CHAPTER-II

PROBLEM CREATED BY COMMUNAL LEADERS AND MOVEMENTS
Some Hindu enthusiasts provoked the Hindu community by the propaganda that they were living under hostile conditions in India. They were told that they were surrounded by two religions the most nobest and aggressive of the period, which were drawing away a large number of their coreligious into their folds. While the lower classes were generally converted to the Muslims faith, the higher educated people embraced Christianity.

The problem that confronted them most was to bring about a synthesis of the old and the new, not only intellectually but also socially, ethically and religiously. Among the great Hindu leaders there arose a young Brahmin called Mulshankar from Kathiawar, who at the age of 14 saw a mice running over and defiling an image of Shiva, and his mind recoiled from idol-worship. It was this young Sadhu from Kathiawar who was called Swami-Dayanand and founded the Arya Samaj on 10th April in 1875 in Bombay.¹

Although this Arya Samaj was first inaugurated in Bombay, but was revised at Lahore in 1877. Swami Dayanand generated a repugnance for western civilization and whole-hearted turning towards the great part of his own country. "Back to the Vedas" was the key-note of all his religious and social propaganda. He devoted his mission to re-civilize India along lines that would combine the good in both East and West, but under the inspiration and guidance of the Vedic Dharma. He preached his teachings on the Vedas. His Arya Samaj was, in fact, a Hindu protestant and Revivalist movement. Swami Dayanand had a two-fold object in view. On the one side, he desired to purify Hindu society and to purge it of the gross superstition, and on the other, to prevent Hindu from drifting towards other faiths and towards the materialism which English education had brought in its train.

It was fact that Islam and Christianity, the rivals of Hinduism in India, were both proselytising religions, it was, therefore, necessary to give the

1. The Hindu-Muslim Problem, p. 179.
same character to Hinduism. Hinduism had made conversions in the past, it was quietly and consciously making conversions every day. This in brief was the Swami's attitude towards the other religions. "If one comes across some mistakes in his statements concerning other religions they may be the mistakes of his informants, of those on whose authority they have been taken and criticised. Mr. Blunt, in his Census Report for the United Provinces, complains that the Aryas study a religion only in the works of its opponents."

The spread of the Aryasamaj inspired a variety of orthodox reactions which culminated in the formation of all India orthodox defence association in 1902, the Bharat Dharma Mandal caste Sabhas became the arenas of innumerable battles over reform.

In fact Dayanand went so far as to invite Syed Ahmed Khan together with Keshab Chandra Sen, Babu Kanhyalal, Munshi Indraman Babu Harish Chandra and Babu Naim Chandra Roy to a colloquium in 1877 to discuss measures for social reform. This shows that swami Dayanand movement was a

purely religious and reform movement and was not directed against any community or religion. But his followers in 1880's and 1890's attached the Muslims with increasing intensity. The leader of the crusade, Pt. Lakh Ram, condemned all forms of Islam, particularly the 'naturalist Muhammedis' and Syed Ahmed Khan's Aligarh Movement and demanded that the Muslims should either be expelled from India or converted to Aryanism.¹

Such antagonism towards the Muslims and Muslim culture resulted, almost inevitably, from the growth of a new sense of Hindu identity.

According to Tarachand:

"Some of the activities of the Arya-Samaj were controversial. Dayanand was the first Hindu reformer who protected the Hindu faith from the assaults of the Christian and the Muslim critics to fighting them on their own ground in order to oblige them to defend their position. His work 'the Satyarth Prakash'

raised a polemic against all the other religions. Invitably this sharpened communal differences and accentuated mutual antipathies.\(^1\)

Prof Sydney Webb, the English Fabian thinker, rightly described the Arya Samaj as "the most important religious movement in the whole of India".\(^2\) The Arya Samaj was a totally religious movement which was run by Hindu leaders. Their aim was to convert people from other religions and bring them into the Hindu fold. As sister Nivedita observes:

"It is surprising to think how radical a change is entailed in many directions by this conception. We are no longer oppressed with jealousy or fear when we contemplate encroachments on our social and religious consciousness. Indeed, the idea of encroachment has ceased because our work is not now to protect ourselves but to convert others."\(^3\)

**COW-PROTECTION**

Another plank in the programme of the Arya Samaj which led to serious trouble was the protection of the

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cow. In 1882, a co-protection association was formed, preachers were appointed for propaganda and funds were collected to save cows from slaughter.

The problem of cow-protection arose in the Punjab, where under the Sikh rule, the killing of cows was strictly prohibited and the offenders were liable to the death penalty. The Hindus and Sikhs were wanted to stop it while the Muslims regarded cow sacrifice as their religious right. After the annexation, the prohibition (cow-killing) was abolished. The Hindus and the Sikhs felt resentful at this, but the Muslims were pleased that a valuable right was conceded. After the foundation of Arya Samaj (1865) cow-protection societies were organised in many places in almost all provinces. The religious teachers toured the country, cattle pounds were opened and an agitation for the prohibition of cowkilling was started. A number of Hindu Rajas and Zamindars supported the movement. Among the Sikh, the Namdhari's of Bhaini (Ludhiana) took the lead.


In 1882 Swami Dayanand had already formed the Gau-Rakshni Sabha or cow protection association, and published 'Gokarunanishť' a book which aimed to rouse the Hindus against the beef-eating Christians and Muslims. It encouraged them to petition Government to stop cow-kill ing. "Once the movement reached its climax in 1893 when vicious rioting broke out in these areas in which Muslim villagers were massacred by lawless bands of Hindus".\(^1\)

Some Muslims were always in favour of the Hindus to stop the cow-killing. In U.P. they supported prohibition of cow-killing as a religious question. Maulana Abdul Hai of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, a very eminent theologian of India, and three other Ulama, gave the following Judgment (fatwa) which made it clear that by giving up cow-sacrifice no sin was committed and no defect caused in the performance of the rite of sacrifice:

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1. Separatism among Indian Muslims by Francis Robinson, pp. 77-78.
"It is necessary for us . . . that we should abstain from giving pain to the Hindus. We should prevent our people from being guilty of such action. Cow-killing is not at all a religious injunction of Islam, hence it is the highest value to abstain from such a futile action".¹

On the one hand the Hindus asked the Muslims to stop cow-sacrifice on the plea that it hurt their feelings, the Muslims on the other hand pressed the Hindus to abstain from performing their religious ceremonies as were opposed to the teachings of Islam. These arguments only brought the Hindus and Muslims closer to clash. Conflicts between the two communities continued to occur and hampered the peaceful march of the country. As Y.B. Mathur says:

"The Muslim objected to the playing of music before mosques on the ground that it disturbed the devotees in their prayers. Sometimes even during the interval between the prayers they did not allow Hindus to play music before mosques because some persons spent their whole

¹ Quoted by Tarachand in History of Freedom Movement, p. 372.
time in saying prayers. They regarded music and songs as things of amusement so they protested it. The Hindus on the other hand considered it to be their right to play music and argued that in the past, processions accompanied by music always passed by mosques at all hours without any objection from the Muslims. They ruled out the Muslim argument as it caused intolerable hardship to them. Their religious and social customs required these processions to pass through public streets with music.\(^1\)

Since beginning of Arya Samaj up to present day the cow-protection was the matter of communal disturbance between Hindu and Muslim. In October 1916 two serious Hindu-Muslim disturbances occurred in the Patna District on the occasion of Idul-adha. Trouble had been anticipated owing to the attitude of the Hindus and precautionary measures had been taken, but in one village a mob of some 7,000 to 10,000 Hindus endeavoured to prevent the performance of the sacrifice in spite of the presence of the

\(^1\) Y.B. Mathur, Growth of Muslim Politics in India, p.62, Pragati Publication, New Delhi, 1979. From Home Political F.No. 179 of 1926.
District Magistrate with Armed Police. The mob had to be fired on, and finally the Muslim refrained from performing the sacrifice owing to their fear of the Hindus and the weakness and unreliability of the Police force on the spot. 1

In another village where careful precautions had been taken, a mob of 4,000 Hindus attempted to loot the village and kill the Muslims in spite of the presence of military Police under a European Inspector. This force finally had to fire on them and forced them to retire. These riots were due to deliberate Hindu aggression and were the fore runners of the serious Hindu-Muslim disturbance which broke out in 1918 in Sitabul and Gaya Districts where the predominant Hindus were determined to terrorise the Muslims and prevent them from performing the sacrifice. Large mobs of Hindus attacked the Muslims, looted their villages wholesale, taking away their cattle and damaging their mosques. They attacked the Muslims a second time in the most determined fashion but were beaten off with casualties by armed Police who had been drafted in. Subsequently, the

same trouble broke out in other places. Numerous villages were looted and Muslims, male and female were mal-treated and in some cases killed.¹

The Muslims "Pooh-Poohed"² the suggestion of Hindus to give up eating beef because that would constitute a flagrant encroachment on their religious rights. They argued that its prohibition would be a staggering blow to thousands of poor Muslims, because they would be unable to purchase mutton which was costlier than beef.³

"In self-defence, they always stressed that beef-eating was more widely prevalent among Europeans than the Muslims. One of the favourite arguments trotted out against cow-slaughter was that it was a great draw back to the agricultural development of the country. But there was no truth whatever in this contention, because the supply of bullocks for agricultural purposes never fell short of the demand."⁴

1. See: Home Political A Proceeding No.111 dated 1911.
2. See Paisa Akhbar, Lahore, date 26th January, 1911 and 22nd Feb. 1911.
3. Quoted from: Home Political A Proceeding No. 198 of 1924.
It was argued that cow-slaughter was in a greater measure responsible for infant mortality but the expounders of this argument conveniently shut their eyes to the fact. Indians had enough of cows, besides numerous dairies, all of which supplied milk in abundant quantity for the nursing of children. It is no doubt true that Hindus regarded the cow as the halo of sanctity but it was extremely ridiculous to ask the Muslims to treat her with reverence.

Thus the activities of Arya Samaj created a new fear to the Muslims. They made suspicion to the Muslims. By these activities the Muslim became hopeless and fearful of the Hindu communal activities. Now they found themselves unsafe in their languages, religions and all other social activities. The teachings of Arya Samaj through Gurukula education system poisoned the young Hindu minds and enforced them to keep away the Muslim community. Through cow-protection movements, the Muslims were blamed for riots and a large number of Muslims were suppressed by the Hindus as well as the British. The Muslims were forced to be communal, because the rift was created by the Arya Samaj.
GANAPATI FESTIVAL

Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahmin of Maharashtra, and a supporter of Hindu revivalism and a congress leader, especially during the provincial period of his career, started the Ganapati festival in 1893, in Maharashtra. After some time in 1896, he started another Hindu festival 'Shivaji Festival', why did he start these festivals? Let us, see:

"In the Presidency of Bombay, not only did the Hindu and Muslims live in perfect harmony, but the former enthusiastically took part in the annual Muslim festival of Moharram. Hindu rubbed shoulders with Muslims in the Moharram procession in which tabutes, or decorative structures representing the tombs of the martyrs at Kerbala, were carried for immersion in the river. But in 1893, a patch of dark cloud appeared on the serene sky of Bombay. There was bitter communal rioting in which many lives were ere lost, and many more sustained serious injuries."¹

This development gave rise to the revival of old religious festivals under the leadership of Tilak,

¹ Ram Gopal: Lokmaniya Tilak. Asia Publishing House, New Delhi, 1950, p. 82.
A brief account of communal politics in northern India may be given here so that Tilak's activities, like the Public celebration of Ganapati and Shivaji festivals, may be understood in their proper perspective.

The brief had gone out of the Wahabi movement, which had organised Muslims to a man to abstain from co-operating with the British and to end the British rule, and the British rulers too had realised that the best policy to deal with the Mohammedans was to reconcile them to the British rule rather than antagonise them, a significant change came over the Muslims in India. Formerly, every Muslim was looked upon as a rebel and had no access to Government service.

The British always used the policy of 'divide and rule'. When Hindus and Muslims were united on the congress platform in making their demands, this added, to the headache of the British. The first discordant note of course, welcome to the British, came from the Aligarh Muslim College, from the mouth of its Principal, named Theodore Beck. "The Parliamentary system in India", Beck said, "is most unsuited and the experiment would prove futile if representative institution is introduced
The Muslims will be under the majority opinion of the Hindus, a thing which will be highly resented by Muslims, and I am sure, they will not accept quietly.¹

Beck was hailed as a great well-wisher of Muslims, and his ideas found an echo in Sir Syed Ahmad Khan himself. In 1889, when Charles Bradlaugh took up in Parliament the question of introducing reforms in the Indian administration, Beck at once started mobilising Muslim public opinion against Bradlaugh's projected measure. At the same time some Hindus in the north had started an anti-cow slaughter agitation. He wrote it in an English journal: "The past few years have witnessed the growth of two agitations in this country: one, the Indian National Congress; the other, the movement against cow-slaughter. The former is directed against the English, the latter against the Muslims. The object of the Congress is to transfer control of the country from the British to the Hindus.... Musalman can have no sympathy with these demands. In order to stop cow-slaughter, the Hindus have gone to the extent of boy-cotting the Muslims.... The result is to be seen in the riots in many cities."²

¹ Quoted by Ram Gopal in : op. cit. p.83.
² Quoted by Ram Gopal : op.cit. pp. 83-84.
The Bombay riots upset the communal equilibrium of Poona. Terror-stricken Hindus flocked to Tilak believed that Mohammadans took to rioting because they were instigated to do so by a third party, and he therefore advised Hindus not to be inimical to Muslims. M.A. Jinnah the great leader of the Muslim community, reached almost the same conclusion. In his evidence before the Joint Select Committee appointed by Parliament to examine the Govt. of India Reforms Bill 1919, he said referring to communal riots:

"If you ask me, very often these riots are based on some misunderstanding, and it is because the Police have taken one side or the other".¹

The riots had come and gone. But these had left the bitterness between two communities. For many many years the Hindus had participated in Moharram festivals with great zeal. But now the Hindus stopped taking interest in the Tabut procession, and were now left without a public annual festival. In such a circumstances Tilak started the Ganapati Festival as a means.

first of consolidating the scattered ranks of the Hindu community and secondly of arousing in them the spirit of Hinduism.

The first of the modern public Ganapati festivals began in Poona. This gala-day celebration commemorating the birth of the Deccan’s most popular deity, the elephant headed Ganeshor Ganapati ("leader of the Ganas") that is, attendants upon Shivaji had originally been held as a family festival by the Peshwas, and since their collapse had fallen into the comparative oblivion of individual worship by less exalted householders.

The Ganapati festival was a purely private religious function, the most important and best attended public festival, of western India.

"Held in September, shortly after the Moharram, Hindus now marched with their communal cohorts behind giant images of their God, instead of joining the procession of the Muslim who carried the Tabuts (colourfully decorated images of the Kerbela tombs Mohammed’s martyred grand sons) to the river for their immersion. Instead of playing music for Muslims, Hindu musicians
were given more and better pay in the service of Lord Shiva's son. Ironically, Tilak predicted that the Ganpati festival will more or less aid in society's current tendency to function more harmoniously. ¹

By society, Tilak meant, Hindu society alone. In sponsoring the Ganpati festival, he was in fact furthering his ambition of providing an institutional framework through which to channel regularly the mass of orthodox opinion heretofore awakened only intermittently. ² Through this festival Tilak wanted to unite only Hindu society, as he stated:

"The Hindus of all sects worship Ganapati, and if the ceremony of conducting the god to the water places became public, it would be a recreation without trouble and would help achieve harmony amongst various sections of the Hindu community". ³

Music bands and processions were considered by some serious minded people as superficial and as unbecoming a religious festival. To them Tilak said.

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2. Ibid, p.68.
3. From 'Keshari' Newspaper by Tilak 26 Sept. 1893.
"Religious thought and devotion may be possible even in solitude, yet demonstration and éclat are essential to the awakening of the masses."

Through this festival Tilak inspired Hindu community in spirit of Hinduism and a new feeling of Hindu revivalism and filled a new energy to unite the Hindu community.

There may be difference of opinion about the time Tilak chose for starting the Ganapati festival, but the immense political and social good that resulted from the festival can not be denied when the whole affair is history of in cold print. Accordingly to Ram Gopal:

"Hindus were divided into numerous castes and sub-castes. The Ganapati festival brought them together, and they began to feel that they were component parts of one whole the Hindu community. The rational mind of Tilak saw no objection in only efforts which led to the consummation of this result, there was absolutely nothing in it, even if it was an imitation of tabut, which should offend the Muslims".  

Seeing the unity of Hindu community through the movement, the Muslim began to aloof from the Hindus, because now the politics was not a purely politics but it was mixed with religion. It was only Tilak who mixed the religion in politics. Shortly after the 1894 riot, Tilak accelerated his campaign against the prohibition of music in the neighbourhood of mosques. He succeeded in getting that organisation to submit a memorial to Government advocating that:

"If certain classes object to street processions passing by their public places of worship with music while they are engaged in worship, this feeling should be respected not by forbidding all music at all times while passing those places, but by stopping all loud and noisy music, likely to disturb worship during the prescribed hours of worship."\(^1\)

Inspite of all the efforts of the British Government and the Hindu-Muslim leaders, communal differences by playing music before the mosques could not be stopped.

\(^1\) See: Kesari (Newspaper) by Tilak, 7th Oct. 1894.
SHIVAJI FESTIVAL

Having successfully launched the Ganapati festival, which was mainly directed to revive the religious enthusiasm of the Hindu community, Tilak turned his attention to organising the enthusiasm of the people in religious matters. He started Shivaji festival in 1896. He found in Shivaji, the founder of the Mahratta Empire, a hero who was revered and worshipped all over Maharashtra. So he decided to organise an annual festival round the personality of Shivaji.

The initial step to organise this festival was encouraged by an English man. In his historical travelogue, A Book of Bombay, published in 1883, James Douglas remarked, "No man now cares for Shivaji, over all those wide domains, which once owned him Lord and Master, acquired by so much blood and treasure, not one man now contributes a rupee to keep or repair the tomb of the founder of the Mahratta Empire". ¹

For this purpose a public meeting was held in Poona on April 23, 1895, with the announced intention of collecting funds. A Committee of fifty was organised. On

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the eve of the first great Shivaji festival to be celebrated simultaneously at Rajgarh, the mountain top fortress in Kolaba District where Shivaji had been coronated Chhatrapati (Hindu Lord of the Universe) in 1674 and where he died in 1680.

The integral political and religious motivation of this festival was made explicit from its inception. Its inauguration in 1896 marked the maturing and increased self confidence of Tilak's new party. His national aspirations were confined to the region of Maharashtra, which he longed to see restored to the Swaraj (Self rule) of a Hindu State. He was only cater to expand this goal to the whole of India.

According to him hero worship was at the root of nationality, social order and religion. The Shivaji festival in reviving hero worship built the foundation on which those essential pre-requisites for the common weal could be firmly established.

So much concentration of public mind on Shivaji in Maharashtra and elsewhere in India, gave rise to a historical controversy "did Shivaji commit an act of treachry
in killing Afzal Khan in 1659 with cunning act?

When Afzal Khan came to Shivaji to discuss the points of surrender, Shivaji approached the Muslim in his plan cloth shirt, but under it he wore a vest of mail, and concealed it, his right sleeve was a scorpion shaped dagger, while the finger tips of his left hand were sheathed with metal tiger claws. The embrace with which he agreed to Afzal evoked the deathpang out cry from the Muslim. This served as a signal for activating the carefully concealed Maratha forces waiting in ambush at either side of the road. Afzal's attendants were quickly cut down, and the leaderless army waiting below was easily dispersed. Bijapur (Afzal) never recovered from then and Maratha power was firmly established. Such in essence was the incident for which Shivaji has been alternately denounced for treachery and admired for bravery.1

To try to determine whether Afzal or Shivaji struck first, Tilak wrote:

"Did Shivaji commit a sin in killing Afzal Khan? The answer to this question can be found in the Mahabharata itself. Shrimat Krishana, preached in the Gita that we have a right even to kill our own Guru and our

1. See: S. A. Wolpert, pp. 85-86."
kinsmen. No blame attaches to any person if, he is doing deeds without being actuated by a desire to reap the fruit of his deeds. If thieves enter our house and we have not strength enough in our fists to drive them out, we should without hesitation lock them up and burn them alive. God has not conferred upon the foreigners the grant inscribed on a copper plate to the kingdom of Hindustan".  

Through the processions of Shivaji festival, Tilak defame the Muslims as foreigners and accused them of weaken the Hindu religion. He encouraged the Hindu masses to hate the Muslims as they were the enemy of the Hindus. He also told the Hindu masses that the Muslims were the real assaulters of the Hindu community, they had broken the Hindu temples and looted their property, converted them into Muslim fold. He talked and preached anti-Muslim feelings in the meetings.

The Muslim masses resented Tilak's activities and so they began to condemn Tilak as a communal leader. Any way it was obvious to Muslims that they should not rely upon Hindus. Ganapati festival and the celebration of

1. Quoted by S.A. Walpert, pp. 86-87.
the Shivaji anniversary were bound to create apprehensions in the mind of the minority community.

Sir Valentine Chrol, author of 'Indian Unrest' said in his book "He (Tilak) not only convoked popular meetings in which his fiery eloquence denounced Mohammedans as the sworn foes of Hindus, but he started an organisation known as the "Anti-Cow-Killing" Society the Gana Pati, and Shivaji festivals, which was intended and regarded as a direct provocation to the Mohammedans".¹

The Govt. of India's own legal adviser, an English man named Montgomerie later, in a confidential note vindicated Tilak of the charge of communalism.

"Tilak had nothing to do with the inception of the anti-cow-killing movement nor is there any evidence to show that either before or after the Hindu-Mohammedan riots of 1893, he took any part in the management of the Anti-cow-killing society or in furthering its aim.......".²

¹ Quoted by Ram Gopal in Indian Muslims, p.89.
² Quoted by Ram Gopal in Indian Mussalman, p.89.
³ See: Maharatta (Newspaper) 24 June 1906.
It is alleged that in the year 1901 along with his two trusted colleagues, Vasukaka and K.P. Khadilkar, Tilak made a plan to go to Nepal as devotees of Lord Shiva with a view to induce the Maharaja of Nepal to invade India so that Hindu Raj could be established in India. But the plan, it is said, failed because the plague spread and the borders of Nepal sealed.¹

Sometimes Tilak denied the unity and tried to divide the two communities through his Ganapati and Shivaji festival, but later he tried also to unite them. "In 1916 in Congress-League combined session at Lucknow, he declared that he would be ready to achieve swaraj even if the Raj was given by the British to the Muslims in India."²

The Lucknow pact of 1916 between the Hindus and the Muslims was largely the result of the efforts of Tilak. In speaking on the resolution on self-government he said in regard to the pact:

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1. See: Maharatta (Newspaper) 24 June 1906.
"It has been said by some that we Hindus have yielded too much to our Mohammedan brothers. I am sure, I express the feelings of the Hindu community all over India when I say that we could not have yielded to much. I would not care if the rights of self-government are granted to the Mohammedan community only, when we have a fight against a third party west and on this platform united, united in race, united in religion, united as regards all different shades of practical creed. That is the most important event of the day."

In this point of view M.A. Jinnah opined:

"Mr. Tilak was a shrewd practical politician. . . (He) rendered yeoman services to the country and played a very important part in bringing about the Hindu-Muslim."

Tilak was the first political and religious Hindu leader who utilized the medium of religion for political propaganda, and in the first few decades of the twentieth century, it became the common medium of revolutionary leaders and organisations.

1. Ibid.
URDU NAGRI CONTROVERSY

The principal issue that came to this surface after cow-protection was Urdu-Devanagri controversy, as Sumit Sarkar writes:

"The demand for the use of the Devanagri script first made by some Benaras Hindus in 1868 and granted by Lt. Governor Macdonnell in 1900 was connected with the tension between old and new elites of U.P." ¹

In the development of Hindi and Urdu, Hindus and Muslims had worked shoulder to shoulder in the past. There had been great Hindu authors in Urdu. But this controversy took a firm as if Urdu were to exclusive patrimony of the Muslims and Hindi that of the Hindus and it was carried on with great bitterness. Behind all this bitter controversy was the hand of Sir Antony Macdonnell. His Govt. passed an order authorizing the use of Nagri for certain specific purposes in courts and public offices. It was an innocuous order. In fact, a knowledge of both the Urdu and Hindi is essential for establishing a cultural link between the two communities.

1. Sumit Sarkar: Modern India, 1885-1947, p.233
   New Delhi, 1983.
But under the policy of 'Divide and Rule' the British officers became interested to use Hindi as a court language and they tried to make efforts for its development. They wrote its grammars and encouraged the Hindi writers. S.C. Baily advised the Govt. that "Hindi could be and should be gradually introduced into the courts and offices" because "Persian characters can be altered with much greater facility than Nagri, and hence it offers greater temptation to fraudulent tampering with documents."¹

For the Hindus, Hindi was a language purged of all the Arabic-Persian accritions which served to remind them of the Muslim supremacy while the Nagri script had a religious significance as the character which Brahmin used and in which Sanskrit was written. For the Muslims, on the other hand, Hindi was gandi (dirty) and they thought it most degrading to learn it.²

But there were two events, to take this matter in favour of Hindi. The first was the appointment of Shiv Prasad as Joint Inspector of the Benaras Circle in 1854.

²See: Separatism among Indian Muslims by Francis Robinson; Delhi 1975.
Shiv Prasad's aim was to encourage people to write a depersianished Urdu in the Nagri script.

The second event was the appointment in 1862, Inspector of the Agra Circle 1862-78, director of Public instruction, a post which he held till his retirement in 1878. Kemson saw eye to eye with Shiv Prasad, and made much of him. He also believed that Hindi was the vernacular to encourage to be encouraged and did his best to promote it.

In 1872 Hindi was made the court language nine districts in the Central Provinces (M.P.) instead of Urdu and increased communal tension. It had a marked effect on Muslim politics making the educated Muslims, already suspicious of the rising Hindu leadership, more apprehensive of the future. The feelings of the Hind Urdu controversy has been emphasised by Mahmud Husain:

"The Hindi-Urdu controversy arose in 1883, with an innocent looking suggestion that the character of the court language should be changed from Persian to Devanagari: the replacement of Urdu by Hindi was not specifi­cally mentioned, but the intention was obvious, and the entire Muslim official

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world arrayed itself against the proposal. The public platform and newspapers were invoked by the protagonists of the two languages, and agitation seemed to draw a demarcation line between educated Hindus and Muslims.¹

The U.P. was the cultural centre of Islamic India. From this centre radiated currents of agitation which shook the whole country from end to end and brought about a great Muslim upheaval. In August 1900, representative Muslims from various provinces met together in a big conference to ponder over the fate of their injured community. The Muslim leaders decided to form a permanent All India Muslim organisation to watch the political interests of the community. The task of completing the details was left to Nawab Vigarul-Mulk, who was appointed as its Secretary.²

In his own monthly journal, 'Asr-i-Jadid' or 'Modern Voice' founded in 1903, Ghulam-us-Saqulain gave the following reasons for political organisation:

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"Intelligent Musalmans will readily admit the necessity for the establishment of a Muhammadan Political Association. Owing to the want of such an association the interests of the Mohammadan community have already suffered in a variety of ways and are still being trampled under foot: some of the instances being the hindi-Urdu controversy, the exclusion of Persian from the Allahabad University and the paucity of Musalman members in the Municipal and Local Boards."

Due to Urdu-Nagri controversy, the Muslims began to suspect the Hindus and began to live aloof from them because by using Hindi the Muslims resented much as their sacred language Urdu was baned in offices which was used since many centuries.

RISE OF THE HINDU COMMUNALISM

The Hindu Mahasabha is the result of several attempts to bring together the whole of the Hindus in a single all India organization. A national conference was

held at Delhi in 1900 under the Presidency of the Darbhanga, and was attended by nearly a hundred thousand people. In 1903 the various local organisations were united under the 'Bharat Dharma Mahamandala', formed at Mathura. It was registered and a constitution was drawn up. In 1905 the head quarters of the Association were removed to Benaras. Its objects was: "to promote Hindu religious education in accordance with the Sanatana Dharma, to diffuse the knowledge of the Vedas, Smritis, Puranas and other Hindu Sastras, and to introduce, in the light of such knowledge, useful reforms into Hindu life and society".¹

The Mandala published an Anglo-Hindu monthly and several provincial magazines in the vernacular. It flourished under the guidance of Swami Jnananda, who retired in 1910. Even during the short period of the Mohammandla was recognised by the heads of the Chief Hindu sects and religious orders as representative of the whole community. There came into being under the great organisation a number of provincial associations, and under these were some 600 local societies in towns and villages.

¹ Quoted by R.C. Majumdar: Struggle for Freedom p. 419.
The Orthodox character of the Association and its avowed object to maintain the 'Sanatana Dharma' secured for it the support of ruling princes religious pontiffs and also section of the common Hindus. The Maharaja of Darbhanga became its general President in 1912, and Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya a prominent congress man was one of its prominent leaders. But the orthodox character of the Association provoked strong opposition and adverse comments from many educated Hindus, who regarded the movement as reactionary.

There were similar movements in the Punjab and a conference was held at Lahore in 1909, presided over by Sri Praful Chandra Chaterji. It was attended by eminent leaders like Lajpat Rai and Lala Hansraj. The President, in his address, observed that such conference of the Hindus would advance rather than retard (as some feared) the national cause as it would help the growth of national sentiment. Lajpat Rai also remarked that before attempting Hindu-Muslim or all India unity the Hindus should try to unite themselves by reclaiming the depressed classes.
Four more Hindu conferences were held during the year 1911 to 1914 respectively, at Amritsar, Delhi, Firozpur and Ambala. While a special one was held at Lahore in 1914, all these were suppressed by an All-India Hindu Mahasabha.

In 1912 Sir Shadi Lal while inaugurating the third Punjab Hindu Conference at Delhi observed:

"The events of the past four or five years proved beyond the shadow of doubt that with a body which could speak with the authority of the entire Hindu community behind its back and resist the aggressive action of the Muslim League, the Hindus would not have been in the plight in which they find themselves at present."  

Henceforth an annual session of the Akhil Bhartiya Hindu Mahasabha took place at Hardwar and its head quarter was located there. It received a great impetus from the Lucknow Pact of 1916 and the new reforms under the Act of 1919, both of which were regarded by a large body of the Hindus outside the Congress as a curtailment of the just rights and interest of the Hindus.

Thus the Hindu Mahasabha (founded in 1919) which had been lying dormant for a number of years started making efforts to fortify its position in the country order to check the demands of the League. Its main objects were "the maintenance, protection and promotion of Hindu race, Hindu culture, and Hindu civilization, for the advancement of Hindu Rashtra".¹

The first important session of the Hindu Mahasabha was held at Banaras in 1923 under the Presidentship of Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, a prominent member of working Committee of the Congress. Later V.D. Savarkar became the President of the Hindu Mahasabha. He strictly opposed the demand of Muslim League for the partition of India.

The origin and development of the Hindu Mahasabha from 1900 to 1916 intensified the fear in the Muslim mind for their future. The leaders of this communal organisation from the very beginning were dreaming for a Hindu Rashtra to be established in this country. Their problem was accentuated and they were caught between devil and deep sea. The Hindu Mahasabha added another problem to the already

¹ Quoted by P.L. Sharma in Hindu-Muslim Relations in all India Politics, 1913-1925 (Delhi 1987) from V.D.Savarkar papers (3).
accumulated problems created by the British Raj and their policies. The Muslims, on the one hand were suppressed by the British and on the other the Hindu Mahasabha whose leaders were often seen as prominent members of the Congress, created doubts in their minds about the Congress itself. The same leader like Pt. Madan Mohan Malviya, who was advocating Hindu nationalism was seen on the Congress platform speaking different languages at the two stages. Meanwhile a great Aryasamajist leader of the Hindu Mahasabha Swami Shraddhanand started 'Suddhi Movement' in 1922 for the conversion of Muslim to Hindu fold. This movement was accompanied by the 'Sangathan Movement' which was launched in order to bring about the union of the Hindus and organise them for self-defence.

THE SUDDHI MOVEMENT

Literally 'Suddhi' mean purification, but when by Aryasamajists also include reclamation and conversion. The Aryasamaj, being a Vedic church, and as such a Hindu organisation engaged itself in reclaiming the wandering sheep who have strayed from the Hindu fold, and converts any one
prepared to accept its. religious teachings. Swami Shraddhanand, the founder of this movement said, “Early in January 1923, a Hindu weekly gave the simple news that four and a half lakhs of Muhammadan Rajputs had applied for reconversion into Hinduism and that the Mahasabha had granted their applications. Muslims opposed it. The name of the new organisation was proposed by me. I, therefore concluded that some sort of Prayashcit ceremony would have to be performed. Hence the name I proposed i.e. the Bhartiya Hindu Suddhi Sabha was agreed constituted of which I was elected the President”.  

The first objective was to make the Bhartiya Hindu Suddhi Sabha a living body, to collect lakhs of rupees for pushing on work in all directions and to induce selfless men of pure intents to go about persuading Hindus to take back to their bosom their strayed brethren”.  

The efforts made by Aryasamaj for reconversion, the Census Commissioner of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh remarked:


2. Ibid, pp. 130.
"Special efforts are directed to reconversion of converts from Hinduism to Christianity or Islam, while persons who are Christian or Mohammadan by birth are also occasionally converted."  

Lajpat Rai again said, 

"... of such Mohammedan converts I have myself known at least one case, and others have occurred. There is a society affiliated to the Arya Samaj which is known as the Rajputs Shudhi Sabha, which has its chief object the reconversion of Mohammedan Rajputs to Hinduism via the Arya Samaj. On a single day 370 such Rajputs were converted to Aryaism. In three years, between 1907 and 1910, this society claimed to have converted 1052 Mussalman Rajputs".  

The Suddhi movement made a good progress during the year 1899. The reports received from some of the towns, Sita Ram Singh stated:

1. Lajpat Rai: History of the Aryasamaj, p.120
"The Conference (of 1899) recommended this subject to the favourable attention of the Association in other Provinces, as such admission could not fail to promote the cause of sincerity in matters of religious faith in other respects create social fellow-feeling everywhere. Both Christian and Mohammadan converts were admitted into the Arya Samaj and in some cases into the Brahimin and the Sikh Community. The number of such admissions was 25 or 30."¹

Dr. Rajendra Prasad observes in his "India Divided*, "The Suddi movement of Swami Shraddhanand had come in for a great deal of criticism both from the nationalists and Mohammadans".²

Let us also describe the term 'Sangathan' which was a close part of Shuddhi movement.

The idea of organising the Hindus for communal purposes, first arose in the Punjab. The Punjab Mohammadans being dissatisfied with Sir Syed Ahmad's policy

¹ Sita Ram Singh, Nationalism and Social Reform in India, p.290.
of eschewing all politics, lai the foundation of a 'Muslim League' in order to organise their coreligionists politically. The Hindus followed suit and the Punjab Hindu Sabha was the result. For full four years it remained confined within the four walls of the Punjab but in its fifth session held at Ambala on 7th and 8th December, the following memorable resolution was passed:

"The conference is strongly of opinion that in order to deliberate upon measures for safeguarding the interests of the Hindu community throughout India and elsewhere it is highly desirable that a general conference of the Hindus of India be held at Haridwar on the occasion of the Kumbh in 1915."¹

The first real conference, consisting of some 1500 delegates from all parts of the country, was held at Benaras in August 1923. The Mahasabha was pledged to neutrality as regards the different sects of the Hindu community. It now proclaimed the same policy of non-interference with regard to the several political parties and personal convictions of individuals. A number of resolutions dealing with different

remedies for different needs of the Hindu community were passed which were afterwards amplified in subsequent meetings and conferences.¹

In order to check the further downfall of the Hindu community and to restore its ancient status in the world, the following remedies had been suggested and approved by this Sangathan:

"The first evil, which is also very prominent, has been the conversion of Hindus to other religions. After centuries of morbid sleep the Hindus rose to a sense of self-consciousness in this respect, as was well described by me, in March 1923. A new Sabha has been organised under the name of 'Bhartiya Hindu Sudhii Sabha' with the object of reclaiming those who are willing to come to its fold".²

"The Malkanas were taken back to the Hindu fold by their Hindu brethren in the presence of thousand guests from outside, who all partook of food prepared and distributed by the new comers."³

². Ibid p.129.
³. Ibid p.129.
"The Hindu Sabha has also resolved that those non-Hindus who have faith in Hindu Samskārs and Hindu Dharma should be taken within the fold of Hindu Dharma,"¹

Such types of atmosphere gave birth to bitterness between the Hindus and the Muslims. The communal riots was the tendency of each of the communities to organise themselves "to guard themselves", so to say in preparation for future eventualities. "Suddhi", and "Sangathan movement of the Hindus was answered by the Tanzim and Tabligh movement of the Muslims, each aimed at the consolidation of their communities and increasing its numbers by conversion or Suddhi. These movements started in 1923. They had their origin in communal bitterness and separate electorates of the Act 1919, with the prospect of the transference of political power which the August declaration of 1917 and the Act of 1919 promised, each community endeavoured to secure most for itself and as the share of each was to be in proportion of their numbers, it was natural that each should attempt to increase and consolidate itself.

¹. Ibid p. 129.
The Muslim hostility to the Suddhi and Sangathan movement, though unreasonable was understandable. They feared that if the movement succeeded in re-converting all the Hindus from Islam back to Hinduism their position would become precarious and their numbers would be further reduced. So the Muslims started the Tanzim and Tabligh movement which aimed at increasing conversion, preventing depletion of their numbers by re-conversion and consolidating the Mussalmans as against the Hindus by infusing in them a new zeal for Islam.¹

The result of the Suddhi and the Tanzim movements was the organisation of both the communities into rival religious camps. As a result this communal bitterness took place into communal riots.

The purpose for the uniting the Muslim in Bengal Muslim conference was convened by a Muslim Minister in Bengal, on May 2, 1925. He warned his audience that as India was advancing towards self-Government, more

¹. See: Hindu-Muslim Problem, p.184.
powers would be monopolised by Hindus, and called upon his coreligionists to organise themselves in good time to start an association on the lines of the Hindu Mahasabha and to cover the whole of Bengal with a net work of branches. He asked Muslims to be united and be trained in physical culture.

The President of the 1925 session of the Muslim League (Aligarh) Sir Abdur Rahim, made a communal speech which caused no small amount of excitement in the country. Sir Abdur Rahim said that the 'League was now more necessary to Muslims than ever because of Hindu attacks on their community. Hindu had by their provocative and aggressive conduct made it clearer than ever that Muslims could not entrust their fate to them and must had even spoken of driving Muslims out of India as Spaniards had expelled the Moors.  

The Hindus naturally resented the attitudes of the Muslims towards Suddhi movement, and felt themselves perfectly justified in converting or

or reconverting others to their own faith, a right which the Muslims and Christians had exercised all along and which alone accounted for their number in India. There was no doubt that the whole Muslim community was highly excited. Communal riots, hatred and the bitterness was the main production of these movements in the hearts of Hindus and Muslims. There were really due to the revival of mutual suspicion and distrust which have generally characterised the relation between these two communities except during rare intervals.

Among the Hindus communal organisations the R.S.S. (Rashtriya Svayam Sevak) was the most important organisation. It was established in 1925 at Nagpur. The R.S.S. aimed at the establishment of the Hindu Rashtra and its membership was confined to the Hindus only. The conception of Hindu, Hindi, Hindustan, Hindu-raj, Hindu culture, Hindu religion, glorification of Hindu-race and conversion of religious minorities into the Hindu way of life made the R.S.S. a communal organisation, an organisation which preached hatred against the minorities.
M.S. Galwalkar, who remained the supreme commander of the R.S.S. for about 30 years stated that "non-Hindus" could stay in India as 'guests' and "wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing deserving no privileges, for less any preferential treatment nor even citizen's right". He again said that "non-Hindus were not the children of this soil".¹

The R.S.S. regarded the Muslims and Christians as internal threats to India. The morale of the biography of the R.S.S. leader was that it greed Hindu fundamentalism and could escape the 'stigma' of being doubled as communal.

The R.S.S. was not the only communal and the militant organisation which advocated Hindu fundamental and religious factionism among Hindus, there were large number of such militant organisation and it was a complete web spread throughout India".²

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¹ See: Communal problem in India- A symposium, Ed. by Dr. Ramji Lal, Delhi 1988, pp. 11-12.
Having gone through the above movements, it was clear to be division between Hindu and Muslim. Each tried to its best to revise and strengthen the religious movements. Hindu accused to the Muslims for communal riots and communal disharmony. While the Muslims accused to the Hindus for this work being suppressed by Hindus and the British, the Muslims found unsafe to themselves and so they demanded their political, religious, and language facilities. They also demanded, the reservation of seats in jobs as well as in modern education. They tried to unite their community so that they could face to the majority.

Like Hindu Movements, the Muslim Movements, and orthodox Muslim leader were also prominent during the 19th century. Aligarh Movement was one of these movements.

**ALIGARH MOVEMENT**

It is impossible to deal with the new reformation in India without referring to the great Aligarh Movement led by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan (1817-1898) was born on 17th October, 1817 at Delhi
in a reputed family of considerable fame. He was a
descendant of Hazarat Hussain, the grandson of
Prophet Muhammad in the 36th generation. His father
Syed Muhammad Muttaqi was a man of retiring disposition
who exercised considerable influence at the Mughal
Court. His mother, Aziz-un-Nisha Begum, was a lady of
keen intelligence and Sagacity.

Sir Syed served many years under the British
Government. He produced several significant literary
works of his time. He also wrote a few pamphlets 'Loyal
Mohammadans of India' and 'The causes of India Revolt'.
In 1870, he started a Social Magazine, called 'Tahzib-ul
Akhlac'. On 26th December 1870, he founded a society
for the Educational progress of Indian Muslim at Benaras.
It was the Society which later on became the founder of
the Mohammadan Anglo-oriental college at Aligarh. Later
on this college developed into the Aligarh Muslim Univer-
sity in Sept. 1920.

Liberal Social reform and cultural Movement founded
by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan is known as the Aligarh Movement
because it was at Aligarh that the Mohammedan Anglo-oriental college was established. The Aligarh Movement aimed at spreading the English education among the Muslims without weakening their allegiance to Islam. Another task was to introduce social reform in the Muslim society. The Aligarh Movement aimed at evolving a distinct social and cultural community among the Muslims more or less on Modern lines.

When Sir Syed Ahmad Khan reached the prime of his life, a calamity befell the community which appeared to spell its doom. The event of 1857 and the following years spread ruin and disaster around. A great many of the measures of the prosperous upper class were destroyed, and the entire community became object of hatred and suspicion to the rulers. The British suspected the Muslims as their bitter foes. Their weakness became a source of exploitation by the British. They were tortured in each aspect of life and their social status, thus, declined.

The main motto of Sir Syed was to spread his message to the Muslims of India to take to modern education.
P.G.I. Graham wrote:

"Syed Ahmad Khan's motto was educate, educate. All the socio-political ills of India, he once said to me may be cured by this treatment, cure the root, the free will flourish".  

Sir Syed tackled all the Muslims problems by winning the hearts of rulers. Their policy of suppression changed into support of the Muslims and by changing the attitude of the Muslim community from resistance to cooperation with the British Government. He wanted to erase the impression from the British mind that the 'mutiny' was a revolt of the Muslims to overthrow the Aligarh rule with this purpose in view, he wrote the books 'Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind' in 1858 and 'The Loyal Mohammadians of India' in 1860. In his 'Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind', he denied that the mutiny was a preplanned conspiracy of the Muslims against the British.

He said:

"The manner in which the rebellion spread, first here, then there, now breaking out in this place now in that, is alone good proof that their existed no widespread conspiracy".  


2. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan 'Asbab-e-Baghawat-e-Hind, Tr. by Sir Auckland Colvin and Col. Graham in 1877 (Republished by the Aligarh Muslim University, p.41.
He further said:

"There are, again, no ground for supposing that the Mohammadans had for a long time been conspiring or plotting a simultaneous rise or a religious crusade against the professors of a different faith. The English government does not interfere with the Mohammedans in the practice of their religion. For this sole reason it is impossible that the idea of religious crusade should have been entertained."\(^1\) His main aim in writing this book exonorate Muslims from the charge of rebellion against the British.

The _Loyal Mohammedans of India_ was published in 1860. In his book Sir Syed emphasised the fact that the Muslims were the most loyal of the British subjects. He mentioned the names of some 14 leading Muslim gentlemen who remained loyal to the Government during the course of 1857. He rebutted the charge that the Muslims by the very tenets of Islam were hostile to the religion of Jesus; that Jehad or holy war, according to Muslim Law, was enjoined against the British Govt. and that killing women, children and old men was in conformity to the Islamic faith?

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Thus Syed Ahmad Khan tried to prove that Islam was not opposed to Christianity. Rather he tried to prove that members of the two faiths had good relations with each other in the past.

In this way he tried to bridge the gulf which separated the Muslims from their Christian rulers. He, therefore, abstained from attacking the Christians, on the other hand, he laid emphasis upon their common points and recalled the services which Islam had rendered to Christianity. He advised the Muslims to abandon their prejudice against the Christians in regard to social relations, particularly so far as inter-dining was concerned.

On the Question of Hindu-Muslim, he gave his statement and complained why he was not regarded as a Hindu. He said:

"You have used the terms Hindu for yourselves. This is not correct, for in my opinion the word Hindu does not denote a particular religion, but on the contrary one who lives in India has the right to call himself a Hindu. I am, therefore, sorry that although I live in India, you do not consider me a Hindu".

1. Quoted by Tarachand: op.cit. p.358.
In a speech at Meerut on 16th March, 1888, he refers to the Hindus and Muslims not only as two
nationalities, but as two warring nations who could not lead
a common political life if ever the British left India.
He gave the same impression in some other speeches also.

"Now suppose that all the English were to
leave India, then who would be rulers of
India? Is it possible that under these
circumstances two nations, the Mohammedan and
the Hindu, could sit on the same throne and
remain equal in power? Most certainly not.
It is necessary that one of them should conquer
the other and thrust it down. To hope that both
could remain equal is to desire the impossible and
the inconceivable". ¹

Further, as early as 1883, he delivered a long
speech deprecating the system of representative institu-
tions, even for local self-govt. and particularly the
principle of election, pure and simple, in constituting
local Boards and District Boards, for fear that, "The
larger community would totally override the interest of
the smaller community". ²

¹ From: The British paramountcy and Indian Renaissance II
p.309.
² Ibid.
Syed Ahmad Khan and his followers, in their speeches and writings, were never tired of emphasising that India was inhabited by different nations with different social, political, religious and historical traditions. All these ideas were brought to a head in opposition to the Indian National Congress since its very inception. Syed Ahmad looked upon the System of representative Govt as demanded by the Congress as dangerous to the interests of Muslims. He even broad hinted that if the demand were conceded the Muslims minority might he forced to take up sword to prevent the tyranny of the majority. The following lines clearly indicate his trend of thought which also permeates his other speeches and writings:

"In a country like India where homogeneity does not exist in any one of these fields (nationality, religion, ways of living, customs, morals, culture, and historical traditions), the introduction of representative government cannot produce any beneficial results; it can only result in interfering with the peace and prosperity of the land....... The aims and objects of the Indian National Congress are based upon a ignorance of history and present day realities; they do not take into consideration that India is inhabited by different nationalities....... I consider the experiment which the Indian National Congress wants to make..."
fraught with dangers and sufferings for all the nationalities of India, specially for the Muslims. The Muslims are in a minority, but they are a highly united minority. At least traditionally they are prone to take the sword in hand when the majority oppresses them. If this happens, it will bring about disasters greater than the ones which came in the wake of the happenings of 1857. The congress cannot rationally prove its claim to represent the opinions, ideals, and aspirations of the Muslims.¹

What ever one might think of the early isolated utterances of Syed Ahmed in favour of the peoples of India forming but one nation, the two-nation theory formed the solid basis of the Aligarh Movement. Its political views and ideals, as they took definite shape, may be formulated in the following four fundamental principles:

(a) The Hindus and Muslims form two separate political entities with separate outlook and conflicting interests.

¹ Quoted in: British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance II pp. 310-11.
b) The grant of representative institutions based on democratic principles, and appointment to high offices by open competitive examination in India would be detrimental to the interests of the Muslims, as they would be subject to Hindu domination which is far worse than British rule.

c) Consequently, the Muslims should regard the paramountcy of the British as the Chief safeguard of their interests and keep themselves aloof from political agitation against the Government.

d) As the Muslim interests are quite safe in the hands of the British, the Muslims should confine their attention to cultural development, and avoid politics except in so far as it is necessary to counterbalance the Mischief of Hindu political agitators.¹

Sir Syed opposed the congress. But he cooperated the British government. He thought that the Muslims would gain more by cooperating with the British than by opposing them.

¹. Ibid p. 311.
Sir Sayyed opposed competitive examinations, which were demanded by the Congress. He said that competitive examinations are suited to a country which is inhabited by one people. But "a country in which there are different nationalities which are on unequal footing as regards the competition". He further pointed out that the Mohammadans have not attained a position as regards higher English education, which is necessary for higher appointments, as to put them on a level with Hindus.  

He described the congress as a handiwork of the Bangalis and described in the most unbecoming language the Bangali character.

In his speeches Sir Sayed raised the question of high born and low born, Hindu and Mussalman, Bengali and non-Bengali, Pathans and Rajputs and above all that the people of India did not constitute one nation.

He described the congress as a 'Bengali organisation and said" I do not think the Bangali politics useful for my brother Mussalmans. Our Hindu brothers of these provinces are leaving us and joining the Bengalics. Then we ought to unite with that nation with whom we can unite. No Mohammadan can say that the English are not"

1 Quoted by A.M. Zaidi: Evolution of Muslim Political thought in India Vol.I New Delhi, 1975.
People of the Book", No Mohammadan can deny this; that God has said that no people of other religions can be friends of Mohammadans except the christions."

In spite of Sir Syed's opposition of congress, some Muslim leaders joined it. But Muslims largely remained aloof from the congress. As M. Noman says, "no Muslim since then joined the congress except one or two. Even syed Ahmad Khan's Co-religionists who differed from his views on religions, educational and social matters and opposed him violently, followed him in politics and preserved their isolation from the congress".¹

Surendra Nath Banarjee also admitted this fact. He wrote "the Muhammadan community under the leadership of Sir Syed Ahmad, had held themselves aloof from the congress".²

Gokhale remarked in one of his speeches that "Seventy millions of Mohammadans were more or less hostile to national aspirations".³

¹. Quoted by U.K. Saxena; op. cit. p.51
   See also : A.M. Zaidi op.cit. p 59.
². M.Noman, Muslim India, Rise and growth of All India Muslim League. Allahabad 1942. p. 40.
In this way Aligarh Movement's activities were against Hinduism. The Hindus wanted to be free from foreign rule and were struggling for it while the Muhammadans under the leadership of Syed Ahmad were loyal to the British Govt. Many great Hindu leaders opposed it in its beginning. Thus a stir arose between Hindus and Muslims throughout India. The Hindu Press attacked him bitterly. The Indian Mirror called him "a tool in the hands of our enemies... who has covered himself with shame and disgrace".¹

The national Guardian was positively rude in its comments: "If ever a man deliberately set about cutting his own throat that man is the old Muhammadan of seventy years. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh".²

It was a fact that Aligarh Movement was only for the good of the Muslims and they opposed the Hindus' programmes which became the main cause of disunity between Hindus and Muslims. It is also said that the

¹. The Indian Mirror. January 23, 1888.
seed of partition was sown during the Aligarh Movement. Since then the Hindus and Muslims were hostile with each other, on the question of unity.

**THE MUSLIM LEAGUE**

The All India Muslim League was established in the wake of the Muslim deputation to the viceroy. Most of the Muslim leaders of the Simla deputation particularly its leader, the Aga Khan were behind this move. The Aga Khan felt that the Muslims must secure an "independent political recognition from the British government as a nation within a nation".¹

On November 9, 1906 Nawab Salimullah of Dacca issued a circular in which he suggested that an organisation to be known as All India Muslim Conference should be established and ultimately on 30th December, 1906 at Dacca, a conference was held. This conference was attended by the Muslim representatives and leaders from all over India. Nawab viqar-ul-mulk presided and the All

India Muslim League was established.  

The relevant text of Nawab Salimullah scheme which he circulated among the important Muslim leaders of the time were as follows:

"This day being the birth day of His majesty your most gracious kind Emperor, I think it auspicious for me today to place before my Mohammedan brethren my views on the project of our All-India Confederacy".

The aims and objects of the Muslim League were:

(a) "The promote, among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British govern­ment, and to remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of government with regard to any of its measures.

(b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the government.

1. See : Rajendra Prasad : India Divided : Bombay 1946, p 1
(c) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other aforementioned objects of the League\(^1\).

Thus the aims and the objects of the Muslim League were very clear. In the first place, it was to promote among the Musalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British government. Secondly, it was to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans, and thirdly, it was to respectfully represent their needs and aspirations to the government.

Nawab Vaqar-ul-Mulk, one of its joint secretaries, said at a student's gathering at Aligarh:

"God forbid, if the British rule disappears from India, Hindus will lord it over; and we will be in constant danger of our life, property and honour. The only way for the Muslims to escape this danger is to help in the continuance of the British rule. If the Muslims

\(^1\) Quoted From: The Pioneer, Allahabad 2nd Jan. 1907 Also see: Pirzada op. cit. p.6.
are heartily with the British, then that rule is bound to endure. Let the Muslims consider themselves as a British army ready to shed their blood and sacrifice their lives for the British crown".  

He continued:

"We are not to emulate the agitational politics of the congress. If we have any demand they must be submitted to government with due respect. But remember that it is your national duty to be loyal to the British rule—wherever you are, whether in the football field or in the tennis lawn, you have to consider yourselves as solders of a British regiment you have to defend the British empire and to give the enemy a fight in doing so".

The secretary of the League major Syed Husseind Bilgrami said:

"We are not opposed to the social unity of the Hindus and the Mussalmans.... But the other type of (Political) unity involves the working out of common political purposes. This sort of our unity with the Congress cannot be possible because we and the congressmen do not have common political objectives. They desire competitive

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1. Quoted from: Tufail Ahmad, Musselman Ka Noshan Mustaqbil p 363.
examinations for employment in government services and this would mean the deprivation of Muslims of government join. Therefore, we need not go near political unity (with the Hindus). It is the aim of the League to present Muslim demands through respectful requests before the government. They should not like congressmen, cry for boycott, deliver exciting speeches and write impertinent articles in newspapers and hold meetings to turn public feelings and attitude against their bengin government. 

In the beginning the relations between the Muslim league and the congress were not cordial. The League had come into existence because of Muslim belief that they had separate political interests from the Hindus and the congress was a Hindu organization and could not be expected to look after the Muslim interests fairly and justly. This point had become clear to them over the issue of the partition of Bengal and the agitation that followed it. The Muslim League leaders had an obsession about Hindu numerical majority, about

1. From Aligarh institute Gazette, 14th August 1907.
Congress demand for the introduction of the elective principle and the so-called 'Hindu Character' and the Shivaji Festival etc.), Syed Ali Imam the president of the Muslim league session of 1908 said:

"I ask the architects of Indian nationalism both in Calcutta and Poona, do they expect the Mussalmans of India to accept Bānde Matram and Shivaji celebration? The Mohammedan may be weak in anything... but they are not weak in cherishing the tradition of their glorious part."

Thus the league was opposed to the congress ideology. The congress claimed to be a national organisation. It was open to all the communities of India. Its ideology was not directed to the protection of the special interests of any community. It aimed at the protection of the interests of the country as a whole and its entire people. The league on the other hand, was an organization of the Muslims only and protection of Muslim interests was its main ideology. The Muslim League thus opposed the Indian National Congress and its ideology. On the other hand Hindu leaders supported Indian National Congress and criticized those Muslims

1. Quoted from: Speech of Syed Ali Imam President of the All India Muslim League session Amritsar 1908.
who were against it. Thus the gap between congress and Muslim League could not be bridged.

The congress and the Hindu Press did not like the establishment of a separate Muslim political party. While other papers as the *Times of India*, *The Delhi Telegraph* welcomed its formation.

"The Formation of the Muslim league was a significant fact. For once and all, it proved beyond any doubt that India was no longer one nation nor could it be welded into one, that the Hindus and Muslims were two phenomena of opposite drifts, and that there was no hope left for their ever unifying into a homogenous whole". ¹ Writes Rajput.

Thus we find that some of the problems for Muslims were created by various extremists revivalist Hindu organisation and movements like Shuddhi, Sangathan and Cow protection and opposition of the Bengal's partition. The Muslims Separatist tendency and Sir Syed's opposition

of the congress were direct consequences of the above mentioned movements and organizations. It was a fact that Muslims either by their numbers or by their education could neither compete nor get themselves elected to the legislative and the local bodies. Economically they were already suppressed and could not get employment because of British Prejudice against them. There was only one way left to them and that was to express their loyalty to the rulers and oppose any organization, working against the British Raj. Congress had also ignored their problems for long. Democratic principle of representation did not suit them as numerically they were in minority and also uneducated and politically unconscious. Sir Syed's advice, therefore, not to join the congress till the Muslim community get enough education and become politically conscious of their rights in a representative system. They joined the congress under the leadership of Ali Brothers, in large numbers after 1916 when they became educated and politically conscious.