1894, Editorial The Poona Riots Cases.
\end{footnotes}
several thousands to prove their innocence”. 152 Tilak during this period wrote several articles supporting the playing of music before the Mosque, tombs and Nimajgas 153 and gave a wide coverage to various stone throwing incidents against the Ganpati procession154 as well as a complete coverage to the court proceedings of the Hindus arrested.155

In the midst of riots, violence and sarcastic songs sung against the reformers and Muslims Mahratta continued to report the success of the Melas as the festival of “gay dresses and sweet songs” orderly and good tempered and stressed repeatedly that the Hindus did not desire to insult or offend the religious feelings of any other community by this festival.156 Ganapati festival failed to unify the Hindu community as hoped by Tilak. The festival was organized on the lines of caste 157 and the non-Brahmin Ganapati melas were entirely devotional whereas the anti-reformist melas sang derogatory songs against the reformers and the Muslims. The Poona riot took place between the mela of Natu the anti-reformer and the Muslims and not between the non-Brahmin melas and the Muslims. So Tilak’s attempt to secure the leadership of non-Brahmin failed to a large extent. So Tilak began to look for other issues to unify the Hindus.

Shivaji, the Maratha king who fought valiantly against the Mughal ruler had inspired the imagination of various sections of the society. Efforts were being made to renovate the tomb of Shivaji at Raigadh. Phule had

152 ibid.
153 September 23, 1894, p.1 Rules about the playing music and Tom Toms.
154 ibid., October 7, 1894, p.1
156 Mahratta, September 27, 1896 p.5.
157 Mahratta, September 27, 1896, p.5. Mahar Mela.
already incorporated the persona of Shivaji in the Satya Shodak polemic. M.G. Ranade in December 1894 read some chapters from his history of the *Mahrattas* at the Hindu Union Club at Poona.\(^{158}\) Tilak began collecting subscription for the repairs of the tomb of Shivaji in June 1895.\(^{159}\) The first celebration of Shivaji festival began on April 15, 1896, and was participated by both the Brahmins and the non-Brahmins. However, the enthusiasm shown by the non-Brahmin was limited due to a very violent representation of Shivaji by Tilak. A reporter reporting the “Shivaji festival stated that,

Shivaji committed no sin, either according to the penal code or the laws of Manu or Yagnavalkya... Tilak wanted to impress on his audience, professor Bhanu and Jinsiwale had done the same thing before him and Mr. Tilak only put it in a different form by reforming to the philosophical defence contained in the Gita of slaying one’s relations on the battle field by any means available. Perhaps ‘justice’ (Ranade) knows nothing of the Gita or the philosophy contained therein. His object was to rain down Mr. Tilak and the Shivaji festival because they are not conducted on Samajist principles.\(^{160}\)

Tilak argued that religion was the main stay of the society and stated that “some of our friends were committing national suicide in withholding themselves from a movement which is making us hopeful of the future”.\(^{161}\) It was the duty of every Hindu to celebrate the Shivaji festival.\(^{162}\)

\(^{158}\) *Mahratta*, December 2, 1894, p.3.


\(^{160}\) *Mahratta*, June 27, 1897, p.4. A persistently Malignant Attack.

\(^{161}\) *Mahratta*, Sep 20 1896, p.3. Editorial.

\(^{162}\) *Kesari*, Aug 21 1896, Tilak’s Speech reported.
The violent expression between the two communities was witnessed in Kerala too. In March 1896, Moplas revolted against the landlords. The revolt took a communal turn as these two classes belonged to different religious denominations. Tilak reported the event as violence by the "peculiarly inhuman and horrible Moplas against extremely quite and industrious Nairs". The "fanaticism of Moplas is simply phenomenal and they fight for their religion" Tilak wrote that on "one fine morning the Moplas attacked a Hindu temple and occupied it". The attacks were also made on Nambudari Brahmins and Nairs. Besides the graphic description of the riots, and concern for the safety of life and property of the Hindus, Tilak wrote that,

there was one serious consideration suggested by the constant outbreak of fanaticism and rowdyism in the country,... it is becoming increasingly difficult for the government to prevent or suppress such disturbances and people have already begun to make comparison between English and the Mahratta rule.

By 1897, the division between Hindu and Muslims hardened. This trend was not confined to western India but had become an all India phenomenon. The cow-protection societies, the communal riots the aggressive reporting of such incidents in newspapers like Kesari and Mahratta, the work of the Aligarh School, the provocative songs and dramas associated with the Ganapati and Shivaji festival further alienated the Muslims from the Congress. Several local congress leaders like Tilak

163 The revolt was essentially an agrarian discontent. There were only 12 Mappila big landlords as against 829 caste Hindus. The social composition of Muslim rebels shows that overwhelming majority of them connected with land either as tenants or as agricultural labourers. Of the 99 persons whose identity is recorded there were 41 tenants, 52 Labourers, 2 religious workers and 5 miscellaneous persons. Wealthy Mappilas, landlords, traders and sharecroppers kept aloof. K.N. Panikkar Against Lord and State, Religion and peasant uprising in Malabar 1836-1921, (Delhi 1989), pp.32-87.


165 ibid.
worked for both the Indian National Congress and the militant assertion of Hindu nationality. Pratap Narain Misra, the dramatist called the Muslims as outsiders and his concept of ‘Indians’ did not include Muslims.166 The dramatists like Radha Charan Goswami, painted an aggressive and strife loving nature of the Muslim community.167 In Punjab the local Congress leaders were also the supporters of the Shuddi movement started by the Arya Samaj, which propagated the re-conversion of the Hindus converted into other communities particularly Islam. This along with the agitation for official recognition for Hindi in Devanagari script further divided the two communities. By the end of the last century, the pattern of conflict between the two communities became institutionalised.168 It was in this atmosphere of mutual distrust. M.G. Ranade addressed the Indian Social Conference at Lucknow regarding the common bondage between the two communities to form the Indian nationality. The addresses hitherto at the Indian Social Conference confined themselves to reforming the certain aspects of Hinduism. Ranade's speech concentrated on the immediate dangers that threatened the fabric of Indian nationality. Ranade said that,

there are those among us who think that this predominance (Muslim invasion and consolidation) has led to the decay and corruption of the Indian character and that the whole story of the Mohammedan ascendancy should for all practical purposes be regarded as a period of humiliation and sorrow. Such a view however appears to be unsupported by and correct appreciation of the forces which work for the elevation or depression of nations169.

167 ibid., p.188.
169 Mahratta, Jan 14, 1900, p.7, "Justice Ranade's inaugural address".
Ranade emphasized “various positive influence like improvement in gunpowder and artillery, medicine, astronomy, roads, canals and finally the strong influence on Hinduism”. Ranade stated that before the Muslim invasion,

the prevailing tone of pantheism had established toleration for polytheism among our most revered ancient teachers who rested content with separating the few from the many and establishing no bridge between them. This separation of the old religion has prevented its higher precepts from becoming the common possession of whole races under purely Hindu system, the intellect may admit but the heart declines to allow a common platform to all people in the sight of God.

Ranade considered the Vaishanava Bhakti movement of Kabir, Tukaram, Eknath, Vallabh, Sikh Pant and Ramanad, which “accomplished the elevation and purification of the Hindu mind was accomplished to an extent, which very few at the present moment realised in all its significance. Ranade emphasized that “they (the Hindu and Muslim communities) brought about a fusion of thoughts and ideas benefited both the communities”. Ranade argued that “if the Indian races had not been benefited by the contact... they would never have been able to reassert themselves in the way which history bears testimony they did”.170

Such a radical view of Indian history and the concept of Indian nationality were not acceptable to Tilak. Tilak criticised Ranade’s concept of nationality as based on “illusion, though a very elevating and loveable illusion”. The “ideal of Mr. Ranade cannot be realised because the basic material upon which the nation has to be found is not sound”. Without going into the detail of how these principles mentioned by Ranade

170 *Maharatta*, Jan 14, 1900 p.7.
171 *Maharatta*, Jan 14, 1900, p.3 The Fusion of the Hindus and Mahomedans.
were wrong, the editorial reverted back to its earlier argument "intolerant Muslims and tolerant Hindus" and "the union" (between the two communities as desired by Ranade) "in impossible for ages to come". We may regard Mr. Ranade's ideal a little overdrawn when he seems to speak of the unity of the two races even in social and religious matters. It is absurd to expect that the Mahomedans and the Hindus will find much in common in the matter of social and religious reform. The editorial declared that cooperation between the two communities was possible only in the field of political agitation against the colonial government. Tilak was hostile to include Muslims into Indian nationality but was willing to consider a joint political agitation against the colonial government, which they hoped would come one day.

Tilak's assertion of Hindu nationality as against the Indian nationality found expression in his dealings with the issues related to the Muslim community at the national field too. After Tilak attended the 1900 Madras Congress secession, he began to think in terms of uniting the Hindus in the larger context of nationality. One of the first issues that Tilak dealt with was the Hindi-Urdu controversy.

The Hindi-Urdu controversy started in late nineteenth century in the United Province when the colonial administration began to treat Urdu as the court language. The move was opposed by the educated Hindus who had began to see Urdu i.e. Hindustani, in Persian script as an exclusive legacy of Muslim culture. The idea was supported and propounded by the Arya Samaj. The idea of Hindi in the Nagari Script was taken up by the

172 Krishna Kumar, Hindu revivalism and Education in North Central India in K.N. Panikkar(EA) Communalism in Modern Indian History, Politics and Culture (New Delhi, 1991), pp.176-177.
literary figures like Bharatendu Harishchandra. A *Nagari Pracharini Sabha* or the conference for the propagation of *Nagri* script was started towards the end of the nineteenth century. So a vigorous movement began for introducing Hindi as a court language. The association of movement for Hindi with the Hindu revivalism further antagonised the Muslims.

Tilak supported the demands of the Hindus in the Hindi-Urdu controversy by stating that Urdu was the language of the minority and argued that by placing a condition in the North West province that only persons able to read both the Persian and *Nagari* character, would be appointed in government posts, the government was not actually favouring Hindi but only the unjust monopoly of Urdu was broken. The editorial hoped that the classical *devanagari* characters will be loyally accepted by all the languages of India then the gulf now existing between these different members of the Hindu community of India would be bridged over for a great part and the cause of a common understanding between the different parts of India would be appreciably advanced. Tilak while speaking at the *Nagari Pracharini Sabha* stated that the importance of the movement was not just to introduce common character for northern Indian language but it involved the greater question of Indian nationality. The common language was an element of nationality and to attain this end the first step was to introduce common script Tilak regarded common religion

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175 ibid., p.4.
and a common language most important constituents of nationality and to bring about such a unity there were historical difficulties.\textsuperscript{176}

The contact between the Aryans and Non-Aryans in ancient and between the Mohammedan and Hindu in later times have destroyed the linguistic harmony of the country. To bring about this harmony common language for India is the ultimate end we have in view, we begin with the lowest step of the ladder, I mean a common character for Hindus and for this purpose I think we shall have to go to government and urge upon its attention the necessity of introducing in the vernacular school books of each province a few lessons in this standard characters. So that the next generation may become familiar with it.\textsuperscript{177}

Tilak also hoped that

the government would not object to lend the us help to such a scheme.\textsuperscript{178}

Tilak's hopes that the Muslims would be partners in political agitation against the colonial rulers seemed to materialize due to the Hindi-Urdu controversy. \textit{Mahratta} acknowledged this and stated that "when Urdu-Nagari rule was issued, the Mahomedans were furious and held demonstration all over the country protesting the action of the government and simultaneously their attitude towards the Hindus and the views they had adopted as regards to taking part in political agitation also underwent a marked change."\textsuperscript{179} The editorial quoted Nawab Mohsinul Mulk, the successor of Syed Ahmad Khan, as having "advocated in strong terms a closer union and better understandings between Hindus the Mahomedans" The possibility of Muslims taking part with the Hindus in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{176} \textit{Samagra Tilak}, Vol.7, p.641-645, Tilak's speech at Nagri Pracharini Sabha, Benaras in Dec 1905.
\item \textsuperscript{177} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{178} ibid p.645.
\item \textsuperscript{179} \textit{Mahratta}, Feb24, 1901 p.3 Editorial, Mahomedans and the Congress.
\end{itemize}
the anti-colonial struggle seemed to contain immense potential in itself. The editorial advised,

what we would like the two Nawabs to do is to state clearly and precisely how far the views of the Aligarh school are followed by the Mahomedans of the rest of India and whether the Moslem Chronicle the organ of the Bengal Mahomedans, is wrong when it writes that there has really been a change in the attitude of the Mahomedans.\textsuperscript{180}

Partnership in the anti-colonial struggle and the occupational threat existed side by side in Tilak's ideological built up. In 1902 the chief of Bhavalpur realised that the number of Muslims in the state service was too small in comparison to Muslim population which was four to one and ordered that the Muslim officers were to be appointed in direct proportion to its population. Maharattas stated that henceforth —“Kolhapur will be for \textit{Mahratta}, Bhavalpur for Mohamedans, Patiala for the Sikhs, Mysore for Mysorians and so on”. Mahrata explained,

we believe that nothing can account for this simultaneous outburst of racial feeling on the part of some of our native chiefs and princess except the supposition that some mischief mongers have been at work at the India office and that a systematic attempt is being made at setting up the \textit{Mahrattas} against the Brahmins and the Mahomedans against both the Mahrattas and the Brahmins\textsuperscript{181}.

This attempt aimed at destroying "the growing spirit of a common nationality." \textit{Mahratta} on the other hand continued to deny the existence of common nationality among the Hindu and Muslims, as it continued to emphasise on Shivaji under whose leadership "the \textit{Mahratta} threw off the yoke of the Mughals".\textsuperscript{182} \textit{Mahratta} argued that "Mahomedans are yet in

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{180} ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{181} \textit{Mahratta} Aug. 17, 1902, The Racial Question, p.385, Edn.
\item \textsuperscript{182} \textit{Mahratta} Aug. 24. 1902. The Shivaji Festival and the Muslims, p.*
\end{itemize}
the hayday of government favour and it may be some time before they will begin to feel disillusioned as to the limitations of their enterprise.\footnote{183}{Maharatta Jan. 11, 1903, p.18.}

The communal construction of the religious communities by both Tilak in western India and Syed Ahmad Khan in Aligarh were essentially motivated by the fact that the reformist elements in the respective communities threatened to sweep away the old elite. In the case of Muslims, it was the of Deoband School and the Wahabi movement, which threatened the aristocratic hold on the community. The Wahabi movement preached besides pious living complete equality of all Muslims. If W W Hunter's assessment is true, the movement had enormous following in the economically lower sections of the society over a very large portion of India. Hunter explaining the position of landed aristocracy of Bengal towards the British government, stated that,

\begin{quote}
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\textit{every Musalman priest with a dozen acres attached to his mosque or wayside shrine has been shrieking against the Wahabis during the past half century.... The Muhammadan landholders maintain the cause of the Mosque, precisely as English Landlords defend the established Church. Any form of dissent, whether religious or political, is perilous to vested rights.... a gathering of eighty thousand men asserting complete equality among themselves and drawn from lower classes would make any landed gentry in the world indignantly uncomfortable.}\footnote{184}{W.W. Hunter, \textit{The Indian Musalmans}, (1871) (Reprint, Delhi, 1969), pp.100-101.}
\end{quote}
\end{quote}

So the Muslim landed aristocracy faced a threat from men of its own community. So to contain this, an image of Hindu Majority swamping the Muslim minority was created. The threat from within and the occupational threat posed by the educated Hindus due to their predominance in the colonial job structure, assisted in the construction of monolithic identities.
In western India Tilak was acting on similar lines. The English educated reformers by pushing forward their agenda of social and economic reforms, which aimed to eliminate gender, caste and economic inequalities were threatening the hold of the old elite. This internal threat was coupled with the occupational threat posed by the newly assertive non-Brahmin communities would eventually seal the fate of the old landed elite. This necessitated the creation of an external threat. The Hindu Muslim antagonism that was taking the shape of communal entities in Punjab and the Northern India gave direction to Tilak's ideological construct. Reporting the riots in a biased way and using the religious festivals, Tilak attempted the communal construct of Hindu community.