Social History of Muslim Bengal

Latifa Akanda

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(Some Aspects of the Social History of Bengal with Special Reference to Muslims, 1854-1884)

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PUBLISHER'S NOTE

History of Bangladesh is yet to be written. Emergence of the free and sovereign state of Bangladesh in 1971 was not any sudden development. It had its root implanted deep in the long history of this part of the globe. Long British rule in the subcontinent had its natural impact on our history but this history remains to be re-discovered from the heaps of neglect and distortions of the interested quarters.

Prof. Latifa Akanda's present work "The Social History of Muslim Bengal" has thrown considerable light on our past history covering the period 1854-1884. This period is of prime importance in our history because this period witnessed the great Sepoy Revolution, the aftermath of which brought the Muslims face to face with the hard realities of British rule. This was also the period when the numerical importance of the Muslims was first known through the first Census of British India in 1872.

It may be mentioned here that studies of similar nature both before and after the period under review, have already been published. We refer here to the works — "British Policy and the Muslims in Bengal 1757-1856" by prof. A. R. Mallick and "Muslim Community in Bengal 1884-1912" by Dr. Sufia Ahmad. The present work was long overdue to bridge up the gap.

The book studies some of the problems relevant to the growth and development of the Muslims in Bengal, their relation to the Revolution, their education : vernacular and higher, their economic condition and finally the development of their own socio-political movement at the most critical stage of their history. This was no easy task, but the author deserves thanks as she performed this rather difficult task quite successfully. We bow down our head in gratitude before the Almighty that we could publish such a brilliant work on the history of Muslim Bengal.

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I am greatly indebted to Professor Kenneth A. Ballhatchet under whose supervision the thesis is being done. I am grateful to Professor C. H. Philips, the Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, for valuable advice and suggestions. My sincere thanks are also due to the members and staff of the India Office Library (Commonwealth Relations Office), London, and also to the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, to which I belonged.

As for the materials consulted, I availed possible relevant sources in different libraries in London during my period of research. I, however, admit humbly my limitations in my search and will always welcome suggestions for further improvement.

ABSTRACT

A social study of the Muslims of Bengal exclusively has not been attempted so far. The fact that the Muslims formed the majority community was not known till the first census was taken in 1872. The present work studies some of the problems which were vital to the growth and development of the Muslims in Bengal—their relation to the Mutiny, their education, their economic condition and the development of socio-political organisations among them. When considering the problems of education and of economic conditions, I have distinguished between the rural and the urban population. Bengal was essentially a rural country. Vernacular education was mainly concerned with the education of the rural people. Higher education was more or less confined to the urban population. The economic condition of the Muslims in Bengal has been studied on the same basis. The problems of an agricultural people during the period under review which particularly affected the rural economy of the Muslims, were the decay of cottage industries, rent problems and indigo. The problem of the employment of the Muslims in Government Service and in the professions was in the main an urban one. When considering the development of socio-political organisations, I have considered first such organisations in general, and secondly those which were patronised by the Muslims.

I have used both official and unofficial sources, both published and unpublished, in English and also in Bengali.

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INTRODUCTORY

The title and the period of the present work require some explanation. It covers many of the factors, political, economic and educational, which vitally affected the development of the Muslim community in Bengal between 1854 and 1884. The period taken is also significant in the sense that Bengal became a separate unit of administration for the first time under a Lieutenant Governor when Sir James Halliday assumed the office on I May 1854. By 1884, with the end of Ripon's Viceroyalty, many problems had reached a definite stage towards solution. Bengal, during the period under review, comprised all the provinces under the Lieutenant Governor. But the present work deals only with Bengal proper—the five administrative divisions, Presidency, Burdwan, Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi.

The Muslims constituted a large proportion of the population in Bengal proper and actually formed the majority community towards the end of the period under review. They formed the great bulk of the poorer class of agriculturists in vast rural areas. The Muslim element according to the report of both the censuses of 1872 and 1881 was strongest in East and North Bengal, where two-thirds and nearly three-fifth, respectively, of the population were Muslims. The vernacular of the Muslims in Bengal proper was Bengali in common with that of the Hindus, with the exception of a small number of upper class Muslims, generally resident in urban areas, who used to speak Urdu.

The fact that the Muslims formed the vast agricultural class, economically depressed, intellectually barren, and socially ignored, possibly kept them in obscurity for a

considerable time. Their numerical importance in Bengal was not known till the first census was taken in 1872. According to the report of the census of 1872 : "The discovery that nearly one-third of the population of these provinces profess the Muhammadan faith is not only interesting in itself, but puts the character of the people in a new light altogether "[1] The gradual falling behind of the Muslims in Bengal over-shadowed them by their fellow Hindu neighbours in every walk of life, so much so that Bengal as a province used to go by the name of Hindu. This notion gained currency in all circles. As late as 1871-1872, Major Evans Bell had to criticise this notion in very strong terms when Grant Duff, Under Secretary of State, referred to the people of Bengal as the "Hindu population."[2] It was not long since Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, an eminent Muslim leader, in a speech at Meerat in 1888 seemed to have overlooked the natural claim of a Muslim in Bengal to the position of a Bengali, as he used the term 'Bengali' as synonymous with the Hindus only. He said, "if you take the population of the whole of Bengal, nearly half are Muhammadans, and something over half are Bengalis."[3] This notion followed from the want of interest on one side, and absence of qualified exponent on the other.

The Muslims who fell behind the Hindus in all respects, with the changed circumstances, became the worse victim of suspicion of the ruling class for the unfortunate occurance of the Mutiny. The fact that the mutineers pledged the reinstatement of the power of the last titular emperor Bahadur Shah, made it more tempting to the ruling class to distrust the Muslims. Bengal was on the whole quiet all through the Mutiny years, but the Muslims of Bengal shared the blame of their co-religionists and bore the same suspicion and distrust.

The change in the system of education fell heavily on the Muslims, when Macauly's Minute and Bentinck's resolution in March 1835, in favour of English education finally decided that the object of the British Government was to be "the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone". The exclusive study of a foreign language and the total neglect of the classical and vernacular language of the people not unnaturally created some suspicion, the result of which had proved detrimental to the interests of the Muslims. Macaulay as an ardent advocate of English education, declared that "a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia." For some time towards the beginning the Muslims kept themselves aloof from the recognised system of education, and no special attention on the part of the Government appears to have been given to their wants and requirements. It was, however, different with the Hindus. They were quick to perceive the immense advantage which a knowledge of English literature and science would give them, early devoted themselves to Western studies. Although the Government of India did not pass any definite legislative measure dealing with education after receiving the first educational despatch from the Court of Directors in 1884, the advanced section of the Hindu community, under the guidance of the celebrated patriot and linguist, Raja Rammohon Roy, and the philanthropic watch-maker, David Hare, established as early as 1816 an institution called "Vidalaya" for the education of Hindu children especially in the modern Western studies. In the course of a few years a taste for Western studies was widely disseminated and independent schools, conducted by

young men educated in the "Vidalaya" sprang up in every direction. The tide thus set in strongly in favour of English education.

The Hindus became acquainted with the culture and education of the ruling class through trade and commercial transactions. It was the newly created gentry living on land or on the new commerce who took to English education before it was recognised as the state system of education. The missionaries who anticipated the Government in the dissemination of modern knowledge did not have any hold on the Muslims, who were more apprehensive of their proselytizing activites, whilst the Hindus freely resorted to their schools. The state system of education which was purely secular, was unknown to the tradition of the Muslims. As such in the beginning they were somewhat suspicious of the effort of the Government to spread Western knowledge. There was no real cause for this suspicion for, the Government had declared, as early as 1808, the policy of religious neutrality. Had oriental learning found a place in the curriculum of the English schools and colleges, as was done subsequently, most probably there would not have been misapprehension. For all these causes, education generally began to be confined in the Hindu community. The schools were under Hindu management, and were almost exclusively attended by Hindu pupils ; the teachers also were Hindus. This accounted for the vast disparity in education between the two communities especially in the field of higher education.

The present work deals separately with vernacular education and higher education. The progress of vernacular education was impeded by three factors, viz, the lack of co-operation of the middle and upper classes in the cause of popular education, the various systems tried

from time to time, and finally the limitation of financial aid from the Government. The despatch of 1854 laid down definite instructions for the promotion of vernacular education. Its direction as to the application of grants-in-aid to rouse up the inspiration of the people to open schools of their own, failed to operate on the masses for it was based "on the principle of co-operation with those classes who treated mass education with indifference and sometimes with active opposition."[4] The direction of the next despatch in 1859 as regards the imposition of an educational cess for the promotion of vernacular education was not carried out due to the opposition of the Zemindars mainly who had in their support the educated middle class. The Lieutenant Governor concurred with the opinion of this section and actually a cess for education was never imposed in Bengal like other provinces in India. In the controversy upon the imposition of cess between the Lieutenant Governor and the Government of India, the Lieutenant Governor argued that the voluntary principle had not been exhausted in Bengal, but was in active operation. By this he meant that the richer class, especially the landed class on whom the cess was to be imposed, opened schools voluntarily. He said that every educated Bengali has proved a missionary to his neighbours. But the voluntary principle only operated amongst the middle and upper classes for higher English education.

For the spread of vernacular education in Bengal, various methods were adopted which sometimes operated simultaneously. But the result in most cases showed that the schools which had consistently been designed for the labouring and agricultural classes, had somehow been appropriated by those who were above them. The slow progress of popular education can be attributed to some

extent to the downward filtration theory, which though it was discredited by the despatch of 1854, had influenced some of the authorities for long. The limited amount of money sanctioned for vernacular education possibly led them to be influenced by the filtration theory, as a measure of expediency. The policy of Sir George Campbell of subsidising the indigenous Makhtabs and Meeajis greatly helped in the expansion of vernacular education among the Muslim mass. Finally the recommendations of the commission of 1882 gave further emphasis to vernacular education.

In higher education Bengal excelled, but progress was confined to the Hindus. The effort of the Government in respect of higher education for the Muslims was mainly directed towards reforming the existing Madrassas in Calcutta, and Hughly, in concurrence with the wishes of the influential section of the Muslim community. The oriental studies upon which the Madrassas concentrated were of no practical value. The readjustment of the Mohsin fund by Sir G Campbell by granting scholarships in general schools and in some colleges, gave some impetus to higher education for Muslims. The appointment of Moulvis in Government Zillah schools where there was a demand for them also proved very satisfactory. But the opening of three other Madrassas at Rajshahi, Dacca and Chittagong could not be justified in the context of the needs of the age.

The economic depression of the Muslims was primarily responsible for their falling back. In 1852, Cecil Beadon in a Minute on 26 April observed that the means of the Muslims "are not generally such as to enable them to afford the high rate of schooling fee, paid by the pupils of the Hindu College." Even in vernacular education, the same economic disabilities generally made the poor

agriculturists feel disinclined to meet the little expeuses of village Patshalas. The rural Muslims in Bengal suffered greatly from the disappearance of cottage industries. They were largely employed in silk and cotton industries. The decay of these and simllar industries, therefore, dragged them to poverty, and compelled them to depend absolutely on land. The population increased beyond the extent for which the land could provide. Hence the depression went on increasing. The rent and indigo problem further aggravated the depression. This economic depression which mainly accounted for their backwardness in education also accounted for their disproportion in Government Service, and private professions. Neither in higher nor in inferior positions were the Muslims proportionally represented, because of their lack of a knowledge of English as well as Bengali which were essential for the respective grades of the services. The same reason explained their great disproportion in the independent professions.

The development of socio-political organisations was necessarily slow among the Muslims, unlike the Hindus. The Muslims had very few leaders throughout the period of our review. These few leaders lacked cohesion and unity. These leaders cannot be called the true representatives of the Muslim mass of Bengal. They all traced their descent to distant places other than Bengal, and claimed to belong to the old aristocratic houses. As such they never took up the cause of their poor co-religionists, generally the cultivating class of Bengal, as strongly as some of the middle class Hindu leaders took it up in some instances towards the later part of our period. As late as 1869 Amir Ali, one of the eminent leaders of the Muslims insisted upon maintaining the system of 'Sharafatnama'[5] strictly in the Calcutta Madrassa. He said that

the institution should be visited by "not the children of those classes who from the beginning have taken to husbandry or the low professions, as they get habituated to the professions of their class, from their very birth. Therefore educating them in the learned sciences is against the order of things in the world, for 'every one has been created for a special object.'[6] These leaders did not know the language of the country—Bengali. The vast mass of Bengali Muslims remained more or less unrepresented during the period under review. The few organisations which had developed were aristocratic in their character and composition, and failed to reach the Muslims at large.

THE MUTINY AND THE MUSLIM OF BENGAL

The history of the Indian mutiny in 1857, shows that it was essentially a revolt of the army, encouraged and facilitated by the existence of profound discontent amongst some sections of the civil population.[7] The army consisted of both Hindus and Muslims ; similarly the discontented element of the civil population was drawn from both communities But unfortunately great currency is given by some writers to the belief that it was the last bid of the Muslim conservative forces for power and for a rehabilitation of the society which had given them status.[8] The belief seems to gain ground from the fact that the Muslims were the last sovereigns of India from whom power was transferred to the British.

The mutineers were in the main Hindus, who had as one of their main aims the restoration of the Peshwa and the Maratha glory. They also professed to aim at the reinstatement of the Mughal emperor which gave strength to the rebellion in gaining the confidence of both the communities. In the words of a recent author : "The fact that the two such divergent aims the reinstatement of the Mughal emperor and the rehabilitation of the Maratha power could both express themselves in the Mutiny as an indication of the strong and varied political sentiments which had as their greatest common measure dislike of British rule."[9] The repression after the mutiny, however,

fell greatly upon the Muslims of which a contemporary British official spoke afterwards, "During and for long after the Mutiny, the Mohammedans were under a cloud. To them were attributed all the horrors and calamities of that terrible time.[10] It was the Muslims who in fact had to pay the greater penalty for the revolt participated by both the communities.

The mutiny had many causes. Military causes actually began the revolt while others helped in the spread and development of the movement. Politically the foreign policy of Dalhousie, expreesed in the annexation of Oudh and in the doctrine of lapse, had sufficientiy disturbed the existing order of the former ruling houses. The discontinuance of the pension formerly enjoyed by the ex-Peshwa Baji Rao, made Nana Sahib, his adopted son, the bitter and relentless enemy of British rule. The application of the doctrine of lapse to Jhansi, invited the hostility of the Rani of Jhansi.[11]

The economic factor was manifest in the disbandment of the native soldiers of Oudh in large numbers which left them without their livelihood. The strict inquiry into the titles of the Talukdars of Oudh offended them in a body. The Bengal Hurkaru[12] attributed the disaffection of the sepoys to the reduction of their pay. Further, a "revulsion against Western influence actual or potential"[13] was also to some extent responsible for the mutiny. The impact of Western influence was felt in the supperssion of Sati, the legislation of widow marriage, the work of Christian missionaries and in the application of modern scientific methods like telegraph and railways.

Lastly the Bengal army[14] had always been more difficult to deal with because of the presence of great numbers of high caste men in its ranks. From 1824 pnwards some

of the regiments of the Bengal army rose from time to time mainly for reasons of caste prejudices. Great uneasiness was caused to them by the Act of July 1856, by which Dalhousie forbade the enlistment of any recruit who would not be prepared to sign for service overseas.

These and many other causes of all kinds prepared the ground for an outbreak and the incident of greased cartridges merely aided in precipitating the event. In January 1857 a rumour pervaded the army that cartridges to be used with the new Enfield rifle had been greased with the fat of cows and pigs with the deliberate intention to outcast and defile both the Hindu, to whom the cow was sacred, and the Muslim, to whom swine were unclean. The discontentment of the Bengal army took the form of an outbreak first at Barrackpur and then at Berhampur, and was followed by other revolts in other parts of India. The principal scenes of mutiny were confined to the Punjab, central provinces and some parts of Behar. Bengal was on the whole quiet throughout.

The Muslims of Bengal, however, shared the fate of their co-religionists in other provinces, through no fault of their own. The Government maintained a suspicious attitude all through the period of the mutiny and after. The attitude of the non-official European residents of Bengal was clearly hostile towards the Muslims. The prominent members of the Muslim community in Bengal, although they showed their loyalty to the state by active co-operation with the Government in the work of suppression of the rebellion and in maintaining peace among their fellow Muslims, could not change the attitude of the ruling class.

Before the mutiny the only organisation of the Muslims in Bengal was the Mahommedan Association. At the outset of the mutiny they held a meeting on 27 May 1857 in

Calcutta, in expression of their loyalty to the Government and regretted the recent disaster in North-West Provinces The resolution passed in the meeting was sent to the Governor General of India on 28 May 1857. The resolution declared that the British Government had maintained its policy of non-interference with the religion or religious observances of any its subjects, and the signatories therefore were determined to stand by the Government in case of necessity and to serve it to their utmost abilities and means. The meeting was attended by prominent Muslims in large numbers [15]

Amir Ali Khan, the founder of this association, rendered valuable service to the Government during the dark days of the mutiny. He was untiring in doing his utmost to allay the suspicions that had been aroused and to bring about an understanding between all parties. Amir Ali was chosen to be the special assistant to the Commissioner of the Patna Division, Samuells [15]

Abdul Ghani of Dacca rendered similar services to the Government during the mutiny. He actively associated himself with the officials, placing at their disposal all his vast resources and assisting in disarming the sepoys on 22 November 1857. He further showed his confidence in the British Government by subscribing largely to the Government loan which was opened at about this time.[17] Abdul Ahmad Khan, another prominent member of the Muslim community from Dacca, rendered ready aid to the Government.[18]

The wealthy upper class Muslims in Bengal did not show any trace of disaffection during the mutiny. On the other hand they gave the Government both moral and material support. The Commissioner of Chittagong division in his report of 6 June 1857 observed in a general way that among the respectable portion of the native residents of that town, there seemed to be no other feeling than the warmest attachment to the Government.[19]

The report of the officiating Joint Magistrate of Noakhali on 15 June stated : "There seems to have been a very general impression among natives of all kinds, more especially among the lower classes, that the Government wished to convert them all to 'Khristanity', the legalising of widow marriage, the inquiry held some time ago with reference to Churruck[20]...have strengthened their impression" But he saw "there is no interest in this district connected with the disaffected sepoys."[21] The reports of the Magistrates and Commissioners in Bengal of the respective districts and divisions all pointed to a similar feeling, which originated from their religious and caste prejudices. The officiating commissioner of Nadia Division reported on 6 June 1857 the uneasiness and anxiety of the popular mind on the subjects of religion and caste, which was caused by some rumours.[22] So the feeling of uneasiness and anxiety among the general mass of Bengal was irrespective of caste and creed.

Throughout the period of the mutiny the Muslim mass of Bengal never showed disaffection towards the Government. They possibly remained more quiet than their fellow Hindu neighbours. W. N. Lees, Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa, in a letter to the Director of Public Instruction, on 11 May 1858, admitted that, "during the present crisis whole Mahomedan villages have remained passive, while those inhabited by Hindoos have been active in opposition to Government."[23]

From the above it is clear that the Muslims in Bengal on the whole gave no expression of disaffection towards the Government. The high officials of some places became suspicious of the Muslims and reported to the Lieutenant Governor accordingly. Their suspicions arose mainly for the presence of the Faraizi Sect at some places. The officiating Joint Magistrate of Baraset in his report

of 6 June 1857 expressed his anxiety because there were some Faraizis at Baraset. He even gave practical shape to his apprehension by recruiting Hindus in preference to Muslims in the police department.[24] A similar report was also sent by the Joint Magistrate of Faridpur on 13 June 1857, expressing his anxiety at the presence of Faraizis in that district. Their apprehensions regarding the Faraizi sect, however, proved unfounded.[25] Printers and publishers of the two Calcutta papers run by Muslims, i.e. Durbin and Sultan-ul Akhbar, were prosecuted by the Government on change of seditious publications under the Act XV of 1857. On 3 July another Muslim press Gulshan-i-nau-Bahar was seized for the same reason.[26]

Suspicion fell more on Muslims due to the fact that the mutineers soon after the outbreak issued a declaration in favour of the restoration of the Muslim power, signed by Bahadur Shah, the last impotent member of the ruling house. Lord Canning, in one of his private letters to the President of the Board of Control during the mutiny, wrote : "Outbreak as has now occurred for a time took the shape of a caricature revival of the Mahomedan empire. Those who suffered punishment were chiefly Mahomedan. So far as it was a Hindu movement advantages were taken by Brahmins on religious pretences and by others for political motives."[27]

The general suspicion arising from the mutiny, for a time gave rise to the question of the propriety of a diffusion of knowledge among the masses. Shortly after the mutiny, Lord Ellenborough, the President of the Board of Control, in a despatch sent out to India on 28 April 1858, expressed his anxiety on the subject of popular education : "Education and civilisation may descend from the higher to the inferior classes and so communicated may impart new vigour to the community, but they will

never ascend from the lower classes to those above them ; they can only, if imparted solely to the lower classes, lead to general convulsion, of which foreigners would be the first victims. If we desire to diffuse education let us endeavour to give it to the higher classes first. There are but two ways of doing this ; by founding colleges to which the higher classes alone be admitted, and by giving in the re-organisation of the army commissions at once to such sons of native gentlemen as may be competent to receive them. I am not apprehensive of adopting both these plans ; on the contrary, I think that both, judiciously carried out, might greatly tend to give a National character to our Government, and to unite the higer classes in its support."[28] Ellenborough tried to reverse the policies laid down by the Despatch of 1854, on the ground that they had assisted to the growth of popular feeling against the Government.

F. Halliday, in a minute on education, on 19 November 1858, refuted some of the points of Lord Ellenborough. He showed that the statements and inferences to the above despatch required considerable correction as to Bengal ; "And though it is not uncomomon in these days to attribute the recent mutinies to our educational operations, and even to propose to draw back from them for fear of similar consequences, in future, the error of this opinion is like that of a man who, after unwisely and incautiously exposing a barrel of gunpowder to all kinds of dangerous influences, and having by good luck, and in spite of bad management, long escaped without an accident, should at the last, when the fatal and inevitable explosion takes place, blame neither the gunpowder, nor his own rashness and indiscretion, but rather lay the whole mischief to account of some one of many little sparks flying about, and talk of limiting the use of fire and candle in future to prevent similar occurrences." He said that it was not edudcation that caused the mutiny,

it was the mutiny that reterded education in India. He saw "the condition or popular ignorance is everywhere the condition of political danger, and for that reason alone we ought to preserve in our endeavours to remove it.[29]

The suspicions of the ruling class towards the Muslims were especially expressed in a controversy over the subject of the propriety of maintaining the Calcutta Madrassa at Government cost. The failure of the Calcutta Madrassa became more conspicuous in the light thrown on it by the events of the Mutiny. The Lieutenant Governor was led by the letters of W. N. Lees, the Principal of the Madrassa, to think that it was a "Nursery of disaffection."[3] W. N. Lees was not favourably disposed towards the Muslim especially towards the upper class of whom he commented : They "are not only well affected towards our Government, but that if not openly, they are in heart, decidely hostile to British supremacy in India.[31]" Principal Lees passed this opinion whithout giving any evidence. His proposal for reforms in the course of instruction was sanctioned to some extent. His letter to the Secretary to the Government of India on 4 February 1870 revealed the following fact : "...the Mutiny occurred in 1857-1858, and for this reason, and for others fully explained in my verbal conversations, and subsequently in my reports of 1858 and 1860, and concurred in by the Government of India, as well as the Governor of Bengal, it was decided to give very much less extended course in Arabic as especially in law than was originally intended."[32]

The proposal of the Lieutenant Governor for the abolition of the Calcutta Madrassa was, however, rejected by the Governor General, who could not assent to the view that the Madrassa had exercised a bad influence over the minds of the Muslims of the whole of the lower provinces ; that it was producing extensive political evil ; or that it was

'In fact a nursery of disaffection.' According to him, "not only did the Mahomedans educated at that Institution not show any hostility to the Government during the period of the Mutinies, but some of them were better affected towards it than other members of the Mahomedan Community."[33] Thus it is clear that without any evidence of disloyalty and disaffection on the parts of the Muslims, the responsible officers of the state[34] passed a biased judgment on them.

That the non-official European's attitude was clearly hostile towards the Muslims was evident from many facts. The Friend of India, an English paper often expressed this feeling of the non-official European Community. The editorial on 25 June 1857 under the title of "The Centenary of Plassey" wrote : "The Hindu stands upon the same platform with the Englishmen, shares equal privileges with him, and challenges for himself as great a measure of the protection and immunities accorded by the state. He has no political enemies, and his grievances are all social." But concerning the Muslims it declared : "They will never tolerate our gifts or forgive our supremacy. We may load them with blessings, but the reward will be curses." It ended with a wishful expectation : "The first Centenary of Plassey was ushered in by the revolt of the native army, the second may be celebrated in Bengal by a respected Government and a Christian population."

The same paper on 13 August 1857 in an editorial under the heading 'Experience without wisdom' wrote vehemently against the appointment of Munshi Ameer Ali.[35] to be special assistant to the Commissioner of Patna and Deputy Magistrate with all the powers of a covenanted Assistant. It considered this appointment 'decidedly impolitic' and unwise on the part of the

Government. It further threatened the Government with their non-co-operation. "It places the Government once again in direct opposition to the wishes of the non-official Europeans in this country at the very time when they most require their help. Nor is it likely that the object in view by the appointment will be gained. The Muhamadans of India will scarcely regard it as a compliment to themselves and will only smile at the simplicity of the policy which dictated the choice." It referred to Amir Ali : as "A man who belongs to that race which are daily and constantly inflicting some injury upon us."

The non-official Europeans went so far as to send a petition to the Queen, praying for the recall of the Governor General. Their main grudge was against the leniency shown by the Governor General towards Muslims. The petition ran thus : "Not withstanding the numerous well-known instances of treachery on the part of Mahomedan oficers of the East India Company during the present insurrection, ..., the Governor General has continued to display his confidence in that class of men by lately sanctioning the appointment of one Ameer Ali, a Mahomedan, to be Deputy Commissioner of Patna a place of great importance and trust, and also the appointments of other Mahomedans to other places of trust, to the great offence and discouragement of the Cristian population of this presidency."[36] On this issue of appointment many letters were exchanged among the higher officials. Samuells, the Commissioner of Patna Division, in his letter to the Government of Bengal on 6 October 1857, explained fully the merit and services rendered by Ameer Ali, "who" said Samuells, "has become in fact the betenoir of the English Press." He observed that the whole of the Calcutta Press apparently without exception had taken up the idea that this was a Muslim rebellion,[37] and

he said : "I need not point out how destituted of foundation this notion is." The Governor General in his note on the above petition of the non-official Europeans wrote : "No one can suppose that the evil of administration of the country can be carried on without the help of native agency and no just and reasonable men will porescribe the whole Mahomedan Community of India (many of whom have rendered signal service to the Government when their loyalty was put to the severest trial) for the treachery of some Mahomedan officials in the N. W. Provinces."[38]

Again when the Government warned the British residents of Calcutta through the press against any interference during the Muslim festival of Muharram while mutiny was still going on, some of them took that to be an insult. On this the Governor General remarked that "there was ground for apprehending that such interference was intended .." "That it should have been thought gratuitiously insulting indicates the very state of excited feeling which it appeared prudent to guard against."[39] Thereupon the non-official Europeans criticised the Government's policy in the following terms : "It must be remembered that this sympathy has been shown to men who already have been permitted to arm themselves and are constantly discovered in plotting against the existing government."[40]

It should be remembered that the non-official European community of Bengal mainly consisted of merchants, missionaries and planters. They had no grudge against the Hindu community for obvious reasons. The interests of the growing Hindu merchant class were linked up with those of Europeans. The long contact and commercial connection between them resulted in cordial and friendly relationship. They had no such connection with the

Muslims. The missionaries cut a sorry figure among the Muslims of Bengal, so far as their success in preaching as well as teaching was concerned. Besides, their activities did not spread far in the eastern districts, populated predominantly by Muslims, during the period under review. The Muslims were apprehensive of the proselytizing activities of the missionaries, and were therefore far from friendly. Lastly, the planters as a class were not liked by the people for their oppression. Sometimes they held Zemindaris in conjunction with Hindu Zemindars. They often managed their concerns through Hindu Gomastas. The Muslims in Bengal generally forming a vast cultivating class could on no account come to a compromising relationship with the planters and Zemindar classes. The friend of India on 30 July 1857 remarked that, "it was thought throughout India that the classes most hated by our Asiatic subjects were the missionaries and the planters." It is clear that the non-official European community had no interest common with the Muslims of Bengal, which they had to some extent with the Hindus. They therefore generally maintained a hostile attitude towards the Muslim community as a whole.

The effects of the Mutiny lasted for a long time on both rulers and ruled. The Government became cautious and suspicious. While the English continued to regard the Indians, in particular the Muslims' with grave suspicion, the Muslims on their part considered everything British as something to be shunned.[41] This position caught the attention of the great Muslim leader Syed Ahmad Khan, who henceforth began to exert himself towards a reconciliation between the ruler and his degraded community.

Syed Ahmad fully realized that the recovery of the hitherto fallen Muslim community depended on the goodwill and co-operation of the rulers. To atain that he

took up the task of removing the suspicion and distrust of the ruling class towards his co-religionists. As early in 1858 he wrote in Urdu Risala Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind (causes of the Revolt). It was later translated in English in 1873 by two English officials.[42] According to him misapprehension of the intentions of the Government (with regard to religion and custom) on the part of the people agitated them unnecessarily. The ignorance on the part of the Government of the conditions of the people, of their modes of thought and of life, and of the grievances through which their hearts were becoming estranged ; the lack of contact and friendly feeling between the rulers and the ruled, and so on subscribed to the revolt. He tried to prove that the revolt was not the work of the Muslims primarily ; but of irresponsible members of the whole Indian community. This he further propounded in a series of pamphlets called the 'Loyal Muhamadans of India', which was first published in 1860 in part.[43]

Syed Ahmad's views surely influenced many eminent Europeans. Some of them acknowledged their mistake of regarding Muslims as the main agitators of the Mutiny. Sir George Campbell in 1893 wrote : "The most obvious, popular and pressing theory is that the Mahomedans have rebelled (i. e. in the mutiny) ... I have exhausted every source of evidence open to me, and I have not only come to the conclusion that the case against the Mahomedans has been greatly exaggerated, which I have long suspected, but am now, contrary to my first expectation, convinced that the accusation against the Mahomedans in general is absolutely unjust....."[44]

Syed Ahmad also took up the great task of turning the face of the Muslim community towards the West, otherwise, he was convinced that they would not emerge

from their present condition. In this respect his services to the community can only be compared with Raja Rammohon Roy. Primarily through his effort and exertions, the Muslims of India began to appreciate the merits of the British rule and Western thoughts and ideas. He worked as a mediator between his community and the Government and tried to bring about a reconciliation between them. Undoubtedly his policy proved a boon to his community.

In Bengal the same conciliatory policy was followed by Ameer Ali Khan, Abdul Latif, Khawja Abdul Ghani and others The Muslims of Bengal, as we have seen, least participated in the mutiny, but they suffered from the doubts and distrust of the ruling class equally with their co-religionists of other parts of India. The Muslim leaders of Bengal were all loyal to the Government.

It was through the efforts of the few Muslim leaders together with the sympathy of some unbiased Europeans, official and non-official, that they were able to secure the confidence and goodwill of the ruling class, after a considerable length of time had elapsed.

VERNACULAR EDUCATION AND THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL (1854-1884)

Prior to 1854, the policy which dominated the educational history of Bengal was that of the 'downward Filtration Theory.' There was no systematic attempt at spreading education in general. The downward filtration theory advocated the spread of higher education among the few in the hope that it would result in the education of the masses. The policy in this sense of spreading knowledge from higher to lower did not produce the result anticipated and instead widened the gulf between the two classes. As Arthur Mayhew observes, "the use of English as a means of instruction and the inability of Government to develop the vernaculars have widened the gulf that separates the intelligentsia of India from the masses."[1]

The Despatch of 1854[2] first contemplated a general extension of popular education, and desired in particular to bring 'useful and practical knowledge' to those classes who were utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own efforts. The Despatch wrought great changes in the educational activities of the Indian Government, and it put an end to the many disputes and discussions which from time to time had divided counsels and impeded progress. One of the main objects of the Despatch was to divert the attention of the Government from the education of the higher classes to a task it frankly admitted had been hitherto 'too much neglected.' A wider diffusion of education among all classes of people,

was taken to be the duty of the Government. With this object in view the Despatch gave greater emphasis to vernacular instruction.[3]

It declared that 'English is to be taught wherever there is a demand for it, but it is not to be substituted for the vernacular language of the country' and directed that there should be 'increased attention to vernaculer schools, indigenous or other, for elementary education.' It introduced the grant-in-aid system, because of 'the impossibility of Government alone doing all that must be done.' The Despatch provided for a comprehensive system of scholarships to connect lower schools with higher. It prescribed the establishment of institutions, for training teachers for all classes of schools. Primary education was defined in the language of the Despatch 'as consisting of so much knowledge at least of reading and writing, and of the simple rules of arithmetic and of land measurement as would enable each man to look after his own rights.'

Although the downward filtration theory seemed to cease officially with the issue of the great despatch of 1854, it continued to influence the educational policy of the Government until towards the end of the period taken. The theory even worked upon the mind of authority in England for a few years after the despatch had been sent to India. It is clear from a letter from the President of the Board of Control to the Court of Directors, on 28 April 1858, on the subject of the connection between education and the recent outbreak of the mutiny. The letter suggested founding colleges to which the higher classes alone should be admitted. W. G. Young, the Director of Public Instruction in a note on that remark wrote, "the object is rather, I think, having already set on foot many institutions for the higher classes, to begin now to extend operations gradually downwards."[4]

The filtration theory had its supporters as late as 1865, when H. Woodrow, the Officiating Director of Public Instruction, wrote : "The education of the lower orders of society should assuredly not be neglected ; but it is a primary condition of the spread of education among all classes that full provision should first be made for the education of that class on which depends the education of all the rest." Woodrow advocating the theory showed that while in 1854 there were only 1,141 pupils in improved vernacular schools, in 1870 there were 90,944 pupils, of these 54,521 held to the lower ranks. Atkinson, the Director of Public Instruction in support of the above view wrote : "In the face of these results it will be impossible to deny that the downward filtering of education has progressed steadily, if not rapidly, under the voluntary system established in Bengal." He explained the reason of the slow progress mainly for the lack of funds : "that it has not progressed with much greater rapidity is simply due to the parsimony of the state in withdrawing the necessary funds."[5] On this the Indian Education Commission of 1882 commented : "while this doctrine influenced the head of the Department, it was natural that the weight of financial pressure should fall on primary education. "The Duke of Argyll wrote to the Viceroy in 1871, "If we can once instil into the real upper classss of India, that one of the main duties of society is to provide sound primary instruction for the humbler classes, we shall lay the real foundation for that general system of education which it is the desire of your Excellency's Government to establish." H. Stark commented on this "The filtration theory had not yet been discredited, although it had been on trial so many years."[6]

But the theory was not approved by all. When Kissori Chand Mitter said that "the lower strata of the social

fabric must be percolated through the higher strata" in a meeting of the British Indian Association in 1868, the Rev. Lal Behari Dey regretted that "this theory of downward filtration of education, however flattering to the pride of the higher classes, has never been verified in history." H. Clerk, the Inspector of the South Eastern Division, pointed out the defect of the theory : "The filtration of education is not to be expected to work in this country beyond a certain point. The filtering medium, so to speak, becomes choked and education fails to percolate beyond the last stratum..."[7]

Lord Mayo (1869-1872) was opposed to the downward filtration theory. His letter to a friend indicated this clearly ... " I dislike ... this filtration theory. In Bengal we are educating in English a few hundred Baboos at great expense to the state. Many of them are well able to pay for themselves, and have no other object in learning than to qualify for Government employment. In the meanwhile we have done nothing towards extending knowledge to the millions . If you wait till the bad English, which the 400 Baboos learn in Calcutta filters down into the 40 millions of Bengal,[8] you will be ultimately a Silurian rock instead of a retiring Judge. Let the Baboos learn by all means, But let us also try to do something towards teaching the three R's to 'Rural Bengal.'[9] The impractibility of the filtration theory retarded the progress of popular education in Bengal, and resulted in a disproportionate development between higher and primary education.

The Government of India, accordingly, in a letter on 25 April 1868, to the Government of Bengal pointed out the following fact. "In Bengal, with a population that probably exceeds forty millions, the total number of pupils in the lower class 'Government' and 'aided' schools was in 1866-1867 only 39,104."[10] The Friend of India, one of the leading newspapers in an article,

'The cost of a Baboo' on 8 February 1870, gave the following statistics, in respect to the disproportionate grants to vernacular and higher education : while the Bengal Government received Rs. 17,54,996 from the general treasury of India for educational purposes, it spent only Rs. 67,807 of that sum on the instruction of the people in their own language in state schools, Rs. 2,24,092 on aided vernacular schools, Rs. 38,658 on vernacular scholarships, or Rs. 3,30,557 in all. It was thus less than one-fifth of the Imperial grant. Each boy in a middle or lower vernacular school cost the public on an average Rs. 5-8 a year. Each Baboo in a state college cost them Rs. 239. A. Howell observed this and wrote in 1872 that it was not the paucity of the Government schools that was so remarkable, as the paucity of primary schools altogether.[11] "The main channel" said Monteath "chosen for directing its efforts has been education of the higher and middle classes."[12]

The year 1870 marked an epoch in the history of elementary instruction in England. The education Act of 1870 ordained that for the first time, a school should be placed within the reach of every English child.[13] Some distance advance, however, towards that principle may be traced in Bengal in the way in which the Department of Public Instruction was remodelled in Bengal in 1872-1873. The control and administration of elementary schools were taken from the education department and vested in the district Magistrates, because the scheme of primary instruction "can only be carried out by the influence and aid of the district authorities", whose influence had been described as "gentle compulsion."[14] The Government of India in a resolution on 31 March, 1870, proclaimed what was generally understood to be its intention to withhold its aid from English education in support

of that of vernacular.[15] In 1870 the Duke of Argyll sent a despatch on 26 May, stating that "Government expenditure should be mainly directed to the provision of an elementary education for the mass of the people."[16] The despatch further directed that the object of the state was to give all the support it could afford to those who did not voluntarily seek education, and to strive to excite a desire for vernacular education.

These declarations on behalf of vernacular education roused suspicions among educated Bengalis. They wrongly interpreted these as meaning that the Government was disinclined to support English education any longer. They held meetings in different places in Bengali and pleaded for the continuance of the Government Patronage of higher education, and conveyed their opinion to the 'British Indian Association'[17] to be represented to the Government. The memorial adopted at a public meeting at the Town Hall of Calcutta, on 2 July 1870 argued that it was clear that English education helped the cause of vernacular education. For every rupee paid by the state in aid of the vernacular schools, an additional rupee was paid in the shape of fees and subscriptions raised through the instrumentality of educated natives and were this agency to be repressed, the Government would have to bear the hole and not the half of the cost of vernacular education as now. Another resolution of a meeting held near Calcutta on 29 June 1870 ran thus : "...the present anti-English education policy of the Government in the withdrawal of all state aid from such education, is not only to be deplored, but calculated to mar the best interests of the country "illumined by the civilisation of the West."[18] The British Indian Association sent a memorial on 17 June 1872 to the Viceroy, representing the above views. It attributed that the policy which the

Government had taken recently with regard to education was a 'retrogative' one.[19]

On this the Governor General in Council wrote to the Secretary of State for India on 25 October 1870 regretting the present resentment of the advocates of English education. It said : "We would gladly expend far larger sums from Imperial Revenues on all classes of education, but as such expenditure is palpably inconsistent with other demands upon our finances, it only remains for us to recognise in fair proportion the requirements of all classes."[20] The letter of Sir George Campbell to the Director of Public Instruction in 1872 explained the object of Government clearly : "It is not the policy of the Government to discourage English or higher education, but it is its policy not to devote an entirely disproportionate amount of the funds at the disposal of the local Government to the education of very limited number of persons, to the comparative exclusion of the much greater number who have equal claims on the state." Thus a proportionate claim of vernacular education upon the finance of the state was finally recognised by the Government.

It is interesting to note that while the petition from the educated section of the Bengalis poured in through various public organisations requesting the Government to continue its support of higher education, some missionaries at about the same time sent a memorial following a conference, held in Calcutta, to the Viceroy on the subject of the educational policy of the state. They advocated the spread of vernacular education among the masses. They held that mass literacy was necessary for social and political reasons. The memorial suggested that a central council for the management of vernacular education should be formed, fairly representing the various classes of the community. It urged that both duty and

interest required that Government should devote a larger proportion of the available funds to the development of vernacular education.[21] The missionaries who stood up for the people at large, intervened at the right time to counteract the wishes of the few and to represent a dumb peasantry, who were not even conscious of their own position.

The grant-in-aid system as the chief means to finance vernacular education seemed to be unsuccessful in Bengal in general. The original rules of this grant for the lower provinces of Bengal were not issued till July 1855. Up to May 1857 grants were given to eighty-seven English and Anglo-vernacular schools. On account of the necessity for extreme frugality owing to the expenditure caused by the mutiny, no extra grants were given, several grants were cancelled, and the development of education was stayed, though not altogether stopped. In 1860 fresh grants were given and the extension of instruction was promoted.[22] Some changes in the rules of grant were also followed. The annual educational report for 1863-1864 stated that one of such revisions of rules directed that receipts from fees should in future be allowed to count as a part of the local income and should be included in to "the sum expended on the Institution from Private Sources." The same report told that these grants "are doing positive good, and are steadily extending the opportunities and desire for improved education. .."

One of the main features of the system of grants in-aid was that it should be based on the principle of perfect religious neutrality. The grants should be provided to such schools as imparted a secular education, and that "no grant will in any case exceed in amount the sum expended on the institutions from private sources," and "that fees, however small, are changed in them." The

Lieutenant Governor believed that these rules of grants-in-aid were not suited for the diffusion of elementary education. He saw that the present rules required too much from the people, and he therefore asked for authority to grant up to three-fourth of the whole expenditure of any school. The Governor General replied that the remedy lay "not in increasing the proportion contributed by the Government ; but in diminishing the total cost of the schools." Under the existing rules of aid, no school was aided, unless the local contribution, including fees, amounted to ten rupees a month. This was also considered by F. J. Halliday, the Lieutenant Governor, to be a hardship to the people. He further remarked, "the plain fact appears to be that, in the lower provinces, the lower classes have not yet learned to appreciate or desire education, and that the higher classes generally are not actively desirous that their inferiors be educated."[23]

The Government policy towards education at this stage, was limited to an amount, which was insufficient to meet the need : "In a word, we do not attempt single-handed to supply the means of education for thirty millions of people, but rather to create an efficient demand for education and to assist as far as our means will allow in supplying that demand."[24] So grants-in-aid were intended to encourage self-help and "a spirit of reliance upon local exertions." As to the unsuitability of the system for the promotion of vernacular education, the Director of Public Instruction put forward his views in concurrence with that of his Inspectors in his review for the year 1857-1858. Hodgson Pratt, the Inspector of the southern division, tried to get local co-operation on the basis of grants-in-aid for the spread of popular education, but failed to secure it. He called grants-in-aid out of place in a country where the value of education was utterly unfelt by

the masses. H. Woodrow, the Inspector of the Eastern division, explained the fact more carefully. "The poorest classes do not want schooling at all, because they are too poor to pay school fees and subscriptions, and because the labour of their children is required to enable them to live." And he further observed that "the middle and upper classes will make no sort of sacrifice for the establishment of any but English schools."

Halliday seemed to concur with the above views, when he remarked that "the great mass of the people is not likely to be reached by the present system."[25] The annual educational report for 1855-1856 pointed out that the advantages of the grants were seized by the rich Hindus of Calcutta and adjoining places. No such urge for modern education was found among the comparatively rich section of the Muslim community living in the same or other areas until very late. However, the sum spent in grants-in-aid in Bengal was increased to Rs 10,000 from Rs. 5,780-12-3, a month, on the request of the Lieutenant Governor to Governor General.[26]

In a word, the grants-in-aid failed to operate on the masses for two main reasons, namely the proverty of the people and the lack of sympathy on the part of the well-to-do classes to supplement the Government aid in establishing and running the elementary school. The Muslims took the least advantage of grants-in-aid. They generally visited their own makhtabs, meeajis or similar places, imparting mainly religious instruction, which could not receive grants-in-aid ; as it was granted on maintenance of strict religious neutrality. On the other hand the Muslims objected to the purely secular type of instruction of the improved patshalas. On the failure of grants-in-aid to operate on the masses, the Lieutenant Governor on reviewing the educational report for 1857-1858

remarked : "the rules (of Government grants) apparently presuming greater interest in the advancement of their inferiors than really exists among the wealthy classes of natives and larger contributions to the schools that can be afforded by the masses themselves, or are likely to be given for them by the more competent countrymen."[27]

The despatch of 1859 [28] made a review of the progress made under the Wood despatch, the policy of which it reiterated and confirmed with a single exception, as regards the grants-in-aid.[29] The despatch regretted that while European and native managers had freely and readily accepted the grants in the formation of scools, where instruction in English might be afforded, "no great alacrity appears to have been shown by the natives in making the necessary local efforts for securing the aid of Government under grant-in-aid rules for the promotion of vernacular schools"[30] The despatch thus admitted the fact that for the supply of vernacular education, the grant-in-aid system, which hitherto was in force, was unsuited. It, in consequence, declared emphatically "that the means of elementary education should be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government", according to the plans "best suited to the circumstances of different localities."[31] It then further suggested that to avoid difficulties experienced in obtaining voluntary local support, an education rate should be imposed, from which the cost of all such vernacular schools throughout the country should be defrayed.[32]

The direction of the despatch (1859) for the levy of an educational cess, unfortunately, became the issue of a prolonged controversy between the Governments of India and Bengal. In this connection the despatch placed the example of the North-West provinces, where a similar

cess (voluntary) benefited the people at large, and got the recognition of the despatch itself.[33] The Government of India stuck to the suggestion of the despatch of imposing an educational tax in Bengal for the promotion of vernacular education. In 1864, Sir Charles Wood, wrote to the Government of India, stating that the resources of the state should be so applied as "to assist those who cannot be expected to help themselves, and the richer classes of the people should gradually be induced to provide for their own education.[34] The Government of india wrote in 1868 to the Government of Bengal that "the main burden of vernacular education in Bengal should fall not on the imperial revenues, but, as elsewhere, on the proprietors of land."[35]

It is clear that the Home Government was in favour of the spread of elementary education in Bengal, where higher education had progressed remarkably in glaring contrast to elementary education, and in that sense Benagl's education was 'top heavy'. The Government of India tried to follow up the direction of the Home Government, but not at the cost of Imperial funds, and therefore repeatedly urged the Bengal Government to impose an educational rate. In a letter of 28 April 1868 to Bengal, the Government of India, in order to show the necessity of a 'cess' observed with regret "the almost total absense of a proper means of provision for elementary education of the agricultural classes, which form the great mass of the population ..".

The Bengal Government always resented the idea of a cess on the ground that the land revenue had been settled in permanence in Bengal and as the land had changed hands many times since the first settlement, there were great difficulties in the way of such fresh impositions on land as were made in other parts of India. The Bengal

Government also contended that there were a large number of indigenous schools ; that the voluntary principle had not exhausted its strength in this province, and lastly that about one-third of the children attending Patshalas belonged to the middle and upper classes, that is, the comparatively well-to-do class, and not the children of the agriculturists. It was considered improper by the Bengal Government to have a rate on land alone. The Bengal Government referred to the high rate of the salt duty levied in Bengal, as compared with other parts of India, and thought that a share might be given from that tax for the improvement of the Bengal Patshalas. It suggested a general tax for education on all people, and not on the proprietors of land only.[36] The Zemindars of Bengal in common with the educated Hindus were against the imposition of any such educational cess. While the controversy was raging between the two Governments, James Wilson[37] gave his considered opinion in favour of levying a cess. He declared that the permanent settlement did not exempt Bengal landholders from the liability to share the general taxation of the country. The Duke of Argyll[38] in a despatch of 12 May 1870 finally gave the verdict in favour of the Government of India and James Wilson. But some changes in the financial administration of the country under Mayo, as Governor Genneral, ended the dispute.

The chief object of Mayo's proposal was the transfer of certain administrative services to the provinces, with fixed assignments of revenue in order to meet those charges. The departments thus handed over were Jails, Police, Education, Registration, Medical Services, Printing, Roads, Civil Buildings, and miscellaneous Public improvements. The underlying principles of his Resolution of 1870 was to give the provincial Legislatures, where such existed, some real responsibility in regard to provincial budgets.[39] The

decentralisation of finance encouraged the general progress of the country, especially in the spread of popular education, which received a fresh impulse under the patronisation of Sir George Campbell.

Missionary enterprise, which preceded the Government in the diffusion of popular knowledge, had by now progressed considerably. But the missionary schools had failed to some extent to impart elementary knowledge among the masses of Bengal. They now opened Anglo-Vernacular schools to meet the growing demand for English education from a comparatively well-to-do class of people. Their effort was mainly concentrated in and around Calcutta, where Muslims were in a small minority. Besides, the missionary schools could not be popular with Muslims, who were very apprehensive of their proselytizing approach. Even when these schools imparted elementary education at a very cheap cost, the Muslims scarcely visited them because of such fears.

The report of the Commissioners on Vernacular Schools sent out in 1853 and 1854 to inspect different Zillah school, stated the satisfactory progress of the vernacular schools at Magura of the Baptist Mission, where the Bible was freely read as a class book. The teaching of the Bible in the missionary schools led to a controversy on the subject of granting any allowance to the missionaries from the general fund. J. P. Grant in a minute of 23 June 1854, strongly objected to Halliday's proposal to give grants to missionaries. Grant held out his objections for political and economic reasons.[40] J. W. Colvile held that the missionary schools should be provided with some funds on the ground that those were largely attended by Hindus. He said : "I should feel the abstract injustice of supporting missionary schools in part with funds derived from the general revenues of the country far more strongly if I

did not know that many Hindoos, if not Musalman parents, do send their children to missionary schools for the sake of secular instruction to be had there, without much fear of their being converted."[41] The despatch of 1854, however, gave recognition to the missionary societies, and acknowledged their contribution in imparting education among the people. The missionaries, henceforth, availed themselves of Government grant freely.

The council of education in their last report for the years 1852-1855 pointed to a very unsatisfactory state of vernacular education.[42] The vernacular schools established by Lord Hardinge a few years back, had failed to produce the expected result. Out of the original one hundred and one schools there survived only twenty-six. The cause was attributed to the fact that Government was neither prepared with school books, teachers or superintending agents. The council further pointed out, "a demand for English education has arisen in every district and its strength may be tested by the fact that schooling fees are willingly paid, and increasing numbers of teachers are supported in private schools." This, of course, the council thought was due to the prospects of lucrative employment under Government and other European concerns. "In vernacular schools no such powerful motive exists." This aversion from purely vernacular education and a desire for English education was manifest among the middle and upper classes. The masses did not appreciate the worth of education. The Government to counteract this indifference resolved to set up a number of model vernacular or 'Halliday schools' in different places at its own cost, in the hope that their examples might stimulate a desire for education. A further encouragement to elementary education was given by means of scholarships of the value of four rupees a month to be offered to the best

pupils of the vernacular schools, and also by the Government notification of 9 July 1855.[43] The publication of educational works by the 'school book society' and the 'vernacular literature society' added to the same impetus.[44] The Government also granted two-hundred rupees per month to the publication of a newspaper in Bengali called the "Educational Gazette."[45]

For the spread of elementary education in Bengal, various methods were adopted from time to time which might be considered under four divisions. These divisions necessarily overlap : even when one system was being ardently pursued, others were not entirely disregarded. From 1855 to 1862 the 'circle system' was in operation. From 1862 to 1872 the 'normal school system' was in force. From 1872 to 1875 the policy followed was on the basis of a system of stipends and normal classes. This was generally known by the 'stipendiary' system, which was finally exchanged for that of the system of 'payment by results.'[46]

The circle system was proposed and first applied by H. Woodrow, the Inspector of Eastern division, Bengal. The idea was not altogether new. It had been originally devised by the 'Christian khowledge Society' as far back as 1822. The circle system was sanctioned in 1855 with the object of improving Patshalas or village schools. The improvement was to be effected by pandits paid by the state : Each pandit was attached to a circle of generally three village schools ; each village school had its own Guru ; each circle received an equal share of the peripatetic pandit's time. These pandits were paid fifteen rupees a month. The consent of the Guru to accept the pandit's services was obtained by the prospect of receiving a reward equal to that gained by his pupils, every one of whom, on attaining a certain standa.d was rewarded proportionally to

his progress.[47] There were to be sixty circles in four districts of Twenty-four Parganas, Baraset, Jessore, and Dacca at a total cost of 1,500 rupees a month. As yet thirty-seven circles had been successfully organised.[48] The annual educational report for 1856-1857 showed that the circle schools had proved successful under the able supervision of H. Woodrow.

The circle system thus recommended had been hitherto applied only to some of the Eastern and Central districts and had never been tried on a large scale until 1862. The success of the system was indicated in the annual educational reports for 1860-1861, which gave the number of the indigenous vernacular schools under improvement in Bengal as one hundred and seventy-two, with seven hundred and thirty-one pupils. The success was no doubt meagre in comparison to the vast population and showed that the system could not operate so well for the education of the masses. The reason might be that as the system aimed at improving the indigenous Patshalas, it, at the first instance, could not attract the attention of Muslim parents, on mainly two grounds. These were religious and economic. The Patshalas, by tradition, were mostly run and attended by the Hindus. The Muslims generally crowded their own makhtabs and meeajis instead of attending those Patshalas, imparting secular instruction, under Hindu Gurus. The Government due to the shortage of funds was less inclined to open new schools under its own management, and thought that those Patshalas might be improved at a lesser expense. Besides religious prejudice, the poor Muslim parents of cultivating or labouring classes often found it difficult to pay even that little amount which was required to meet the expenses ot the Patshalas under improved Gurus.

J. P. Grant, who became the Lieutenant Governor in

1859 took the earliest opportunity to promote the cause of mass education, following the impetus given in the last despatch. He recommended in 1860 a grant of 30,000 rupees in addition to the usual grant for the year, with instructions to employ that sum for the improvement of the indigenous schools of the country.[49] The method he recommended was one of normal system. In 1862 Grant's plan having received several important modifications, was eventually brought into operation. Under this system the normal school teachers were nominated by the villagers. They could choose either the existing village Guru or some one else, whom they undertook to receive as the future school master. Their nominee if accepted by the Inspector, was thereupon admitted into normal school on a stipend of four rupees a month, according to the terms of a written contract. The normal schools[50] were opened few years back by the Department of Public Instruction at Dacca, Calcutta, Hughly and Gauhati.

The working of the normal system was entrusted to Babu Bhudev Mukhopadyaya, with three deputies. By the end of the official year 1862-1863 three new normal schools had been started. The system was extended over some of the districts of Burdwan and Rajshahi divisions. The scheme however expanded failed to include the masses for whom it was actually designed. The reasons for its failure seem to be the same as for that of the circle system. The annual educational report for 1863-1864 stated that the labouring and agricultural classes were "in reality scarcely touched as yet by our educational operations." "Various plans," the Director of Public Instruction wrote "have been devised and tried for bringing school instruction to bear upon them but the result has almost uniformly been that schools have been at once taken possession of and monopolised by classes

who stood higher in the social scale."[51] So the system could not escape criticism, to which the Inspector Bhudev Mukhopadhyaya replied "its aim is to improve the Patshalas, not to convert them into mass schools."[52] In 1865-1866 the Patshalas under him increased to five hundred and thirty-one, with 15,147 pupils, and was spread further to Burdwan, Nadia, Jessore. With the general progress of the elementary Patshalas, the expenditure on them went on increasing year after year until in 1867, when the Government declined to sanction further grants for the extension of the Patshalas, owing partly to financial difficulties after the Orissa famine (1866), and partly to the necessity that was consequently felt for the imposition of a cess on land in Bengal, to meet the growing expenditure on elementary education.[53]

Sir George Campbell (1871-1874) next inaugarated the stipendiary system, which met with great success. The decentralization of finances in 1871-1872, having brought an accession of means, the Lieutenant Governor made a special effort to extend the influence of Primary education.[54] On 30 September 1872, he issued his celebrated resolution on primary education. "The great object of the Government now is," he declared, "to extend primary education among the masses of the people." Accordingly he distributed four lakhs of rupees to the districts of Bengal, according to their size and population with instructions to the Magistrates and district committees to distribute the allotment before 31 March 1874. The resolution also provided for the training of teachers and he gave full discretion to magistrates to work out the details of the scheme in their own way. Under this resolution the system of primary education took a new departure.

The object of the stipendiary system was partly to improve the existing Patshalas by the introduction of more

liberal elements into their curricula, on condition of that they continued to exist as schools for the masses, that is to say, that they continued to exist as Patshalas and were not converted into schools of the departmental type. The schools were graded Lower and Upper primary. Sir George Campbell further instituted the system of 'primary scholarships,' immediately after his celebrated resolution of September 1872. His object was "to enable clever and deserving boys to climb from the lowest to the highest stage."[55] It was expressly provided" that in order to keep down the standard of Patshalas their courses of instruction should be cofined to reading and writing the vernacular of the district, arithmetic - written and mental ; Bazzar and Zemindari accounts, and simple mensuration."[56] The measures of Sir George Campbell operated successfully for five years in Bengal.[57]

Campbell's scheme was found successful in reaching the masses, to large extent. Under it the indigenous Muslim Makhtabs and Meeajis could be enrolled in the list of stipends, for the first time. The makhtabs and meeajis had not yet received any assistance from the state on the ground of their religious character. But the new provision under Campbell made those Muslim indigenous elementary schools eligible for state grants, on an addition of secular subjects like vernacular and arithmetic up to the elementary standard. This provision especially benefited the Muslims for the Patshalas were already receiving such assistance on account of their imparting secular instruction.

In 1876-1877, the allotment for primary education was reduced to 4,00,000 rupees and subsequently to 3,75,000 rupees because of finacial dislocation, arising out of a famine in Behar (1873-1874). With this reduced fund, Campbell's system of primary education, was found unsuitable and consequently gave place to another system –

that of 'payment-by results.' This system was first inaugurated by H. L. Harrison, the Magistrate of Midnapur, in Bengal. The new system encouraged the Gurus of the Patshalas, by the award of monetery grants on the results of examinations of their pupils by the Inspectors. The system had shown remarkable powers of expansion, even with the reduced allotment, and the return of the number of schools in 18 6-1877 showed no diminution,[58] but even a certain increase. The subsequent development of primary education was largely the result of the success of the method of payment by results, otherwise known as the 'Midnapur system'. The main feature of this system was the eagerness with which a great many of the indigenous schools entered into the departmental system. The system continued for long, even when funds were increased. The education commission of 1882 approved of this system.

The fact that the Muslims in Bengal remained more or less unaffected by all the educational measures hitherto applied was pointed out by Rev. J. Long in a letter written on 24 August 1867 to Sir John Lawrence, the Governor General (1864-1869) on the subject of the best mode of extending vernacular education. Rev. Long emphasized the need of greater attention on the part of the Government towards the Muslims, whom he thought, "hitherto so utterly neglected."[59] Lord Lawrence in 1868 observed with alarm that "among all the sources of difficulty in our administration and possible danger to the stability of our Government there are few so serious as the ignorance of the people." In the annual educational report of 1870-1871, H. Woodrow, now Inspector of the Central Division, stated that in "every hundred pupils, there are eighty-six Hindus and eight Muhammedans and six others. The Muslims at schools (vernacular) are not one-tenth of the part of the Hindus though the revenue

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL (1854-1884)

Bengal progressed remarkably in higher education during the period under review. But this progress did not affect the Muslim community proportionately. The present chapter tries to find out the causes of their lagging behind and the efforts of the Government to narrow down the difference between the Hindus and the Muslims in this respect, and how far those were successful. The term higher education has been used here to include secondary school instruction leading to the University Entrance Examination and collegiate education leading to the University degrees.

In 1854,[1] the Court of Directors accepted the systematic promotion of a general education as one of the duties of the state and declared once again that the type of education which they desired to see extended in India was that which had for its object the diffusion of European knowledge. The measures prescribed by them for the growth of higher education were, in the main, the establishment of Universities[2] at the presidency towns, the establisnment of institutions for training teachers, the maintenance of the existing[3] Government colleges and high schools, the increase of their number when necessary' and the establishment of new middle vernacular schools leading up to University Entrance standard. They directed that the English language was to be the medium of instruction in the htgher branches of education. They advocated the grant-in-aid system. The grants were to be for

Muslims in primary education had attracted considerable notice from the authorities by now and had become the subject of their anxiety

The education department was virtually composed of the Hindu officers and inspecting staff. This was one of the drawbacks of the education system towards attracting the Muslim boys. Grimley, the Inspector of the South-Eastern Division, observed that gradually education was becoming confined to the Hindus.[64] The letter of the Government of Bengal to the Government of India on 17 August 1872 pointed out that "not a single member of the inspecting agency was Muhammedan and there was scarcely, if at all, a Muhammedan in the ordinary ranks of schools." He referred to the Bengal education department as a "Hindu institution," which he thought to bea "real disadvantage" for the Muslims.[65]

The general backwardness of the Muslims in education attracted the attention of the Government of india. After an enquiry the Government of India passed a resolution on 7 August 1871, which directed towards the systematic encouragement of education among the Muslims.[66] This resolution was not directly concerned with primary education, but in view of Sir George Campbell's scheme for encouraging the education of Muslims where it was most needed, Mayo determined to increase the regular provincial assignment by an additional grant of 50,000 rupees to Bengal. It further pointed out that assistance might be given to Muslims by grants-in-aid to open all kinds of schools of their own. It directed that greater encouragement should be given to the creation of a vernacular literature for the Muslims, and suggested that secondary and higher education, if conveyed in the vernaculars would be more accessible to the people. Campbell took up the cause of the poor village Muslims, whom he feared "had not

been fairly treated in Bengal in regard to their educational machinery."[67] Thus for the first time in the history of vernacular education of Bengal, the Muslims as a depressed class, received special consideration from the authorities. The resolution of Lord Mayo in 1871 was reiterated in the resolution of Lord Northbrook on 13 June 1873. A resolution of 31 June 1873 on general educational policy gave further stress to elementary education, reducing the cost in higher education, and reducing some of the colleges to high school standard.

In Bengal the reductions were carried out in the Berhampur, Krishnanagar and Sanskrit Colleges, which provoked some expression of dissatisfaction among the upper and literate classes of Bengal. Sir George Campbell's policy was far from discouraging "what was called high class education." But he thought it would "not be consistent with the duty which we devote a wholly disproportionate sum to the higher class of education only." His educational policy was not liked by the upper and literate classes of Bengal, who submitted certain memorials to the Government of India on that aspect. The Government of India supported the measures of the Lieutenant Governor. The secretary of state concurred with this view and cordially approved the steps taken by Sir G. Campbell to give a more practical tone to mass education in Bengal.

The cultivation of the vernacular literature by the Muslims in Bengal cut a very poor figure. A return of publications from 1818 to 1855 showed that 515 persons were connected with Bengali literature either as authors or translators of printed works. Of 515 persons, only twenty-two were Muslims who wrote mainly on religious subjects.[68] H. Woodrow, the officiating Director of Public Instruction in his report for 1871-1872 presented a return furnished by the School book Society. It stated that the publications

of the last four pears in Bengali numbered 1701, of which the works by the Muslims were only ninety-nine. The Director then gave the details of these ninety-nine books. There were three school books and they were tales. There were fifty-two other tales and novels, several of which were not of a healthy character ; thirty-three books were about Islam and six were concerning Christianity and five were on astrology, fortune telling and magic and two others. H. Blochman, Assistant Professor in the Calcutta Madra'sha in a letter to the Principal on 9 October 1871, discussed the existing Muslim literature of Bengal and its standard. The popular books were Amir Humzah, Hatim Tai, Qisas-al-Ambia, Koka Pandit and so on. They were of poor standard.[69]

One of the reasons, that were said to have deterred Muslims from sending their children to ordinary schools, was the use in them of books whose tone was unpalatable with regard to their religion. In March 1873 the Government of India passed a resolution requesting all Governments to appoint committees to examine and report upon the class-books that were then prescribed in all those schools which received any formal support from the state. This was intended to discover defects either in form or substance, and adopt more carefully the course of authorised reading to the general educational policy.[70] In April 1877 a conference on text-books was held at Simla. The deliberations of the conference led to the constitution of standing text-book committees for the examination of school books in the different provinces.

In connection with the development of elementry education it is relevant to say something about the Muslim masses of Calcutta. The annual educational report for 1873-1874 pointed out : "It is the only district of Bengal deprived by Sir George Campbell of all participation in his noble primary Patshala grant and in the primary scholarship

grant." "Primary education is left virtually to work itself in Calcutta on the principle of demand and supply." The report further stated : "How frightfully neglected the education of the Calcutta masses is, may be inferred from the fact that out of 1,33,131 Muhammedans only 595 are found in the 321 schools with 21,917 pupils included in the last return." It blamed the Calcutta municipality as it was "almost the only municipality that makes no grant for education." The rich Hindus of Calcutta often opened Anglo-vernacular schools in common with the missionaries, and even when they opened a few vernacular Patshalas, these were attended mostly by Hindus. The few upper class Muslim in Calcutta generally spoke in Urdu, and did not show any urge to begin or encourage vernacular instruction for the masses.[71] As regards the indifference of the Calcutta Municipality towards the promotion of mass education, witness the Indian Education Commission in 1882. "Even in the city of Calcutta no steps have been taken in this direction, though so far back as in 1873 Sir George Campbell expressed a hope that a municipality of Calcutta would move the legislature to permit the expenditure of some part of its large income upon primary schools for the children of Calcutta poor." On this issue Kristodas Pal objected to throwing on town boards the charges for primary education, while Syed Amir Hussain insisted on their making proper provision and an examination of their budgets to see that they did so.[72]

The appointment of Lord Ripon as viceroy of India in April 1880 (1880-1884) was a great landmark in the history of education in India. Ripon in his educational measures carried out the wishes of the General Council of Education in India to some extent. This organisation was composed of eminent retired Europeans, who took up the task of promoting general welfare in India. Persons

like Sir W. Hunter, Rev. Johnston, Rev. Long were members. They sent a petition to the newly appointed Governor General to enquire into the extent to which effect had been given, and was being given, to the principles enunciated by the educational despatch of 1854. The petitioners pointed out that whereas in England almost one-twentieth of the revenues was being expended upon the education of the people, in India the proportion was only one-eightieth : that whereas in England the cost of education worked out to 2s,6d per head of population, in India it was less than 1d a head.[73] They especially observed that the department for primary education had been carried out feebly and urged upon the immediate measures of reform of education in India.[74]

The Education Commission was appointed on 3 February 1882, with Sir W. Hunter as President and twentyfour other members representing the officials, non-official Indians and Christian missionaries. The Hon'ble Sayed Ahmed, later succeeded by his son Syed Mahmud, and Haji Ghulam Hasan of the Punjab were members from the Muslim community. The commission was charged with the duty of enquiring into "the manner in which effect had been given to the Despatch of 1854, and to suggest such methods as it might think desirable, with a view to more completely carrying out the policy laid down therein."[75] The Commission did its best to deal with all the educational problems and devoted separate sections for each problem.

The recommendations of the commission included the indigenous schools. An indigenous school was defined by the Commission as one established or conducted by natives, on native methods. It recommended that any indigenous school, imparting religious instruction, was entitled to Government aid if it made provision for secular

subjects, in other words all indigenous schools whether high or low, be recognised and encouraged, if they served any purpose of secular educaiton whatsoever.[76] This recommendation thus allowed the Muslim Makhtabs and Meeajis to enter into the departmental system and receive grants if they provided education in some secular subjects. The Commission recommended the 'payment-by-results' system, which could admit the indigenous schools on the basis of the results of examinations. The schools should be open to all. It gave encouragement to backward pupils by assigning special aid to them. The grants-in-aid should be so arranged as to suit the local conditions of each part, and such aided schools should be placed under proper supervision under municipal or local boards where they existed

The Commission found that, although every encouragement was given to the existing indigenous schools to improve themselves they would be insufficient to meet the growing popular demand. It therefore recommended further measures for the expansion of primary education. It defined primary education as "the instruction of the masses through the vernacular in such subjects as will best fit them for their position in life and be not necessarily regarded as a portion of instruction leading up to the University." The Commission established the claim of popular education and declared "the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the state should now be directed in a still larger measure than heretofore" and "that primary education be declared to be that part of the whole system of public instruction which possesses an almost exclusive claim on local funds set apart for education and a large claim on provincial revenues." Among many measures

recommended by the Commission the following were laid down for the benefit of Muslims exclusively.

The special encouragement of Muslim education was to be regarded as a legitimate charge on local, minicipal and provincial funds. The indigenous Muslim schools were to be liberally encouraged to add purely secular subjects to their course of instruction. Special standards for Muslim primary schools were to be prescribed. A graduated system of scholarships was to be awarded, beginning with the primary schools. In all classes of schools which were maintained from public funds a certain proportion of free studentships was to be reserved for Muslim students. The Commission confirmed the resolution of Sir George Campbell on 29 July 1873 that the Muslim educational fund should be used exclusively for the provision of education among the Muslims. Muslim inspecting officers were to be employed more largely for primary schools. Any association or organisation for the promotion of Muslim education should be recognised and encouraged. Lastly the General Report of Public Instruction (Bengal) should devote a special section to Muslim education. Alfred Croft, then Director of Public Instruction, commented that the above recommendations showed "The intention of the Commission to treat the Muhammadan claim not merely with justice, but with a leaning towards generosity." The Commission thus tried to remove not only some of the general defects and drawbacks of the system of primary education but also to remove those which it considered to be responsible for not attracting the attetnion of the Muslims, wrapped up in utter ignorance and poverty.

The review of Alfred Croft in 1886 showed that from 1881-1882 to 1885-1886 great progress was made in education of all classes, that of Muslim community was

exceptionally rapid. It was only in primary schools that the percentage of Muslim pupils was 21.1 and exceeded the proportion of that community to the whole population (19.1) taking whole of India.

A review of vernacular education in Bengal between 1854 and 1884, shows that its history though one of progress, received occasional set backs for reasons either financial or political. The policy of the Home Government was one of liberal patronage of popular education. The Government of India, inspired and instructed by their despatches, always tried to give practical shape to those wishes, but sometimes local circumstances stood against their fulfilment. Thus in Bengal the relationship between the two Governments on some educational measures became strained at certain stages. This disagreement on policy and measures impeded the general progress of education. The cess controversy in Bengal is a fitting example of this disagreement. Again sometimes the harmonious co-operation of the two Governments produced a remarkable result. This is evident from 1870 onwards and especially between the Governor General Lord Mayo and the Lieutenant Governor Sir George Campbell, from when the Muslims received greater and better attention from the authorities. It consequently contributed to the subsequent growth and expansion of primary education all over Bengal.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL (1854-1884)

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In 1854,[1] the Court of Directors accepted the systematic promotion of a general education as one of the duties of the state and declared once again that the type of education which they desired to see extended in India was that which had for its object the diffusion of European knowledge. The measures prescribed by them for the growth of higher education were, in the main, the establishment of Universities[2] at the presidency towns, the establisnment of institutions for training teachers, the maintenance of the existing[3] Government colleges and high schools, the increase of their number when necessary' and the establishment of new middle vernacular schools leading up to University Entrance standard. They directed that the English language was to be the medium of instruction in the htgher branches of education. They advocated the grant-in-aid system. The grants were to be for

specific objects and their amount and continuance were to depend on the periodical reports of Government Inspectors. No Government college or school was to be founded, where a sufficient number of institutions exist, capable with the aid of Government of meeting the local demand for education, but new schools and colleges were to be established and temporarily maintained where there was little or no prospect of adequate local effort being made to meet local requirements. The discontinuance of any general system of education entirely provided by Government, was anticipated with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid, but the progress of education was not to be checked in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay.

The despatch which contained these proposals also gave sympathetic attention to the requirements of the Muslim community. The authors of the despatch wrote that the increasing desire of the Muhammedan population to acquire European knowledge had given them great satisfaction. And they promised support to any proposition for encouraging 'so large a portion of the natives of India' to acquire it.[4] The despatch based this promised support on the report of the council of education for 1852-1855 which stated, "there is now amongst the higher and more respectable classes of the Muhammedan community in Bengal, a growing desire for sound English education, though it is doubtless still much less ardent and less general than that felt by the Hindoos."

The Government, to promote modern higher Education among the Muslims of Bengal directed its efforts primarily on the reforms of two existing Madrassas in Calcutta and Hughly (near Calcutta). In Calcutta the Muslims constituted only about thirty per cent of the population,[5] and the majority of them were engaged in relatively humble

occupations like that of coachman, tailor, Khidmatgar and so on. Both Calcutta and Hughly belonged to the district of Twenty-four-parganas in the presidency Division, where the Muslims were in a minority. Concerning Twenty-four Parganas, indeed, the census report of 1872 remarked that it was the only district in the lower delta in which the Muslims were fewer than the Hindus.[6]

The Calcutta Madrassa had been founded by Warren Hastings in 1781 for the purpose of educating respectable Muslims mainly to assist in the administration of justice. In 1791, an enquiry conducted under the orders of the Board of Revenue disclosed serious mismanagement on the part of the preceptor, Majid-ud-din. Under the advice of the Board, the Governor General, Lord Cornwallis, removed Majid-ud-din and appointed Mohamad Israil in his place. A Committee was appointed to superintend the affairs of the Madrassas with the President of the Board of Revenue as President of the Committee. The studies prescribed were Natural Philosophy, Theology, Astronomy, Geometry, Arithmetic, Logic, Rhetoric and Grammar.[7] In view of the inefficient administration of the Madrassa, the Committee asked the Governor General for the appointment of a European Secretary to assist them in their plan to carry out reforms upon the Madrassa.[8] The first Secretary appointed by the Governor General was Captain Irvine, of the 4th Native Infantry, on a salary of Rupees 300 per month in addition to his pay and allowances No report was, however, made to Government of the reforms which the Committee had in view. But, in September 1820, they sent up as an instalment of the scheme, a set of supplementary rules which were approved by the Governor General.[9] The first public examination, in accordance with these rules, was held at the Town Hall on the 15 August 1821.[10]

On 3 April, 1829, on the recommendation of the Committee an English class was established in the Madrassa on payment of a small fee. During the years between 1829 and 1851, 1,787 students were taught at a cost of Rupees 1,03,794, or an average annual cost of Rupees 58 per student to work up to a standard scarcely equal to the Junior Scholarship. In fact, during the entire period that it was kept up, the English Department of the Madrassa produced only two Junior scholars, Abdul Latif[11] and Wahid-ud-Din Nabi. In this respect the corresponding department of the sister college of Mohamad Mohsin at Hughly had shown the same poor result during the same period, having produced two English Junior Scholars, Musa Ali and Waris Ali.[12]

On 7 March, 1835, Lord William Bentinck in his resolution directed that "all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education be employed on English education alone"; that Oriental professorships should be gradually abolished, and that the expenditure of money on vernacular translations should at once cease. This caused considerable resentmen among the Orientalists. But it was counterpoised by Lord Auckland's famous Minute of 24 November 1839, in which he emphatically ruled that under existing circumstances a preference would be given in Oriental institutions to the promotion of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction. This view was confirmed by the Court of Directors, in a Despatch[13] of 20 January 1841 who ruled that "the funds assigned to each Native College or Oriental Seminary should be employed exlusively on instruction in or in connection with, that College or Seminary, giving a decided preference within these institutions to the promotion in the first instance of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction." No change of any importance was necessarily introduced into the

Madrassa between 1841 and 1850, except that in 1849, an Anglo-Arabic class was added to the Arabic Department, at a charge of rupees hundred a month, to instruct in the English language to such Arabic students as would avail themselves of such instruction. In 1850 the Council of Education recommended that instead of a Secretary, the Madrassa should have as its head an European Principal, with duties and responsibilities similar to those in other Colleges, with the exception of teaching a class. The suggestion was accepted and Dr. A. Sprenger, a well-known Arabic scholar, was appointed Principal. The head teacher, who had been designated as Principal, became Head Professor of the College.

In their report for 1851-1852, the Council stated that there was a notice of "the continued failure of all efforts to impart a high order of English education to the Muhammedan community," and finally they declared that, "there has not been the slightest advance since the time of W. Hastings either in the system of instruction pursued, or in the amount of study accomplished." On 4 August 1853, the council in consequence, laid before the Government their views of the reforms required. The recommendations of the council were in the main the council suggested that only a sound knowledge of English could meet with both 'the requisites for public employment and the inclinations of the people,' and therefore proposed remodelling of the course of instruction.

The present English and Anglo-Arabic classes should be closed, and in their stead an Anglo-Persian Department should be organised, upon such a scale, and with such an establishment, as to afford the junior English Scholarship standard. Persian should be taught simultaneously with English in this Department. In addition to English and Persian, it should contain the means of instruction in

Hindustani, (Urdu) and Bengali, "the one being the domestic language of the Mahomedans all over India, and the other being the vernacular language of this provinve." The whole aim of the council in respect of the Madrassa, was "while maintaining its distinctive character as an efficient seminary of Arabic instruction for the learned classes of the community, to infuse into it the same spirit of progress, and of adaptation to the wants of the present time, which so honourably distinguish the Sanskrit college, under the superintendence of the singularly able and enlightened scholar .."[15] The recommendations were approved by Dalhousie on 21 October 1853.[16] The recommendations were partially carried into execution in July 1854, almost immediately prior to the receipt of the Despatch of 1854.

The two Departments viz. Arabic and Anglo-Persian otherwise known as Senior and Junior, were made separate. The council did their best to make the newly organised Anglo-Persian Department worthy of the confidence of Muslim gentlemen. In differance to their unwillingness to mix with other races, no Christians, Hindus, or even Muslims of low parentage were to be admitted to this Department, and in consideration of their reduced circumstances, the free demanded was to be only one rupee per month. A branch school was opened at Colingah (in Calcutta) as a totally distinct establishment although under supervision of the Principal of Calcutta Madrassa. It was specially opened for the education of Muslim boys of a lower class; such boys, in fact, as could not be admitted in the Anglo-Persian Department of the Madrassa owing to their inability to produce the necessary certificate of respectability or 'Sharafatnama'. The school fee was eight annas per month. Hindus were admitted at an increased amount of fee.[17]

The authorities of the Calcutta Madrassa had the control and supervision over the Hughly Madrassa. The history[18] of the institution appears to be briefly as follows : In 1806 a Muslim gentleman[19] of the Shia sect died, leaving an estate called Syedpore in trust for 'pious uses.' The deed of trust appointed two trustees, to each of whom a share of the proceeds amounting to one month, was assigned. Until 1810 the estate remained in the hands of the trustees ; but in that year they were accused of malversation and after protracted litigation were dismissed in 1816. The Government then constituted itself a trustee and assumed the management of the estate and the superintendence of the disbursements in conjunction with another trustee appointed by itself. In 1817 the estate was farmed out in 'Putnee' that is, settled in perpetuity at fixed rates with the tenants. The amount received from these tenants as considerations for the putnee settlement with arears which had accumulated during litigation and one-ninth share drawn by Government as a trustee, were in 1835 devoted to the buildings, and endowment of an English College at Hughly.

There was a small Madrassa attached to the College, but the cost of this institution was very insignificant compared with the expenses of the English department of the College.[20] In 1854 the Hughly Madrassa was also remodelled on the plan of the Calcutta Madrassa. The Anglo-Persian Department of the Hughly Madrassa, a few years after, had to be amalgamated with the collegiate school of the English department, owing to its unsatistactory state.[21] The college department was affiliated to the Calcutta University in 1857. It was true that while the fees were Rs. 2 As. 8 and Rs. 3 in the school and Rs. 4 and Rs. 5 in the college, the Muslims were admitted both in the school and in the college at a reduced rate of one

rupee ; but the results seemed to show that even with this privilege, the arrangements were not such as to maintain the original character of the institution as designed specially for the education of the Muslims.[22] The English department of the college with its branch school was almost confined to the Hindus throughout the period. In the Arabic department a small fee of eight annas was taken as was introduced in the Calcutta Maddrassa in 1854.

The remodelling of the Madrassas was followed by a change in the curriculum. The study of Arabic Grammar was recommended. Literature and law were to be taught in Arabic up to the highest attainable standard, the Koran being necessarily used as a text book, not as a means of religious instruction ; Logic Rhetoric, Grammar, History, Geography and Mathematics should also, but to a lesser extent be taught in Arabic, Persian or Urdu, according to circumstances. The aim of this was declared to be "to carry respectable and learned Muhammedans with us."[23]

The annual reports for 1855-1856 pointed out the falling off in the number of pupils in the Arabic department of the Calcutta Madrassa upon which the Director of Public Instruction observed : "The introduction of the fee-paying system into the Calcutta Madrassa in 1854 was followed by a steady falling off in the number of students. .." The Principal, W. N. Lees, however, regarded this falling off in the number of students as the result of the reforms in that Department, which he described as 'hasty' and 'injudicious.' The unsatisfactory state of affairs of both the Madrassas remained a constant factor throughout the period under review, and as such became the subject of investigation on the part of the authorities from time to time.

The reason seems to lie in the growth of a desire to learn English on the part of a certain section of Muslims.

This was observed by the Principal, W. N. Lees who reported "the English language is plainly seen to be slowly but surely extending its inevitable sway over an increasing number of Muhammedan mind."[24] The desire was caused by the fact, as the Lieutenant Governor said that, "the progress of legislation is yearly diminishing the necessity for Muhammedan law and languages and this so plainly that Muhammedans are well aware of the coming changes." He thought that the progress of Englsh education would empty the Arabic deparment.[25]

In April 1858 the Lieutenant Governor (F. Halliday) wrote a letter to the Director of Public Instruction, asking for a special report on the Madrassa.[26] It appeared to him that the time had come to consider whether there was any advantage in maintaining the Madrassa any longer at the cost of the state. He, therefore, asked the opinion of the Director of Public Instruction after consultation with Principal Lees. Lees submitted an elaborate report in which he reviewed the question, politically, educationally and financially.[27]

W. N. Lees referred to the danger which might lie even in the waning influence of the Muslims of India and said "Politically that measures should be adopted either to counteract that influence if there is a future probability of its being used to our prejudice, or to ensure a contrary result." To attain this end it appeared to him that two roads were open to Government—"To crush the Moslim entirely, or to regenerate him." But the proper policy of Government would be to reclaim them from the condition to which they would consign themselves, and to regenerate them. Educationally the Arabic Department had proved a failure. The reforms in the mode of teaching, contemplated by the late Council of Education in 1854, had not been carried out, chiefly because of the opposition

of the Moulvis. Still Lees thought it would be impolitic to abolish the institution which was considered by the Muslims as designed by Government for their own benefit. It should be kept up for the special study of the Arabic language, and be called the 'Arabic College.' The Anglo-Persian Department which had shown satisfactory results, should be kept up. Educationally, he observed the extinction of the Madrassa would be a retrograde movement.

In his financial review he stated that the original endowment of the Madrassa amounted to Rs. 32,000 per annum, which was on the remodelling of the institution in 1853 increased to Rs. 33,200. The number of pupils in both departments was 259, which gave an annual expenditure of Rs. 158 per pupil. The cost of Government for education was rather high. Lees in this calculation excluded the Collingah Branch School, which was open to all classes, and which as a Muslim institution had failed. As regards the application of the Mohsin endowment for all classes, Lees said that the admission of Hindus was looked upon by the Muslim community as a breach of faith on the part of Government as administrator of the same.

In a subsequent memorandum on 18 September 1858 Lees mentioned the following difficulties in the way of the reforms intended by the Council of Education in the Arabic department : Want of sufficient power on the part of the Principal to enforce his authority ; the disingenuous conduct of the Head Professor ; and partly the incapacity and partly the unwillingness of the junior Professors to teach Arabic by methods other than those by which they had themselves acquired it.[28]

On this the Lieutenant Governor F. Halliday in an official Minute on 15 September 1858 recommended that

the Calcutta Madrassa or rather the Arabic Department of it, should be abolished, the Anglo-Persian only being retained ; that Arabic Professorships might instead be attached to the University or Arabic chairs established in the Calcutta Presidency College. In these views the Director of Public Instruction, W. G. Young, concurred and they were formally laid before the Government of India. The Government of India in July 1860 rejected the idea of abolishing the Madrassa and instead suggested its improvement by giving additional authority to the Principal.[29] There upon the Director was requested, "in communication with Principal Lees to prepare a detailed plan for carrying energetically into the effect instructions of the Government of India." The Director was assured " that the Lieutenant Governor was prepared to afford the Principal the fullest support in any arrangements he may think necessary for procuring fit instruments to put the new plan into real and effective operation." In 1861 the Secretary of State sent a Despatch[30] approving the decision of the Supreme Government, and adding that "as the arrangements now sanctioned must be considered experimental, a special report as to their operation and result must be submitted after a period not exceeding two years from the date of the orders of July 18 0." This special report[31] which was called for by the Government of India in September 1862, was never submitted. The plan of reform[32] was however inclusive of the Hughly Madrassa, which was also showing traces of a gradual decline in the number of pupils, and in the standard of teaching.

The Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassa however, was making steady progress.[33] In 1863 college classes up to First Arts Standard were instituted but the number of the students who joined them from 1863 to 1869 varied only from one to nine and in 1870 there

was no student in these classes. Further measures of improvement were insisted upon by the authorities. As to the causes of the failure of the college classes otherwise known as L. A. classes, it was found that the organisation was defective. The chief defect which the students themselves pointed out that they were to enter into three years course for First Arts instead of two years (according to the rules of the University). The college students were taught by Professor Blochman in the subjects of First Arts for two hours a day. The insufficiency of the staff was also one of the main causes of failure.[34]

In the meanwhile, a discussion arose as to the measures that were to be taken for obtaining for the Arabic Department of the college affiliation with the Calcutta University. The Director of Public Instruction wrote in the annual report for the year 1862-1863 : The reform now initiated would doubtless pave the way for an entire reorganisation of the institution and the assimilation of its constitution to that of the Sanskrit college, so that it might be brought into complete harmony with the University system. Until this most desirable change had been effected, the Madrassa could not be admitted to the privileges of affiliation consistently with the University regulations in force. The affiliation of the Madrassa was, however, partly done, when the college classes of the Anglo-Persian department were affiliated to the University, on January 1867 up to First Arts Standard. In April 1867 the Madrassa contained seventy-six students of whom six were in the college classes. But the condition of the college classes did not improve at all with the affiliation.[35]

The Director of Public Instruction in the report of 1865-1866 stated that the condition of both the Madrassas was unaltered. "The schools," attached to them, he said showed "but feeble signs of vitality, and under present

arrangements little is to be expected of them." The branch school of the Calcutta Madrassa could not attain the progress anticipated. The attendance of the pupils varied from fifty-four to hundred and forty-three from 1854 to 1869, but not many were successful at the Entrance Examination. Out of twenty who passed in the fourteen years between 1855 and 1868, nine were Hindus. In consequence the four upper classes at the branch school were abolished in 1870; thus the number of students was reduced to eighty that year.

The Madrassas as they stood needed drastic changes for their improvement. But on this point the authorities differed from one another. The opinions expressed by Principal Lees, who held this office for about fifteen year (with some intermission) were, however, generally opposed to those entertained by all the educational authorities in Bengal and were not accepted by either Sir Cecil Beadon or Sir William Grey. The latter wanted a complete remodelling of the Madrassas. It was felt by the Bengal authorities to be practically useless to attempt to introduce the changes which were strongly objected to by Principal Lees with the support of the Government of India and the Secretary of State, so long as he continued as Principal, and the consideration of the subject was from time to time deferred until circumstances school appear to justify decisive action.

Such favourable circumstances appeared to have occurred during 1868-1869. Principal Lees was then in England on leave. And was continued dissatisfaction expressed by intelligent Mahomedan gentlemen at the Presidency as regards the Calcutta Madrassah, an institution to which much value was attached by the Mahomedan

ility" had reached the Bengal Government from various sources, the Lieutenant Governor was induced in July 1869 to direct an enquiry into the condition and management of the institution. A committee was appointed, composed of C. H. Campbell, Commissioner of the Presidency Division, J. Sutcliffe, Principal of the Presidency College and Moulvi Abdul Latif, then a Deputy Magistrate. This was the first of its kind. The committee reported on 1 December 1869 at length. The proceedings of the Committee excited great interest among the Muslims of Bengal, who highly appreciated this attempt on the part of the Government to improve their educational institutions. Numerous letters and addresses were sent up to the Committee by the Muhammedan Literary Society of Calcutta, and by leading Muslim gentlemen from many districts both in Bengal and Behar, showing the defects of the institutions, and suggesting various measures for their rectification.[36]

The Committee saw that the majority of the students were and always had been resident in East Bengal, chiefly Chittagong where there were many respectable Muslim families of slender means with a great love and respect for Arabic learning. But few students of late years belonged to the neigobourhood of Calcutta and the districts adjacent there to and they seemed to prefer an English education to that obtained in the Anglo-Persian Department.[37] No pupil was admitted without a 'Sharafatnama' or a certificate of respectability from some Muslim gentleman. The Committee observed that nearly all the students belonged to poor, many to 'decayed and impoverished' families who came with ambition to 'obtain service under Government.' The Committee felt the necessity of a complete remodelling of the Arabic Department but at the same time apprehended the possibility of

resentment from a certain section of the Muslim community. The Committee declared that "whatever may be our ideas of the value of Arabic learning generally, we would strongly urge that human nature should be taken as we find it and that particularly in such a matter as that under discussion all charges should be gradual, and such as will not excite suspicion or distrust."

The Committee was of the opinion 'that the two departments should for the present, at any rate, be left as now separate, so as to meet the wants of the two sections into which the educated Mahommedan community is divided." They saw that although Bengali was the mother tongue of almost all the pupils it was not compulsory in the Madrassas. They recommended that the study of Bengali should be compulsory and that of Urdu optional. They suggested the award of scholarships, in the higher classes and saw that a monthly fee of twelve rupees in the Presidency college was a serious obstacle to Muslim who were more needy than Hindus. So for Muslim boys they suggested that it might be lowered to one or two rupees. The Committee further insisted upon the 'Sharafatnama' and said "nothing could have a worse effect than the admission of the sons of tradesman, petty shopkeepers .." The Committee finally concluded that "we have the best reason for believing that our views, generally are in consonance with those of the Mahommedan community, whose interests it is the object of Government to promote".

The main features of the Committee's recommendations were that there should be a standing Committee of visitors on which influential Muslims might serve ; the Arabic Department should be turned into an Anglo-Arabic Department over which the educational authorities and the visitors should have full jurisdiction ; the post of Principal[38]

should be abolished ; the services of the Arabic professors should be utilised in the Anglo-Persian Department ; in this Department lower teachers should be Muslim. It recommended that some of the scholarship money should be diverted from the Anglo-Arabic to the Anglo-Persian Department ; and the college classes should be given up but that special scholarships should be awarded to Muslim boys who may want to study at the Presidency College for the University course ; that rooms for resident students be granted to boys in the Anglo-Persian Department as well as Anglo-Arabic Department. The English Headmaster would be head of the Anglo-Persian Department, and the head professor of the Anglo-Arabic Department would manage the branch school, of which the committee recommended that the education authorities should have full jurisdiction. All the changes proposed by the committee were to be carried out without extra cost.[39]

With regard to Hughly the Committee observed that the great drawback to it was the want of accomodation for Muslims. If, in this respect, it had the same advantages as Calcutta, there would be less difficulty in cnostituting it the chief place for Arabic education, and in abolishing the Arabic Department of the Caulcutta Madrassa.

Principal Lees, though absent when the Committee reported, wrote a long and strong protest against their report challenging many of the Committee's facts and most of their conclusions. In fact he did not like the idea of a commission, as it seemed to be a reflection on him as the head of that institution. Of the three members of the commission he expressed his disregard towards the ability of the two members of whom he wrote[40] : "Messrs. Sutcliffe And A. Lateef are, in my humble judgement, not only not well qualified for assisting the labours of

any President of a Commission of Enquiry in the affairs of the Madrassa, but positively and specially disqualified for this duty." On the 28 February 1871, William Grey reported the whole correspondence to the Government of India, approving the Committee's views, supported by Atkinson, the Director of Public Instruction, and declining to go in to Principal Lees' protest.

A Madrassa Committee was accordingly appointed by Government on 24 March 1871 with Chief Justice Norman as President and nine other members,[41] to report on the measures considered necessary in order to carry out the reforms recommended by the Committee appointed in July 1869. The Committee submitted the report in June 1871. In the first instance the Committee proceeded to consider the suggestions included in the Report of the Commission of 1869 ; but they were subsequently requested to elaborate on the questions of the relative positions of the Calcutta and Hughly Madrassas, the standard of education to be given in each of those institutions, and on other points, following the Minute of Sir George Campbell on 13 April 1871 on the education of the Muslims. The report of the Committee of 1871 on the whole concurred with the preceding one as regards the Calcutta Madrassa.

As regards the Hughly Madrassa the Committee laid down the following recommendations : That the educational institutions now maintained from the bequest of the late Mohamad Mohsin of Hughly, be organised with a view to secure, as far as possible to Muslims the exclusive benefits of the endowment ; that the college department at Hughly be maintained with a view to its becoming ultimately the chief seat of higher English education for the Muslims. The school department at Hughly for the present should be maintained on the existing footing, except that the fees for Hindu boys be raised to Rs. 4 for the four

higher classes, and Rs. 3 for the lower classes. Preference in case of admission should be given to Muslims in case of exceeding the fixed quota. In the selection of masters for the lower classes of the school department, qualified Muslims should receive preference. The Arabic Department[42] of the Madrassa should be re-organised with a course of instruction similar to that of the same department of the Calcutta Madrassa. The monthly fees of the college department should be raised to Rs. 6 for non-Muslim students.[43] On 5 August the Lieutenant Governor sanctioned the introduction of the measures recommended by the Committee as "coming from a Committee of great weight and experience and therefore deserving a full and fair trial."[44]

It should be noticed that the recommendations of the Commission of 1869, and that of 1871, were in no way drastic or revolutionary. The recommendations fell more on the system of administration of the institutions than on the course and character of instruction. We find from the above discussion that the two departments of the Calcutta Madrassa were to be kept separate to meet the wishes of the two sections of the educated Muslim community of which the one was inclined towards modern education, and the other towards their old system of instruction. Hence the Arabic Departments in both Calcutta and Hughly were kept up with slight modification in their courses The cautious and guarded policy which the Committee adopted in not offending the influential section of the Muslim community was not satisfactory. And the Madrassas in general all through the period under review stood as a hopeless failure and costly encumbrance.

Sir George Campbell's Lieutenant Governorship saw some important developments in respect of education in general and Madrassas in particular. On 23 February

1872 an order of the Bengal Government declared that a certificate of good birth or 'Sharafatnama' was no longer required for admission to the Calcutta Madrassa. It would be sufficient if a boy brought a certificate of good conduct and respectable character. A proposal from the Director of Public Instruction for the abolition of the Collinga branch school was declined by the Lieutenant Governor.[45]

The most important development in the history of the Madrassas followed the resolution of the Government of Bengal, 29 July 1873.[46] Sir George Campbell felt that the endowment of Mohamad Mohsin (at Hughly) which was managed by Government could afford a legitimate means of promoting Muslim education. He decided that "the fund should be used exclusively for the promotion of education among Mahomedans, the Hughly College being maintained from other sources." In forming this decision Campbell was greatly imbued by the representation of Abdul Latif, a distinguised educationist and reformer. Campbell therefore asked the Government of India to make some special grant to enable the Bengal Government to set free from the General Purposes of the Hughly College, the Mohsin fund, and with the proceeds to defray the cost of Madrassas at centres of Muslim population like Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi. His object in setting free the amount spent from the Mohsin fund on Hughly College was justified by the paucity of the number of Muslim students in the college departments.[47]

The Lieutenant Governor made out the scheme and divided the total fund at his disposal for Muslim education as follows : The grant to the Calcutta Madrassa with schools as per educational budget for 1873-1874—Rs. 38,000. Mohamad Mohsin education endowment, yielding per annum about Rs. 55,000, making a total of Rs. 93,000. After defraying the cost of Hughly and Calcutta Madrassas

there would remain Rs. 57,000 to be spent on Madrassas at Dacca, Chittagong, Rajshahi and other places in the Muslim majority districts, and on schools and other means of promotion of the education of Muslims. As a special grant he asked for and was granted Rs. 50,000 from the Government of India.

As to the course of instruction Campbell expressed "we should teach at Madrassas such Persian and Arabic and a reasonable amount of Muhammedan law and literature, as the students may wish to learn ; and we should give special facilities to Madrassa students who may elect to take the ordinary course of English study ... ."[48] In 1874 three more Government Madrassas were opened at Chittagong, Dacca, Rajshahi In the same year a branch school for the Hughly Madrassa was opened at Joraghat, Midway between Hughly and Chinsurah. The object of this school was to act as a feeder to the Madrassa. The branch school, though it succeeded as an elementary English school, provided hardly any students for the Madrassa itself.

While the Government was thus opening Madrassas, the Muslim in general, seemed to be less inclined towards Arabic learning, and gradually realising the necessity and usefulness of English learning. The educational reports for 1874-1875 revealed that in the Calcutta Madrassa many students expressed the wish to be relieved of the portion of Arabic learning in order to take up English. In the Rajshahi Madrassa the students took English mostly, though it was optional. Dr. Robson wrote[4] of the Dacca Madrassa : "the excessive orientation of the courses was not in accordance with the views of the Madrassa Committee or the wishes of the students." The annual reports for 1875-1876 showed some diminution in the number of students in the Madrassas.[50]

In 1881 the Hon'ble Syed Amir Hossein, then member of the Bengal Legislative Council, placed before Government his proposals for the promotion of Muslim education.[51] He suggested the closing of the Hughly, Chittagong and Rajshahi Madrassas on the ground of their lack of success ; the establishment in the Calcutta Madrassa building of a College for Muslims ; teaching to the B. A. Standard ; the revision of the course in the Arabic Department of the Madrassas, so as to get rid of the 'verbal subtilities' and the 'niceties of Arabic language and philosophy,' and to replace them by the study of science and above all of English, which he would make compulsory. On this the Director of Public Instruction A. W. Croft remarked that Amir Hossein "underrates the desire of Muhammedans, especially in the Eastern districts, for a purely oriental education." Croft disapproved of the opening of a new college in Calcutta Madrassa, on the ground that the privilege which had been recently given to the Muslim boys of studying at the Presidency College[52] at a reduced fee (two-thirds of the fee to be given from Mohsin fund) should be extended to St. Xavier and to any Calcutta College.

As regards the change of course in the Arabic Department, Croft said that it would be unsuccessful as tried and seen by Professor Blochman in past years. The view of Government was expressed in the Resolution of July 1873 that the intention of the founder of the Mohsin endowment would be best fulfilled by promoting first of all, in the schools, instruction in Arabic and Persian and a reasonable amount of Muslim law and literature and after that, by affording facilities for the study of English and Physical Science to students who might wish to take up these subjects. This view was followed thereafter the teaching of English being "not ignored but allowed in those

mofussil Madrassas in which any standing desire had been manifested for instruction in that language." In the Calcutta Madrassa also which did not benefit from the Mohsin endowment, the same principle was followed. The Government policy towards the Calcutta Madrassas had been in the one department to teach the Muslims "the requirements of their religion, their idea of a liberal education and the genuine demand for oriental learning for its own sake and not as a means of gaining profit and employment and in the other department to provide every facility for enabling them to learn English and Western Sciences if they chose to do so." As such the Lieutenant Governor, Ashley Eden wrote early in 1881 "it is as yet premature to attempt any material change in the present system." He disagreed about the failure of the Rajshahi and Chittagong Madrassas as English teaching institutions as alleged by Amir Hossein As regards the failure of the Hughly Madrassa he agreed but felt a 'sentimental reluctance' to close it, on account of Mohamad Mohsin's connection with the town.[53]

The next Lieutenant Governor, A. R. Thompson, gave a revised opinion. He saw that the desire for English education was pronounced among the Muslims in Bengal, and was well convinced of the uselessness of the Madrassas. A letter from the Government of Bengal to the Government of India on 14 Oct. 1882 conveyed his opinion : "Circumstances, however, have changed even within the short period that has elapsed since December 1881. The wishes of the Muhammedan community for larger facilities of instruction in English, and the desire that the provision of such facilities should take the form of separate establishments rather than of concessions to colleges already existing, have become more pronounced." After inspecting the Madrassas at Dacca, and Rajshahi he was

convinced that "neither from an educational nor political point of view it is advisable longer to maintain these Institutions, unsuited to the wants of the Muhammedan community." The Lieutenant Governor believed that the desire of the Muhammedan community generally at the present day for education of a purely oriental type had been overrated. Hence the abolition of the mofussil Madrassas, and the appropriation of these funds to the support of a Muhammedan college in Calcutta, would be hailed with satisfaction by all intelligent Muhammedans. Accordingly he asked for the approval of the Governor General in Council.[54]

The Government of India, however, asked the education commission of 1882 to give its careful consideration to the question of Muslim education in general, and to the questions of raising the Calcutta Madrassa to the status of a college and abolition of some of the mofussil Madrassas in particular.[55] The proposal for a separate college for the Muslims of Bengal came from Abdul Latif as early as 1868, when he read a paper on the 'Mahommedan Education in Bengal' at the Bengal Social Science Association on 30 January. In this paper he suggested the elevation of the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassa to the status of a college.[56] The commission re-commended the establishment of First Arts Classes, i.e. the turning of the Madrassa into a second grade college, which was done in 1884.[57] The commission did not comply with the suggestion put forward by one of its leading Muslim members, Syed Ahmad Khan, for the abolition of the Arabic Department. Syed Ahmad said : "In my opinion the Arabic Department should be abolished. The system of English Education should be continued and Arabic made compulsory as the second language." As for other subjects

conneeted with tee Madassas, the commission did not recommend any substantial change.

The Rajshahi Madrassa had to be closed in 1883 by the order of Government, on account of very poor attendance of students. The Madrassas at Dacca and Chittago..g were reported to be working better. The Hughly Madrassa[58] though considered a failure, was never allowed to die owing to sentimental reasons. All the Government Madrassas remained as a sort of forced compromise between the old oriental and modern Western learning. This being the case, the system invited criticism from a certain section of the Muslim community who favoured Western education. Thus Syed Ahmad when questioned about his view on the system of education laid out for the benefit of the Muslims said, ' My opinion is that whenever in any madrassa Arabic is taught coupled with a little English, harm is done to both studies."

Apart from Madrassas, it is worth investigating the position and progress of the Muslims of Bengal in other places of general and special instruction. The Council of Education in their last report for 1852-1855 saw the progress of Government Zillah schools in Bengal. But they regretted the small number of Muslim boys in these schools.[59] The reason they supposed was that the Muslims suffered from a bigoted conceit of the superiority of their own creed and literature and that they considered the study of the Koran should precede any other subject, on which they spent few years The Council further pointed out that the rules of admission were hard and "fell against the Muhammedans and some lads of that creed have, I* believe, been excluded in consequence", and the Council asked for some relaxation of these rules. In a Minute the Lieutenant Governor, Halliday, had said in 1858[60] that "Muhammedans avoid and anathematise our

most secular schools avowedly because the teaching employed cannot but have a tendency to shake the foundations of their faith." The Government Zillah schools were not evenly distributed in all districts of Bengal. The Inspector H. Woodrow of Eastern Division reported in 1856 that "the Zillah of Tipperah and Noakhally are without schools of any kind." He held that the bigotry of the people was responsible for that.[61]

The Government's educational policy was to encourage self-help. The Director of Public Instruction stated in his report of 1855-1856 : "one Principle has been steadily kept in view, viz, that the people are to be, if possible, induced and assisted to educate themselves, not to look to Government to do everything for them."[62] This assistance in the form of grants-in-aid was fully utilised in Bengal by the Hindus of the well-to-do classes. The first initiative was taken by the rich Hindus of Calcutta and neighbourhood who opened many Anglo-vernacular schools. Babu Joykissen Mukherji was one of the pioneers of such effort.[63] Sometimes the absentee Zemindars used to open schools not in their mofussil Taluks but in Calcutta where they usually resided. H. Woodrow, the Inspector of the Eastern Division, wrote in the report of 1856-1857 that some Zemindars of Tipperah, Barisal, who resided in Calcutta were indifferent to the establishment of schools in their Zemindaries. The district Inspector of Faridpur, Allahdad Khan supported the same view in his report for 1860-1861 : "The Zemindars of the Faridpur district, who are non-residents of this place but hold estate here, have done and still do nothing for the benefit of their ryots."[64] The Muslims were generally poor and very few who were comparatively better placed seem to have exerted themselves in the least in this direction.

The grants-in-aid which after Stanley's despatch were

to be the chief instrument of higher education, worked very successfully in Bengal, resulting in a rapid growth of schools and colleges all over the country. But the number of Muslim pupils was very small in the schools and colleges during the greater part of the period under review. It was considered hard for them to open schools : as the Director of Public Instruction, W. G. Young, said in his report for 1857-1858 of the schools under grants-In-aid ; "every rupee that comes from the public purse extracts at least another rupee (and generally much more) from some private pocket.".

For a considerable period it was the opinion of the authorities that the numerical inferiority of the Muslims in English schools was mainly due to their hostility towards English learning. W. G. Young, the Director of Public Instruction, wrote in the report of 1858-1859, "the Musalman portion of the community in East Bengal" were "very hostile to English Education." This view had to be revised subsequently when the authorities observed that under favourable circumstances, the Muslims readily accepted the system of English Instruction.

By the sixties the numerical inferiority of the Muslim students became glaring in contrast to the increasing number of Hindu students in schools and colleges [65*] Even in the Hughly College and branch school[65], which was till then dependent on the Mohsin fund, the Muslim pupils were very few indeed. In 1865-1866, while the number of Hindu students was two hundred and twelve, the Muslims were only three. Same paucity in the number of Muslim students was marked in other colleges for general and special instruction. In 1867 while the number of the Hindu students in all the Government colleges for general instruction was six-hundred and ninety-six, the Muslims were only eleven. In the same year the number of Muslim

students in the Medical college, English class was only four out of one hundred and twenty-eight, Hindus. Similarly in Government Art School in Calcutta, in 1867, there was only one Muslim student against twenty-five Hindus.

This state of Muslim education attracted the attention of the Government of India, which from 1865-1866 to 1870-1871 made through special officers detailed surveys of education in India. The inquiries of the Madrassa Committee formed by the order of the Lieutenant Governor in 1869 greatly helped in revealing the facts regarding the condition of Muslim education in Bengal. The investigations finally brought about the great Resolution of Lord Mayo on 7 August 1871,[66] on the subject of Muslim education in India.

The Resolution regretted that "so large and important a class, possessing a classical literature replete with works of profound learning" should stand aloof from the active co-operation with the Government system of education and should lose the advantages both material and social, which others enjoy. It declared that further encouragement should be given to the classical and vernacular languages of the Muslim in all Government schools and colleges; that English schools should be established in Muslim districts; that the appointment of qualified Muslim teachers might with advantage, be encouraged; that assistance might be given to Muslims by grants-in-aid to create school of their own; that greater encouragement should also be given to the creation of a vernacular literature for the Muslims. As to the falling off in the number of Muslim scholars in higher education, the Resolution drew the conclusion that "we may perhaps assume therefore, that the Muhammedans are not so much averse to the subject which the English Government has decided to teach, as to the modes or machinery through which

teaching is offered." The Resolution suggested that some provision should be made 'for that distinctive course of instruction which the customs of their society requires." It admitted the drawbacks of the Government system of higher education in attracting Muslim students, but added that "drawbacks are susceptible of removal."

For carrying out the suggestions of the Resolution the Lieutenant Governor invited opinions from the authorities of the education Department in concurrence with the Heads of the respective Institutions. The question arose whether the encouragement to Muslim education should be given through denominational institutions or through special measures in general institutions. Opinions differed from person to person in this respect. Professor Blochman of the Calcutta Madrassa advocated the establishment and aiding of separate Muslim schools, which ought not to charge any fee at the outset. J. Sutcliffe, Principal of the Presidency College, thought that denominational schools for Muslims could not succeed, and were not required. He gave instance of the branch school of the Calcutta Msdrassa, which cost much without doing much good to the Muslims. He thought that it would be very hard to find competent Muslim teachers. He proposed that in all Zillah schools Urdu and Arabic should be taught up to the entrance examination standard, and finally suggested that the grant-in-aid rules should contain provision for specially helping Muslim schools [67]

Sir George Campbell, in a Minute on 4 December 1871, gave his opinion : "I am generally opposed to denominational education, and I believe that the Muhammedans, without a priesthood and without superstition are not prejudiced in favour of denominationalists." "English bning adopted as a language of higher instruction in these provinces and being greatly in demand, will be

taught as much as our means admit ; no oriental classics will be compulsory in Government establishments." But as a special concession to Muslims, 'where there is sufficient demand to justify the supply, there will be a special class to teach Muhammedans Arabic or Persian after their own fashion."[68]

This concession was taken as a boon to the Muslim community and this to a great extent supplied the necessary incentive to send their sons to Government schools. The presence of even one Muslim teacher in a school inspired confidence among the Muslims. The University of Calcutta by a regulation of 1864 had already made a classical language in place of one of the vernacular languages obligatory on all candidates for the First Arts Examination.[69]

A further stimulus was given to Muslim education by Resolution of Sir George Campbell on 29 July 1873, which proposed a readjustment of funds at the disposal of the Lieutenant Governor for the Muslim education. Accordingly a sum of rupees 7,200 was set aside to be alloted, at the rate of rupees eight-hundred a year to each of the Zillah schools at Jessore, Rangpur, Pubna, Faridpur, Bakergunge, Mymensingh, Tipperah, Noakhally for expenditure partly in paying two-thirds of the school fees of deserving Muslim boys and partly being a share of the cost of a teacher of Arabic and Persian.[70] A sum of eight thousand rupees was also set aside to meet two-thirds of the college or school fees of deserving Madrassa students, who would attend the Presidency, Hughly or Dacca Colleges. A sum of Rs. 11,800 was further set aside for miscellaneous purposes, especially for helping scholars in higher studies. The Lieutenant Governor in all these measures depended entirely on the fund available from the Mohsin endowment and from the grants made in the last century to the Calcutta Madrassa.

These proposals had a remarkable result. The educational reports for 1874-1875 told of the growing popularity of higher education among the Muslims. The report ran : The increase of Muslims in lower vernacular schools during the year had been 6 per cent, of Hindus 8½ per cent. But in schools above the lowest, while the increase of Hindus was 8 per cent that of Muslims was 18 per cent, and in higher and middle English schools the increase rose as high as 24 per cent. On this the Director of Public Instruction remarked : "It may therefore be affirmed that the alleged reluctance of the Muhammedan community to English education has been much overrated and is fast disappearing. The percentage of Muhammedan pupils learning English is now 6, or about half the corresponding percentage among Hindu pupils." Referring to the recent measures, he said, that those "gave a sudden stimulus to higher education among Muhammedans which could not be expected to exercise so powerful an influence in any subsequent years."[71] Henceforth the number of Muslim students in higher education steadily increased, though not equally in all branches of study. In schools of the technical or special instruction, the circumstances varied widely. The educational report for 1876-1877 revealed that out of two-hundred and twenty-two law students there were only ten Muslims ; of one hundred and twenty-nine students in the Civil Engineering College, there were only two Muslims ; of one hundred and seventy-six students in the Calcutta Medical College only four were Muslims and three only of one hundred and nineteen students of the school of Arts.

According to the same educational report, the Government schools of all classes attracted Muslims to a greater degree than aided schools. The proprietors of aided schools with few exceptions were all Hindus, assisted by

Hindu staff. These schools generally lacked in facilities provided by Government schools for the benefit of Muslim students. The increase of Government schools was, however, limited by financial restriction, upon which the Government laid its educational policy : "The Government of India recognises its responsibility to provide, so far as its finances permit, facilities for the education of the people. But in educational, as in all other matters, it is the policy of the Government of India to avoid entering into competition with private enterprise : it pioneers the way; but having shown the way, it recognizes no responsibility to do for the people what the people can and ought to do for themselves."[73] This policy undoubtedly was justified so far as the progress of education among the Hindus was concerned. They fully utilised the advantages of the grant-in-aid system, opening a network of schools and sometimes colleges all over the country. By 1862-1863 this network far outstripped that of departmental schools in the field of secondary education.[73] The Resolution of the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Ashley Eden (1877-1882) of 22 October 1879 on the educational report of 1878-1879 revealed the following fact with great satisfaction. "The most encouraging feature, in the history of the year 1878-1879 is that for the first time, since the department was constituted, the contribution from private sources to the total cost of education had exceeded the Government Grant."[74] The Muslims, however, for the reasons discussed so far looked to the Government institutions only for higher education, which again were limited in number.

Towards the end of the period under review the clamour of the Muslims for English education became pronounced. In 1882 the Central National Mohammadan Association sent a lengthy memorial 'on the subject of the position

and claims of the Mohammedan community in British India' to the Viceroy. The memorial after reviewing the present backward position of the Muslims, appealed to the Government for special consideration, for the regeneration of the fallen community. For the unsatisfactory state of things the memorialists believed that immediate redress could come, not from within the Muslim community but from without, or in other words, from the Gorvernment. They revealed a strong desire for modern English education and advocated the furtherance of the same. They urged that "the balance of State Patronage should be restored between the Hindus and the Muhammadans," and also that "the large funds appertaining to the various endowments, which still exist under the control and direction of the Government, should be scrupulously and religiously applied to promote Muhammedan education."[75] The Education Commission of 1882 was advised to take into consideration all questions regarding Muslim education and to inquire into the causes that hindered it and the means of developing it. Some of its recommendations on higher education were common with those on Primary education, which has been dealt with in the previous chapter.

The commission recommended that higher education for Muslims both in schools and in colleges, being that form of education of which they stood most in need, should be liberally encouraged. A graduated chain of scholarships, leading from the Primary schools through all intermediate stages up to the B. A. degree, and also a system of free scholarships in schools under public managements, should be established for the exclusive benefit of Muslims. The benefits of Muslims' educational endowments should be reserved for Muslims and should be applied, as far as possible to the promotion of English education among

them. Special provision should be made to increase the number of Muslim teachers and Muslim Inspecting Officers and the extended employment of Muslims in public offices was commended to the special attention of local Governments. In connection with the last recommendation it may be mentioned that the Resolution of the Government of India on 7 August 1871 pointed out that "in the Government Inspecting Agency there was hardly any Muslim."

The suggestions of the memorial of the National Mohammedan Association together with the proposals of the Commission were discussed in the Resolution of the Governor General, Lord Dufferin, in July 1885. It sanctioned most of the proposals considered advisable for the promotion of education among the Muslims, specially in the higher branches, where they cut a very poor figure.[76]

The last decade of the period of our review was marked by systematic and uniform efforts toward the promotion of modern higher education, on the part of the Government and the Muslims themselves. This co-operation between the Government and the Muslims resulted in the increasing popularity of western education. The impetus to higher education mainly followed from three facts—recognition on the part of the Government of the increasing demand of the Muslims for higher English education ; the submission of the memorial from the Central National Mohammedan Association, and the foundation of scholarships[77] by the public donation in commemoration of Lord Ripon's visit to the Calcutta Madrassa in April 1882. The increasing popularity is evident from the annual reports of the Education Department. The reports for 1881-1882 told of the increase in the proportion of Muslim pupils in all schools and colleges by 20 per cent, being an increase of 18½ per cent on the year before. The Resolution of the Lieutenant Governor on the Director's report on

13 February 1883[78] stated: It was gratifying to observe that, though the progress made was slow, the proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu students continued to advance. The percentage of the former to the latter was 22½ against 20 per cent in 1881 and 18½ per cent in 1880. The reports for 1882-1883 informed of the increase in the proportion to 27.9 per cent in 1883. The reports for 1883-1884 saw a further increase in proportion to 28·15 per cent. The increase in the proportion was however more conspicuous in the returns of lower schools than higher and collegiate institutions. But the fact that there was some steady increase in higher education was sufficient to prove the increasing appreciation of the higher education by the Muslims under better arrangements.

The reason for Muslim backwardness in education in general is well shown in the Resolution of the Lieutenant Governor, Rivers Thomson, on the report of the Director of Public Instruction of 1883-1884, on 23 February 1885: "..... a low educational percentage of the Muhammedans is confined to those districts where they occupy a low place in the social scale, and the conditions are reversed in those parts of the country where they are comparatively well off, the facts seem to support the conclusion that the traditional explanation is incorrect, and that it is the comparative poverty of Muhammadans rather than any special prejudices of theirs, which accounts for their apparent neglect of the facilities for higher education which the existing system offers."[79]

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE RURAL MUSILIMS IN BENGAL 1854-1884

The Muslims constituted about 48.8 per cent of the population of Bengal proper in 1872. Of this, as stated in the preceeding chapter, only about 3.5 per cent were resident in urban areas, and the rest, that is 96.5 per cent were resident in rural areas.[1] The total village population in Bengal (all Bengal, inclusive of feudatory states) amounted to 65,558,430 persons or 94.27 per cent of the whole population with an average density of 352,37 to the square mile in 1881.[2] So Bengal was essentially a rural province. The census report of 1881 said : "In the smallness of its urban population indeed, as in the number of towns, Bengal stands last among all great provinces of India."[3] The districts which had the largest proportion of Muslim inhabitants were Bogra, Rajshahi, Noakhali, Pubna. Chittagong, Mymensingh, Bakergunge, Tipperah, Rangpur and Faridpur.[4] According to the census report of 1881 : "The most prominent feature of the figures for the Mohammedans in the abstract is the High proportion which is held by the agricultural order : while the husbandmen among the Hindus are only 49.28 per cent, the ration among the Mohammedans is 62.81 per cent."[5]

The political revolutian introduced by the Battle of Plassay in 1757 in Bengal was followed by a series of developments which affected materially her agriculture as well as her trade and industries. These developments were three in number. The first was the invasion of inland trade by the company's servants and Gomostas,

who often compelled the raiyats to sell their agricultural products at an arbitrarily imposed low price. The second was the exhorbitant revenue demands of Mir Kasim. The third was the decline of the weaving industry which was a source of supplementary income. Thus when the Dewani was granted in 1765, the raiyats were already suffering from acute economic distress.[6] This condition remained unnoticed for some years until Warren Hastings (1772-85) took up the work of economic reform.

When the land revenue of Bengal[7] was permanently settled by Lord Cornwallis in 1793, a provision was made in the Act empowering the Government to take action for the adequate protection of the cultivators. From time to time inquiries were made into the condition of the cultivators ; but for a period of over sixty years the cultivators of Bengal did not obtain the promised protection. The effect of the permanent settlement appeared to be detrimental to the interest of the cultivating class as a whole. At the time when the settlement was made there were vast waste lands and there was a shortage of actual cultivators. So neither eviction of raiyats nor enhancements of rents were regarded as likely. But with the consolidation of the British power the population increased creating a greater demand for land. The Zemindars who had obtained proprietory rights over the land began to be more and more exacting and oppresssive in their relations with the cultivators, who were considered to be mere tenants.

The depressing effect of the permanent settlement on the peasantry became the subject af comment and criticism from all quarters. Sir Charles Wood in his speech on 6 June, 1861, in the House of Commons said : "Many of the greatest mistakes into which we have been led have arisen from the circumstances that we have been, not

unnaturally perhaps, for arranging everything according to English ideas. In Bengal we converted the collectors of taxes into the permanent landowners of the country and left the raiyats to their mercy."[8] Henry Maine remarked in 1871, "The Zemindars of lower Bengal, the landed proprietory established by Lord Cornwallis, have the worst reputation as landlords, and appear to have frequently deserved it, .."[9] C, D. Field quoted the opinion of Sir Edward Colebrooke, showing the errors of that settlement: "The errors of the permanent settlement in Bengal were two-fold : first, in the sacrifice of what may be denominated the yeomanry, by merging all village rights, whether of property or occupancy, in the all-devouring recognition of the Zemindars' permanent property in the soil ; and secondly, in the sacrifice of the peasantry by one sweeping enactment, which left the Zemindar to make his settlement with them on such terms as he might choose to enquire." Government, indeed. reserved to itself the power of legislating in favour of the tenants ; but no such legislation had been enacted and, on the contrary, every subsequent enactment had been founded on the declared object of strengthening the Zemindars' hands.[10]

In 1794 it was enacted that if a raiyat refused to receive a 'Patta' which was in the proper form, a legal tender of the 'Patta' made by the Zemindars thereafter might realize the rent either on application to the District Court or by distraint. The Zemindars in 1799 were further vested with arbitrary powers of distraint without sending notice to any Court of Justice. They were also empowered to delegate the power of distraint to their agents.[11] In all cases the burden of proof in the Law-Courts fell upon the raiyats.

The 'patta'[12] regulation which promised a positive security to the raiyats proved a complete failure in practice.

Firstly the Zemindars were mostly reluctant to fix their claims in writing and secondly those who obeyed the letter of the law by preparing and tendering 'Patta', inserted in them such exorbitant rates that the raiyats as a matter of course refused to accept them.[13] The permanent settlement with its subsequent enactments thus weakened the position of the raiyats and strengthened the position of the Zemindars.

Before the opening of the period under review the Bengal raiyats, rack-rented and subjected to all manner of illegal incidents, fines and cesses, came to the lowest point of depression.[14] So in the field of agriculture, which was the chief source of wealth of the country, the condition of the cultivators had greatly declined. The prosperity of rural Bengal did not depend on her agriculture alone. She had industries supplementary to agricultre. In the early nineteenth century the principal articles manufactured from Bengal for commercial purposes were sugar, tobacco, silk, cotton, indigo and opium.[15] Of these, the decline of the manufacture especially of silk and cotton vitally affected the rural economy of Bengal. Before the period of our review the once flourishing cotton and silk industries practically died out and affected the rural Muslims greatly, for the weavering class of Bengal consisted mostly of Muslims.[16]

The Manufacture of jute fabrics by hand was an old industry of Bengal. Before the import of European cotton Goods, jute cloth was used for clothing by the poorer classes. The export trade in jute had been important since the early days. Till about 1830 the manufacture of gunny bags and jute cloth was the monopoly of the Bengal hand-loom weaver. After this date, an active manufacturing industry having sprung up at Dundee, it was found more profitable to export raw jute than to

produce gunnies on the hand-loom. Thus the years following 1830 saw a rapid decline in the jute hand-loom industry of Bengal. The manufacture of jute goods with the help of machinery was not started in India till 1854, when a jute mill was established at Serampur (Hughly).[17] The decline of hand-loom jute industry especially affected the rural Muslims. Jute was extensively cultivated in northern and eastern Bengal, where Muslims were in a large majority. The cottage industry connected with jute was also mainly in their hands.

The decline of the manufacture of Paper for consumption in the country, also affected the economy of rural Muslims of Bengal. The districts of Rangpur, Bogra, Hughly, were the chief centres of paper manufacture. It was stated in 1880 that the district of Hughly was widely reputed for its paper manufactories. But the paper manufacturing industry received the final death blow from the mills of Bally and Titagarh.[18] As this industry was almost monopolised by the Muslims, its decline affected them adversely.[19] The process of decline which began before the period under review, however, continued till about the first decade of the twentieth century.

It is clear from the above discussion that the economy of rural Muslims in Bengal was in a rapid decline before the opening of the period under review. Many of the economic problems had grown complex in the course of time. The period under review saw the solution of some problems, and also the begining measures for the improvement of the condition of the rural people in general. The development of administration and the greater familiarity with the condition of the rural people on the part of the rulers, through various agencies,

contributed to a great extent to their interest in the matter of rural welfare.

On the economic condition of the Bengal raiyat, one writer in 1856 observed : "Bengal is noted for the exuberance and fertility of the crops ; but the present condition of the raiyat is miserable. His monthly expenditure is from 1½ to 3 rupees, or from 3 shillings to 6 ; he is haggard, poverty stricken, creature." He said that the peasants submitted to illegal cesses and every extortion, for they "have no choice between submission and starvation.[20]

The Christian missionaries of Calcutta and the vicinity were the first to represent the cause of the rural people in Bengal to the Government. They submitted a memorial on 2 September 1856 to the Lieutenant Governor, on the state of the rural population in Bengal. In this memorial the missionaries prayed for the appointment of a commission to inquire into the condition of the people and the means of improving it. They forwarded a petition from the committee of the "British Indian Association"[21] which requested that the prayer of the memorial of the missionaries might be acceded to. As to the appointment of a commission end its terms of reference, the memorial ran : "men of independent minds, unbiased by official or local prejudices, to institute a searching inquiry into all the causs that affect the condition of the population especially into the state of the police and the judicial system, the powers and influence of the Zemindars and planters, and how those powers are used ; the resources and earnings of the labouring classes, and the proportion which these bear to the rent they are compelled to pay ; these harassing exactions and oppressions to which the poor are subject ; the landed tenures, the extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating

drugs among a people once celebrated for temperance ; the actual extent to which education is provided for the masses ; and the best means of alleviating the sufferings and elevating the condition of the people."[22]

The memorial gave rise to official minutes and correspondences. J. A. Dorin in a minute of 10 October 1856 wrote : "nothing in fact, has surprised me more than to find this demand for a commission of inquiry to the condition of the rural population of Bengal, supported by the parties whose interests appear to be so diametrically opposed to each other as the Calcutta Missionary body and the British Indian Association. The Missionary body, I presume, advocate the wrongs of the poor against the rich. The British Indian Association, on the other hand, comprise the richer classes and landed proprietors, as contradistinguished from the bulk of the poorer population !" J. A. Dorin[23] then went on to find the posible causes of the depression of rural Bengal. He said that the main cause lay in the tendency to overpopulation, which created a greater demand for land than there was land to supply, and which consequently had the effect of raising rents to a rate that would barely yield the tenant a decent subsistence. In the North-Western provinces he said, the evil was in a great degree mitigated by the Government's recruitment of some 200,000 of the population for its army, and by the great demand for stalwart men for service, public or private all over the continent of Hindustan. But the Bengali, he said, because of their weak constitution and physical structure, could not be absorbed in that way.[24]

J. P. Grant in his minute of 22 October 1856 Observed that in Bengal the value of landed property was increasing repidly, and it was therefore becoming daily more worth fighting for, unlike some other provinces of India

as Madras. In Bengal by the perpetual limitation of the tribute, by a substantive law which was theoretically just to all connected with the soil, and by the general maintenance of a system of justice, the Government should bear no criticism. But the defect he pointed out was that there were no local or other arrangements for the security of that property, such as its peculiar nature required. This, he alleged, "is the extent of the neglect of the several Bengal administrators from the time of Lord Cornwallis downwards. I do not excuse it." As regards the appointment of commission he held the same view as J. A. Dorin. He said, "As the similar enquiry is asked by the British Indian Association so it is natural that they do not fear inquiry, being all Zemindars."[25]

F. J. Halliday, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in his minute of 18 September 1856 on the above memorial, concluded, "It is a country, therefore, in which the poor will greatly need, for their protection against the rich, a strong and incorrupt, and a pure, simple and accessible judicial system." The minute by the Governor General of India on 6 October 1856 on the same memorial stated : "I am led to the conclusion that the statement of the memorialists, if it is intended to be a genuine representation of the prevaling condition of the people of Bengal, is greatly overcharged."[26]

The minutes, in short, admitted the truth of the facts cited by the memorialists as regards the condition of the Bengal rural people, but with some reservations. The prayer of the memorialists on the subject of the appointment of a commission of inquiry, was not complied with. The ground for this refusal was that the Government was already aware of the facts and certain measures for improvement on the condition of the people were in preparation. Besides the fact that the memorial was supported

by the 'British Indian Association,' indicated an acceptance by the landed proprietors of the challange which was considered to be involved in the memorial. So Government considered that the appointment of a commission was not necessary. Though the prayer of the missionaries for the appointment of a commission was not granted, yet the facts cited by the memorial had attracted the attention of the authorities to the subject.

For sometime the Government was making efforts to remove the difficulties arising out of the permanent settlement. The Bengal Rent Act X of 1859 attempted to settle the relation between Zemindars and raiyats. It provided a procedure for the trial by Revenue[27] Officers of questions arising between landlords and tenants. It also provided that a right of occupancy, entitling the raiyat to hold his land as long as he paid his rent could be acquired by twelve years' continuous cultivation or holding. The act attempt to bring about the interchange of Pattas and Kabuliyats between landlords and tenants, to compel the delivery of receipts for rent, and prevent the exaction of excessive rent.[28]

This Act undoubtedly marked a progress. For the first time an attempt had been made to define the rights of the raiyats. But the principles which were to goven the relations between Zemindars and raiyats were still not very clearly defined. It was considered difficult to find out what was fair and equitable rent, and what should be the principle to be adopted by the judge in permitting enhancement. The Zemindars found it difficult to prove increase in the value of the produce, in the absence of official price lists. The raiyats also, could not often substantiate their claims to continuous possession, in the absence of village records. The Zemindars frequently prevented occupancy of the same land for more than

twelve years to check the growth of rights. These difficulties were to a great extent overcome by the Tenancy Act VIII of 1885.

The oppression connected with the cultivation and manufacture of Indigo which began early in the nineteenth century became manifest in the widespread discontent among the raiyats by the middle of the century. The trouble actually arose out of the attempt of the planters to force the raiyats to sow indigo seeds in their fields according to agreements entered into with them. Indigo planting, says Sir Peter Grant, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in an official minute on 17 August 1860, so far it is conducted unjustly and unlawfully in disregard of the rights of any class upon the false principle of a forced cultivation, unprofitable or oppressive to the cultivator of the raw material, is an evil of great magnitude, whether in its political or in its commercial aspect, and one which urgently requires correction.[29] Abdul Latif while posted in the office of a Deputy Magistrate during these years in the sub-division of Kalaroa (Twenty four Parganas) came into conflict with the planters, when he ordered the protection of the raiyats against the forcible entry of the planters. The planters thereafter complained to the Government against him on the charge of encouragement to the raiyats to break their engagements to sow indigo.[30] On this complaint Abdul Latif was removed from that station. Abdul Latif's evidence before the Indigo Commission, however, proved that there was no truth in the above charge.[31]

The indigo trouble especially occured at the districts of Nadia, Jessore, Maldah, Rajshahi, Pubna, and to a lesser extent at Faridpur. Complaints [32] had been made against the planters from many places to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The cultivators now refused to

cultivate indigo. The planters fell into difficulties and appealed to the Government. The Government immediately passed the Act XI of 1860 which would be in force for a short time for the summary decision of cases of breach of contract, until the deision arrived at by the inquiry of the Commission, appointed under the same Act. The Commission consisted of four members, one each from Government; planters, missionaries, and landholders side. Seton Karr was President of the Commission.[33]

The indigo Commission proved from the evidence of the planters themselves that indigo cultivation was harmful to the cultivators. It reported that the system on which indigo had been cultivated was a coercive one and had broken down. The British Indian 'Association' showed that the price of the indigo produced in one bigha was only ten rupees. From that ten rupees if the cost of production and the profit of the planters were deducted, then there remained nothing for the cultivators. On the other hand, a cultivator could get ten rupees from any crop from the land. Many of the official and non-official Europeans, and the natives of Bengal gave strong evidence against the indigo planters. The Lieutenant Governor, J. P. Grant, Seton Karr, the secretary to the Government of Bengal, Reverend J. Long, Harish Chandra Mukherji, the editor of the 'Hindu Patriot', sympathised with the oppression of the peasants by the indigo planters. They launched a humanitarian movement against them.[34]

J. P. Grant objected to Act XI of 1860 with such force and clearness that Sir Charles Wood, the secretary of state for India, refused to turn the temporary Act into a permanent statute. It was allowed to expire at the end of six months. For his support of the cause of the peasantry, Grant incurred great unpopularity with the

unofficial European public, both in india and in England. But he received the hearty support and approval of Sir Charles Wood and Lord Canning.[35]

That the indigo oppression attracted sympathy from all quarters was evident from the publication and translation of the Bengali novel 'Nil Darpan' in 1860.[36] The book was published from a press at Dacca, first without bearing the name of the writer. In 1861 with the help of Revd. J. Long, the poet Michel Madhusudan Dutt translated it into English. The Book was circulated by the permission of Seton Karr, without having the previous sanction of the Lieutenant Governor. For this task of translation and circulation, all of them connected with it had to undergo trial. On 24 July 1861 Sir M. Well, the chief justice Calcutta High Court, sentenced Revd. J. Long to pay a fine of rupees 1,000 and to suffer imprisonment for one month. C. H. Manuel, the printer was fined ten rupees. Michel Madhusudan Dutt was rebuked and was compelled to give up his post at the supreme court. Seton Karr, then President of the Indigo Commission was also censured by the Government of India.

The commission after its sitting of four months made its report. No new legislation was found necessary. Only notifications were issued declaring that Government was neither for, nor against the cultivation of Indigo ; the raiyats were assured that they were free agents and all planters were warned against recourse to violent and unlawful proceedings. Strong magistrates were placed in charge of the Indigo districts : new subdivision were created. Measures were adopted for an improved system of police and courts of small causes were established at the most important places in the Indigo districts. The establishment of subdivisions in the vicinity of their plantations had been violently opposed by the planters on the

ground that "an indigo factory and a station cannot exist on the same spot."[37]

Since 1860, however, one by one the indigo factories in Jessore, Nadia, Krishnagore, had been disappearing. The trade had been in a steady decline mainly owing to the manufacture of synthetic colour specially in Germany and also to the frequent peasant risings against the Indigo authorities.

The Indigo rising was a peasant rising. The natives who stood out on behalf of the peasants were almost all Hindus. This fact might lead one to think that the cultivators were mostly Hindus. But in reality the vast number of rural Muslims of Bengal were cultivators who suffered the Indigo oppression in proportion to their large number. From the statement of Remissions and commutations of punishment under Act XI of 1860, it is evident that the number of Muslim prisoners is much greater than the number of Hindu prisoners. Then again from the evidence of the raiyats before the Indigo commission, it appears that the number of the Muslim raiyats is greater than the Hindus.[38] The effect of the Indigo rising was favourable for the cultivating class. The sitting of the commission, the report of the same, the trials connected with the writings on Indigo, all helped in attracting the attention of the authorities of Home and in india and also of the educated Bengalis. In short, it marked a step in the rise of educated public opinion in favour of the people.

The agrarian rising which precipited the appointment of Rent Law Commission and finally the passing of the Act VIII of 1885, needs a little discussion. The Act of 1859 though it afforded some protection against the exercise of arbitrary power on the part of the Zemindars, had some difficulties in execution.[39] In 1869, the jurisdiction in rent cases was transferred to the civil courts.

Whilst the jurisdiction remained with Revenue courts, the results of suits had been generally in favour of the landlords. Since the transfer the result had been chiefly in favour of the raiyats, owing to the civil courts insisting upon stricter proof of the grounds upon which enhancement is asked for. But the principle of proportion, even in its modified form, had proved utterly unworkable. The difficulties connected with the land question grew to a head with the risings in Eastern Bengal, which revealed the serious complications involved in the points at issue, and made all realise the spirit of unrest and discontent that was abroad among the agricultural classes.

The origin of the Pubna outbreak in 1873 illustrates strikingly the feeling of exasperation existing between the peasantry and the landlords in some parts of Bengal, and the general nature of the rent dispute. The rising first took place in the Esafshahi pargana which was formerly owned by the Rajas of Nattore, and a part of which had been purchased by the new landlords, There were two original causes of dispute, a high rate of collection as compared with other parganas, and an uncertainty as to how far the amount claimed was true. The third auxiliary cause was to be found in the violent and lawless character of some of the Zemindars and Zemindars' agents.[40] The procedure for the enhancement of rents adopted by the Zemindars of the Esafshahi pargana was by no means exceptional ; on the contrary, the Government of Bengal considered it as typical of the method followed by unscrupulous Zemindars in many parts of the province. Besides the enhancement of rents, the Zemindars usually enjoyed various kinds of Abwabs or customary cesses, which varied in amount from two annas to twelve annas for each rupee of rent.[41]

The enquiries of Government with respect to illegal

exactions by Zemindars, and the apprehended extension to the district (Pubna) of the Road cess act, under which the rental was registered, induced the Zemindars to try to pursuade their tenants to give them written engagements, the terms of which were very unfair to the raiyats. Some of the Zemindars in 1872 actually succeeded in this. This outraged the already discontented tenants, who formed a league in protest.[42] The Government of Bengal issued a proclamation on 4 July 1873 which reassured the peasants considerably. The Pubna disturbance spread to Bogra and other adjoining parts, where the landlords were more oppressive in relation to the tenants.

The risings were pacified partly by compromise, partly by the natural movement of events and partly by the shadow of impending famine of 1873-1874. The dispute between landlords and tenants only remained in abeyance for some time. During 1874-1875 the annual reports furnished to the local government dwelt incessantly upon the demoralising state of conflict in which the landlords and tenants were to be found all over Bengal. This state of affairs, however, continued[43] till the enforcement of the Act of 1885. The Pubna rent trouble furnishes an example of the sufferings of the raiyats, who were mostly Muslims, under the oppression of Zemindars, who were mostly Hindus. But the disputes in Bengal between landlords and tenants never acquired a communal colour throughout the period under review.

The Act of 1885 was preceeded by an elaborate enquiry made by the Rent Law Commission, appointed in 1879. The object of the Act was to give protection to the raiyats without infringing in any way the just rights of the landlords. It defined the position of the various classes of tenants and landlords, the conditions under which rights

of occupancy in the land could be acquired and maintained, the manner in which rents were to be regulated, enhanced and relaxed and the conditions under which evictions could take place. The act imposed penalties for illegal exactions, laid down rules regarding compensation for improvements and allowed Government to order surveys and preparation of records of rights.[44] In short the Act had two main objects, to extend the right of occupancy to settled cultivators ; and to extend adequate protection to non-occupancy cultivators.[45] The act thus did much to prevent the landlord from abusing the rights of his position, and by so it tried to neutralise the defects of the permanent settlement in favour of the raiyats.

The appointment of the Commission in 1879 and the tenancy legislation of 1885 had become, however, essential after the repeated agrarian rising in some parts of Bengal. The first combination on the part of Bengal raiyats against their masters is observed in their risings against the indigo planters. The planters often held Zemindaries in Bengal. The peasants rising against the planters and the decision of the Indigo Commission (1860) thereon in favour of the raiyats emboldened them subsequently to rise against the illegal exactions and other oppressions of the Zemindars. The Zemindars on their part gave strong opposition to the proposed tenancy legislation. They launched the rent law agitation all over Bengal, holding meetings at all important stations But their opposition could not stand against the benevolent move towards the improvement of the condition of the raiyats.[46]

The first jute mill was started at Serampur (Hughly) in 1854. From 1854 to 1863-1864 only one more mill was added. But from 1863-1864 onwards the growth of the Industry was fairly rapid. With the growth of the export

trade in raw jute, the jute pressing industry had also began to acquire importance.[47] And with it the condition of the peasantry of Bengal especially of the eastern districts, where the superior varieties of jute were grown, became a little better. Hunter in his Gazetteer (Vol. VII) in 1881 said that jute formed the source to which the petty farmer looked to pay his rent.

The jute cultivation would have been more profitable to the cultivators if there had been no chain of intermediary agencies between the cultivators and the traders. "Between the cultivators of jute in Bengal and the export market on the one hand or the jute mill on the other, there may be as many as four agencies. These are faria, bepari, aratdar, or Mahajan and the baler."[48] This chain of intermediaries shared the profit, and only a poor margin was left to the cultivators.

The cotton and silk industry and their cultivation began to languish long before the period commences. The parliamentary paper of 1866 reported that "the cultivation of cotton in Bengal is insignificant... ; no general impulse appears to have been given to native weavery in the lower provinces."[49] Sherwill in his report of the Dinajpur district in 1863, wrote that the cultivation of cotton was almost extinct.[50] The Bengal census report of 1872 stated : "There are few native manufactures of any importance in Bengal. The invention of machinery and the appliances of steam in Europe have ruined what once formed the pride of the province and the bulk of the East India Company's annual investment. Instead of the Dacca Muslins now finding their way to Europe, we hear nothing but complaints of our own market being glutted with imported English piece goods." The art of weaving was employing a small proportion of that population than the former days.[51] The parliamentary paper

of 1883 also regretted : "There can be no doubt, however, that the Manchester piece goods are fast usurping the place of the country made article."[52] In the weaving industry the Muslims outnumbered the Hindus. The census report of 1872 stated that the Muslim weaving class numbered as many as 51,060 of the total population of Bengal.[53] The next census report of 1881 revealed the same fact : "In the trade of weaving and working in silk and cotton the Mahommedan silk-weavers being nearly twice as numerous as the Hindus."[54] The rearing of silk worms and the manufacture of silk goods were largely carried on in the central and Northern districts of Bengal. Rangpur, Maldah, Bogra were centres of rearing of silk worms and production of silk goods. According to Hunter in 1876 excellent raw silk was produced at Rangpur in large quantities, and nearly the whole of that was exported to Europe. "The manufacture of silk goods for export had already ceased.[55]

The manufacture of paper, which was on the wane before the commencement of the present period, became nearly extinct by the end of the period under review. Hunter reported in 1881 on the decay of the paper manufacture at Pandua (Hughly) : "up to the commencement of the present century, Panduah[56] was the seat of a large native paper manufacture, but not a trace of this industry exists at the present day." He found the lingering of the trade in a kind of coarse paper which was manufactured in certain villages of the Sirajguaj subdivision from mestha, and also from jute in villages of Bogra.[57]

In 1876 he saw that paper was manufactured on a small scale in Pubna. The paper makers complained to him that they formerly earned a respectable livelihood by the manufacture of white paper ; but English paper had driven the locally made article out of the market, and had

compelled them to confine themselves to the manufacture of the coarser descriptions.[58] However, at Rangpur the manufacture of coarse paper survived for a longer period. Hunter observed in 1876 : "The most important manufacture at present carried on in Rangpur district is paper making, in which industry about 130 manufactories were engaged in 1872. The paper made is of a coarse kind, and is used by natives for book-keeping, and in the District courts for writing notices, etc. The manufactories are situated in the village of Bhagni in pargana Pairaband, in Panialaghat, Pargana Munthana, etc." Jute fibre formed the material instead of hemp, as in other districts.[59] Thus one of the indegenous manufactures, which was once a source of income of rural Bengal, especially of the Muslims who were largely attached to this industry, gradually declined and died out for want of protection by the state.

Besides the decay of the cottage industries and trades, there were other factors which added to the economic depression of the rural Bengal like indebtedness, fragmentation of holdings and of efforts, illiteracy, want of diversity of occupations. There were external factors also which greatly determined the fate of the agriculturists, viz. famine, epidemic, cyclone, cattle diseases.

The general poverty of the cultivators led to their indebtedness. Marshman, one of the most eminent Baptist missionaries, wrote in 1852 : "No one has ever attempted to contradict the fact that the condition of the Bengal Peasantry is almost as wretched and degraded as it is possible to conceive ..The Bengal ryot knows nothing of the most ordinary comforts of life."[60] The oppression of the Zemindars by occasional imposition of illegal cesses, generally compelled them to go to the money lenders, who often took high rate of interest. And once

they ran into debt, they could never get out of it. During the time when indigo cultivation was quite extensive in Bengal, and the planters' oppression was frequent, the peasants often ran into heavy debts. The Indigo Commission (1860) said in their report. "It matters little whether the ryot took his original advances with reluctance or cheerfulness, the result in either case is the same ; he is never afterwards a free man."[61] The report on the land revenue administration of the lower provinces for the year 1870-1871 reflected on this : "The condition of the ryot all ever Bengal is that of hopeless indebtedness to his mahajans. The cultivation of the country is carried on upon advance made by them ..."[62] D. M. Hamilton rightly remarked of them : "Men are born in debt, live in debt, and die in debt."[63]

The divided ownership and fragmentation of holdings made it difficult to introduce any improved and scientific method of cultivation. About the former J. C. Sinha wrote that it was mainly the creation of the permanent settlement of which he said : "It did not bring about improved agriculture or increase of wealth but merely led to a system of divided ownership which still lies at the root of the agricultural backwardness of Bengal."[64] The Zemindars often leased out their land to permanent under tenures, like Putni tanures, money-lenders and traders. This indirect connection with the land generally made the respectvie owners indifferent towards the welfare of the peasants or towards the improvement of agricultural returns. The peasantry on the other hand oten used to suffer at the hands of so many underlings and necessarily lacked in enthusiasm to any improvement on land.

In Bengal as the population increased, the division of the property also increased. This led to the wastage of labour and capital and above all the increase of litigation

among the sharers of the property. The parliamentary paper of 1861, in the review of the annual administrative report of Bengal for the year 1859-1860 referred to the large amount of litigation in Bengal under different heads :

Suits connected with land rent	...	20,654
Otherwise connected with land	...	11,347
Connected with caste, religion, etc.	...	503
Connected with wages, debt, etc.	...	70,003
Connected with indigo, sugar, silk, etc.	...	3,078
	Total :	1, 05,585

The same review further stated : "it is somewhat remarkable that the two-thirds of this class of suits (connected with land) were brought in four districts of Eastern Bengal, while in the suburban districts scarcely any were instituted ; in 24 Perganas only two."[65] This was significant of the extent of the problems of land holding in the Eastern districts, where the Muslims were in majority. The number of rent suits was on the increase in Bengal, which greatly dragged the rural people towards indebtedness. How large the proportion was, would appear from the following figures from the Bengal Administration Reports :

Year	Number of Rent suits	Number of all other kinds of suits
1871-1872	91,878	184,401
1872-1873	101,077	197,308
1873-1874	111,411	208,754
1874-1875	107,697	190,524
total	412,063	780,987
Average each year	103,016	195,247

The want of diversity of occupation followed from the decay of the existing trades and manufacture. With the close of other roads of livelihood, the Bengal artisans began to take up the plough. As Hunter observed "The tide of

circumstances has compelled the Indian weaver to exchange his loom for the plough."[66] The increase of population and the increased demand on land added to the problem of rural employment. The number of landless agricultural labourers increased. This class was obviously more dependant for its subsistence even than the cultivators, upon the nature of the harvests. They had no means of obtaining funds no land to mortgage, no cattle to sell. Hunter in his statistical account referred to the existence of landless labourers in many districts of Bengal in large number In general the number of rural people was much more than the land could provide for.

The wages of agricuitural labour showed the extent of poverty of the country. According to Hunter at Pubna, for example, the rate for agricuitural day labourers in 1840 was one and a half ($1\frac{1}{2}$) annas or two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) pence per day ; it was now (1876) two annas and three pies or three and three-eights ($3\frac{1}{8}$) pence. The price of foodgrains had also gone up, of which Hunter said "the rates are now more than twice as high as they were in 1850 " There was a slight rise in wages with the construction of railways and with growth of the jute industry. In 1880 the Government of india reported to the Secretary of State that : "In the districts like Dacca, Nuddia, Rangpore, Fureedpore, and Tipperah, with a population of 530 to 640 to the square mile, the ordinary wages for a day's labour is 3 annas to 4 annas, as compared with $1\frac{3}{4}$ to 2 annas before the E. B. R. was begun, and berore the jute industry arose."[67] It should be remembered that a rise in the wages was always accompanied by a rise in the price of food grains in Bengal. The Report of the Bengal Provincial Committee in 1884 estimated that the average income per head of an agriculturist in Bengal, after deduction of the Government

revevue and the Zemindar's rent was only £1·42 per anuum.[68]

On this economic condition, the country was often visited by famine, epidemic, cyclone, innundation, cattle diesease and so on.

"Famine is a disease of all agricultural countries.[69] A famine commission sat for the first time after the Bengal and Orissa famine in 1865-1866. The commission pointed out the fundamental defects in the system of administration of Bengal, which were responsible for the general backwardness of the country and for the difficulty in carrying on the relief works after any natural calamity. The report ran thus : "It may be said that the country is administered judicially and not by the excecutive power The executive reigns but does not govern. It has little executive machinery and it may be said that it, on principle, avoids interference with the affairs of the mass of the people." The settlement of the revenue with the Zemindars had been supposed to have transferred a large portion of the responsibility of the Government to that body. As a result any executive interference with their raiyats or executive attempt to ascertain rights or even facts, had been regarded as an infringement of the principles of the settlement. The Zemindars, on the other hand, failed to carry out the responsibilities which the Government had thrown on them. The Commission then commented that : "Probably due to the failing that the executive officers are less directly responsibe for the management of the people, is the circumstance that in Bengal the superior officers of Government seem to feel less bound to make personal enquiries and inspections than is the case in other parts of India."[70] The commission further pointed out that the Government of Bengal was assisted by no council and by no such staff of superior secretaries, as the Governments of Madras and Bombay

possessed.[71] The commission regretted that the system of administration resulted in a lack of information, and an unwillingness to take direct action on the part of the Government, which naturally retarded measures of relief, and which could not have occured in any other part of India.[72]

After the Behar famine in 1873-74, the whole question of relief and protection was referred in 1878 to the first great Indian famine commission under the Presidency of Sir Richard Strachey. The commission sat between 1878 and 1880, and the report appeared on 7 July 1880. The famine commission dealt at length with the causes of famine, and how and to what extent it affected the different sections of the people, engaged in differet trades. The commission then went on suggesting the means and measures to arrest the ravages of famine. The commission observed that "the numbers who had no other employment than agriculture are greatly in excess of what is really required from the thorough cultivation of the land." In order to improve agricultural efficiency it saw the necessity of opening a separate Agricultural Department ; the appointment of Directors of Agriculture in each province as executive heads of this department. It suggested the improvement of communications, the extension of trade and the development of irrigation. It emphasised the necessity of the compilation of agricultural statistics of an uniform type in an improved manner ; and also the maintenance of continuous village records[73] of the occupation of land.[74]

The recommendations of the commission were largely carried out. The famine insurance grant dated from 1876. Its suggestion of advancing money "freely and on easy terms on the security of the land wherever can be done without serious risk of ultimate loss" was materialised in the enactment of laws like the Land Improvement Loans Act (XIX of 1883) and the Agriculturists' Loans

Act (XII of 1884). A separate department[75] of agriculture in Bengal was constituted in 1885.[76]

Bengal was not only visited by famines, generally caused by drought, also by other natural calamities. The cyclone of 1864 had a disastrous effect on the districts of Midnapur and adjoining places. The cyclone in 1867 and in 1874 devastated a considerable portion of Bengal proper. The storm-wave and cyclone of 1876 caused a great loss to Bakergunge and Noakhali. Flood also visited the country some time. The great flood of 1871 had disastrous effect upon the people of Central Bengal districts.

Towards the beginning of our period taken, a very fatal epidemic had shown itself in some of the villages of the Presidency and Burdwan Divisions. In 1868 epidemic fever again broke out in several districts with unusual mortality in Jhenidah (Jessore) and Jangipur (Murshidabad) and in Burdwan. In July 1871, and in 1872-1873 the epidemic fever again broke out in Burdwan Division. Cattle epidemics occasionally occured. In 1868 an outbreak of rinderpest caused the loss of 26,151 head of cattle at Hughly. In 1869-1870 cattle disease raged with great malignance in many districts of Bengal In some places of the Presidency Division and in Jessore it became severe.

In general, however, during the period under review attempts were made to solve some of the problems of the agricultural classes, which were thrown on them from the preceeding period. The Indigo Commission solved the problems connected with the cultivation and manufacture of indigo. The enquiries of the famine commissions and the recommendations thereon contributed towards the welfare of rural Bengal. The Tenancy Act (1885) represented an honest endeavour on the part of Government to furnish a satisfactory solution for some of the rent problems.

THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE AND IN PROFESSIONS 1854-1884

The present chapter mainly deals with the descendants of those Muslims in Bengal who before the advent of Britsh rule generally belonged to the literate upper and middle classes of the community, engaged in various public and private professions. These classes were chiefly urban.[1] With the gradual expansion and consolidation of Britsh rule in India, they began to lose their former privileged position. The political, social and economic changes which took place in the second half of the nineteenth century were so revolutionary that those which took place in the first half were scarcely comparable with them. The changed position of the once well-to-do classes eventually helped the growth of consciousness among the Muslims in general, and towards the end of the period under review finally aroused the attention of both official and non-official circles in and outside the country.

For sometime after the formal grant of the Dewani in 1765, the Muslims continued to enjoy the same position in most of the offices, which were managed according to the old system of Gevernment. But gradually with the introduction of new measures and changes, they began to be displaced more and more, and their places were being taken by the Hindus in subordinate and by the Europeans in superior posts. The changes fell heavily on the well-to-do classes of Muslims in Bengal. W. Hunter observed in 1871 that in Bengal "the Muhammadans

have suffered most severely under British rule." He said, "if ever a people stood in need of a career, it is the Musalman aristocracy of lower Bengal. Their old sources of wealth have run dry."[2] The chief sources he described were military command, the collection of the revenue and judicial or political employ. Besides these sources there were court services and a "hundred nameless avenues to fortune."[3]

As regards the first source of income, i.e. the military service the Muslims suffered because of the general disbandment of Indian soldiery and its consequent unemployment. Only a small section of these disbanded soldiers found employment in the Comany's army. The former Indian military officers did not find suitable posts in the Company's army, because "no native of whatever description was allowed to hold any ranks higher than that of a Subadar Commandant, that is, of an officer below the rank of the English Subaltern."[4] As the Muslims were largely employed in the military services both in lower and in higher rank during the Muslim rule, the effect of the above measure fell heavily on them. Besides their exclusion from holding positions even of minor rank in the army was thought expedient for the safety of the newly established power. Captain A. H. Bingley observed : "As most of the early wars of the Company were against Muhamedan potentates, it was found expedient to discourage the recruitment of Muhamadans who predominated in the early armies, and to replace them with professional fighters of the Hindu castes."[5]

The closing of their second source of income, the collection of the revenue needs a little discussion. The East-India Company first obtained Bengal simply as the

Chief Revenue Officer or Dewan of the Delhi Emperor. As such the Company for sometime maintained the Muslims in their posts in the Revenue Department. The first blow towards the old revenue system came with the series of changes introduced by Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore.

One of the immediate objects of the Permanent Settlement of Cornwallis was to place the revenue paying agency on a definite footing and to expedite and assure the payment of the revenue.[6] This revenue paying agency during the Mughul rule was composed of diverse types of landholders. The Muslims by virtue of their belonging to the ruling class generally monopolised the superior agencies. The Permanent Settlement turned these diverse types into a homogeneous class under an uniform legal title. As a result the hitherto subordinate tax-collectors rose up to the uniform position newly created.[7] These subordinate tax-collectors were generally Hindus.

The landed aristocracy which however survived the blow of the Permanent Settlement became practically extinct by the next measure introduced by Bentinck (1828-1835) in his resumption proceedings (1828—1846). He directed an examination into the title deeds of the rent free lands of the Aimadars and Lakhirajdars. The Muslims, enjoying such lands were found less prepared than the Hindus with the deeds necessary. This may be explained in words of Hunter : "The Muhammadan foundations suffered most ; for with regard to their title-deeds as with regard to all other matters, the former conquerors of India had displayed a haughty indifference unknown to the provident and astute Hindu." This indifferent attitude towards the deeds might have come from their feeling of more security under their own rule. These proceedings, in

the words of Hunter ; "put a finishing stroke to their fortunes."

As regards their third source of income, Judicial or political employ, they held their position for about half a century after the granting of the Dewani. The administration of the criminal law was in their hands. The official language was Persian. But during the second half century of the Company's rule the tide turned against them, at first slowly, but with gradually increasing pace. The changes in civil employments came in succession with the development of the Judiciary and with the anglicisation of business in the higher grades, and the vernacularisation of business in the inferior grades.

Under the Mughuls, the Nizamat, the military power had the right to administer criminal justice ; and the civil justice was administered by the Dewani, the Revenue Administration. After the granting of the Dewani the general frame work of the judicial organisation was established in 1772 upon which modifications were carried on throughout the rule of the Company.[8] Though some supervision was exercised over the criminal courts by servants of the company, it was not until 1790 that criminal jurisdiction was withdrawn from the Naib Nazim, whose chief criminal court (Nizamat Adawalut) was at Murshidabad. From 1790, however, the Company took criminal jurisdiction into its own hands, continuing the Muslim criminal law as part of the public law of the land.[9] Muslim law was kept up till 1862 in the criminal side though in a nominal way, for it had been largely superseded by legislation.[10] The Muslim law officers sat long with the judges at session trials and delivered 'Fatwas' or the rulings as to the nature of the crime and the punishment due under Muslim law. In 1832 it was provided by Regulation that a Judge might dispense with 'Fatwas' if he obtained the opinions of a

'Panchayat' or of assessors (extra judicial body) who sat with him during a trial. Thenceforth assessors were generally preferred to law officers. In the civil side under a Regulation passed in 1780, the Judge had to refer to both the Muslim and Hindu law officers for their respective laws in cases like succession,[11] inheritance, marriage, caste, religious usages and religious institutions. The posts of the law officers, both Hindu and Muslim were however abolished, in 1864, as their services were found no more useful.[12]

The process of anglicisation of occupations may roughly correspond with the date of anglicisation of education, decided by MaCaulay's Minute and Bentinck's Resolution in 1835 ; for two years later in 1837 Persian was replaced by either English or vernaculars of the respective provinces in the lower courts. The impoverishment of the middle class Muslims may be said to begin with this date. In Sir Theodore Morison's words : "Persian ceased, and with it the service of the state which had been for generations the hereditary occupation of the middle and upper classes of Muslim society passed into other hands."[13] The first instruction regarding the allocation of Public appointments on the basis of modern education came with the Resolution of the Government of India (20 Oct. 1844) directing the Council of Education to examine candidates for employment in the Public service, and to publish their names in order of merit. As to the vernacularisation of the subordinate Posts, the same resolution for the first time ruled that in selecting for employment in the lowest offices, preference should be given to a man who could read and write to one who could not. These changes, in short, prepared the way for English to be the language of all civil employments in higher, and Bengali (in Bengal) in subordinate posts.

These directions of the Government went in favour of the Hindus. The Muslims had then neither the knowledge of English nor had they any perfect knowledge of Bengali. It was true that the vernacular of the Muslims in Bengal, like the Hindus was Bengali. But the class with which the present chapter chiefly deals took up the cultivation of Urdu, which lately formed the common vehicle of their expression. For a Muslim the knowledge of Arabic was obligatory being the language of the Koran and higher studies ; and Persian as the language of culture and administration. Their knowledge of Urdu, Persian and Arabic was sufficient to place them in society and in offices ; and as such they neglected the cultivation of Bengali which they found not essential.

With the Hindus it was different. The Tols which provided the highest Sanskritic learning, allowed the admission of only one favoured class, the Brahmins. The rest of the community pursued the cultivation of Bengali as their mother tongue.[14] The Patshalas supplied the need of cheap vernacular instruction and were scattered all over the country.

A. Blochman, Assistant Professor in Calcutta Madrassa, in a letter to J. Sutcliffe, the Principal, in 1871 discussed the decay of the well-to-do Bengali Muslims. He wrote that the old system of education being rendered useless, certain trades likewise fell into disuse, as for instance the extensive copying of manuscripts. As poverty came to the better classes, and as there was no demand for their education, they looked towards manual labour. He wrote : "I have invariably met with most educated fathers and most illiterate youths."[15]

In short, these Muslims who were dependent upon goverment service found themselves stranded in the changed circumstances, for which they were least prepared.

These Muslims looked to official employment for their chief source of income, as they had obtained it easily by virtue of their prerogatives as the ruling race. Amir Ali, in 1882, explained the fact "...that a race of conquerors, who not more than a hundred years ago possessed a monopoly of power and wealth, has not yet developed commercial and trading instincts," by observing that half a century's degradation had deadened all spirit of enterprise among the Muslims, and the absence of capital was another stumbling block in their path to commercial success.[16] They, however, clung to Government service for some time under the rule of the East India Company. George Campbell in 1852 observed that: "There are many highly respectable Muhammedan families whose only profession is service, and who are very willing to serve us ; and as they are the most educated natives, and the most gentlemanly and well mannered according to our ideas ; they have in the first instance been most frequently employed." But he continued, "on the other hand, there is a very rising class of Hindoos, principally of the writer and mercantile classes, who have sprung from the lowest grades in our offices, have acquired great official talent and skill ....."[17] So the rise of a new official class amongst the Hindus and the gradual impoverishment of the Muslims became an admitted fact by 1852.

While the Muslims were mostly depependent upon Government Service for their prosperity, the Hindus resorted to other means of fortune. Some Hindus had taken up commercial activities in conjunction with the Europeans from the earliest days of the East India Company. From that time onwards that section of the Hindu community grew into a rich commercial body in Calcutta. They were greatly influenced by the culture and education

of their patrons. They cultivated English as the language of Commerce before it was recognised as the language of Government.

In short, the changes which were received by the Muslims with alarm, were readily accepted by the Hindus, with whom the field was being prepared from the earliest days of the Company. They easily adjusted themselves to the new system of education, as they had already established a cultural link through trade and commerce with the new rulers, and had no such predilection as the Muslims had towards their own system. They rather eagerly co-operated with the Government in its effort to bring the new system and order. As such it became easy for the Hindus to secure the few higher appointments alloted to the natives, and other humble posts under the Government. Consequently a gulf was created between the relative position of the Hindus and the Muslims before the opening of the period under review, which grew wider with the progress of time.

The period under review saw the complete anglicisation of occupations in all higher grades, the vernacularisation of the lower grades, the development of various branches of Government Service, and the growth and development of independent professions.

The despatch of 1854 confirmed the Resolution of 1844 of the Government of India instructing the allocation of appointments on the basis of modern education. It was the first definite instruction of the Home Government in this respect, which was followed by the Resolution of the Government of India. The Resolution of (January 30) 1856 laid down the principle upon which the admission of candidates for uncovenanted executive offices and also for the Mofussil offices was to be regulated. The main object of the Resolution was the

encouragement of education by giving preference to those who were educated and well informed over those who were not when both were equally well qualified for the special duty required.[18]

The educational reports for 1857-1858 presented the declaration of the Government that from 1 January 1859, one-fourth of the appointments of Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors should be given to persons tolerably conversant with English ; and that from 1 January 1863 the University Entrance Examination should be a necessary qualification for at least one-half of the appointments to the posts of Munsif, Daroga and Pleaders. So not only a knowledge of English but also for the first time University examination came to be recognised as a necessary qualification for the Public Services. The Calcutta University in 1861-1862 ruled that "all answers in each branch shall be given in English, except otherwise specified."[19] Finally in 1864 a Government order ruled that English alone should be the language of Examinations for the higher appointments in the subordinate Civil Service.

It was, however, in the profession of law that the Muslims suffered a greater set-back by the changes. Up to 1864 admission to the Bar was open even if the candidate did not know English. In 1864 the High Court ruled that all legal examinations were to be held in English. So in course of time the Bench and Bar were virtually monopolised by the Hindus. In Judiciary the Muslims in large number also worked as subordinates as writers of deeds, orders and so on. They found themselves stranded by Act XXXIII of 1854. The Act enacted that every decision, sentence, or final order, made by any officer of the East India Company acting judicially should

be written in the vernacular language of the officer concerned. The process of making English as the language of higher offices which from 1837 onwards roughly began to take shape was consumated within three decades in a complete revision of the old system.

The process of vernacularisation of the inferior offices was continued after the Resolution of 1844. The notification of 9 July 1855 [20] further declared that the situations in the public service worth more than rupees six a month were, after 1 January 1856, not to be given to any person who could not read and write. The Muslims for reasons explained before could not even compete with the Hindus in inferior offices, for their lack of knowledge of vernacular.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the Indians in general were no where in the public services of any rank. They were generally employed as copying clerks. With the elaboration of the functions of the Government some lower posts had consequently to be assigned to the Indians. The despatch of 1824 from the Court of Directors directed that lower Judicial Offices should hence forward be filled by Indians in consequence the offices of Munsifs and Sadr Amins were made accessible to them. In 1831 another class of judicial officers was created under the title of Principal Sadr Amins, recruited from the Indian Judicial Officers. As Western education spread the demand for higher Public offices grew increasingly among the Indians. The government of India Act, 1833, laid down that "no subject of Her Majesty should, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour, or any of them be disabled from holding any office or employment under the company." The Act however remained a dead letter during the next

twenty years, so far as recruitment of Indians to the covenanted civil service was concerned.

The Court of Directors in order to conciliate Indians opened a few uncovenanted posts. In 1837 the office of the Deputy Collector and in 1843 that of the Deputy Magistrate were created. In 1873 another class of civil servants was added,—The sub-deputy collectors, brought into being in Bengal by Sir George Campbell.[21] The term 'uncovenanted civil service' was purely technical. It excluded military officers in civil employ and embraced the very large number of public servants recruited in India, who filled executive and judicial charges not occupied by military offices or reserved for members of the covenanted civil service.[22]

In 1858 however, the Queen's Proclamation reiterated the Parliamentary Declaration of 1833. The Proclamation of 1858 seemed to have been made in all seriousness, as subsequent developments showed. The qualifying words in the Queen's Proclamation were that the officers must be those "the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity to discharge."[23] For a time this was interpreted to mean merely that no obstacle would be put in the way of an Indian who chose to journey to England and sit in the open competition for the Indian Civil Service. The principle of open competition examination in London had been established as early as 1853. But up to 1862 no Indian came out for competition. In 1863 Satyndranath Tagore from Bengal[24] competed with success. Very few Indians competed in the subsequent years and almost all belonged to Bengal, where higher education was fast progressing. The progress was of course not uniform. The University results told of the sad disproportion of the Muslim students. The

question of candidature for the Indian Civil Service for a Bengali Muslim was inconceivable.

The developments and Indianisation of the services continued to be an important problem of discussion between the Indian and Home authorities. The Resolution of the Government of India, 19 August 1867, recognised the eligibility of natives for higher administrative and judicial offices. The paucity of Indian candidates was emphasised in the Parliamentary debates of 1867. Stafford Northcote in a despatch sent to India directed : "I trust, therefore, that you will be able to provide hereafter higher and better paid employment for natives in the regulation and non-regulation Provinces."[25] John Lawrence's Government established nine scholarships in 1868, each of the annual value of £ 200, tenable in Great Britain for three years, with a view to encourage natives of India, "to resort more freely to England for the purpose of perfecting their education, and of studying for the various learned professions or for the civil and other services in India."[26] Among the Muslims of Bengal Amir Ali was the first to receive the above state scholarship and sailed for England early in 1869.

The Duke of Argyll, now the Secretary of State, could not be very enthusiastic over the above scheme of granting scholarships. He stated in Parliament on 11 March 1869, that he had always considered that competitive system, as by law established, had failed to keep up the promises of 1833.[27] This he pointed out in a despatch sent out to India on 8 April 1869. His idea was that only those Indians who had earned administrative experience and shown ability and merit in the uncovenanted service should be promoted to superior offices. He wrote : "It should never be forgotten, and there should never be any hesitation in laying down the principle, that it is one

of our first duties towards the people of India to guard the safety of our own dominion. For this purpose we must proceed gradually, employing only such natives as we can trust, and these only in such offices and in such places as in the actual condition of things, the Government of India may determine to be really suited to them." In March 1870 he further wrote in reply to a despatch of the Governor General in Council that a Bill had now been passed by Parliament which would effectually carry out the desire that natives of India should be appointed to high offices under the Government as they might be fitted for by their qualifications. The Bill finally after some modification came out as the famous Act of 1870. It empowered the Indian authorities to appoint under rules and regulations to be hereafter framed, "natives of India to positions heretofore held by members of the covenanted civil service without their having necessairly undergone any examination whatever." The Act could not be brought into operation for some years, as the Government of India could not frame necessary rules and regulations satisfactory to the Secretary of State.

The rules having been framed out in conformation with the opinion of the Secretary of State, the Government of India, established the Statutory Civil Service. Only Indians were to be eligible for it, and one-sixth of the posts formerly held by the Indian Civil Service were to be filled from this service. The candidates should be selected in India by the local Governments, subject to the approval of the Governor General in Council. Selected candidates should generally be on probation for two years. The Government of India in a Resolution, 24 December 1879, stated that the appointments under the rules would generally be confined to young men of good family and social position possessed of fair abilities and education.

This system did not work well, mainly because the statutory civil service was though regarded as an inferior substitute for the Indian civil service, fell far short from it. It was a nominative system, and the selection of right candidates was a difficult thing. Neither could the system satisfy Indians' aspirations nor was found satisfactory by the Government. It was, therefore, abolished a few years later after only sixty-nine candidates had been recruited to that service. Finally the appointment of the Public Service Commission under the Chairmanship of Charles Aitchison[28] in 1886 brought an end to the unsatisfactory situation. The Secretary of State instructed "to devise a scheme to do full justice to the claims of natives of india to higher employment in the public services." As a result of the report of the public service commission, the statutory civil service was abolished ; and in 1892, provincial and subordinate civil service were established.[29]

The first definite instruction as regards the method of recruitment for uncovenanted subordinate post, came from England in 1865 in concurrence with the proposal of the Lieutenant Governor. It directed the introduction of a compulsory education test as a qualification for public employments and to leave the district officers "untrammelled in the exercise of their discretion in selecting the subordinates.[30]

Early in 1868 Sir W. Gray, the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal instituted a system of making appointments to the subordinate executive service on a combined plan of nomination and competitive examination.[31] Thus the direction of 1865 was put into action in Bengal on a systematic basis for the first time. His successor, Sir George Campbell made a change in the rules of the examination in 1872. It was no longer to be of a competitive character. A pass examination was provided for the candidates. Those who

would pass the examination would be eligible for appointment. In 1875 Sir Richard Temple who succeeded Campbell made further changes. Accordingly, it was announced that four vacancies in the cadre of the Deputy Collectors and seven in that of the Sub-Deputy Collectors, would be filled by competitive examination to be held in next January. The next Lieutenant Governor Sir Ashley Eden reversed the old policy and introduced the system of nomination exclusively. Lastly in 1883, Sir Rivers Thomson "determined on gradually introducing a system under which appointments to the Subordinate Executive Service as Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors shall again be thrown open to competition." Accordingly the competitive system held the ground for years until the fresh Resolution (24 April, 1889) passed by the Government of Sir Stuart Bayley made some provisions in favour of nomination.[32] The significance of each of these policies of the Governors of Bengal was as to what extent opportunities should be offered to the backward communities in respect of their inclusion in the Subordinate Executive Service. In competitive system there was no chance for the Muslims as a backward race to get into those services. Again the system of nomination was not liked by Hindus on the ground that it undermined the intellectual abilities of the candidates.[33]

At this time there was little direct recruitment of Indians to the higher branches of the Civil Administration. In some appointments to subordinate Judgeships were made from practising pleaders, but generally speaking these posts were occupied by selected Munsifs of approved merit. Similarly on the executive side the Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors were ordinarily appointed by selection from persons who had acquired experience in subordinate posts.[34] The control of the Departments of Jail, Postal, Telegraphs, Survey, Salt, Excise, Opium,

Meteorology, Registration, Archaelogy, Custom, Mint, Geological Survey, Agriculture rested in British hand during the period under review.[35]

In the Subordinate Executive Services in Bengal, as discussed above both the principles of nomination and competition were operative from time to time, sometimes on combined footing. For the Muslims, the system of competition was considered difficult, as they stood very low in educational qualifications in comparison to the Hindus. Taking the whole number of Hindus and Muslims in Colleges in 1865-1866, the Muslims formed only three and one-third per cent of the whole.[36] Then in recruitment for the higher offices from subordinate ones, the Hindus again had superior opportunities because they were employed at large in subordinate posts.

In 1852 G. Campbell described the method of recruitmenf for the subordinate Judicial Services at that time : The candidates for Munsifship were annually examined and those qualified received diplomas which rendered them eligible for appointment, if nominated by the Sadr court. The examination did not extend to Hindu or Muslim law, but was confined to the British code of procedure. Native Judges of the higher grades were selected by Government from the list of Munsifs.[37] With the development of the Judiciary, and with the necessary changes, the method of recruitment also changed.

The year 1861 saw the unification of the Judicial system in India by the amalgamation of the supreme and Sadr Courts into the High Court.[38] In 1864 English became the language of all legal examinations. From this date the Muslims found difficulty in obtaining subordinate Judicial posts. The High Court rules of 2 May 1866 (under section 4 of Act XX of 1865) further declared that it would nominate to the office of Munsif none

but those who had obtained the degree of B. L. or its equivalent.[39] This made the chances of the Muslim candidates rarer, because of their backwardness in modern education.

How small was the number of Muslims in the civill service is shown by the following figures. From the creation of the uncovenanted subordinate executive service[40] up to 1882, there were only four Muslim Deputy Collectors and Deputy Magistrates from Bengal inclusive of Behar, against twenty-four Hindus. A similar disproportion was evident in the Judicial services. From 1861 to 1882 there were only four Munsifs (working as subordinate and small causes court judges) against forty-five Hindus, in Bengal inclusive of Behar. In the medical department in both covenanted and uncovenanted services in Bengal, there was no Muslim up to 1882, while there were some Bengali Hindus. In the Bengal Education Department in the gazetted rank there was a Hindu as early as 1852[41] and followed by others, whereas there was no Muslim even in a comparatively lower rank. In the Education Department there were hardly any Muslims throughout the period under review.[42] The Muslims of Bengal experienced the same or more difficulty in securing appointment to the inferior posts, where a knowledge of the vernacular was essential.

The Resolution of the Government of India, 30 January 1856, laid down the principles upon which the admission of candidates for clerical employments in Mofussil offices was to be regulated. The most important feature of these rules was the check imposed by them on the apprentice system which prevailed in all Mofussil offices. By the orders of 1856 it was prescribed that no apprentice should be admitted into any office without the express sanction of the head of the office.[43]

The evils of the apprentice system fell heavily on the Muslims. The Hindus in Bengal, being advanced educationally, easily secured the Mofussil offices. Having taken office they no doubt used to fill up the subordinate clerical vacancies by their own nominees as apprentices' The Government tried to remove the evils of the apprentice system, but they remained a standing factor throughout the period under review. So late in 1895 the editorial of the 'Moslem Chronicle' remarked that : ''The united and compact Phalanx of Hindu Head Clerks, 'Sheristadars, Nazirs, Peshkars and Mohurris succeeded so completely in hoodwinking the District Officers that they are kept in utter ignorance of the circular, and so consummate is that art by which it is kept concealed from the eye of the authorities concerned, that there appears very little occasion for astonishment when appointments are made in absolute oversight of the claims of Muhammadan candidates and Muhammadan apprentices.''[44]

The despatch of 1855 from the Secretary of State left the district officers 'untrammelled in the exercise of their discretion in selecting the subordinates.' The district officers often depended in his selection of candidates for clerical and similar posts on his immediate subordinates who were mostly Hindus. As the 'Moslem Chronicle' remarked : ''...no wonder then that the District Magistrate or the District Judge should invariably leave the entire manning and the entire recruiting of his department to the inevitable Babu Sheristadar and the inevitable Babu Nazir who are let to rule in the name of the collector Bahadur and the Judge Bahadur, and who are thus allowed to manage things all in their way to suit the interest of their kith and kin.''[45] In subordinate posts, the Muslims faced greater difficulties, as such appointments depended on the favour of the Hindu subordinate staff generally.

The annual education report for 1856-1857 in the return of persons who received appointments of rupees fifty a month and upwards from the heads of offices in the Judicial and Revenue departments, told the name of a single Muslim in the Presidency district Sadr Court.[46]

In connection with the present problem it is necessary to consider the Calcutta Madrassa. The Madrassa for some time met the problems of Government employment for the Judicial Revenue and Magisterial Department, but with the altered circumstances, it could no more supply those offices for which now a knowledge of English and Bengali became essential. The despatch of 1854 made no provision for the classical languages. But the Oriental Seminaries were retained in accordance with a Government declaration in 1839, which was confirmed by the Home Government in 1841.[47]

As Western education spread, and as the old system of administration changed, the need for the Oriental seminaries was less felt. Hence the question arose of the propriety of the abolition of the Calcutta Madrassa which mainly stood for higher Oriental learning. Principal W. Lees suggested that English should form one of the compulsory subjects, and he deprecated the over multiplication of Arabic classes for which he said, "there is little or no demand." One of the chief practical aims he said, "of our educational system ought to be to give to each student a capital stock, upon which he may hereafter trade with advantage." But unfortunately the Madrassa never fulfilled the practical aim, advocated by Principal Lees as early as 1858.[48] The Calcutta Madrassa and its sister institution at Hughly were costly institutions all through the period under review, without rendering much material benefit to those for whom they were maintained.

The declining condition of the Madrassa, however,

became a problem of discussion for some time between the authorities of the Education Department and the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The problem was taken up with all seriousness by the Lieutenant Governor in 1869. He ordered a committee[49] to be formed for the improvement of those institutions, especially of the Calcutta Madrassa, which was maitained at a heavy cost to the Government.

The question of the Calcutta Madrassa threw light on more general subjects like the backwardness of the Muslims of Bengal in education and their employment in the Government Service. It also helped to the growth of consciousness among the Muslims themselves in this direction. For the committee received numerous petitions from various organisations and individuals, interested in the welfare and education of the Muslims.

One of the petitions referred to the position of the Muslims in public services in the following words: It said that the recommendation was the reigning principle of the day, and all the high offices had been filled up by the Hindus. The Muslims who had very few to recommend them, after taking degrees, found themselves in no better position in the world than if they had left their studies just aftet passing the Entrance Examination. Of the few Muslims who had taken their degrees, only one was rewarded with a deputy magistracy, the others, it said, were either writers on a salary of rupees thirty, or teachers on one of forty per month.[50]

Syed Amir Hossain, in his petition to the committee, speaking of the reforms of the Calcutta Madrassa, and the courses to be taken, said that the solution of the question depended more on the policy of Government than on the wishes of the students themselves. If the national inclination, natural desire and religious language of the

Muslims were consulted, they would decidedly prefer being taught in their own classics, provided the same benefit as regards their future prospects might be accorded to them as was given in the olden days. He said that for the last twenty five years there had been a perceptable change in the policy of Government and the door of the Government services had been virtually closed against those unacquainted with the English. He further suggested that if the Government designed to allow its Muslim subjects to be taught in their own languages, the first step in that direction would be to open out to the graduates of the Madrassa the same prospects as their prececessors had, or to teach them in higher English education.[51]

The view which the Director of Public Instruction held seemed, though revolutionary, yet more rational as to the progress of Muslim education. He wanted to make the Hughly Madrassa the centre of Muslim theology, and to convert the Calcutta Madrassa into a college of purely secular learning. But the Government finally concurred with the committee, making minor changes, but retaining the Madrassa's oriental colour. The Madrassa stood as a mixture of two systems but none was complete. It thus made the courses useless for enabling Muslims to enter the public services of any kind, for neither instruction in English nor in Bengali was insisted upon.

The contradiction in the policy of Government lay in the fact that while the language of offices and employment both public and private became English, the course of instruction in the institutions for the Muslims was oriental in character. The following extract from the letter of the Government of India to the Government of Bengal conveyed the same policy : "Meanwhile the only remark which the Governor General in council wishes to make is that great care must be taken not to force too much English education on those whose chief object is to acquire proficiency in Arabic,

We shall give an opportunity to learn English up to a high standard, and offer certain inducements to the study of that language without making it in any way compulsory on those who are not anxious for it."[52] There was a progressive section of the Muslim community who were anxious to make English compulsory subject in the Madrassas. In 1882 the Central National Mohammadan Association pointed out this contradiction of Government Policy in its memorial to the Governor General.

The Resolution of the Government of India which was issued on the same day (7 August No. 300) supported the above principle. The resolution was considered to be the first of its kind towards the promotion of learning among the Muslims. But the policy which followed the Resolution did not prove very beneficial to the material interest of the community.

The Resolution was soon followed by the Minute of the Lieutenant Governor George Campbell, on the Calcutta and Hughly Institutions for the education of the Muslims, on 13 April 1871. The plan he suggested for secular instruction, modern and useful, in this connection seemed very sound, provided it included all under one uniform principle, and was made compulsory. The policy which the Government pursued, as seen before,[53] was divided in order to satisfy the wishes of the two sections of the community — those who belonged to the old conservative school, and those who recognised the signs of the times and wanted to develop modern education.

The Minute thus expressed that, "there seems to be no doubt that a complete Arabic Education must be supplied to those who seek it; and in this respect it will be desirable most fully to study the wishes, and even the prejudices of the Muhammadan community, provided that nothing is taught which is positively injurious or offensive." Then

the Lieutenant Governor expressd his opinion regarding the rest of the community. It ran thus :

"For the rest, in the circumstances of Bengal, and with a special view to giving the Muhammadans a fair share of government employment and professional opportunities, no doubt the principal attention must devoted to the acquisition of the English language ; and in addition to the language, the more they can have of modern science and useful learning, the better. I should specially hope that attention may be paid to drawing, surveying, and the elements of engineering arts, in which the Indian Muhammadans have generally excelled, and would specially fit them for public employment, civil as well as professional. The rudiments of popular law, and some knowledge of land tenures, might also, I think, be taught them with great advantage .."[54] The latter suggestion if carried out faithfully, would have benefitted the Muslims greatly. But unfortunately, the measures actually taken for the improvement of the Muslim education, showed practically a retrograde policy. Three more Madrassas were opened in different districts of Bengal for higher oriental instruction, where there was no provision for such useful and practical arts, and where English formed the optional subject. Amir Ali in his evidence before the Bengal Provincial committee in 1884 pointed out the blunder of not making English compulsory then.

In connection with the appointments of the Muslims in Bengal, it is interesting to note that up to 1867 the Home Government did not get any return in detail of the appointments made in the provinces of India. As regards Bengal, the Secretary of State sent a despatch on 23 August 1867 directing the compilation of a gazetteer of the territories under the administration of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.[55] The compilation of the gazetteer met the need of placing the statistics of Provincial

appointments before the higher authorities. A Parliamentary Paper of 1874 included a return of the native appointments in India in different provinces from 1867 to 1871. This was the first return submitted by the Government of India to be placed before the House of Commons, on the basis of creed. Taking the province of Bengal the proportion stood in the following manner :

	1867		1868		1869	1
Province	Hindus-	Muslims	Hindus-	Muslims	Hindus-	Muslims
Bengal	428	108	103	15	179	27

	1870		1871	
	Hindus-	Muslims	Hindus-	Muslims
	73	12	91	16

By this time the backwardness of the Muslims in general had come to the notice of some high officials like W. Hunter, W. N. Lees, and so on. They were struck by the glaring disproportion between Hindus and Muslims in Goverment service. They felt for the Muslims and tried to ventilate their feelings and grievances in their writings from time to time.

W. Hunter was the first person to draw public attention both in England and India to the question of Muslim backwardness and their present disproportion in employment in his book 'Indian Mussalmans : Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen ?' Published in 1871. A book from such a distinguished scholar and author of the statistical records of Bengal brought a touch of realism to the position.

He gave the following statistics of 1869 regarding the Muslim element in employment in various department in Bengal.[57] In 1869 in the three grades of Assistant Government Engineers there were fourteen Hindus and no Muslims ; among the apprentices there were four Hindus and two Englishmen, but no Muslim. Among the sub-

Engineers and supervisors of the public works department there were twenty-four Hindus to one Muslim. Among the overseers, there were two Muslims to sixty-three Hindus. In the offices of Account there were fifty Hindus, but no Muslim. In the upper subordinate department there were twenty-two Hindus, but no Muslim. He also presented a table to show the distribution of the gazetted appointments in Bengal in 1871, for which Englishmen, Muslims, and Hindus were alike eligible :

Distribution of State Patronage in Bengal,[58] April 1871

	Europeans.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Total
Covenanted Civil Service	260	0	0	260
Judicial Officers in the Non-Regulation Districts[59]	47	0	0	47
Extra Assistant Commissioners	26	7	0	33
Deputy Collectors	53	113	30	196
Income Tax Assessors	11	43	6	60
Registration Department	33	25	2	60
Judges of Small Causes Court and Subordinate Judges	14	25	8	47
Munsifs	1	178	37	216
Public Department, Gazetted Officers of all Grades	106	3	0	109
Public Works Department, Enginneer, Establishment	154	19	0	173
Public Works Subordinate Establishment	72	125	4	201
Public Works Account Establishment	22	54	0	76

(Contd.)

	Europeans.	Hindus.	Muslims.	Total.
Medical Department, Officers attached to ..	89	65	4	158
Department of Public Instruction	38	14	1	53
Other Departments : Custom, Marine, Survey Opium etc.[60]	412	10	0	422
Total :	1338	681	92	2111

Hunter also discussed at length the position of the Muslims in the recognised professions like law and medicine.[61] He, when trying to find out the reasons why the Muslims were shut out alike from official employments and from the recognised professions, came to the conclusion that the new system of education could not draw the Muslims in the same manner as it drew the Hindus. "The truth is," he said, "that our system of public instruction, which has awakened the Hindus from the sleep of centuries, and quickened their inert masses with some of the noble impulses of a nation, is opposed to the traditions, unsuited to the requirements, and hateful to the religion of the Musalmans."[62]

W.N. Lees, the Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa in 1871, in his 'Indian Musalmans' [63] put forward many grievances of the Muslims especially of Bengal. He saw them on the point of being "reduced to the level of hewers of wood and drawers of water unless something is done for them." The points of complaint of the Muslims, chiefly in Bengal, he believed to be numerous. The Inam Commission had unjustly deprived many of their class of the lands granted to them by the Muslim Sovereigns of

India. Their civil and religious law, which the Government had bound herself never to interfere with, hand been broken by the act securing to converts to christianity the rights of inheritance.[64] The posts of Kazi and Government Muslim law officers had been abolished. The funds left by charitable and pious Muslims for educational purposes had been taken from them and religious bequests had been misapplied by Government, which was the self-appointed trustee for their proper administration. The Muslims had been elbowed out of almost all Government appointments by Hindus and no efforts were made by Government to rectify that injustice or to better their prospects. No office under Government was open to Muslims learned in their own sciences, laws, literature and language ; and consequently learning and learned men had disappeared, and their community was left in darkness.

It is worth considering the position of the Muslim in recognised professions like law and medicine. It is in the legal professions that the Muslims crowded most from the earlier days of the Company. For a considerable period they retained their superiority in this profession until the imposition of the order in favour of anglicisation. The first law examination was held by the Calcutta University in 1858. From 1861 to 1874 two examinations were held in law, one for the degree of B. L., and another for the L. L. The latter was discontinued in 1875, and since then only the B. L. examination had been held. Candidates who passed in either of these examinations, had the privilege of practising in the High Court and were eligible for offices in the Judicial Services. As long as there were two grades of pleaders, the necessity for conducting the examination in English was restricted to those of the higher grade. From this grade alone the candidates for the post of Munsifs had been, from so far

back as 1850, selected. The Act XX of 1865 (section 6) passed by the Government of Bengal prescribed that "the examination of candidates for pleaderships of the higher grade shall be conducted in English." But as long as there were two grades, the Muslims had some share in the legal professions. They found difficulty when the junior or L. L. examination was discontinued in 1875 in Calcutta University. Later the new rule of the High Court under the legal practitioners' Act XVIII of 1879, formally recognised one grade of pleaders in the higher one. A list of the graduates of the Calcutta University from 1858 to 1881 showed that there were only twelve Muslim graduates who had taken their B. L. degrees during this period.[65]

Hunter gave some statistics for the legal profession in 1869. The law officers of the Crown were six in number, of whom four were Englishman and two were Hindus. There was no Muslim. Among the twenty-one officers of the High Court of rank, there were seven Hindus but no Muslim. Among the barristers-at-law there were three Hindus but no Muslim. In pleaderships, up to 1851 the Muslims predominated. But from 1852 to 1868, out of two-hundred and fifty natives admitted, two hundred and thirty-nine were Hindus, and only one was Muslim. In the profession of Attorney, Proctors, and Solicitors of the High Court, there were in 1869 twenty-seven Hindus but no Muslim. In other departments of the High Court like the offices of the Registration, Receiver, the Muslim element was equally poor. The memorial of the Central National Mahommadans Association[66] gave the statistics for 1881 of Muslim legal practitioners, practising in the Calcutta High Court. In 1881, out of a hundred pleaders practising in the High Court of Calcutta, only two were Muslims. Out of ninety-seven attorneys only one was

Muslim, The report of the census of Bengal in 1881 noticed the similar fact in the following manner :

	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total[67]
Barrister	15	4	43	62
Attorney	26	1	15	42
Pleader	2,145	283	71	2,499

The profession of medicine was not very popular with the Muslims in general. The science of Medicine, however, did not go beyond quackery under the Muslim rule. The native Muslim quacks were known as 'Hekims'. Hunter described another class of native doctors known as 'Jarrah' who performed the work of surgery in a crude manner.

It was under the benevolent Governor Generalship of Bentinck that the present Medical College in Calcutta was established in 1835. For some time the Medical College maintained two classes of instruction. The senior was the English class, started with the establishment of the Medical College and the junior which was added later, consisted of Bengali and Hindustani classes.[68] The junior section imparted preliminary knowledge of Medicine, in Hindustani and in Bengali. The higher knowledge of medical science was imparted in the English class. As long as the Hindustani class was retained, the Muslims formed the majority in it.[69] The general report of public instruction for the year 1861-1862 gave the total number in the English class as 149 of whom twenty-four were Christian, two were Muslims, and 123 Hindus. The same report for 1883-1884 showed that there was not a single Muslim in the Medical College against 127 Hindus.

According to Hunter's statistics for the year 1869 the Muslims stood thus in the profession of medicine. Among the graduates of medicins in the Calcutta University there were four doctors ; three Hindus, one Englishman, but no

Muslim. Amir Ali in 1882 wrote that excluding the higher medical officers who held gazetted appointments, there were in Bengal about 200 assistant surgeons. Out of these, only four were Muslims.[70]

It follows that it was not only in Government Services that the Muslims were gradually losing foothold but in the independent professions they were poorly represented till the end of the period under review.

Towards the end of the period under review the Muslims became actively conscious of their position. They began sending petitions to the authorities, to draw their sympathetic attention to their deplorable condition. They also began to express themselves in this direction through publications.

Among the petitions the memorial of the Central National Mohammadan Association, presented on 6 February 1882 to Lord Ripon on the position of the Muslim Community in British India drew especially the attention of the authorities.[71] It referred to Bengal with emphasis, as in Bengal the numerical inferiority of the Muslims in the public and private professions was very marked.

The memorial referred to the changing measures of the new Government, which have been mentioned already, as the causes of their moral and material degradation. It said, the measures placed the Muslims under a complete disadvantage, "Before they had quite awakened to the necessity of learning English, they were shut out from Government employment." The memorial pointed out that the proportion of the Muslims in public appointments was decreasing. Thus in 1871 the proportion was less than one-seventh ; in 1880 the proportion fell below one tenth.[72] But in 1871-1872 the proportion of Muslim boys to total school attendance was only 14 per cent which increased in 1880-1881 to nearly 24 per cent.[73]

The memorial in order to prove the decreasing ratio of the Muslims' appointments submitted the tables of appointments in different branches of office.

The Table below was said by the memorialists to be approximately correct and not sufficiently exhaustive.[74]

Comparative Table of Muslim and Non-Muslim Employees in the Town of Calcutta.

Designation of Office	Christian	Hindus	Muslims	Total
Foreign Department	39	14	1	54
Home, Revenue and Agriculture	39	23	1	63
Department of Finance and Commerce	17	58	—	75
Controller General's Office	18	45	—	63
Bengal Secretariat (General, Financial & Statistical)	15	75	—	90
Judicial, Political and Appointment Depts.	16	64	2	82
Board of Revenue	24	88	1	113
Accountant General's Office	12	169	—	181
Departments of issue of paper currency	11	7	—	18
Director General's Office in Calcutta (Postal)	11	29	—	40
Post Master General's Office	34	226	5	265
(In the Mofussil) in W. Bengal circle (Postal)	65	264	37	366
In East Bengal Circle (Postal)	7	763	22	792
In Behar and Orissa (Postal)	19	353	37	409

(Contd.)

Designation of Office	Christian	Hindus	Muslims	Total
Office of Inspector General of Registration	5	6	1	11
Custom Department	—	130	—	130
Department of Public Instruction Office	114	421	38	573
Office of the D. P. I.	1	21	—	22
High Court (Original Jurisdiction)	25	91	—	116
High Court (appallate side)	20	131	92	243
Legal Remembracer's Office	1	11	1	13
Presidency Court of small Causes	8	18	1	27
Surveyor General's Office	55	18	10	83

Comparative Table of the Muslim and Non-Muslim Officers in Bengal [75]

List of Gazetted Officers in Bengal.

	Christian	Hindus	Muslim
Judges of the High Court of Judicators	12	2	—
Covenanted Civil Servants appointed In England	248	7	—
Judicial Officers in the Non-regulation districts	1	—	—
Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors	41	153	22
Judges of Small Causes Courts and Subordinate Judges	9	44	3
District and Session Judges	29	1	—
Munsifships	118	247	14

(Contd.)

	Christian	Hindus	Muslim
Police Department Gazetted Officers	167	38	9
Public Works Department :			
Medical Department	98	217	17
Public Instruction	53	24	3
Registration	4	98	6
Forest, Excise, Assessor of Tax Custom, Salt, Opium, Stamp, Stationery, Mints and Survey	300	2	—

The memorialists urged upon Government the absolute need of making especial provisions for Muslim education and their adequate representation in employment under Government. They asked for similar facilities to be Accorded to them as were being offered to the Eurasian Community.

Lord Ripon readily gave his sympathetic considerations towards the cause of the Muslims. On his direction it was fully reported by the local Governments and was also discussed at length by the Education Commission in 1882-1883. The Commission among other measures to remove the Muslim backwardness recommended "that the attention of the local Governments be invited to the question of the proportion in which patronage is distributed among educated Muhammedans and others."[76] Before Lord Ripon could pass any particular measures in favour of the Muslims, he retired from his post. But the matter remained one of the pending issues before the Government.

As a result the Government of India.[77] issued a very comprehensive Resolution on the question on 15 July

1885, regarding the disproportionate employment in Bengal to which the memorialists especially referred. The Governor General could not show any special favours to the Muslims in posts filled by open competitive examinations ; which would in his opinion have been undesirable and injurious to the progress of the Muslims themselves. "But there are a large number of appointments the gift of which lies in the hands of the local Governments, the High Courts or local officers. The Governor General in Council desires that in those provinces where Muhammadans do not receive their full share of state employment, the local Governments and High Courts will endeavour to redress this inequality as opportunity offers, and will impress upon subordinate officers the importance of attending to this in their selection of candidates for appointments." This was the first definite declaration of the Government of India towards a proportionate share in Government employment.

It was true that the Muslims fell behind the Hindus in Education, and this factor was a great hindrance to their right proportion in Government service. But sometimes Muslims even when they were qualified up to the degree standard of the University, were not provided with suitable posts. The rapid growth in the number of educated boys caused a general clamour for employment for the vacancies in Government service were limited in number. The facilities for technical education in all directions had not yet developed. One of the leading newspapers 'The Bengalee' in an editorial on 31 January 1880 wrote—"The Services are crowded, the professions are crowded. Ever and anon there break upon our ears the wails of briefless pleaders, starving doctors and half fed clerks." The educational reports for 1881-1882 stated that only 526 graduates out of some 1,600 that had taken the B. A. Degree since

the establishment of the University were employed in the service of the state. According to the census returns of Bengal of 1871 and 1881 there was a decrease in public services and professions.

Occupation of Adult Males

	Census of 1871		Census of 1881		Decrease
Service (Public)...1.15 Professional... ...1·93	3·08		1·11 1·69	2·80	—·28.

So the difficulty was not confined to Muslims only.

To meet this problem of employment for the increasing number of educated students, the same editorial appealed to the Government to encourage technical and industrial education. "Teach everybody in the nation if possible to read and write. But give a fair share of the population a technical and industrial education, for after all the greater portion of men must live by manual industry, and then with a set of better machinery, better engineers, and better agriculturists, you will have taken an important step towards increasing the resources of the country, and adding to the productive powers of the land." The Muslims, however, were in a worse position than the Hindus. They had not yet developed proficiency in general education as the Hindus had. Thus a letter of the Director of Public Instruction to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal in 1882 gave the relative proportions of Hindus and Muslims in different grades of studies. In lower primary schools, Muslims were to Hindus as one to three ; in upper primary schools, Muslims pupils were to Hindus as one to seven ; in high schools as one to ten ; in colleges for general instruction as one to twenty-four ; in colleges for professional instruction as one to forty-three.[78]

A printed list of the Muslim graduates with their occupations from 1858 to 1881 showed the actual position of

the Muslims in the field of employment. The list was inclusive of Hindus and Muslims.

The average population of these twenty-five years (1858-1881) was sixty-five millions in Bengal. The percentage of the students who received higher education was one in 43,507 souls. The total number of graduates from Bengal of the twenty-five years stood as 1494. Of this number only twenty-five were Muslims.

To take their occupations, two were munsifs; four were Deputy collectors, one was a barrister of the Calcutta High Court; four were in the post of subordinate officers in the educational department and teachers; two were articled clerks to Vakils of the Calcutta High Court; five were pleaders, one was private teacher and one as private secretary to a native prince. No trace could be found of the remaining five graduates.[79]

Amir Ali in 1882 regretted the position of the Muslims in education and employment and said "as a matter of fact the well-to-do middle class, the section which is the backbone of the nation has become totally extinct among the Muhammedans." He quoted the remark of W. Hunter and said a nation consisting upwards of fifty millions of souls[80] "with great traditions but without a career."[81]

Thus the history of the employments of the Muslims in Bengal is one of sad disproportion all through the period under review, though the Muslims formed the majority community of the province. Lord Mayo's Governor Generalship first became alive to the situation. But the policy followed in Bengal could not increase the proportion of Muslim students in higher education even after a decade, in any appreciable degree. Consequently there was no perceptable progress in the field of employment. The period, of course, saw some preparations for the future betterment of the Muslims.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS AND THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL 1854-1884

As the muslims were behind the Hindus by more than fifty years in the field of modern education, they were also slow in organising themselves towards the development of socio-political movements. Among the Hindus the birth of socio-political movements may roughly be traced from the days of Raja Rammohon Roy. Such organisations, in the beginning, confined themselves more or less to social and religious reforms. But with the spread of education and the increasing contact with the western world, they tended to be more and more political in their tone, till the culmination reached by the establishment of the National Congress in 1885.

Such organisations during this period professed to have non-communal views, liberal aims and an all-India basis. But in practice they mostly tended to be either Hindu or Muslim, depending on the religious faith of the founders, and often assumed a local character with a limited orbit of activities. The representative character of these organi sations was slight in the sense that the leaders had no direct contact with the masses. For the new education was practically confined to the well-to-do section of the urban population. These organisations were dominated by the aims and ambitions of their leaders, and were instrumental in fulfilling them. Europeans both official and non-official often lent a sympathetic hearing to the grievances and demands of these bodies. The Government sometimes even consulted their recognised leaders before passing new laws.

Raja Rammohon Roy has been called "the Pioneer of all living advance, religious, social and educational, in the Hindu community during the nineteenth century".[1] In 1828 he founded the **Brahma Sabha**, The Society of God, which was the first Theistic Church of modern India. His object was to make a synthesis of the good in Hinduism and in Christianity. His views were shared by a group of devoted followers like Dwarakanath Tagore, Ramanath Tagore, Kalinath Roy, Tarachand Chukerverty and so on. His move was next taken up by the students of the Hiddu College, which became the chief instrument in spreading western knowledge and liberal ideas.[2]

The students of the Hindu College organised an 'Academic Association' as a sort of debating club, under the influence of a young Eurasian teacher Henry Louis Vivian Derozio (1809-1832) Another club was also formed under the name of the 'Society for the Acquisition of General Knowledge.' Sir John Cumming remarked that these societies for social and religious reform "were the first fruits of MaCaulays's educational policy".[3]

It should be noted here that the activities of Raja Rammohon Roy and his followers together with the rising societies under the students of the Hindu College, were limited in scope and aims. And as such their aims were exclusive of the need of Muslim Society. The leaders of the new movement belonged almost entirely to the rising commercial class of Hindus in calcutta.

In 1837 the 'Bengal Zemindary Association' (later known as the 'Bengal Landholders' Society[4]) was founded. Its formation was the result of the growing desire of the Government to give the cultivator that protection which should have accompanied the permanent settlement.[5] The Zemindars thus became alert and formed their association so early to safeguard their own interest in apprehension of

the ameliorative measures of the Government in favour of the cultivators.

In forming these and similar societies, England supplied the inspiration to a considerable extent. About this time a small group of radicals appeared in England who became known in the political slang of the day as 'Young India' and founded the 'British Indian Society' in London. It intended "to fix the eyes of the entire nation on the extent...and the claims of British India." In 1842 George Thompson, one of the leaders of the British India Society visited Calcutta and gave a number of lectures there. Inspired mainly by these the 'Bengal British India Society' came into being in the next year. Its aim was the "Gradual advancement of the Public Welfare by peaceful means and on the basis of complete loyalty to the British Crown."[6] Both the 'Landholder's Society' and the 'Bengal British India Society' contained British as well as Indian members. In 1851 these were amalgamated into the 'British Indian Association' and became completely Indian in composition. Kristodas Pal was its renowned secretary for long. It was the first Indian society to undertake political activities. The association soon developed into a liaison between the Government and Hindu landed interests.[7]

This body consisted mainly of wealthy Calcutta landowners and hardly represented the views of the progressive young Bengalis. The association played an important role in determining the fate of the country for good many years. It all along tried to protect their interests against any encroachment on their rights. As such they always protested against the introduction of any new measure by the Government, which would slightly undermine their privileged position. The instances of such protests are many. They addressed a memorial through this association to the court of directors of the East India company

praying the disallowance of Act XX of 1856 : "An Act for the appointment and maintenance of Police Chawkeedars in cities, towns, stations, suburbs and Bazars, in the Presidency of Fort william in Bengal." [8] They sent a similar memorial against Act VI of 1857, "an act for the acquisition of land for Public purposes." [9] They opposed the road cess Act of 1871. In 1877, when a Public Works cess for Provincial purposes was imposed by Act II (Bengal) of that year, "the Bengal Zamindars protested against the new cess even as they did in 1871 against the road cess."[10] 'The Bengalee' on 18 December, 1880 stated that the Bengal and Bihar Zemindars protested against the imposition of new rent law, which was in preparation. They believed that their interests were at stake, and that the rights guaranteed to them by the permanent settlement were in jeopardy. In this respect the British Indian Association acted against the improvement of the condition of the raiyats.[11]

Politically the British Indian Association was a loyal organisation and placed its claims loyally. They acknowledged the many blessings they enjoyed under British rule, but claimed for a larger share in the administration of the affairs of their country. The English weekly newspaper 'Hindu Patriot', started in 1853, was their official organ. Of this paper Sir John Cumming commented in 1932 that "the paper was decidedly political in tone, attacking Dalhousie's annexations, supporting Canning, and arguing that the Mutiny had been brought about by the conduct of a few hot-headed men."[12] The Bengalee (October 4, 1879) commented on this paper in the editorial as the mouthpiece of "the landowners and titled men who had hitherto monopolised political influence in Bengal ....."

The Muslim element was practically nil in the above mentioned organisations, nearly all through the period

under review. A Hindu writer said, "we do not find, indeed, a single Muhammedan in the Committees of the Landholders Society, British Indian Society and the British Indian Association in its early days."[13] Towards the end of the period taken we notice that in 1879 in a deputation of the British Indian Association to Lord Lytton to protest against the repeal of duties on imported cotton goods, the name of Nawab Amir Ali, Nawab Ahmed Ali, and Nawab Mir Mohamed Ali along with the names of many leading Hindus.[14] The inclusion of the Muslims was confined to the wealthy and titled members of the society, whose interest seemed to be identical with the same class of Hindus.

The British Indian Association became unpopular on account of its aristocratic constitution ; even a proposal to lower its subscription was refused. A large number of Bengalis who were to become prominent in connection with the early services of the Indian National Congress felt dissatisfied with this state of affairs and started the 'Indian League' in September 1875. The supporters of the new move were Sisir Kumar Ghose, Shambhu Charan Mukherji, Surendranath Banerjee, Kristodas Pal and many others. Sisir Kumar Ghose was the chief initiator of this new move. The annual subscription for members of the League was fixed at five rupees. On the occasion of its foundation Sisir Kumar Ghose wrote ; "This is the first instance of a political body formed by public annoucement and a call upon the nation to attend it and mould it to their liking."[15] The establishment of the India league indicated a waning in the influence of the landed aristocracy and the rise of the Western educated well-to-do middle class. It, however, ceased to be an efficient body, due to disagreement among its members.

After the failure of the Indian League another association was founded by the same group on 26 July, 1876, under

the name of 'Indian Association.' Its aims were the creation of a strong body of public opinion, the unification of the Indian people on the basis of common political aspirations, and finally the promotion of friendly feelings between Hindus and Muslims.[16] It was the forerunner of the Indian National Congress which met annually from 1885, and from the beginning gathered to itself virtually the entire movement of middle-class discontent and political consciousness.[17] The Indian Association soon became the focal point of educated Bengali opinion. The weekly newspaper 'The Bengalee' was the chief organ to express the ideas of the association. Surendranath Banerjee, the moving spirit of the new body was the editor of the paper for long. The Association criticised Government measures, like the reduction of the age limit for the competitive examination fot the Indian Civil Service from twenty-one to nineteen years in 1879.

Thus public life was beginning to make itself felt by the authorities. The newspapers were already a powerful factor. In 1875 there were as many as 475 newspapers in India, mostly in the provincial languages.[18] In Bengal Sir George Campbell instituted a vigorous inquiry into the state of the native press. The result of the inquiry showed that there were altogether thirty-eight vernacular papers in all Bengal, inclusive of Assam, of which thirty-five belonged to Bengal proper. It should be noticed that not a single paper in Bengali was produced by Muslims ; all were produced by Hindus. The only two papers produced by Muslims were 'Urdu Guide' and 'Doorbeen', published from Calcutta.[19]

The absence of Muslim element in the Indian Association was conspicuous. B.T. McCully remarked : "The scarcely veiled hostility of the Bengal Zemindars was matched by the abstention of the Mohammedan community

from active participation in the Indian Association. One searches in vain for any appreciable number of Mohammedan names in press reports of Calcutta and Mofussil gatherings sponsored by the Association from 1876 to 1880."[20] He further pointed out that the indifference to the problems of the populace as a whole doomed the association to dependance on the educated class and this tended to restrict its political influence to a tiny minority of the population.[21]

It is clear that the Association was an organisation of the educated Hindu middle class, who came together under common interest and inspiration. The common interest developed out of common frustration. One Hindu writer observed : "between 1850 and 1885 a noticeable change was occuring in the attitude of the new middle class. The Baboo was cutting his teeth. The spread of English education was only making the educated despair of being treated as equals of their masters in offices."[22] Its leading members consisted of pleaders, barristers and professional men. It received loyalty of the growing students community in the mofussil unlike the British Indian Association, and was not confined to a single province.[23] The proceedings of the Association were published in English in order to keep with the interest of the educated section. It naturally failed to draw the attention of the much larger vernacular-reading public in the mofussils.[24] The Muslims up till now could not produce a vernacular reading public in Bengal. From the writing of Vrajendranath Vandyopadhyaya, we get the name of a single Bengali monthly run by Muslims throughout the period under review.[25] Modern education could not yet make any headway through the general Muslim mass. Those few who received modern education by now, almost all belonged to upper wealthy class. The old middle class

community of the Muslims had fallen due to the changed order of things, and the birth of new one had not dawned. The Muslim community in Bengal now consisted of a very small minority of upper well-to-do class and a vast illiterate poverty-stricken mass.

In the early eighties some new developments in the political history of India brought about the birth of the Indian National Congress. Lord Ripon, the successor of Lord Lytton, inaugurated a new era by concluding a treaty with the Amir of Afganistan, by repealing the Vernacular Press Act, by promoting Local Self-Government and by introducing the Ilbert Bill.[26] The object of the Ilbert Bill was to remove the bar against the Indian Magistracy trying European and likewise American offenders This bill was resented bitterly by the Anglo-Indians. Their agitation led to the foundation of the British India committee in London, which shortly after developed as the Indian Reform Association.[27] The agitation which already began among the people on the propriety of Vernacular Press Act, Arms Act and so on, took a serious turn over the question of Ilbeit Bill, and the imprisonment of Surendranath Banerjee.[28] The need of a comprehensive and strong political organisation was felt among the foremost leaders. The Indian Association convened the first all-India conference in Calcutta from 20th to 30th December 1883. Early in Spring 1884 another new association was added under the name of 'Indian Union.' It consisted of most of the Hidnu barristers of the Calcutta High Court as well as several prominent Muslims.[29] And finally the Indian National Congress was formed, as a more comprehensive and powerful body, under the initiative of a retired Civil Servant, Allan Octavian Hume and met for the first time in Bombay in December 1885.[30]

The Muslims, however, could not remain completely unaffected by socio-political currents running throughout

the province, and as English education spread among them, they developed an interest in such movements.

The need for an organisation among the Musiims in Bengal was first felt by Nawab Amir Ali Khan as early as 1856, when he founded the 'National Mohammadan Association' in Calcutta. The fifth annual report of the British Indian Association, presented to the General meeting on 31 January 1856, hailed the formation of the above association.

The object in founding the association was to unite all classes of Muslims so that they might work together for the common good. Amir Ali Khan recognised that cohesion meant strength and that one of the main reasons for the backwardness of the Muslims was the lack of organisation and of any representative body to take action on its behalf. He perceived that the old conservative feeling of exclusiveness in social relations and education could only be persisted in at the expense of the general prosperity and well-being of the Muslim community. He always advocated the advantages of British rule in India, and with the object of bringing them home to the people he wrote in Persian a work known as the 'Amir Nawab' on the history of the British administration in India, which met with considerable success.[31]

Amir Ali Khan was born at Barh, in the Patna district in 1810. He was appointed Assistant to the Ambassador of Nasiruddin Hyder, King of Oudh in 1829. In 1838 he was made Deputy Assistant Superintendent in the Presidency Special Commissioner's Court at Calcutta. In 1845 he became the Government Pleader in the Sadr Diwani Adalat. In 1857 he was appointed personal Assistant to the Commissioner of Patna on his distinguished Service to the Government during the Indian Mutiny. In 1864 he was honoured with the Title of Khan Bahadur and was

made a member of the Bengal Legislative Council. In 1875 he was made Nawab. He died on November 1879. Amir Ali Khan belonged to the old aristocracy. The association he founded consisted of influential and wealthy Muslims, and its activities were confined to the capital city. It had no political objectives.[32]

Abdul Latif next founded the 'Muhammedan Literary Society' of Calcutta in April 1863. It met once a month at his residence at No. 16 Taltollah Lane. Abdul Latif was born in 1828, the son of a leading pleader in the Sadr Diwani court of Calcutta. He was educated at the Calcutta Madrassa. He entered Government Service in 1846 and was appointed a Deputy Magistrate in 1849. He sometimes acted as presidency Magistrate in Calcutta. He became a member of the Bengal Legislative Council for several years and a member of the Calcutta Corporation. He was connected with academic life in many ways and was a Fellow of the Calcutta University. He was made Nawab in 1880, C. I. E. in 1883 and Nawab Bahadur in 1887. [3] He was often consulted by Government as one of the most enlightened and prominent members of the Muslim Community in Bengal.

The object of the society was to impart useful information to the higher and educated classes of the Muslim community by means of lectures, addresses, and discussions on various subjects in literature, science, and society. It was to break down prejudice and exclusiveness and to interest its members in present day politics and modern thought and learning. On the occasion of the second annual conversazione at the Town Hall, the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Cecil Beadon, spoke in appreciation of Abdul Latif's work in connection with the society : "By founding the Muhammedan Literary Society you have successfully led the Muhammedans, not only of

Bengal, but of India generally, to look beyond the narrow bounds of their own system, and to explore those accumulated treasures of thought and feeling which are to be found embodied in the English language ;...[34] The society held a conversazione at the Town Hall of Calcutta once a year, attended by most of the eminent Europeans and Hindus. It held a scientific Exhibition, showing interesting experiments in Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Electricity, and so on. The object of such conversazione was to awaken a love of such studies in the minds of the rising generation of Muslims, and to promote a friendly social intercourse between all classes of the community.

Politically this society was pro-British and loyalist. It opposed the 'Wahhabi' agitation against the British infidels. Its attempt to erase the idea that India was 'Darul-Harb' or the place of the enemy met with success. In one of the meetings of the society Moulvi Karamat Ali gave a lecture on a question of Muslim law, involving the duty of Muslims in British India towards the ruling power. On the occasion of the second annual conversazione at the Town Hall Sir John Lawrence, the Viceroy, presented him with a complete set of the Encyclopaedia Britannica for his good services to the cause of education. The Encyclopaedia was inscribed in the Viceroy's own hand—"Presented to Moulvi Abdul Latif in recognition of his services in promoting native education especially the education of those who, like himself, belong to the Muhammedan religion."

Calcutta — John Lawrence
25 March, 1867. — Governor-General.

The Duke of Edinburgh was present at one of the annual conversazione on his visit to India, held on 29 December 1869. He presented the society with a portrait of himself as a souvenir of his visit. The society had as

its patron the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. One of the chief functions of the society was the presentation of addresses on behalf of the Muslim community to the outgoing and in-coming Lieutenant Governor and Viceroy, as an expression of its loyalty to the British Crown.[35]

In its composition the society represented the upper strata of the community, spread throughout India. It had as its members and office bearers, the native princes, members of the old aristocracy, and few titled members of the community. Although it originated in Bengal, it was not Bengali in character and composition. The language of the proceedings of the meetings was Urdu. Lectures were delivered in Urdu, Persian, Arabic and English but never in Bengali. It is clear that in this respect the society failed to represent the Bengali Muslim community at large, or to create any interest among them It however succeded in creating a considerable interest in current problems among the upper class Muslims.[6]

In 1877 Amir Ali founded the 'National Mohammedan Association.' He saw that inspite of its size and political importance the Muslim community had hitherto been without a voice. He saw the complete lack of political training among the Muslims of India, and the immense advantage and preponderance which the Hindu organisations gave to their community. The association soon spread out and thirty-four branches were formed all over India. This necessitated the change of the name to rhe 'Central National Mohammedan Association.'[37]

Amir Ali was born in 16 April, 1849. He was the son of Syed Saadat Ali, of Unao in Oudh, of a family originally from Persia. He was educated at Hughly College. He was the first Muslim to get a master's degree obtained from the University of Calcutta. He was called to the bar at the Inner Temple in 1873 and

followed practising in the Calcutta High Court. He became a Fellow of the University of Calcutta in 1874. He acted as Magistrate and Chief Presidency Magistrate of Calcutta between 1878 and 1881. He was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council between 1878 and 1883, and of the Governor General's Council between 1883 and 1885. He was well versed in Muslim law, and became Tagore law professor in 1884. He was made C.I.E. in the same year.[38] He was an eminent scholar and wrote many books on Muslim law, religion and history. He frequently wrote articles in the 'Nineteenth Century.' He belonged to the progressive section of the Muslim community and was a keen advocate of English education.[39]

It may be safely affirmed that until the establishment of the Central National Mohammedan Association, there was no political body among the Indian Muslims, capable of representing to the Government their legitimate wants and requirements, from a loyal but independant standpoint. The few Muslim societies which had been formed before were in the main literary and scientific, having for their object the promotion of a desire for European knowledge among the Muslims.

The object of the association was to promote by all legitimate and constitutional means the well being of the Muslims of India. It was founded essentially upon the principle of strict and loyal adherence to the British Crown. It aimed at the political regeneration of the Indian Muslims by a moral revival and by constant endeavours to obtain from Government a recognition of their just and reasonable claims.[40] Amir Ali wrote in his memoirs : "our programme was primarily to promote good feeling and fellowship between the Indian races and creeds, at the same time to protect and safeguard

Mohamedan interests and help their political training." He felt that "great changes were impending in the system of Government and that unless the followers of Islam prepared themselves they would soon be outstripped in the political race by their Hindu fellow countrymen."[41] In founding the association Amir Ali asked the support of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, who by then became the chief protagonist in spreading Western education among his co-religionists.

Syed Ahmad (1817-98) belonged to an old aristocratic family of Delhi. His ancestors came to India from central Asia, and held high offices under the Mughul emperors. He entered Government Service in 1837 and rose to be a subordinate judge in the N. W. Provinces. In the mutiny he rendered faithful service to the British at Bijnur. He was devoted to antiquarian research and was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He wrote 'Archeological History of Delhi' in 1847. In 1864 he founded a Translation Society at Ghazipur (afterwards moved to Aligarh) and had several valuable English works translated into Urdu. He visited England in 1869. He retired from Government Service in 1876 To his effort the Anglo-Oriental College at Alighar was founded in 1877. He was a member of the Legislative Council of the N.W. Provinces and became additional member of the Governor General's Legislative Council between 1878 and 1882. The watchword of Syed Ahmad's reform was modern education. Once he said to Graham, his friend and biographer :[42] "all the socio-political diseases may be cured by this treatment." The treatment to which he referred was western education.

Amir Ali admitted the importance of English education and academical training for Muslims, but "urged that

unless as a community, their political training ran on parallel lines with that of their Hindu compatriots, they were certain to be submerged in the rising tide of the new nationalism." Syed Ahmad abhorred any kind of political agitation, and inspite of the fact that the proposed organisation was to be mild and extremely loyal in its character and composition, he declined to comply with the request of Amir Ali.[43]

The Central National Mohammedan Association, though it stood primarily for the Muslims, no longer ignored the needs of its non-Muslim compartiots. Non-Muslims were eligible to enter it as ordinary members, with their power to vote, except on questions which might happen to conflict with the interests of any section of the society to which such non Muslim member might belong. In consequence the association boasted of many prominent Europeans and Hindus, as members. Miss A. E. Manning, secretary of the 'National Indian Association'[44] was one of the life members of the organisation. Babu Saligram Singh, a prominent Zemindar of Shababad and Babu Ganesh Chunder, a much respected solicitor of Calcutta were members of the Committee. Eminent Europeans like W. Hunter, A. W. Croft, H. S. Cunningham, William Muir, F. J. Halliday and Hindu leaders like Kristodas Pal, W. C. Banerjee, Surendranath Banerjee, Romesh Chunder Mitter, were honorary members of the association.

The association made rapid progress. Whilst in 1878 it consisted of only two hundred members, the number in 1885 exceeded seven hundred. It soon boasted of several branch associations at important Muslim centres in Bengal and Behar, such as Bogra, Chittagong, Bhagulpur, Patna and Gya. Their activities were loosely co-ordinated by the central Association. The example set by the 'Central National Mohammedan Association 'had been followed in

other parts of India where several Muslim societies with similar objects and aspirations were formed the Meerut Association, the Amritsar Anjuman-i-Islam, the Bombay Association.[45]

The quinquennial reports of the Association from 1878 to 1882 gave the account of the work of the association under four principal heads, namely social, literary, legislative and political.

Its record of social work was reported to be one of partial success. In the early eighties it took up the task of imparting some education to the lower class Muslims in Calcutta. Its efforts were for a time successful, but the night schools had eventually to be closed for want of funds.[46] In April 1880, the committee took up the question of the propriety of extravagant expenditure on marriage and other ceremonial occasions, in view of the depressed economy of once well-to-do Muslim families.

It undertook literary activities, by awarding medals and rewards for essays and works on several subjects of extreme importance to the community which were duly announced in the paper. It brought the wishes of the 'Madrassa Literary Club' concerning the establishment of a college department in the Calcutta Madrassa to the notice of the Government. It also directed its attention to the question of female education.

The society had some success in its activities in connection with legislative measures. The Government submitted the 'Kazee's Bill' for the opinion of the committee to which the committee gave its approval. The Bill later became law. The committee took into serious consideration the draft bill regarding the registration of Muslim marriages and divorces. Its opinion could not be carried out, for the bill was dropped altogether by the Government. Its representations against the cremation of the

bodies of Muslim prisoners dying in hospitals, and also its request that the Revenue and Criminal Courts might be closed on Muslim holidays were acceded to by the Government of Bengal.

Politically one of the chief functions of the association was to present addresses of welcome and farewell to the incoming and out-going Lieutenant Governors and Viceroys like that of the Muhammadan Literary Society.[47] The annual report of the association for the year 1883-84 told of the memorial submitted to the Viceroy, dealing exhaustively with the problem of Muslim education, their share in the Public appointment and the causes of their decadence. It was a very significant memorial as it played an improtant part in the subsequent progress of Muslims in India as a whole, and especially in Bengal, where their depression was so marked. The memorial received the favourable consideration of the Government. It succeeded not only in bringing educational facilities to the Muslims but also in obtaining a declaration of a new policy from the Government, in view of their present depressed condition. The resolution of the Government of India 15 July 1885, declared in favour of special consideration towards the Muslims, was chiefly initiated by the above memorial.[48]

In the final analysis we find that the association was controlled by tne upper and educated class of the community. Its Presidents were persons like Nawab Amir Ali Khan, Prince Mohammed Furrokh Sha. Amir Ali was Secretary for long. Undoubtedly its scope was wider, and it was more progressive in its views than the Muhammadan Literary Society. The latter can be compared loosely with the Hindu aristocratic and conservative body like the British Indian Association. Similarly the 'Central National Mohammedan Association' can be

compared with that of 'Indian Association'. The increasing popularity of the association proved that it included the interest of the educated section of the community. From the printed list of its ordinary members we see that they mostly belonged to the professional class. Besides it received the friendly support of the Hindus and other non-Muslims. The annual report of the association for the year 1883-84 stated the reduction of the rate of annual subscription from ten to six rupees, with a view to enable all classes of the Muslim community to enrol themselves as members. During the few years of its establish ment it achieved some success, and thus marked a definite progress in the history of socio-political development of Bengal. But one cannot escape noticing the fact that here again the association though born in the soil of Bengal was not Bengali in character and composition. Only two branch associations in Bogra and Chittagong were opened in Bengal proper. The rest were all opened in places where the Muslims were in a small minority. The language of the proceedings was English, which was so little understood by the Muslim mass.[49]

One of the difficulties in the way of the progress of socio-political movements among the Muslims in Bengal was the scarcity of leaders. The few leaders we come across were mainly the residents of Calcutta and Dacca.[50] Their mother tongue was not Bengali. They lacked direct contact with their poor illiterate Bengali co-religionists. The Hindu leaders on the other hand all owed their origin to the soil of Bengal, their tongue was Bengali, and they came from different social classes. The Muslim leaders claimed their origin in countries other than Bengal. They almost all belonged to the old Muslim aristocracy unlike the Hindu leaders of the rising educated middle class.

There was again no cohesion and co-operation among those few Muslim leaders. W. S. Blunt, who visited India

towards the end of the period under review thought that there were two parties among the Muslims in Bengal, led by Abdul Latif and Amir Ali respectively. Both were reformers. But whereas Abdul Latif belonged to the old school of thought, Amir Ali with his followers[51] belonged to the new. There was rivalry between the two parties. W. S. Blunt remared : "I like this man (A. Latif) much. He is the sort I like far better than Amir Ali and Seyed Huseyn, and yet I fear the others are more likely to succeed. They represent the future, he the past."[52]

The followers of Amir Ali's school of thought plnned their faith more on issues of political interest than any other. The name of Mahomed Yusuf is worth mentioning in this respect. He originally belonged to Behar. He was in Government service. In 1883 he delivered in the Bengal Legislative Council one of the most remarkable speeches in reply to G. C. Paul's opposition to the local self-government Bill. Rai Bahadur Kristo Das Pal, Maharaja Sir Jatindramohon Tagore and Raja Digambar Mitra were well-known opponents of the Bill for the introduction of local self-Government. Mahomed Yusuf in his speech said : "If an opportunity is not afforded, there never will be a beginning. There is no school for education in political matters, where people should first go and qualify themselves in politics in the abstract before you could put them in charge of a district for the purpose of self-government but if the people are sufficiently advanced and educated in a general way, you may safely entrust them with the duties of self-government, although they may not have had a trial before. To entrust them with such duties is to begin with their political education, which can only be acquired by practice, and not by going to any particular schools."[53]

He then claimed a separate representation for his community in Local Self-Government. He said: "The

Council will be pleased to remember that though in most places the Mahommedan population forms a minority as compared with the larger bodies of the Hindus, still in many places they form a large proportion of the population. Or it may be that in some places though fewer, the case is the reverse, and the Hindus form a minority. In such cases, when there is party spirit and angry feeling between the two classes of people, it is necessary to reserve power for the representation of the minority. The Bill proposes to provide for this by nomination, but it would be an advantage and a more fit recognition of the claims of the Mohammedan population if provision could be made in the Bill for the election of Mohammedans by reserving a certain number of membership for that community."[54] It should be marked that Mahomed Yusuf did not claim separate representation for the Muslims only, but for any minority community, be it Hindu or Muslim.

Mahomed Yusuf's speech is still more striking for the advocacy of women's franchise for the first time in an Indian Legislature. He said: "As in the Municipal Bill, so in this, the voters must be of the male sex and females are purposely excluded. There may be some history attached to the question of female suffrage in other countries, but the matter is worth our serious and unbiased consideration here. Females are in many cases holders of large Zemindaries, and they manage their own property themselves. It would, therefore, be hard to exclude them from exercising the power of voting in the self-government scheme,"[55] In appreciation of his view, B. Majumdar wrote: "It is a great tribute to the democratic spirit of Islam that one of its followers was the first to claim political rights for Indian women."[56]

The rise of Western educated Hindu middle class was accompanied by the new ideas of nationalism and democracy. As B.T. McCully says, "Liberal nationalism : An

offspring of English education."[57] Their attitude towards the Government began growing critical. The loyalty of the Muslim leaders and their organisations became the object of criticism and ridicule on the part of the educated Hindu middle class. Amir Ali in his memoir regretted the attitude of Hindu papers towards him. The Bengalee, the voice of 'Indian Association' commented on the farewell address of Muslim organisations to the out-going Viceroy Lord Lytton in the following way—

"The Mohamedan Literary Society and the National Mohammedan Association have relieved India from a great strain. If it were not for the timely interference of these societies, the honour of India would have been compromised and he who had gagged the native press, and had deprived our countrymen of the few rusty arms that they ever possessed, would have left these shores without one word of regret and without a single token of the nation's recognition of the eminent services which he has rendered."[58] This shows how Hindu Public opinion reacted to the loyal attitude of the Muslims in Bengal.

Hindu revivalism towards the later part of the period under taken, helped in increasing the ill feeling between the two communities. It has its first appearance in the thoughts of the mystic Ramprasad and Ramkrishna Paramahamsa. Their mission was primarily devoted to social and religious services. Ramkrishna (1836-1886) tried to revive the cult of Bhakti or Devotion which, however, under his disciple Swami Vive-kananda (1862-1902) was linked up with nationalism.[59] The revivalism under these leaders was confined to the restoration of the ancient Hindu Philosophy and Cult but was not aggressive to other religions.

It was the Hindu revivalism in the new educated middle and upper classes which helped in the growth of ill feeling.

A Hindu writer described the movement: "A deeper reaction came in the wake of religious revival. It was more than a reaction, it was almost a revulsion."[60] Some of them were strong nationalists but at the same time were critics of democracy and popular control over the Government, like Nabagopal Mitra, Akshay Chandra Sircar and Bhudev Mukhopadhyay.[61] They began advocating the glory of the Hindu culture and religion, and became the chapions of Sanskritic learning and oriental manners. Raj Narayan Bose, Kali Prasanna Sinha, Maharaja Radhakanta, Raja Kamal Krishna, the Dinajpur Raj families and various others among the old and new rich, were well-known patrons of this movement. Bhudev Mukhopadhyay, an eminent educationist was a well-known writer of this schcol. Akshaychandra Sircar, a disciple of Bankim chandra, even went so far as to say that the religion of Islam was a real stumbling block to the realisation of national unity in India.[62]

Bankim Chandra (1838-1894) one of the greatest personalities of Bengal in the second half of the nineteenth century belonged to the above school and maintained a bitter disregard towards the faith and followers of Islam. He tried his best to raise nationalism to the dignity of a religion. He did not believe in political agitation. But his lofty ideas of patriotism practically ignored the existence of the large Muslim community in the same soil. He saw everything in terms of the Hindu religion and Hindu culture. He developed his idea of patriotism, as a counterpart of religion in his famous novel 'Ananda Math'[63] 'The Abode of Happiness'—where he expressed his acute hatred towards the Muslims. And yet, this book "has become the Bible of modern Bengali Patriotism."[64] It appears to be contradictory when we see that Bankim talked about equality, the uplift of the Bengali masses,

their education, but yet disregarded the Muslims who formed the major community in Bengal, Dhurjati Prasad describes him : "He was a genuine radical. It was he who advocated the use of the Bengali, who realized the plight of the masses, and pleaded for equality, saw through the pretensions of the new bourgeoisie, and wanted democratic forms of Government; and yet in his scheme of things the Muslims did not come in. Whatever the Hindu defenders of Bankim may say his novels do not show many traces of affection for the Muslims." Dhurjati Prasad goes on to say that members of this school of thought though differing in their views on many aspects "met on the common ground of an anti-Islamic attitude." He finds in Sisir Kumar Ghose (1840-1911), the good democrat, and the editor of "The Amrita Bazar Patrika"[65] the same attitude : "he, too, contradicted himself." Finally Dhurjati Prasad comments : "If the radicals were middle class in their moorings, and completely indifferent, if not hostile, to the Muslims and to the masses, it was difficult for others to realise that they too, were sons of the soil..."[66] The reactionary group often spoke of unity. In this connection B.T. McCully remarks : "And in sublime disregard for the Mohamedan and other native communities they talked confidently of the Unity of India in terms of the Hindu race and Hindu civilization.[67]

Among the Muslims of Bengal the effect of two nineteenth century reform movements resulted in the set back of their general progress. These go by the name of the Faraizi and the Wahabi movements. These movements appear to have derived their inspiration from a reactionary movement in Arabia in the last century, started by one Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab. The Wahabi movement in India began with religious reformation but later became political and economic.

The chief centre of Wahabi propagation in India was Patna, whence deputies or agents under the name of Khalifas were sent in different parts to carry out their missions among the Muslims. Inayet Ali and Wilayat Ali of Patna were such Khalifas who assumed the leadership after the death of Sayyid Ahmed. Dr. Hunter in his book "The Indian Musalmans ... Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen" dealt at length with this movements.[68] His comments on the Wahabi doctrines and the rebellion in connection with it led Syed Ahmad Khan to write a Review of his book in 1872. In the review Syed Ahmad refuted Hunter's argument that Wahabism and rebellion against the British Government were synonymous. Syed Ahmad defined the Wahabis as extremists or "the puritans of Islam," He wrote : "In my opinion, what the protestant is to Roman Catholic, so is the Wahabi to the other Mahomedan creeds."[69] In 1864 Sir Herbert Edwardes, as sessions Judge of Amballa, delivered judgement in a state trial, in which eleven Muslim subjects of the British Government had been charged with treason. There were four moulvis, an army contractor, a wholesale butcher, a scrivener, a soldier, an itinerant preacher, a house-steward, and a cultivator. The trial ended with the condemnation of eight of the prisoners to transportation for life, and of the three last to death.[70]

The first preacher of the Patna school who visited Bengal was Muhammad Ali, a Khalifa appointed by Sayyid Ahmad. His activities were directed against the development of Hindu superstitions among the Muslims. He forbade the reading of the 'fatiha' or prayer for the dead ; the offering of 'shirni' or sweetmeats, at the tomb of holy men ; and the use of music at weddings and so on.[71] Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali next led their missionary tours through the districts of Bengal, the former, however took

Bombay, the Nizamat, and Central India as his special field. Inayat concentrated his efforts oh the middle districts of the lower provinces. The most successful and celebrated missionaries, however, where moulvis Karamat Ali, Zain-ul-abedin, a native of Hyderabad, sayyid Muhammad Jamal-ul-lail. Their preachings among the villages of Eastern Bengal had the momentous effect of uniting under one banner the vast majority of the middle and working classes.[73]

Little was known regarding the history of Zain-ul-abedin. Zayyid Muhammad Janal-ul-lail fled from Medina to Dacca and joined with Karamat Ali in disseminating the new doctrines. In 1854, incensed by the peculations of the Ambala, he decided contrary to the wishes of other shareholders, to collect the rents himself. While his opponents tried to capture him, he rushed within the doors, seized a gun and wounded several of his assailants. For this offence he was tried, and was sentenced to seven years imprisonment in the Rajshali Jail. On his release he returned to Dacca as an altered man, much broken in spirit. He died in August 1872, and was buried in the village of Naichbandtola, opposite to Dacca.[74]

Karamat Ali, a learned Muslim law-doctor, came to Calcutta as a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad. After Sayyid's departure for Mecca about 1822, Maulvi Karamat Ali arrived at Bakergunge with the object of teaching the Muslim faith. He established a school and soon made converts to this tenets. The new sect rapidly increased in Bakergunge and the neighbouring districts of Faridpur, Dacca, Noakhali, Chittagong and Tipperah. After the death of Dudhu Miyan, many of the latter's followers joined the party of Karamat Ali. Karamat Ali died in 1874. The form of Wahabism he preached was a protest against the abuses which had been allowed to creep into Muslim

worship and did not involve disloyalty to the ruling power or hostility to other forms of faith.[75] In later years Karamat Ali made the important admission that India under the English rule, was not Dar-ul-harb, a country where the infidels were the legitimate objects of attack.[76]

The principal doctrines of these reformers were founded on the fundamental truths of Islam, and as such there can be but little doubt that the religious principles of the Wahabis of India were analogous with those of the Wahabis of Arabia. Some of the principal doctrines of the Wahabi faith were the following :

The Wahabis spoke of themselves as Muwahhid or Unitarians, and called all others Mushrik, or those who associate another with God. They believed that no one but God could know the secrets of man and that prayers should not be offered to any prophet, Wali, pir or saint. They considered it unlawful to illuminate the shrines of departed saints or to prostrate before them. They did not present offerings (Nazr) at any shrine. They did not observe any festival besides 'Id-ul-Fitr', 'Id-ul-Azha', 'Ashura', and 'Shab-i-Barat'. They counted the ninety-nine names of God on their fingers and not on a rosary.[77]

The Faraizi movement in Bengal, a legacy of the Wahabi movement in Arabia, though identical in their fundamental principles with the above, took a different name. They declared that the Koran was the complete guide to spiritual life ; and they therefore, called themselves Faraizis or followers of the faraiz (plural of the Arabic word farz) the divine ordinances of God alone. Historically they represent a puritan reaction against the corrupt condition into which Islam had fallen in Bengal at the close of the seventeenth century, and in this as in other respects bore an analogy to the Wahabis of Arabia.[78] The chief difference between Wahabism and the Faraizi

movement lay in the subject of Jihad or religious War, on which the former laid much stress unlike the latter. On the subject of Jihad a Wahabi might be defined as an ultra Faraizi.[79]

The founder of this sect was Haji Shariatullah, born of obscure parents who resided in Daulatpur, a village in Bandarkhola Parganas, in Faridpur District. He made a pilgrimage to Mecca when eighteen years old. He remained there a disciple of the Wahabi leaders then ruling the sacred city. About 1820, after an absence of twenty years he came back to India, a good Arabic scholar. For several years Shariatullah preached his new doctrines quietly in the villages of his native district. At first he had to encounter much opposition and criticism, but by degrees he acquired the reputation of a holy man and attracted a number of devoted followers.[80]

The chief Wahabi innovations introduced by him were the non-observance of the Friday prayers, of the two great I'ds, and of the Muharram. He introduced the terms Ustad and Shagrid in place of Pir and Murid. which meant master and pupil respectively. Shariatullah's influence became unbounded, and no one hesitated to carry out his orders. But he acted with great prudence and caution, and did not assume any other character than that of a religious reformer. The Zemindars were alarmed at the growth of this new doctrine, as it united the Muslim peasantry under common tenets.[81] Moreover, the doctrine strongly emphasized the equality of the followers of the Faraizi sect.[82] The quarrel soon arose between Shariatullah and Zemindars.[83] And out of one such quarrel Shariatullah was driven from Nayabari, in the Dacca District where he settled, and returned to his birth-place. But he onward gained more and more followers among the simple religious minded poor peasantry. Dr. James Wise thus remarked of him in

appreciation: "That he, born of Poor Muhammadan Weaver, amid the swamps of Eastern Bengal, should have been the first preacher to denounce the superstitions and corruptions, which a long contact with Hindu Polytheism had developed, is sufficiently remarkable ; but that the apathetic and careless Bengali peasant should have been roused in to enthusiasm is still more extraordinary."[84] Shariatullah's success in religious reforms among the Muslim mass of Bengal, to some extent helped in the preparation of the field for the great Sayyid Ahmed.[85]

In connection with the Faraizi movement some reference might be made to the Faraizi rising in Western Bengal, which though it does not fall in the present period, hais some bearing upon the subject. The leader of the Faraiz movement in western Bengal was one Nisar Ali, or Titu Mir. He was a disciple of Sayyid Ahmad and resident of the village of Chandpur In the district of Barasat. The movement also started as one of religious reform, aiming chiefly to remove the accretions in the Muslim religion borrowed from Hinduism or superstitions shared with Hinduism in Bengal. It later assumed the colour of agrarian rising, and finally defied the Government, The Faraizi creed developed by Titu Mir, differed from Shariatullah's school in respect of some religious performances; for example, the former recognised Friday prayer as obligatory while the latter did not find it obligatory in a country which was not Dar-ul-Islam. The movement under Titu Mir was very short lived one. In June 1831, the oppressive conduct of Kishen Roy brought the matter to a crisis and turned the movement into an agrarian one. The rising of the peasantry against Zemindars went on in a spasmodic way. Titu Mir and his party were attacked on November 1831 in a stockaded village. Titu Mir was shot in the action and some 350 followers were taken prisoners,

Ghulum Masum his Lieutenant was sentenced to death and about 140 of his followers were condemned to suffer various kinds of punishment. This put an end to the rising. J. R. Colvin was appointed to make enquiry into the causes and nature of the disturbance and stated that the rising was a strictly local one and was confined to the poorer classes of Muslims, like weavers and cultivators.[86]

The view that the rising of Barasat wss inspired by political motives is unfounded. The idea gained currency from the writings of some who Wrongly identified the Faraizi followers of Titu Mir with the wahabi followers of Sayyid Ahmed. An official report drawn up by T. E. Ravenshaw. the magistrate of patna, after the trial of 1865. also contained the same idea ; he wrote in a general manner that the sect of Faraizi "were generally reported to entertain ideas of subverting the British Government."[87]

The risings of ignorant and oppressed peasantry, led by fanatical leaders, against the wealthy Zemindar class, were impelled more by the spirit of revenge and retaliation than anything else. The risings were spasmodic in character and showed no trace of planned conspiracy against the state. Indeed the risings bore an economic aspect. And in this respect the communal division no longer held : "lu the peasant rising around Calcutta in 1831, they broke into the houses of Musalman and Hindu Landholders with perfect impartiality."[88] The wealthy upper class Muslim opposed the reform movements, despite their religious appeal ; "The presence of Wahabis in a district is a standing menace to all classes ··possessed of property or vested rights."[89]

After Shariatullah, the Faraizi leader of Eastern Bengal, his son Muhammad Mohsin, alias Dudhu Miyan took up the leadership. He though of ordinary abilities, exerted an influence far surpassing that of his father. He was born

in 1819, and visited Mecca at his early age. He helped in spreading the mission of his father to which he added his own subsequently.

The most remarkable advance made during Dudhu Miyan's life time was the organisation of a society. He partitioned Eastern Bengal into circles and appointed a Khalifa or agent, to each, whose duties were to keep the sect together, make proselytes and collect contributions for the furtherance of the objects of the association.[90] They further kept Dudhu Miyan acquainted with everything occuring within their jurisdiction. Any exaction on the part of the Zemindars and planters was duly reported to him, on which he took immediately action. Such high-handed action was not known at the time of his father. But now Zemindars and Planters made an united front against him. The position of the peasants became odd. The Zemindars tried to prevent their tenants joining the sect and often punished and tortured the disobedient. Similarly Dudhu Miyan's party endeavoured to make the raiyats join the Faraizi sect, and on refusal caused them to be beaten, excommunicated from the societey of the faithful, and their crops destroyed.[91] The poor peasantry was sandwiched by the dual pressure. But they often showed greater inclination towards joining the Faraizi sect, which appealed to them on both religious and economic grounds.

It was among the cultivators and village workmen that Dudhu Miyan gained the largest number of converts. He strongly advocated ideas of equality and brotherhood among his followers. He further taught that the welfare of the lowest and poorest was as much an object as that of the highest and richest. It was, however, against the imposition of illegal cesses by the Zemindars that Dudhu

Miyan made his most determined stand. These attracted the Muslim mass of Bengal, who readily joined the sect. The power and influence which Dudhu Miyan exerted over his followers became the object of dread to Hindu, Muslim and European landlords.

The method Dudhu Miyan adopted towards securing his object was not a peaceful one and people often spoke of his lawlessness against the landlords and Indigo planters and their supporters. He was charged by the Government on several occasions from the year 1838 onwards. A. Dunlop, an indigo planter of Panchchar Factory in Faridpur, had many years been an uncompromising opponent, and several times succeeded in causing the Miyan to be arrested, and tried for illegal actions. The Miyan, bent upon revenge, attacked and burned the factory on 5 December 1846, causing the death of a Brahman Gomosta. On this Dudhu Miyan was tried in July 1847 and was convicted.[92] In 1857 he was removed to Calcutta and kept in custody there until the close of the mutiny.[93] In 1857 the Government apprehended the coalition of the Faraizis with the mutineers.[94] But this did not happen. Dudhu Miyan was released unconditionally[95] contrary to the wish of the Zeminders of Faridpur. They sent a petition to the Government : "Indeed to release him will be tantamount to throwing your Lordship's petitioners to the grasp of a tiger."[96] On his return to the district he was cleverly captured to answer another charge prepared against him by one of the Faridpur Police Inspectors. When again released, he left the district and sought refuge in Dacca, where he died in 1861.[97] After his death the movement lost its importance and gradually lost its adherents.[98]

The difference between the Faraizi movement and the Wahabi movement under Sayyid Ahmad and his followers

lay in one important fact that while the former assumed only religious and then social and economic character, the latter aimed more at gaining political power. The charges against Dudhu Miyan do not tell of any anti-state activities, which is sometimes wrongly alleged against him.

In short these movements seem to have had the following effects in Bengal. Politically they roused the distrust and suspicion of the ruling class whose mind was already susceptible to such feelings. As early in 1843 Lord Ellenborough in a despatch to the Duke of Wellington exposed his distrust : "I cannot close my eyes to the belief that, that race (Mahommedans) is fundamentally hostile to us and our true policy is to reconcile the Hindus."[99] The Wahabi belief in 'Der-ul-Harb' and the doctrine of Jihad aggravated the feeling of distrust of the ruling class. The unfortunate outcome of the mutiny further added to this, after which "the English turned fiercely on the Mohammedans as upon their real enemies."[100] This feeling of distrust and suspicion worked upon the minds of non-official Europeans in a greater degree. They tried to link up the Wahabi troubles on the N.W. Frontier and the incident of the assassination of J.P. Norman, chief Justice of the Calcutta supreme court, on 21 September 1871. Dr. Hunter's work on 'Indian Musalmans', published in the same year, shows the extent of the above feeling of doubt and distrust. The eminent Muslim leaders like Syed Ahmad, Amir Ali, Abdul Latif all tried to erase this feeling from the ruling class. A Muslim writer thus wrote : "If an irruption of the Wahabis or the assassination of the Honourable Justice Norman are sufficient to prove your disloyalty, it is no wonder that the revolt of Ranjit Sing, Kumar Sing and Omar Sing should prove the Hindus to be so."[101] For a few more years this feeling persisted in the minds of rulers, who, it seems, were in a perplexed

position as to which policy should be followed in respect to the Muslim community. Lord Lytton wrote to Lord Salisbury on 23 June 1877—"There is no getting over the fact that the British Empire of India is a Mahometan power and that it entirely depends on the policy of Her Majesty's Government whether the sentiment of our Mahometan subjects is to be an immense security or an immense danger to us,"[102]

Socially, the reform movements were of some importance in rousing the communal feeling. The reformists aimed at purging Islam from the corrupt and superstitious Hindu practices, which the Muslims of Bengal allowed to creep in by their long contact and close association with their Hindu neighbours. The reformists thus tried to reimpose distinctions between the two communities.

Economically, the movements told upon the little income of the poor peasantry. They had to contribute subscriptions and there was talk of embezzlement of funds by the preachers. The Zemindars' attitude towards the peasantry no doubt became harsher after these movements.

In the final analysis we see that the religious reform movements brought a stem to the progress of the Muslim mass in all respects. It took a long time for the Muslim leaders of Bengal to erase the influence of this fanatical movement. The organisations patronised by the Muslim leaders, though limited in their approaches to the masses, helped at least to suppress reactionary ideas like that of Jihad, Dar-ul-Harb and so on. These organisations under took the work of spreading a knowledge of the decisions of renowned Muslim law doctors, among the Muslims at large, with regard to the impropriety of holding such views,[103]

So far as the character of the socio-political organisations of Bengal is concerned, it should be noticed that

there were vital differences between the Hindu and Muslim organisations, referred before. Hindu organisation in Bengal from the time of Raja Rammohon Roy was Bengali in character and composition, unlike the Muslim organisation. The development of Hindu organisations is marked by the change of leadership from the wealthy Zemindars and commercial class to the new Western educated Bengali-Middle Class. In Muslim organisations no such change in the character of leadership is noticeable. The Hindus had sufficiently advanced in respect of modern education, and as such their organisations increasingly developed political aspirations. To the Muslims, relations with the West appeared to be the main problem. The aim of the Muslim organisations is characterized by the effort to persuade the Muslims to look to the West towards a harmonious adjustment. As such their aims and objects were confined more to social and edcuational problems than to political matters. The organisation founded by Amir Ali claimed to be the first political organisation of the Muslims. But the activities of the 'Central National Mohammedan Association' during the period under review show that the extent of political activities was much smaller than that of social and educational activities. The Muslim organisations, however, achieved their main object in turning the Muslim mind towards the west.

APPENDIX-A

The Divisions of Bengal (including Assam and Behar) according to the area under the supervision of different Inspector of Schools :

North-East Division

It included the districts—Bogra, Darjeeling, Dinajpur, Maldah, Rajshahi, Rungpur, (in Bengal proper) ; and (in Assam) Durrung, Gowalpara, Kamrup, Luckhimpur, Nowgong, Sibsagar. Cooch Behar was added under the orders of the Government of Bengal on 7 Nov. 1866 ; memorandum No. 4195, dated 20th idem.

South-West Division

Birbhum, Burdwan, Jehanabad, Bakura and the major portions of Midnapur and Manbhum.

South-East Division

Mymensingh, Dacca, Burisal, Chittagong, Jessore, Noakhali, Pubna, Comilla, Faridpur.

Central Division

Nadia, Murshidabad, 24 Parganas with Baraset and the Eastern portion of the Hughly Zillah. The City of Calcutta was included.

North-West Division

Shahabad, Saran, Bhagulpur, Tirhoot, Patna, Gya, Monghyr—see G. R. P. I. Bengal 1866-1867.

In 1869 a new inspection under the name of 'North Central Division' was formed from parts of four other (Bengal proper) divisions, and was placed under the charge of Bhudev Mukhopadhyaya see G. R. P. I. Bengal 1870-1871.

The present work takes the Divisions and Districts which came under the lower provinces of Bengal or Bengal proper. The educational Divisons had undergone some minor changes from time to time.

APPENDIX B

Report of the Muhammadan Educational Endowments Committee, Calcutta, 1888.

Endoments exclusively educational.

No.	Name of Endowments.	Capital Invested.	Annual Income.	Date of Foundation.	Object.	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs. A. P.			
1.	Scindhia's and Bhopal's Donation Fund ..	1,000	40 0 0	April 1882	The support of a scholarships in connection with the Calcutta Madrassa.	
2.	Eden Scholarship Fund...	...	500 0 0	" "	The support of a scholarship to be held by a Muhammedan at the Government Engineering College, Seebpore.	
3	Muhammadan Literary Society's Ripon Prize Fund...	1,000	40 0 0	Jan. 1883	Annual Prizes to be given to Muhammedan candidates who pass the Entrance Examination of the Calcutta University, but fail to obtain scholarships, a preference being given to students of the Calcutta Madrassa. The fund was established in commomoration of	

(contd.)

No.	Names of Endowments.	Invested Capital	Annual Income.	Date of Foundation.	Object.	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs. A. P.			
					a visit paid to the Madrassa to the Marquis of Ripon, and is managed by the Director of Public Instruction.	
4.	Shahzada Mohammad Nussiruddeen Hyder's Ripon Prize Fund	300	12 0 0	Jan. 1883	Ditto ditto.	
5.	Shahzada Mohammad Raheemuddeen's Ripon Prize Fund	1,000	40 0 0	,, ,,	Ditto ditto.	
6.	Mirza Abdul Kareem Shirazi's Ripon Prize Fund	300	12 0 0	,, ,,	Ditto ditto.	
7.	Kasim Ariff's Ripon Prize Fund	500	20 0 0	,, ,,	Ditto ditto.	
8.	Nawab Zainul Abideen Khan Bahadoor's Ripon Prize Fund	500	20 0 0	,, ,,	Ditto ditto.	

(contd.)

No.	Names of Endowments.	Invested Capital,	Annual Income.	Date of Foundation.	Object.	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs. A.P.			
9.	Moulvi Syud Aley Ahmad's Ripon Prize Fund	500	20 0 0	Jan. 1883	Ditto ditto.	
10.	Prince Jahan Kader Mirza Muhammuda Wahid Ali Bahadoor's Ripon Prize Fund	500	20 0 0	,, ,,	Ditto ditto.	
11.	Syad Ali Khan Bahadoor's Ripon Scholarship Fund	3,000	120 0 0	,, ,,	A scholarship to be given under the conditions specified above.	
12.	Ameer-i-Kabir's Madrassa Scholarship Fund	15,000	600 0 0	,, ,,	Two Junior scholarships tenable for two years in the collegiate classes of the Calcutta Madrassa by Muhammadan students who pass the Entrance Examination; and one scholarship for one year to the holder of Syad Ali Khan Bahadoor's Ripon scholarship after its term has expired.	

(contd.)

No.	Names of Endowments.	Invested Capital.	Annual Income.	Date of Foundation.	Object	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs. A. P.			
13.	Durbhanga Madrassa Scholarship	12,000	480 0 0		Two scholarships open to students who pass the F. A. Examination from the Calcutta Madrassa, tenable in any arts college of the first grade, or in the Medical College or Engineering College.	
14.	Syad Lootf Ali Khan's Ripon Scholarship Fund	6,000	240 0 0	Jan. 1883.	Two scholarships to be given to students who pass the Entrance Examination from the Patna Collegiate school and the Calcutta Madrassa.	
15.	Nawab Abdool Luteef Khan's Ripon Prize Fund	300	12 0 0	,, ,,	An annual prize to a student of the Calcutta Madrasa passing the Entrance Examination but failing to obtain a scholarship.	

(contd.)

No.	Name of Endowments.	Invested Capital.	Annual Income.	Date of Foundation.	Object.	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs. A. P.			
16.	Nawab Ahsanullah's Ripon Scholarship Fund	3,000	120 0 0	,, ,,	A scholarship to be awarded to a Muhammedan student and tenable for four years at any of the Arts Colleges in Bengal.	
17.	National Muhammedan Association Scholarship Fund				Four scholarships, two of Rs. 15 each, one being ten able at the Medical College for five years, and the other at Seebpore Engineering Coliege for three years ; and two of Rs. 10 each, tenable for four years, in any of the Arts Colleges, Bengal, established in commemoration of the visit paid to the Calcutta Madrassa by the Marquis of Ripon. Funds	

(contd.)

No.	Names of Endowments.	Invested Capital.	Annual Income.	Date of Foundation.	Object.	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs. A. P.			
					have been fully provided for the permanent endowment of one only of these scholarships. Towards the foundation of the others Rs. 1,300 have been contributed.	
18.	Syad Kazi Reza Hossain's Endowment Fund	30,000	1,600 0 0	May 1885.	The education of Muhammedan youths in English.	
19.	Munshi Alimuddin's Scholarship Fund		145 0 0	Feb. 1884.	The support of two scholarships and the giving of a silver medal in connection with the Calcutta Madrassa.	
20.	Munshi Alimuddin's Scholarship		145 0 0	May 1885	ditto	ditto

(contd.)

No.	Name of Endowments.	Invested Capital.	Annual Income.	Date of Foundation.	Object.	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs. A. P.			
21.	Khajah Abdul Ghani's Scholarship Fund	7,500	337 8 0	1871	The support of a scholarship in connection with the Medical College, Calcutta. The fund was established in commemoration of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh's visit to India.	
22.	Norman Memorial Fund	Government papers valued at Rs. 3,500	140 0 0	1872	Annual prizes in connection with the Calcutta Madrassa.	
23.	Badrunnissa Bibi's Endowment		600 0 0	11th Sraban 1282 or 1876	Muhammedan and English teaching.	

(contd.)

No.	Names of Endowments.	Invested Capital.	Annual Income.	Dafe ot Foundation.	Object	Remarks
		Rs.	Rs. A. P.			
24.	Nawab Ahsanullah Scholarship Fund		288 0 0	1881	Secular Education.	The foundation is for the Nawab's lifetime.
25.	O'Kinealy Fund	2,000	80 0 0	1870	Secular Education.	
26.	Syad Hossain Ali Chowdhuri's Endowment	—	292 12 0	—	Maintenance of a teacher of Persian and Arabic in the Chandpore school.	
27.	Pana Mia's endowment	—	1,250 0 0	Ist Falgoon 1273 corresponding with 12th Feb. 1867.	Maintenance of an upper primary school,	The endowment property consisted of two talooks, one of which has since been sold for about Rs. 1, 2500 of which Rs. 1,100 have been invested in 4per cent Government securities and

(contd.)

No.	Names of Endowments.	Invested Capital. Rs.	Annual Income. Rs. A. P.	Date of Foundation.	Object.	Remarks.
						the remaining talook yielding a net profit of Rs. 250 annually, supplemented by a Government grant from the grant-in-aid fund of Rs. 60 per annum, is devoted to the maintenance of an upper primary school, to which is attached an Arabic of Persian Class. Entry 44 in the list Towliatnamahs.
28.	Golegram Khanka	—	60 0 0	April 8, 1870.	To teach Bengali, Arabic and Persian.	Rs. 53-12-0 are available for education.

(contd.)

No.	Names of Endowments.	Invested Capital.	Annual Income.	Date of Foundation.	Object.	Remarks.
		Rs.	Rs. A. P.			
29.	Jogiarah Endowment	—	4,960 0 0	2nd June 1853	To teach Arabic and Persian and caliography in the Mozufferpore Zillah school.	Rs. 2 395 are available for education.
30.	Wakf Tahtul Musjid	—	1,500 0 0	12th September 1876.	To teach Persian and Urdu and the Koran	Rupees 2,000 are annually spent, being Rs. 500 over and above the income of the endowments by Munshi Abdul Gunny, who intends shortly to add as much landed property to the endowment as will yield the difference.

* In Behar

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4. Statement of Clerk, Inspector of the South East Division, see G. R. P. I. 1869-1870.
5. Certificate of aristocracy.
6. The above quotation was a translation from Persian of the petition on 2 Sept. 1869 of Amir Ali, submitted to the committee, formed to inquire into the conditions of Madrassas in 1869. See the Report of the Committee submitted on 1 Dec. 1869.

Chapter I

THE MUTINY AND THE MUSLIM OF BENGAL

7. Sir P. Griffiths - The British Impact of India, p. 103.
8. W. C. Smith—Modern Islam in India, p. 11.
9. P. Griffiths—op. cit, p. 103.
10. G. F. I. Graham—Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan (2nd Ed.), p. 40.
11. P. E. Roberts—History of British India. Under the Company and the Crown, (2nd Ed.), pp. 361-367.
12. The Friend of India, 28 May 1857. Conveyed the above opinion of the Hurkaru (Both these were English newspapers, published from Calcutta).
13. L. S. S. O' Malley - Modern India and the West (Edited), p. 78.
14. The Bengal army was not recruited from Bengal. Bengal in the old sense included all that part of British territory in India which was administered from Calcutta, and the main recruiting ground for the Bengal army was the Kingdom of Oudh. see P. Griffiths, op. cit., p. 104.

15. Boards Collecction, Vol. 2683, 1856-1857, Coll. No. 184804, Draft No. 187 of 1857.

16. Letter—Home Department. No. 128 of 1857 (7 November) to the Court of Directors of the East India Campany, paras 12-13. See-Public Letters from Bengal 1857, Vol. 51.

17. F. B. Bradley-Birt—Twelve Men of Bengal, p. 178.

18. Minute of the Lieutenant Governor F. J. Halliday, 30 September 1857.

19. Beng. Gen. Progs., 1857, Prog. No. 22 (Letter no. 57).

20. Churruck—a Hindu festival. It was often attended with cruel manifestations.

21. Beng. Gen. Progs., 1857 No. 81 (letter no. 70).

22. Ibid, Progs. No. 17 (Letter No. 78).

23. Letter of W. N. Lees—No. 185, see—Ind. Edn. Cons. 1859.

24. Beng. Gen. Progs., 1857, No. 21.

25. Despatches to India and Bengal, Vol. CXI, p. 1323 (18 March 1858).

26. Minute of the Lieutenant Governor F. J. Halliday, 30 Sept. 1857.

27. Mutiny Papers of Sir J. W. Kaye, p. 223. Home Misc. No. 119 (Manuscript).

28. Education Despatch No. 17, 2 September 1859. See—Parl. Papers. 1857-1858, Vol. II, paper 283, H. C.

29. Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, 19 Nov. 1858. On letter from the Earl of Ellenborough, 28 April 1858, and the annexed Memorandum by Sir George Clerk. See—Parl. Papers 1860. Vol. 52, paper 35.

30. Minute by the Lieutenant Governor F. J. Halliday, 15 Sept. 1858.

31. Letter from W. N. Lees, to the D. P. I. No. 185, 11 May 1858, para 12. See the above and other letters in connection with the proposal for the abolition of the Calcutta Madrassa. see—Beng. Edn. Progs. 2 July 1860. No. s. 1-8.

32. Beng. Edn. Progs. 9 April 1870, para 27. See letter from Bengal, No. 632, 28 February 1871.

33. Letter from the Govt. of India to the Govt. of Bengal (No. 1219, 2 July 1860) see Beng. Edn, Progs July 1860, No. 11.

34. Sir J. W. Kaye held a suspicious opinion about the Muslims in general. He described the general state of feelings of Hindus and Muslims during the Mutiny. Among the educated and uneducated Hindus "turbulent feeling seemed to be very vague....with an unaccentuated apathy...loyalty was abundant among those who came with the contact with Europeans." The Muslims "were decidely...disaffected, sulky and anxious for the cessation of the British rule." See Mutiny Papers of Sir J. W. Kaye, p. 729, Home Misc. No. 119 (manuscript).

35. Munshi Amir Ali was subseqnently known as Nawab Amir Ali Khan.

36. Letter from Bengal, 10 Nov. 1857.

37. Ibid, Letter no 1167.

38. Home Dept., Letter No 130 of 1857 to the Court of Directors of the East India Company.

39. Ibid.

40. The Friend of India, July 30, 1857.

41. H. K. Sherwani—The Political Thought of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, see—Islamic Culture, Vol. XVIII, No. 3, July 1944, p. 237.

42. Translated by Auckland Colvin and G. F. I. Graham.

43. Baljon—The Reforms and Religious Ideas of sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, pp. 14-16.

44. Memoirs of my Indian Career, Vol. 2, pp. 292-293.

Chapter II

VERNACULAR EDUCATION AND THE MUSLIMS OF Bengal (1854-1884).

1. Arthur Mayhew—The Education of India 1835-1920, p. 91.

2. The occasion of the Despatch of 19 July No. 49, was the renewal of the Company's Charter by Parliament in 1853. The Despatch was sent by Sir Charles Wood, then the President of the Board of Control.
   For Despatch see—Parl. Papers, 1854, Vol. 47, paper 393, H. C.

3. See the Despatch of 1854—paras 2, 10, 39, 40 for impetus and instruction on vernacular education.

4. G. R. P. I. Bengal 1857-1858, Appx. A, p. 29.

5. Report of the Indian Education Commission, para 157.

6. H. A. Stark—Vernacular Education in Bengal 1813-1912, p. 108.

7. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1869-1870. The number of lower vernacular schools was 1,884, with 53,558 pupils ; besides 213 grant-in-aid schools with 6,929 pupils, and 38 Government schools with 1,161 pupils, p. 15.

8. This was before the first census of Bengal which suddenly disclosed the population at 66 $\frac{3}{4}$ millions (inclusive of all province, under the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal).

9. W. Hunter—Life of Lord Mayo, Vol. II, p. 303.

10. Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, para 157.

11. A. Howell—Education in British India prior to 1854 and in 1870-1871, p. 120.

12. A. M. Monteath—Note on the state of Education in India from 1865-1866, p. 6.

13. R. C. K. Ensor—England 1870-1914, p. 146.

14. Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee, 1884, para 126. See—also the resolution of the Government of Bengal on 22 Jan. 1884, on Primary Education.

15. Education Despatches from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, No. 1, 14 Feb. 1873.

16. A. Howell, op. cit., p. 61.

G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1871-1872 presented the report of the Director of Public Instruction, which stated : The average contribution of the state for the primary education of every 100,000 of its population was Rs. 193, while for their secondary education it was Rs. 825. This disproportion required to be remedied. In England the sum spent by Government for the primary education of every 100,000 of the population was Rs. 36,810.

17. Reference to this organisation has been made in the chapter on socio-political organisations.

18. Sisir Kumar Ghose was one of the leading champions of high education and protested against the Government Policy toward greater emphasis on vernacular education. His writings were partially responsible for the organisation of as many as sixty

protest meetings all over Bengal. See—Amrita Bazar Patrika, 28 March 1872. The memorial presented to the meetings held at the Town Hall, Calcutta, on 2 July 1870 gave the amount of total Revenue of Bengal 1870-1871—15,379,708, of which allotment for education was 2,34,384.

19. Letter from the Government of Bengal, No. 2859, 14 Aug. 1872.

20. In despatch No. 11, 25 Oct, 1870, the Government of India denied his intention of discouraging the spread of English Education.

21. Memorial from the Calcutta Missionary Conference on the subject of the Educational Policy of the Government of India ; see—Despatch, 9 March, (No. 1) letter 10 Nov. (No. 13) 1870, paras 5, 8, 17.

22. Letter from H. Woodrow offg. D. P. I, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, 21 Nov. 1866 (No. 236).

23. G. R. P. I. Bengal 1856-1857. In 1854-1855—a year only partially affected by the new scheme after the despatch of 1854, the total educational charge of the Government was just within ten lakhs (9,99,898). In 1855-1856—increased to seveteen lakhs and a quarter (17,25,664). In 1856-1857 estimated charge was rather above twenty lakhs and a half (21,64,050).

24. G. R. P. I. Bengal 1856-1857, p. 31, D. P. I.'s statement. Amount of grants-in-aid sanctioned up to 30 April, 1857.

In Bengal Rs. 9,828—Missionary shcools.
Rs. 68,604 other schools.
Rs. 78,432

In tabular form —

English schools	Rs. 35,916
Anglo-vernacular ,,	Rs. 18,900
vernacular ,,	Rs. 23,619
	Rs. 78,432

The system of vernacular scholarships has been extended to the fifteen districts in 1856-1857.

G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1870-1871. Grants-in-aid drawn during 1870-1871 by private institutions in operations on 31 March 1871 :

	Number of Institutions	Number of students	Amount of Govt. Grants
Under Missionary bodies	362	12,285	Rs. 83,128
,, other Christian ,,	34	2,031	28,248
,, native managers	1,305	60,816	2,94,468
	1,701	75,132	4,05,844

25. The Minute of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, 1 Oct. 1858. See selections from Educational Records (Pt. II, 1840-1859) Edt. by J.A. Richey, p. 137.

26. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1856-1857. The actual additional expense for education in the lower provinces between 1854-1855 and 1856-1857 brought no more than rupees 2,62,968 or increase from 5,19,522 to 7,82,490 for a population of more than 30,000,000 yielding a revenue to Government of above 11,000,000 sterling annually. See para 15, Minute of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal (J. Halliday) 19 Nov. 1858.

27. Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, I Oct. 1858.

28. Educational Despatch, No. 4, 7 April 1859. See Parl. Papers, 1859 Vol. 6, paper 115, H.C. The despatch was sent after the Crown in England assumed the charge of the administration of India from the East India Company in 1858. The transfer followed the suppression of mutiny in 1857-1858.

29. Each of the Mutiny years had ended in an enormous deficit amounting to, in all, thirty million pounds. The assignment of new grants-in-aid was suspended from August 1858, In consequence of the peremptory order from the Govt. of India, prohibiting all increase of expenditure for educational purposes.

30. *Ibid*—para 37.

31. *Ibid*—para 50.

32. *Ibid*—para 51-52. The despatch of 1859 (para 3) estimated the students of the four normal schools for primary teachers (at Dacca, Hughly, Calcutta, Gauhati) as two hundred and fifty-eight. The normal schools increased from seven in 1862-1863 to twenty-

nine in 1870-1871. See report by the Bengal Provincial Committee, 1884, para 113.

33. In the year 1842, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh were separated from the Bengal Presidency under the name of North-Western Provinces. (The name was changed to the United provinces of Agra and Oudh (U.P.) in 1902. Thomason was the first Lieutenant Governor and was familiar with the recommendations which W. Adam had submitted between 1835 and 1838 on vernacular education in Bengal and Behar, for consideration of the General Committee of Education in Bengal. Thomason gave a permanent impulse to popular education in 1850 by Tahsili schools. In about 1851, the 'Hulkabandi' or Primary Vernacular Schools were set up. The Hulkabandi system was originally set up by Alexander, Collector of Muttra, as an experiment.

34. Rev. J. Johnston—Abstract and Analysis of the Report of the Education Commission, 1882, p. 25.
Despatch Sir Charles Wood—25 April 1864.

35. J. Long – Vernacular Education in Bengal and Behar, p. 24.

36. For 'cess controversy' see paras 107-110, Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee, 1884. See also H. A. Stark, op. cit. pp. 79-80.

37. In 1859 James Wilson was appointed in the new post of the financial Member of Council. He was sent by the Home authorities at the request of Lord Canning (1856-1862), to handle the financial problem, arising out of Mutiny.

38. Duke of Argyll was the Secretary of State for India from 1868-1874.

39. P. J. Thomas—The Growth of Federal Finance in India, pp. 169, 172.

40. J. P. Grant, the Second Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, 1859-1862. F. J. Halliday, the First Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, 1854-1859. See for J. P. Grant's Minute – Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal No. XXII, 1855. (On vernacular Education of the Lower Provinces of Bengal) p. 207.

41. Ibid. p. 217. Minute of Sir J. W. Colvile—20 August 1854.

42. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1852-1855. The council reported that in 1853 in teachership examination there were 8 Hindu candidates against one Muslim, and in 1854 there was no Muslim candidate.

43. Under the notification situations in the public service worth more than six rupees a month were not to be given to any person who could not read and write.

44. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1855-1856. It reported that the sum expended upon English schools and colleges in 1854-1855 was about Rs. 3,23,246 and that spent on vernacular schools was Rs. 17,590.

45. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1856-1857.

46. Report of the Indian Education Commission 1882, para 150.

47. Beng. Edn. Prog.—1882, Report on Primary Education.

48. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1855-1856, p. 27. D. P. I.'s report. It is to be noticed that the districts where the circles were to be formed, except Dacca, lay in the South Western Part of Bengal, where the Muslim were in the minority. Twentyfour Parganas, Baraset, Jessore all belonged to central or presidency division.

49. Beng. Edn. Prog. 1882.

50. The despatch of 1859 estimated the students of the four normal schools, exclusively for vernacular teachers as 258.

51. A. M. Monteath—Note on the State of Education in India for 1865-1866, p. 7.

52. Beng. Edn. Prog. 1882 Report on Primary Education. The report by the Bengal Provincial Committee, 1884, referred (para 105) to the increase of elementary schools under different system, more particularly under the last two i. e. 'circle' and 'normal'.

Year	*Circle*	*Normal*	*Other*
1864-1865	302	380	443
1865-1866	307	539	440
1866-1867	398	883	800
1867-1868	336	1,213	254
1868-1869	298	1,520	323
1869-1870		2,135	
1870-1871		2,198	

53. Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee, 1884, para 106.

54. H. A. Stark – Vernacular Education in Bengal from 1813-1912, p. 92. In 1871-the number of pupils in lower vernacular schools were 136,465, (inclusive of Assam) - See Beng. Edn. Prog. 1882, p. 18. In 1871 the population (Bengal and Assam) was 66 millions. It followed that nearly two per thousand of the population were receiving elementary education imparted in schools, or one boy in thirty-nine, of fifteen percent school going boys in five millions. Ibid, p. 21. In 1869-1871 the number of lower vernacular schools was 1,884 with 53,558 pupils, besides 213 grants-in-aid schools with 6,929 pupils, and thirty-eight Government schools with 1,181 pupils. Ibid p. 15. The progress of vernacular education suffered for a while in the year 1870-1871, when the Government of India issued orders stopping all new grants in cosequence of a financial dislocation, owing to heavy expenditure on relief works in Western India, where a famine broke out in 1868-1869. – See P. J. Thomas – The Growth of Federal Finance in India, p. 191.

55. Beng. Edn. Prog. 1882, p. 24.

56. H. A. Stark – Op. cit, p. 95.

57. The success of Sir G. Campbell's scheme was immediately manifested as the following statistics of schools and pupils showed from the year 1872-1873 to 1876-1877.

Year	*Schools*	*Pupils*	*Government Expenditure*
1872-1873	8,253	2,05,936	1,80,592
1873-1874	12,229	3,03,437	3,86,833
1874-1875	13,145	3,30,024	4,42,699
1875-1876	13,491	3,57,233	4,35,207
1876-1877	13,966	3,60,513	3,86,784

See for this – Beng. Edn. Prog. 1882, p. 24.

58. G. R. P.I. Bengal, 1874-1875 reported : Muslim Pupils in lower vernacular schools increased by six per cent and Hindus by eight and a half per cent. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1875-1876 : Muslim pupils increased by ninety-six per cent in the primary and three per

cent in secondary education. See for the return of the number of pupils of the year 1876-1877 the table in the previous page, showing the success of Campbell's scheme.

59. Rev. J. Long—op. cit. p. 27.

60. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1870-1871, Report of H. Woodrow. The number of students in the central division was 46,656 of whom 40,316 were Hindus, 3,663 Musiims and 2,667 were others.

61. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1872-1873. The total number of primary schools had risen from 2,451 to 8,636 and pupils from 64,779 to 2,15,411.

Primary school students in three divisions—(1872-1873)

	Total	*Hindus*	*Muslims*
Presidency Division	47,196	33,990	13,663
Rajshahi ,,	36,997	18,613	18,380
Burdwan ,,	20,501	19,055	116

62. Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, para 187.

63. Letter No, 2918, see Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department. No. CCV, p. 191.

64. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1870-1871. The number of students in the Central Division was 46,656 of whom 40,316 were Hindus 3,663 Muslims and 2,667 others. During the year 1870-1871 the lower schools numbered 1,910 with 52,231 pupils, besides 242 grants-in-aid schools with 7,387 pupils.

65. Letter from the Government of Bengal to the Government of India, Home Dept. No. 2918, 17 August 1872.

66. Resolution of the Government of India, No. 300, 7 August 1871.

67. Letter from the Government of Bengal to the Government of India, Home Dept. No. 2918, 17 August 1872.

68. Selections from the Records of the Govt. of Bengal, No. XXII. The return was furnished by Rev. J. Long.

69. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1871-1872.

70. Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee, 1884, para 130, p. 36.

71. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1873-1874. D. P. I.'s report on primary education in Calcutta. The following return brought out the fact that very little was done in Calcutta for the education of the masses by Government. The social position of the 8,042 pupils :

	Christians	*Hindus*	*Muslims*	*Others*	*Total*
Upper classes	1	405	8	0	414
Middle classes	743	4,470	435	3	5,651
Lower classes	394	468	152	22	1,026
Parentage unknown	327	608	0	6	941
	1,465	5,951	595	31	8,042

72. Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, para 209.

73. H. A. Stark, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

74. "In 1877-1878 only £730,015 was spent on the entire education of about 200,000,000 of a population, and of that not more than £300,000 on the education of the most needy class. While the Government spent that same year £443,776 on "Stationery and Printing." Rev. Johnston—Our Educational Policy in India, p. 33.

75. Resolution of Govt. of India, Home Dept. (Educt) No. 1-60, para 8.

76. On this point the commission confirmed the principle of Si George Campbell.

Chapter III

HIGHER EDUCATION AND THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL (1854-1884).

1. Refers to the great educational Despatch of 19 July 1854, see for this the Chapter on Mass Education.

2. The University of Calcutta was founded on the model of the University of London, uuder Act II of 1857, passed on January 1857.

3. The existing colleges and schools in Bengal given in the last report of the Council of Education 1852-1855 :

Anglo-Vernacular colleges exclusive of the Medical			5
Teachers			15
Students			192

The schools attached to the colleges were not included in the above return.

Oriental colleges	3	Anglo Vernacular Schools	47
Teacher	39	(inclusive of college schools)	
Students	729	Teacher	291
		Students	7412

Extra Departmental Arts Colleges (English and Oriental) numbered 6.

4. For reference to the Muslims—see para 82 of the despatch ofr July 1854.

5. Report on the Census of Bengal, 1872 pera 360. It stated that in Calcutta there were 133,131 Muslims only out of total population of 447,601 or about 30 per cent.

6. Ibid.

7. Bengal Past and Present, Vol. VIII, January-June 1914 : History, of the Calcutta Madrassa, p. 89.

8. Bengal, Rev. Cons. 23 July 1819, Nos. 11-12.

9. Beng. Rev. Cons. 27 October 1820, Nos. 3-4.

10. Beng. Rev. Cons. 25 January 1822, Nos. 28-29.

11. Nawab Abdul Latif, founder of the Mohammadan Literary Society see—selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XIV. Papers relating to the establishment of the Presidency College, Appx. No. 1.

12. Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government, No. XIV. Appx. No. 1.

13. Beng. Edn. Progs. April 1861, Nos. 40-41.

14. Beng. Edn. Progs. 27 October 1853, No. 99.

15. Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar.

16. Beng. Edn. Progs. 27 October 1853, No. 109.

17. The increased pay amounted to rupees four. A similar system was followed in the Colutola school, the branch school of the

Sanskrit College in Calcutta in respect to the Muslim boys which was mainly maintained for the Hindus.

18. For a brief history of the Hughly Madrassa – see the letter of the Government of India, 7 August 1871, to the Government of Bengal, No. 299.

19. Mohamad Mohsin.

20. Cost of the Madrassa attached to the Hughly College was only Rs. 3,500 per annum, see letter of the Govt. of India, to the Govt. of Bengal, General Deptt. No. 299, 7 August 1871.

21. The amalgamation of the Anglo-Persian with the English Department was sanctioned by the Lieutenant Governor – see Beng. Edn. Prog. 9 December 1858, Nos. 9-11.

22. A. M. Monteath (Under Secretary to the Government of India) On the State of Education in India, 1865-1866,. p. 269.

23. Parl. Papers, 1860, Vol. 52, p. 34 H. C. See – Extract from the Progs. of the Government of Bengal in the General Department 20 September 1855, para 2 contains the proposals regarding curriculum, which were approved by the Government of Bengal on 26 June 1855.

24. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1857-1858, The Directors' Report. p. 12.

25. Ibid, p. 29.

26. Beng. Edn. Progs. 8 April 1858, No. 83.

27. Letter from W. N. Lees, Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa, to the D. P. I. No. 185, 11 May 1851.
See Edn. Progs. Nos. 1 to 8, 2 July 1860, on the subject of the abolition of the Madrassa or Mohammadan College (Calcutta) contain correspondence and Minutes, on the above subject.

28. Beng. Edn. Progs. 11 November 1851, No. 22.

29. Beng. Edn. Progs. July 1860, No. 11.

30. Beng. Edn. Progs, April 1861, Nos. 40-41.

31. Beng. Edn. Progs, March 1864, No. 21.

32. Sir Charles Wood gave his approval to the orders given by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal to the D.P.I. to prepare a plan for the reform of the Madrassa at Hughly, in accordance with that which had previously been sanctioned for the Calcutta Madrassa. See Des. to India, No. 16, 8 May 1861.

33. The Progress of the Anglo-Persian Department is shown by the results of Entrance Examination.

Year 1857-8 students passed the University Entrance Examination.

1858–5	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
1859–2	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
1860–4	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
1861–1	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
1862-1864–14	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
1865-1867—13	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,
1868–6	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

From 1857 to 1865, total Muslim boys passed the University Entrance Ex. from all institutions–109 ; First Arts–14, B.A. 2(?).

34. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, Serial No. 2, No. CCV. pt. II, p. 143.

35. G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1866-1867. It should be seen that in the Calcutta Madrassa the cost to Government was very high amounting to Rs. 266 per annum for each student. In the Presidency College the corresponding cost to Government was no more than Rs. 257, which provided for the highest University education obtainable in India. The attendance of the Madrassa had fallen from 103 in the previous year to 91.

36. Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Department, No. CCV. pt. II.

37. The Committee saw that in the Anglo-Persian Department of the Calcutta Madrassa, the number of students had steadily increased since 1865. From 1854 to 1865 the numbers varied from 89 to 155, from 1865 to 1869 the numbers varied from 155 to 300 (300 in 1869) where as in the Arabic Department the number of students varied from 68 to 120 from 1856 to 1868.

38. The committee's report revealed that W. N. Lees, the Principal of the Calcutta Madrassa was a shareholder and Managing Partner of Nassau Tea Company, whose head office was at 8 Elysium Row (the Board of Examiner's Office). One of the chief native masters, Babu Nandlal Doss of the Madrassa, was working as Secretary of the Nassau Tea Company on an allowance of Rs. 30 per month. See para 84 of the report of the Committee, submitted on 1 Dec. 1869.

39. Letter from Bengal, 30 June, No. 5, 1873, Home Department. Education, to the Secretary of State for India.

40. Letter of W. N. Lees to the Secretary to the Government of India, 4 February 1870. See the article 'The Abuses in W. Hasting's Madrassa (shortcoming of Government in relation to that community)' in the Friend of India, 22 Feb. 1870.

41. Members of the Committee of 1871 : C. H. Campbell, J. Sutcliffe, H. L. Harrison, Captain H. S. Jarrett, Prince Mohomed Rahimuddin, Kazi Abdul Bari, Moulvi Abdul Latif, Munshe Amir Ali Khan, Moulvi Abbas Ali Khan.

42. Letter from the Government of Bengal to the Government of India, No. 1789, 13 March 1883 furnished the following information regarding the Arabic Department of the Hughly Madrassa : The number in this Sept. from 1836 to 1856 seemed to have varied between 209 and 175. In 1856 a small tuition fee was imposed (8 annas per month) and this had immediate result in reducing the number of students to 11, and the number had never risen beyond 54 since that date. In the year 1860-1861 the number of students was 18, in 1868-1869 was 48, of whom 25 were scholarship holders.

43. Letter from Moulvi A. Latif, Secy. to the Committee for the supervision and management of the Calcutta and Hughly Madrassas, to the D.P.I, Bengal. No. 5, 16 June 1871. See – Selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Dept. No. CCV, p. 169.

44. G.R.P.I, Bengal, 1871-1872, see Letter No. 2325, F. W. 5 August 1871. General Department.

45. Selection from the Records of the Government of India, Home Dept. No. CCV. pt. II, p. 189.

46. Letter from the Government of Bengal, 15 September (No. 6) 1873.

47. The annual report of the Hughly Madrassa and College departments for the year 1870-1871.

	Hindus and Christians	*Muslims*	*Gost*
Hughly College	132	21	41,400
,, Madrassa	—	54	8,476
Law Classes	60	5	2,685
Collegiate School	403	87	28,155
Branch School	244	1	9,868
	839	148	90,584

The college was supported thus.

Mohamad Mohsin Endowment about	Rs. 55,000
Fees and fines	Rs. 22,300
Donations.	Rs. 500
	77,800

48. Resolution of the Government of Bengal 29 July 1875—see G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1875-1876.

49. Dr. Robson, Principal of the Dacca Madrassa, see his report G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1875-1876.

50. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1875-1876 reported that while in colleges for general education the number of Muslims rose from 53 to 61, In institutions for special instruction from 195 to 174, In Madrassas the number had fallen from 657 to 628.

51. Beng. Edn. Progs. 5 January 1881, No. 178.

52. The Presidency College could not draw the Muslim students all through the period even with the above facilities, but resorted by the Hindus almost exclusively. According to the educational reports for 1873-1874 the number of Muslim students was only four, in the preceding year there was only one—See G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1873-1874.

53. Beng. Edn. Progs. 5 January 1881, No. 178.

54. Letter from A.P. MacDonnell, Offg. Secy. to the Govt. of Bengal, General Deptt. to the Secy. to the Govt. of India, Home Deptt. No. 481 T-G , para 14.

55. Letter from A. Mackenzie, Secy. to the Govt. of India, to the President of the Education commission, No. 565, 21 Dec. 1882, see - selections from the Records of the Government of India, Home Deptt No. CCV (Pt. III).

56. Transactions of the Bengal Social Science Association, 1868 p. 61, ff.

57. Resolution of Govt. of Bengal 22 January 1884. General Dept. Education, see G.R.P.I. Bengal 1883-1884.

58. The number of students in the oriental department from 1836 to 1856 seemed to have varied between 209 and 175. In 1856 a small tuition fee was imposed (8 annas per month only) and this had the immediate result of reducing the number of students to 11, and the number had never risen beyond 54 since, that date. In the year 1860-1861 the number of students was 18 and in 1868-1869 there were 48 students, of whom 25 were scholarship holders ; see - letter from G. Bellett offg. D.P.I. Bengal to the Secry. to the Govt. of Bengal, General Dept. No. 1789, 13 March 1883.

59. G.R.P.I. Bengal 1852-1855—reported on the number of students in the different Zillah schools : Dacca and Pubna.

	Hindus	*Muslims*	*Christians*	*Total*
Dacca	362	29	28	419
Pubna	110	3	—	113

• Sir J. W. Colvile, President of the Council of Education.

60. Parl. Papers 1860 Vol. 52, paper 35. H.C. Minute of F. J. Halliday 19 Nov. 1858. para 43.

61. Beng. Edn. Progs. No. 35, 1858. 1 Dec. H. Woodrow's letter—22 May 1856, No. 355 to D.P.I.

62. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1855-1856, D.P.I's report p. 24.

63. *Ibid*, p. 30.

64. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1860-1861. The reference of absentee Zemindars was given in this report as Rani Rasmony, Raja Suttenond Ghosal, Rani Sharnomoee, Rani Kallyanee, who resided In Calcutta.

65. Hughly Collegiate Branch School.* Total in Higher Class English Schools (Government).

	Year	*Hindus*	*Muslims*	*Percentage*
I.	1867	221	4	
	1868	228	2	
	1869	226	0	
*	1866-1867	892	184	1 to 4.84
	1867-1868	947	226	1 to 4.19
	1868-1869	931	223	1 to 4.19

The number of Muslim students who had passed the Calcutta University Examination since 1857.

Year 1857-58	Entrance	F.A.	B.A.	
	8	—	—	These tables have
1859 March	8	—	—	been taken from
1859 December	5	—	—	the G.R.P.I. Bengal.
1860	12	—	—	
1861	10	—	1	
1862	10	2	—	
1863	23	1	—	
1864	16	6	—	
1865	17	5	1	

66. The reports received from local Governments in reply to this Resolution were reviewed by Lord Northbrook in 1873.

67. Letter 9 October enclosed by J. Sutcliffe—see Records of the Government of India, Home Dept. No. CCV, p. 179.

68. G.R.P.I. Bengal 1871-1872.
The Government of India In a letter on 13 June (No. 248) 1873 (Home Dept. Edn.) in reply to the letter of the Government of Bengal (No. 2918) 17 August 1872, wrote that there were valid objections to any separate system of denominational schools or

colleges for which the Government of India preferred not to move further in that direction. So the question of denominational institutions ended finally. see—Des. 13 Nov. No. 7, 1873—No. 4079.

67. Classical languages should comprise as Latin, Sanskrit, Hebrew, Arabic—See Beng. Edn. Progs. August 1867 No. 38-40.

68. Abdul Karim in his 'Muhammadan Education in Bengal' in 1900 pointed to the impropriety of paying the Maulvis in Government schools from the Mohsin Fund, while the Pandits were paid by the Government. He wrote : "A Maulvi should be regarded as of equal importance with a Pandit, wherever the number of Mohammadan pupils is large enough to justify the step. This would set free a considerable amount from the Mohsin Fund for the part payment of fees in English schools, for which there is a large demand and it would remove what is regarded as a grievance." See p. 69. Abdul Karim was appointed Assistant Inspector of Schools, Bengal in January 1889.

69. G.R.P I. Bengal, 1874-1875. In colleges for general education the number of Muslim pupils had advanced from 36 to 53 ; and in institutions giving instruction in Law, Medical, Engineering from 79 to 115. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1873-1874. The number of Muslims in the middle and higher English schools together was 4,185 against 35,023 Hindus ; thus only 5 per cent of the Muslims at school were learning English against 11½ per cent of the Hindus at schools.

70. Indian Educational Review, 1886, para 17, p. 6.

71. Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, p. 187.

72. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1878-1879. The departmental returns showed that out of a total expenditure on education of Rs. 45,45,000 the Government contribution amounted to Rs. 21,72,000, while people paid Rs. 23,73,000 ; their contribution in the previous year had been Rs. 21,43,000.

73. See paras 21, 23, 24, of the Memorial of the Central National Mohammadan Association. The Government of India in a resolution on 15 July 1885 gave its consent to the appointment of the

Muhammadan Educational Endowments Committee. The Government of Bengal in a resolution on 8 December 1885 gave the necessary instructions to the Committee to carry out the work. The Muhammadan Endowments Committee submitted their report to the Government of Bengal on 28 February 1888. See Appendix B. and C.

74.

	Arts Colleges		*Professional Colleges*	
Province	Muslim	Percentage	Muslim	Percentage
Bengal	104	4·7	35	·3

Secondary		*Primary*	
Muslim	Percentage	Muslim	Percentage
20,609	11·6	335,807	29·3

See for this—Indian Educational Reviews, 1885-1886, Review by Sir. A. Croft, D.P.I.

75. G.R.P.I, Bengal, 1882-1883. The scholarships were founded by rich persons all over India, and also by Muslim organisations like Muhammadan Literary Society, Central National Mohammadan Association. The founders were : Khurshed Shah, Bahadur of Hyderabad, Prince Naseruddin Hyder, Prince Mohamad Rahimuddin, Nawab Abdul Latif, Syed Lutf Ali Khan and so on. The donation of the Maharaja of Durbhanga requires special attraction for the heavy amount of the donation and for the fact that he was Hindu. The amount was Rs. 12,000. All the scholarships and funds created were for the promotion of higher education of the Muslims.

76. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1881-1882, p. 6.

77. G.R P.I. Bengal 1884-1885, p. 18.

CHAPTER IV

THE ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE RURAL MUSLIMS IN BENGAL 1854-1884

1. Report on the Census of Bengal, 1872 paras : 523-525.
2. Report on the Census of Bengal, 1881 para. 70.
   Ibid para. 62. The total population of all Bengal-69,536,861 The total population of Bengal Proper—35,607,628-comprising 51·20 per cent of the whole population of which Hindus were 17, 254, 120 and Muslims – 17, 863, 411 – *see* para. 195 for this.
3. *Ibid* para. 88.
4. *Ibid* para. 572.

5. *Ibid*, para. 412.

6. J. C. Sinha - Economic annals of Bengal, pp. 92-93.

7. The land revenue of Bengal in 1763 was 256 lakhs,
1790-1791 was 285 lakhs,
1885-1886 was 380 lakhs.

See-Report of the Salaries Commission, Appointed by the Government of Bengal, 1885-1886, para. 15.

8. A. B. Keith (edited) speeches and documents on Indian Policy, in 2 vols., Vol. II, p. 5.

9. Village communities In the East and West, p. 163.

10. C. D. Field - Landholding and the Relation of Landlords and Tenants, p. 524. (The Letter of Edward Colebrooke 12 July 1893).

11. *Ibid* - pp. 576-577. The Huftam or Seventh Regulation of 1799 (29 August), No. VII was known by the Bengal Peasantry as the Huftam or Seventh Regulation. Another Regulation was passed in 1812, and, being No. V of that year, was known as the Panjam of Fifth Regulation. The Bengal Peasantry attributed all their miseries to the Huftam and Panjam regulation. See for criticism of these regulations : 'The Friend of India, 28 January, 1847.

12. 'Patta' - Is a written agreement providing measures of security to the raiyats, which is acknowledged by the Zemindars. 'Kabuliyat' is the counterpart of a 'Patta'. The Zemindar grants a 'Patta' to the raiyat who executes a corresponding 'Kabuliyat' in favour of the Zemindar.

13. Revenue letter of 15 January, 1819, para 36, p 356, (Revenue selections), and also Shore's Minute of 18 June, 1789, para 241.

14. F. H. Robinson - An Account of the Land Revenue of British India, p. 31.

15. H.T. Colebrooke - Remarks on the Husbandry and Internal Commerce of Bengal, p. 110.

16. The largeness of the number of Muslim Weavers is shown by the figures of the Census reports of Bengal in 1872, and in 1831.

17. Hem Chunder Kerr—Reports on the Cultivation of and Trade in Jute in Bengal,—see parl. papers Vol. 48, paper C. 98211, H. C.

N. C. Chaudhury—Jute in Bengal, pp. 21-43.

D. R. Gadgil—The Industrial Evolution of India, pp. 58, 59.

18. G. Toynbee—Administration of the Hughly District from 1795 to 1845, p. 98 f. Regarding the paper industry the Imperial Gazetteer of India gave the following information : "Paper was introduced into India by the Muhammadans, who had learned its use from the chinese. To the present day, wherever paper making by hand is still practised, the workers are usually Muhammadans ; but the industry has long been declining and only coarsest kinds of paper are now produced." See—The Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol. III, Oxford 1907.

19. H. Blochman, Assistant Professor of the Calcutta Madrassa in a letter to J. Sutcliffe, the Principal, on 9 October 1871, on the point of the present poverty of the Muslims of Bengal said that the old sources of income having dried up suddenly a few trades likewise fell into disuse, as for instance paper manufacturing. See—G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1871-72.

20. F. H. Robinson—op. cit., p. 29-31.

21. Reference of this association is given in the chapter on socio-political development.

22. Parl. Papers, 1857, Vol. II, paper III, H. C.

23. J. A. Dorin—member of the council.

24. Parl. Papers 1857, Vol. 29, paper 43, H. C.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*

27. In 1859 the area of all Bengal was 2,08,619 square miles with a population of 36,722,993, and the revenue of land was returned as Rs. 3,17,43,277. The total resources, exclusive of opium was

Rs. 5,21,31,558. See—Parl. Papers, 1859, Vol. 23, paper (sess. 2) H. C.

28. C. D. Field—op. cit., p. 748-749.

29. Parl. Papers, 1861 Vol. 45, paper 7211, H. C.

30. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXXIII, pt. 1.

31. Evidence before the Indigo Commission, answer to question 3608.

32. For complaints of the raiyats—see Beng. Jud. Progs. 1859 Prog. No, 201. F. W. Judicial Dept. 20 January 1859. Petition from Mahmud Ali Sheikh and others, raiyats of Pargana Allia, in Mymensingh, complaining of the oppression practised upon them by the people of Hickey, an indigo planter, who had farmed that Mahal.

See also Beng. Rev. Fin. Cons. 1859. Progs. No. 31. F. W. 3 Feb. 1859 refers to memorial of one Bibi Sultanun Nessa (31 Jan. 1859), Talukdar of Turuf Gurgari, in the district of Jessore, to the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, complaining of the oppression of certain indigo planters of the district.

See, for further complaints—Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XXXIII pt. I and II.

33. Parl. Papers. 1861, Vol. 45, paper 72111, H. C.

34. Writings of Iswar Chandra Gupta (1809-1858), the great Bengali Satirist was directed against the indigo oppressors. It helped to some extent to create a strong public opinion among the large Bengali reading public agaist the planters.

35. W. S. Karr—Grant of Rothimurchus, pp. 81-83.
For Grant's generous attitude toward the cultivators read his minute. Minute by the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal on the Report of the Indigo Commission 17 December 1860, Calcutta, (Bengal Secretariat Office) 1861. Sir Ashlay Eden handed over

to the Indigo Commission an abstract of 49 serious cases and a file of heinous offences in connection with the cultivation of Indigo—see Report of the Indigo Commission, Answer 3575. Some of the Hindu Zemindars also cultivated Indigo, the number being very few. Jaychand Pal Chowdhury of Ranaghat (near Calcutta) had many Indigo houses. Sometimes the subordinates of the planters known as Amlas used to oppress the cultivators and used to take share from the advances made by the planters. The rising of the raiyats of the 'Ankura' House at Murshidabad took place only for the oppression of those Amlas or subordinates.

36. 'Nil Darpan' was literally translated in English as 'Indigo Mirror'. The 'Nil Darpan' was written by Dinabaudhu Mitra. Harishchandra Mukherji was brought into prosecution by Archibald Hills, manager of the Katchikata indigo concern in Nadia. He filed a suit for damages valued Rs. 10,000 against Harishchandra who died when the case was still pending.

37. Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal No. XXXIII, pt. 1, pp. 4-132. See also—papers relating to the cultivation of Indigo in the Presidency of Bengal, Calcutta 1860.

38. Parl. Papers—1861. Vol. 44, paper 721, Vol. 45, paper 7211, H.C.

39. The operation of Act X of 1859 resulted in a general enhancement of rents. This increase had been most marked in those parts of the district where the indigo planters were landholders. The example of the indigo planters had been followed by other landholders.—See p. 71, Hunter - A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. 11. The district referred to is Nadia.

40. The Bengal Administration Report for the year 1872-1873.

41. The cesses were Dak Kharch, a contribute towards the Zemindari Dak or Post ; Tahari a cess paid to the Zemindar's clerk who gave the receipt for rent ; Nazr, a fee paid when the raiyat visited his landlord or his agents ; Salami, paid when a holding was transferred from one tenant to another ; a marriage tax, levied principally from the lower classes on the occasion of their marriage.

Hathi Kharcha, levied by the Zemindars who kept elephants, Biksha, a cess levied whenever a Sraddha, marriage or any ceremony of importance requiring a large outlay took place; Jarimana, fine, levied in cases decided by Zemindar, arising out of any dispute in his jurisdiction, or in cases when raiyats refused to give forced labour. Talabana, was a kind of cess exacted for the wages of peons sent to collect rent or to Saman a raiyat to appear before the Zemindar or his agent. Parbbani was a yearly present made to the Zemindar and his agent, charge for constructing road was also paid by the raiyats. Rasad kharch a charge for defraying the expenses of the Zemindar in the course of his tour through his estates was born by his raiyat. These were considered the customary cesses for a Bengal Zemindar, and besides "Every little shortcoming is made the ground for a penalty, and the pretext for fresh imposition." Reported by the collector of Pubna.–See W. Hunter–A Statistical Account of Bengal. Vol. IX, p. 318.

42. C. E. Buckland–Bengal under the Lieutenant Governors, 2 vols, Vol. 2, pp. 544-548.

43. For continuation of risings see–A Statistical Account of Bengal Vol. IX, pp. 324-325.

44. Selections from papers relating to the Bengal Tenancy Act 1885. Bengal Secretariat Press, 1920.

45. R. C. Dutt–Economic History of India in the Victorian Age (1837-1900), p. 46.

46. See for agitation of the Zemindars–The Bengalee 18 Dec. 1880.

47. In 1859-1860 the jute export to Great Britain was 10,74,640 Indian maunds at the value of Rs. 26,52,800, and in 1869-70 it increased to 33,61,860 maunds, at the value of Rs. 1,54,73,000. The average value in 1859-1860 was two rupees eight annas; whereas in 1869-1870 it rose to four rupees nine annas. See for this–Kissen Mohan Mullick: Bengal Commerce (1814-1870) p. 33. In 1872 the area under jute cultivation in Bengal estimated

at 925,899 acres, and the yield at 496,703 tons. Jute exports from Bengal amounted in 1872-73 to 3,53,097 tons, valued £4,127,943. Jute manufacture in the shape of gunny bags, cloth, rope, etc. were also exported to the value of £187,149 - see the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. 11, p. 27. During the year 1880-1881 the value of the total exports of manufactured jute amounted to Rs. 1.13,06,716 of which handloom accounted for 2,69,553 see—N. C. Chowdhury—op. cit., p. 42.

48. Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928. The faria was small dealer who bought small quantities of jute and sold it to the bepari. The bepari was financed by the mahajon or aratdar who passed on the jute to the baler. The aratdar was merely financier who took interest at the rate of 4 annas per maund of jute on the money he advanced, the margin of the various middlemen were estimated as from 2 to 6 annas per maund of jute ; for the faria according to the season 6 annas, bepari 4 to 1 rupee ; 4 annas for aratdar.

49. Parl. Papers—1866, Vol. 52, paper 374, H.C.

50. Geographical and statistical report of the Dinajpur district 1863, p. 21.

51. Report on the census of Bengal 1872, para. 522.

52. Parl. paper—1880, Vol. 53, paper 402, H. C.

53. Report on the census of Bengal 1872, under General Statement V. B. No. 5.

54. Report on the Census of Bengal, 1881, para. 416.

55. A statistical account of Bengal, Vol. VIII. Up to 1834 the East India Company was directly engaged in silk manufacture and trade, after that date it abandoned the manufacture on its own account. Silk and cotton industry owing to the withdrawal of the company's weaving factory and the importation of English

piece goods declined. See the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. IV.

56. D. G. Crawfcrd wrote in 1903 In the History of the Hughly District that Pandua was the chief Muslim centre, mostly belonged to the upper classes. See—A brief History of the Hughly District p. 63.

57. The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. VII, pp. 234, 242; Vol. II, p, 168.

58 A Statistical Account of Bengal, Vol, IX, p. 331.

59. *Ibid.* Vol. VII, p. 305.

60. Quoted in—Prithwis Chandr Raoy's—The Poverty Problem In India. p. 156.

61. The report of the Indigo Commission, para. 25.

62. Report on the Lond Revenue Administrotion of the Lower Provinvinces for the official year 1870-1871, para 2, p. 5.

63. Quoted In—Nirmal Chandra Bhattacharya and L. A. Natesan's Some Bengal Villages. An economic survey.

64. J. C. Sinha—op. cit., pp. 77-78.

65. Parl. Papers—1861, Vol. 47, paper 2651, H. C.

66. The increase pressure on land is evident by the Increase of egriculturists in Bengal in the returns of Census of 1872 and of 1881.

Occupation of Adult Males	Percentage 1871	Percentage 1881
Agricultural	57 71	59·89 increase of 2·18%
Commercial	6·00	5·11 decrease of ·89 per cent
Non-productive	3·03	4·47 increase of 1·44 per cent

The number of Agriculturists rose ; number of persons connected with commerce decreased, and finally there was the increase of non-productive members.

67. Letter No. 38 of 1880 Government of India. Home Revenue and Agriculture Dept. public. See—Parl. Papers, 1880, Vol. 53, paper 402, H.C.

68. Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee 1884. para. 218.

69. The Imperial Gazetteer of India. The Indian Empire, Vol. III, p. 475.

70. Bengal and Orissa Famine Reports—1867, paras, 410-413.

71. The commission consisted of G. Campbell, W.E. Morton, H.L. Dampier. Campbell presided over the inquiry commission.
The Lieutenant Governor of Bengal had one secretary, salary Rs. 36,000 per annum.
The Government of Madras had in the Purely Civil Department :
1 chief secretary, salary Rs. 50,000 per annum
1 revenue secretary, salary, Rs. 40,000 „ „
The Government of Bombay had :
1 chief secretary, salary Rs. 40,000 per annum
1 secretary·····salary Rs. 35,000 per annum.
See for this—Bengal and Orissa Famine Reports - 1867, para. 414. p. 123.

72. Ibid.—para. 415, p. 129.

73. The system of rural registration was first introduced by Sir G. Campbell in 1871-1872 with a view "to give facilities for the more general use of registration in the interior of the country." See—report of the salaries commission appointed by the Government of Bengal, 1885-1886, para. 15, p. 288.

74. Report of the Indian Famine Commission, 7 July 1880. See—Parl. Papers, 1880, Vol. 52, paper C. 2735 (pt. II) H.C. During the period under review, famine broke out at different places from time to time all over India, in some cases Bengal was only partially affected. The Orissa famine of 1865-1866 had its pressure on Bangalproper. In 1868-69, the Northern Indian famine affected some Western districts of Bengal and Behar. In 1873-1874 all Behar and Northern Bengal districts were specially affected. See for this—Ibid, para. 125.

75. The Departments of Revenue, Agriculture and Commerce of the Government of India commenced to function in June 1871 and continued to do so until 1879 when financial stringency necessitated a re-shuffling of portfolios. See, Report of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India, 1928. p. 15.

76. *Ibid*—p. 17.

CHAPTER V

THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE AND IN PROFESSIONS : 1854-1884

1. The percentage of urban Muslims was about 3.5 out of total Muslim population in Bengal Proper—17,60,8,730, of which urban 609,680. The Muslims formed 33 per cent of the total town population (i.e. 18,34,244). The town population of all Bengal in 1872 was 4.96 per cent.—see Census of Bengal, 1872. According to the Census of Bengal in 1881 the percentage of town population in all Bengal was 5.26, in Bengal proper was 6.13.

   All Bengal (Total number of people at the Census of 1872-62,705,718 (excluding Assam).
   (Total number of people at the Census of 1881—69,536,861.

   Excluding Feudatory States and taking into consideration only those territories which were under the immediate control of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal 1872—60,483,775
   1881—66,691,456.

2. W. Hunter—Indian Musalmans : Are they bound in Conscience to rebel against the Queen ? Chapter IV of this book devotes, on the subject 'Wrongs of the Muhammadans under British Rule.' pp. 143-211, see p. 155.

3. *Ibid*, p. 156.

4. J. C. Sinha—Economic annals of Bengal, pp. 95-96.

5. Captain A. H. Bingely—The Rajputs : Caste Handbooks for the Indian Army, 1899, p. 21.

6. F. D. Ascoli—Early Revenue History of Bengal and the Fifth Report, p. 73.

7. H. S. Maine – Village communities in the East and West, p. 105.
8. Akshoy Kumar Ghosal—Civil Service in India, p. 166.
9. Sir George Claus Ranking—Background to Indian Law, p 163-64.
10. L.S.S. O'Malley—The Indian Civil Service (1601-1930) p. 63.
11. *Ibid*—pp. 64, 65.
12. The Muslim law officers were known as Kazi, Mufti. The posts of law officers were abolished by Act XI of 1864 by the order of the Government of India. See C. D. Field (edited) General Rules and Circular Orders of the Calcutta High Court, p. 85. Circular No. 19, 24 June 1864.
13. Sir J. Cumming (Edited) Political India (1832-1932), p. 87.
14. So long as Persian was the official language; it was sought equally by Hindus and Muslims.
15. Letter of A. Blochman—9 October 1871, see G. R. P. I. Bengal, 1870-71. He wrote the letter on the recent resolution (No. 300, 1871) of Government of India, enquiring into the causes of the backwardness of the Muslims in Bengal.
16. Amir Ali—'Cry from the Indian Muhammadans', p. 209.
17. George Campbell – Modern India: A Sketch of the System of Civil Government, p. 291.
18. G.R.P.I. Bengal 1855-1856, appendix B.
19. Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee with Evidence taken before the Committee and Memorials addressed to the Education Commission. Calcutta 1884, para 55, p. 16.
20. G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1855-1856, report of the D.P.I, p. 32. This rule was modified by prohibiting the permanent appointment of a person unable to read and write to any post more than rupees six a month—see, Beng. Edn. Progs. 1862, Prog. of 18 June 1862.
21. Naresh Chandra Roy—Indian Civil Service, pp. 62, 182.
22. The Cambridge History of India Vol. VI—The Indian Empire 1858-1918, p. 36.
23. Sir Percival Griffiths—The British Impact on India, p. 193.

24. In 1869 three Indians had been successful—all were Bengalis.

25. Parl. Papers—1867-1868, Vol. 50, (account paper 11), Paper 178, H. C.

26. Progs. of the Government of India in the Home Department (Edn.) 30 June 1868.

27. Hansard, CXCIV, 1060.

28. Sir Charles Aitchison was formerly the Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab. Of the fifteen members of the Commission, six were Indians including Sir Sayed Ahmad Khan. The Commission submitted its report in 1888—see The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, p. 366.

29. Sir Edward Blunt—The I.C.S. (Indian Civil Service) 1834-1836, p. 51.

30. Letter to India (No. 2) February 7, 1865. See—Selections from the Records of the Government of India No. 75 to 77, Home Dept. No. LXXII--A Collection of Despatches from the Home Government on the Subject of Education in India (1854-1868).

31. C. E. Buckland—Bengal Under the Lieutenant Governors, 2 Vols p. 418.

32. Naresh Chandra Roy—Indian Civil Service, pp. 218-221.

33. The newspapers like the Bengalee, Hindu Patriot during those years strongly opposed the nominative system and asked for competitive system in all such services. It was obvious that competitive system would include Hindus exclusively, due to their better educational qualification.

34. Report of the Royal Commission on the Public Services in India. 1917, Vol. 1, p. 9.

35. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. VI, p. 364.

36. A. M. Monteath—Note on the State of Education in India from 1865-1866, p. 52.

37. Modern India, p. 527.

38. Minute of the administration of justice in British India, Calcutta 1872. High Court at Calcutta was established in August 1861 and commenced to sit on 1 July 1862.

39. Letter from C. A. Wilkins—Offg. Registrar of the High Court Judicature at F. W. to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, Judicial, Political and Appointment Departments. No. 1457, Calcutta 12 June 1883. para 12.

40. In 1854—Covenanted officers in Bengal numbered—113
—uncovenanted Deputy Collectors and Deputy Magistrates —100.

In 1886—Covenanted officers in Bengal numbered—198
— Uncovenanted Deputy Collectors and Deputy Magistrates —738

See for this—Report of the Salaries Commission appointed by the Government of Bengal 1885-1886, Calcutta 1886.

41. Babu Bhudev Mukhopadyaya was appointed in 1862. He served the Bengal Education Department with great distinction, for many years.

42. History of Services (of officers) Bengal 1879-1886. For a detalled account of the graded posts in Bengal of the period under review; see—Appointments in Bengal and their Holders from About the year 1850 down to 1902, Calcutta 1903.

43. G.R.P.I. Bengal 1855-1856 Appendix B.

44. The 'Moslem Chronicle'—August 15, 1895.

45. The 'Moslem Chronicle'—26 April, 1895.

46. G.R.P.I. Bengal 1856-1857. It refers to one Maulvi Abdul Rawuf appointed as translator on a salary of Rs. 100 on 15 January 1857.

47. The G.R.P.I. Bengal, 1857-1858.

48. G.R.P.I. Bengal 1858-59.

49. The reference of the committee has been made in detail in the previous chapter on higher education.

50. For the petitions which poured into the commission—see selections from the records of the Government of India, Home Department No. CCV Calcutta 1886—Part II, p. 142.

51. Syed Amir Hossain, a promising member of the Muslim Community then serving as the Personal Assistant to the Commissioner of the Bhagulpur Division. He submitted the Petition on 9 Sept. 1869.

52. Letter No. 299, Simla, 7 August 1871—General Department.

53. See the Chapter on Higher Education.

54. For the Minute—see the Records of the Govt. of India, Home Department, No. CCV. (pt. II).

55. C. E. Buckland—op. cit., chap. IV, p. 457.

56. Return showing the appointments of natives in Bengal of not less than 150 rupees a month in value, filled up by Hindus and Muslims (1867-1871) Parl. Papers-1874 Vol. 47 No. 184, H. C.

57. W. Hunter—op. cit. pages 165-169 deals with the statistics of employment of the Muslims in various capacities.

58. *Ibid*, p. 166—The statistics cover all Bengal under the Lieutenant Governor.

59. This and the following grades received their appointments from the local Government.

60. But exclusive of the Ecclesiastical Establishments some of the opium officers were not gazetted. In 1852 there were 63 Deputy Collectors, 26 Deputy Magistrates and 20 Abkaree Superintendents. The Deputy Collectors and Diputy Magistrates were divided into three grades according to pay. The superior officers were classified into four grades in 1865. The average value of a graded post was about Rs. 900 a month, the officers were appointed by the Secretary of State. The ungraded Inspectors and teachers by Provincial aurhorities.

61. The subject of recognised professions discussed in detail in his 'Indian Musalmans', pp. 168-172.

62. *Ibid.* p. 174.

63. Indian Musalmans—1871. Being three letters—reprinted from the 'Times' with four articles on education.

64. Act passed in 1850 by which Christian Coverts were taken under Government Protection. See Report of Debates at East India House relative to the Proposed change in the Government of India, 1853.

65. Statistics inclusive of all the provinces under the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

66. Referred before.

67. The table was inclusive of all the provinces under the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal.

68 Hindustani class established in 1839, 12 August, Bengali class established in 1852. The Hindustani class was abolished towards the end of the period under review.

69. See for the following statistics—Bengal Education Progs. 1861, number of admission in the Hindustani class during the five years.

	Hindus	Muslims	Total
1854	10	50	60
1855	5	20	25
1856	4	45	49
1857	11	27	38
1858	6	71	77

70. Amir Ali—op. cit., p. 206. The number inclusive of all provinces of Bengal.

71. See for the memorial—The Records of the Government of India, Home Dept. No. CCV., p. 237 f.

72. The proportion referred here was on the basis of all India. The Muslims formed abut one-fourth of the population of India.

73. See—Report of the Education Commission of India 1882. The figure refers to all Bengal, Chap. IX.

74. Part III p. 240. The Records of the Govt. of India, Home Dept. No. CCV.

75. *Ibid*, p. 240.

76. See—Report of the Indian Education Commission, 1882, para 580.

77. Governor General was then Lord Dufferin, who succeeded Lord Ripon.

78. The letter of the Govt. of Bengal on Muslim Education, No. 5609, Calcutta 9 Sept 1882, para 4. The proportion is inclusive of all the provinces of Bengal under the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal. The Muslims composed 31 per cent of the whole population of Bengal according to the census of 1881. Taking the lower province of Bengal or Bengal proper, the Muslims formed the majority community according to the census of 1881.

79. Krishna Chandra Roy—High Education and the Present Position of the graduates in Arts and Law of the Calcutta University—Being a reprint with corrections from the 'Hindu Patriot' of 23 Oct. 1882. The number of the graduates given above consisted (not exclusively of Bengal Proper) of students who joined the Calcutta University for higher degrees.

80. Refers to the total number of the Muslim of India.

81. 'A cry from the Indian Muhammadans', p. 210.

CHAPATER VI

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE MUSLIMS OF BENGAL 1154-1884

1. J. N. Farquhar—Modern Religious Movements in India, p. 24.

2. For a short sketch of Raja Rammohon Roy's life (1772-1833), see B. Majumdar - History of Political Thought (1821-1884), pp. 1-155. H. V. Hampton - Biographical Studies in Modern Indian Education pp. 1-57. Sir Percival Griffiths—The British Impact on India, pp.

250-252. F. B. Bradley-Birt—Twelve Men of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century, pp. 1-33. In 1846 Debendranath Tagore founded the *Brahmo Samaj* which might be described as a slightly more formal and organised contribution of the *Brahmo-Sabah*.

3. Sir John Cumming (Edited)—Political India (1832-1932), p. 30. With Derozio the name of another teacher should be added; He was D. L. Richardson of the same College. See—R. C. Dutt, The Literature of Bengal, p. 137.

4. In 1839 the 'Landholders Society' was established by Joy Kissen Mukherji, see—G. Toynbee—Administration of the Hughly District 1795-1845, p. 48.

5. Sir P. Griffiths, op. cit., p. 255.

6. Sir P. Griffiths, op. cit., p. 255.

7. K. C. Mittra—"Memoir of Dwarakanath Tagore", p. 34.

8. Public letters from Bengal 1857—Vol. 51, Letter No. 85 of 1857. Home Department.

9. *Ibid*—Letter, Fort William, 13th July 1857.

10. P. J. Thomas—The Growth of Federal Finance in India, p. 212.

11. The 'Education Cess' which had been imposed in other provinces could not be imposed in Bengal due to the strong opposition of the Zemindars. This has been referred in the previous chapter on Mass Education.

12. J. Cumming—op. cit. p. 35.

13. B. Majumdar—op. cit., p. 395.

14. Islamic Culture—Vol. XVIII 1944.

15. Amrita Bazar Patrika—30 December, 1875.

16. Sir P. Griffiths—op. cit., p. 262.

17. W. P. Smith—Modern Islam in India, p. 168.

18. B. P. Sitarmayya—The History of the National Congress 1885-1935, p. 14.

19. The Calcutta Review—Vol. CXXXXII–January-April, 1911, see—S. C. Sanial's History of the Press in India, p. 142-43.

20. English Education and Indian Nationalism, p. 315. Also—The Bengalee - September 20, October 4, 1879.

21. *Ibid.* p. 317.

22. Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji – Modern Indian Culture, p. 91.

23. India Herald, 25 Sept. 1879 ; India Mirror, 31 Oct. 1879.

24. The Bengalee—5 July, 1879.

25. Bangla Samayika Patra 1818-1900, p. 14. Reference is given to one monthly paper 'Azizun Nehar', edited by Mir Mosharraf Hossein—He with a few Muslim students of Hughly College started the paper in 1874 (1281 B. S.).

26. Repeal of Vernacular Press Act, 1882. Ilbert Bill—after the name of Ilbert, law member of the Governor General of India, introduced in 1883.

27. See–The Tribune – November 15, 1884.

28. In 1883 a certain British Highcourt Judge had insisted on the production in court of a stone idol for identification. This was never done before, and was denounced by Surendranath Banerjee, followed by a popular outburst. This was treated as contempt of court, and Surendranath Banerjee was sent to jail. See for this—Sir P. Griffiths—p. 263.

29. See—The Tribune, 15 March 1884.

30. It was then attended by only two Muslims.

31. F.B. Bradley-Birt—Twelve Men of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century, p. 94.

32. Indian National Biography—C. E. Buckland – London 1906. The Bengalee—22 Nov. 1879.

33. F. B. Bradley-Birt—op. cit.—For a short sketch of his life. pp. 89-139. The Nawab died in 1893.

34. Proceedings of the Muhammadan Literary Society – 23 Nov. 1870. F. B. Bradley-Birt—op. cit., p. 126.

35. F. B. Bradley-Birt—p. 127.

36. Proceedings of the Muhammadan Literary Society, 23 Nov. 1870.

37. Memoirs of Syed Amir Ali, see—Islamic Culture Vol. V. pp. 9-10.

38. Indian National Biography.

39. The Indian National Biography.

40. Prospectus of the Central National Mohammedan Association, Calcutta 1878.

41. Memoirs of Syed Amir Ali—op. cit., Vol. V, p. 9-10.

42. G. F. I. Graham—Life and Work of Syed Ahmad Khan 1885, p. 48. J. N. Farquhar—Modern Religious Movement in India, pp. 91-100. J. M. S. Baljon—The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan. D. N. Banerjee—in his India's Nation Builders, wrote about Syed Ahmad Khan, "who achieved for the social and educational betterment of the Muslims of India what the illustrious Raja Rammohon Roy achieved for 'the moral and intellectual rejuvenation of the Hindus.,' p. 95.

43. Memoirs of Syed Amir Ali,—op. cit., Vol. V, pp. 540-41.

44. 'National Indian Association'—in London was established in 1871, which became in her hands (Miss Manning) a link of fellowship between the Englishmen and Indians. Amir Ali suggested the name of the association to Miss Manning which she accepted. *Ibid*--p. 538.

45. Rules and Objects of the 'Central National Mohammedan Association' with the Quinquennial and Annual Reports and list of members. Calcutta 1885. It gives an exhaustive account of the Association. See also Prospectus of the 'Central National Mohammedan Association.' Cal. 1878.

46. See the Proceedings of the C. N. M. Association of 4 August 1876.

47. Memorial was submitted in February 1882, reference of which has been given in the preceding chapters on Education. See also—Report of the committee of the Central National Mohammedan Association for the year 1883-84.

48. The subject of the memorial and the action of Government on

it has been done in the previous chapters on education and employment. See Resolution of the Government of India, Home Department (Education) No. 7/215-25 15 July, 1885.

49. Rules and objects of the Central National Mohammedan Association—op. cit.

50. The leaders from Dacca were Khwaja Abdul Ghani and his son Khwaja Ahsanullah. Khwaja Abdul Ghani (1803-1896) belonged to a wealthy Zemindar Family in Eastern Bengal. He originally belonged to a Kashmir business family. The family became pauper under the British. Abdul Ghani, improved his position and by his personal exertions, acquired great influence. During the mutiny he helped the Government greatly. Again in 1869 he prevented serious disturbances between Shias and Sunnis at Dacca. During the famine he materially helped the Government. It was he who established a pure water supply at Dacca at his expence. He was a Honorary Magistrate and a member of the Bengal Legislative Council in 1866, and of the Governor General's Council in 1867. He was made C. S. I. in 1871, and K. C. S. I. in 1886. He was granted the title of Nawab in 1875, which was made hereditary in 1877. Khwaja Ahsanullah–(1846-1901). He was an enlightened and loyal supporter of Government. For years he was Municipal Commissioner and Honorary Magistrate of Dacca, and was made Nawab in 1875. See for this—F. B. Bradley-Birt—op. cit. and also Indian National Biography.

51. W. S. Blunt mentioned in his book the names of Syed Amir Hussein, Deputy Collector and Magistrate; Kabir-ud-din, the joint editor of one Muslim journal of Calcutta; as among friends and followings of Amir Ali.

52. W. S. Blunt—India Under Ripon—A private diary, p. 99.

53. See for the speech of Mahomed Yusuf delivered in the Bengal Legislative Council on 3 March 1883 on local self-government, Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council, 3 March 1883, p. 58. See–Proceedings of the Legislative Council of the Lieutenant Governor of Bengal 1880-1883.

54. Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council—op. cit., p. 65.

55. *Ibid.* p. 66.

56. B. Majumdar—op. cit., p. 401.

57. English Education and Indian Nationalism—p. 281.

58. The Bengalee, 26 June, 1880.

59. Benoy Kumar Sarker—The Social Philosophy of Ramkrishna and Vivekananda. The Calcutta Review—1936 January-March, Vol. LVIII.

60. Dhurjati Prasad Mukherji—op. cit., p. 93.

61. B. Majumdar—op. cit., p. 40.

62. Sadharani—a journal (Bengali)—Akshay Chandra Sircar, was the editor of this. 31 May 1874.

63. 'Ananda Math' – Published in 1882. 'The Abbey of Bliss,' translated by S. N. Sengupta. Calcutta 1906.

64. B. Majumdar—op. cit., p. 422. He wrote in p. 421 Bankimchandra—"From his essays on 'Equality' and the 'peasants of Bengal' too, it appears that he was an advocate of democracy." His essays on Samya or Equality were published in Bangadarshan between 1873 and 1875 A. D. Bankim's four essays on Banglar Krishak or Peasants of Bengal were published in Bangadarshan in 1872. His essay on Lokshikkha or mass education was published in 1878 A. D.

    Bankim Chandra was the first graduate from the Calcutta University and held post of a Deputy Magistrate. He was the editor of the Bengali Journal 'Bangadarshan', started in 1872 A. D.

65. 'The Amrita Bazar Patrika' in which all the political ideas of Sisir Kumar Ghose were published, began to appear from Palua Magurah ; a little village in the district of Jessore, from the year 1868. It was at first a Bengali weekly – see J. Westland—A report on the District of Jessore, p. 253.

66. Modern Indian Culture, p. 94.

67. B.T. McCully– op. cit , p. 390.

68. Published in London 1871. Hunter devotes the major part of his work on Wahabi movement in India. For a history of Wahabism in India, see further the following : The Calcutta Review Vol. LI—1870 Art, VIII. The Wahabism in India—No. 11 p. 177 ff, No. L11

p. 380 ff. E. Rehat-Sek—The History of the Wahabys in Arabia and in India. See Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Vol. XIV 1878-80 Art. XVIII p. 351 ff. deals with the history of the Wahabis in India.

69. Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans—p. 8.

70. E. Rehatsek—op. cit. Vol. XIV 1878-1880—J.B.B.R.A.S. p. 370-1.

71. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Vol. LXIII, part III. No. 1. see—Dr. James Wise—The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal. p. 53.

72. The Calcutta Review Vols. C. 1895 CI. 1895. Dr. James Wise, Idid, p. 52., argued that the teaching of the Patna School in Bengal differed in minor points from that of the school of Sayyid Ahmad. The followers of the Patna school were styled 'Ta'aiyuni' in Eastern Bengal and not Wahabis. The Patna Kalifas have always pretended that this movement was identical with the Faraizi, and on the strength of this identity extracted money from the ignorant peasantry, who were also induced to leave their homes and join Sitana colony.

73. *Ibid*, p. 54.

74. *Ibid*, p. 54.

75. W. Hunter—A statistical Account of Bengal Vol. V, p. 195-96.

76. Dr. James Wise—The Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal—op. cit., p. 55. See also for this—The Lecture of Moulvi Karamat Ali in the Meeting of the Muhammedan Literary Society held in 23 Nov. 1870—referred before in this chapter.

77. Rev. T.P. Hughes C. M. S. Notes on Muhamadanism, pp. 219-226—deals with a short History of the Wahabis.

78. W. Hunter—The Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. III, p. 244.

79. See—Selection from the Records of Bengal Government, No. XLII—Trial of Ahmedollah, Memorandum by Ravenshaw, p. 140. The Faraizi sect were most numeous In lower Bengal, particularly in the Eastern Districts of the 24 Parganas, Barasat, Jessore, Pabna, Malda, Faridpur, Dacca, Chittagong and Barisal.

80. James Wise—op. cit., p. 48, M. T. Titus—Indian Islam p. 178, also Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol. II, p. 57.

81. James Wise—p. 48-49 for the chief Wahabi innovations.

82. S. R. B. G. XLII, Trial of Nhmedollah—p. 141.

83. Board's Collection, 54224, p. 444, see enclosure No. 1 to Colvins Report of 8 March 1832 & James Taylor A sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dacca, p. 250.

84. James Wise—p. 49.

85. Calcutta Review No. 100, pp. 79-80. A sketch of the Wahabis in India.

86. See for a short history of the Faraizis under Titu Mir. The Calcutta Review Vol. LI—1870 Art. VIII—The Wahhabis in India No. 11. pp. 177-184.

James Wise—op. cit., pp. 52-53. Official documents in connection with it - Bengal criminal judicial consultations, 3 April 1832. Magistrate of Barasat to Commissioner of Circuit, 18 Division, 28 Nov. 1831. See Board's collection No. 61232, pp. 1-10. Board's Collection No. 54222, pp. 400-407.

87. S. R. B. G. XLII. Trial of Ahmedoollah. See also for such wrong identification—Calcutta Review, No. CI, No. 11, pp. 177, 184. W. Hunter Indian Muselmans, p. 45.

88. W. Hunter—Indian Musalmans, p. 107.

89. *Ibid.*—p. 106.

90. James Wise—op. cit., p. 50.
Encyclopaedia of Islam—Vol. II. p. 58.

91. James Wise—p. 50.

92. *Ibid*, pp. 51-52.

93. W. Hunter—A statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. V, p. 290.

94. For apprehension of official Letter from the Joint magistrate of Faridpur No. 5, 13 June 1857 see—Bengal General Proceedings of 1857.
Ibid, see also—Letter of A. Eden offg. Jt. Magistrate Barasat 6 June 1857, No. 21.

95. Dudhu Miyan's release order—see letter No. 228, 13 January 1859/Prog. No. 271/from the secretary to the Government of

Bengal to the superintedant of Alipur Jail—see Beng. Jud. Progs. 1859.

96. *Ibid,*/Progs. No. 269/Letter from under secretary to the Government of India Home department No. 48. 5 January 1859 forwards the petition of the zemindars to the Government of Bengal for disposal.

97. W. Hunter—A statistical Account of Bengal, Vol. V—p. 290. James Wise gave the date of his death—24 Sept. 1860 at Bahadurpur.

98. Report on the Census of Bengal—1881—para 196 informs that no persons are returned as Faraizis.

99. Despatch dated 18.6.43, quoted in Parulekar—The future of Islam in India, Asia, Vol. XXVIII, No. 11 (November 1928), p. 874.

100. A. C. Lyall Asiatic Studies, p. 239. (Religious and social).

101. Abul Fazl - On the Mohamedans of India, p. 18.

102. Personal and Literary Letters of the Earl of Lytton - Vol. II. 2 Vols.—Edited by Lady Betty Balfour.

103. Reference has been made before of the lecture of Moulvi Karamat Ali on this subject in a meeting of Mohamedan Literary Society in 1872. W. Hunter wrote in the 'Indian Musalman' p. 120—"unfortunately, however, it is not the well-to-do Musalman, but the fanatical masses, who stand in need of such decisions." He deals with this in pp. 120-12. He mentions the name of a renowned Muslim law doctor—Moulvi Abdul Hai.

INDEX

CORRIGENDUM

Page	Incorrect	Correct :
P. 24	reterded	retarded
P. 26	oficers	officers
P. 27	porescribe	proscribe
P. 36	hole	whole
P. 47	ot	of
P. 55	Pears	years
P. 58	educaiton	education
P. 66	free	fee
P. 71	18 0	1860
P. 73	School	should
P. 83	Conmunity	Communrty
P. 84	tee	the
P. 95	ration	ratio
P. 100	end	and
P. 103	goven	govern
P. 116	agricuitural	agricultural
P. 140	precessors	predecessors
P. 177	chapions	champions
P. 183	hais	has

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