CHAPTER XXIII

NATIONALISM TAKES ROOT: THE MODERATES

Before the British conquest, the concept of membership in a permanent political order embracing and involving them all seems to have been unknown to the inhabitants of India. Dynasties rather than nations were the centers of political power and the foci of personal loyalties. Powerful rulers like Ashoka, Samudragupta, and Harsha had indeed succeeded in bringing large parts of the subcontinent under their sway, but their empires dissolved with the death of the last strong ruler in each reigning line. Thanks largely to the genius of Akbar (1542–1605), the Mughal empire created a somewhat more durable administrative order, but internal dissensions and Persian-Afghan invasions led to the empire's dismemberment after the passing of the militant Aurangzeb (1619–1707). For a time the Márāthas gave promise of re-establishing Hindu dominion, but again their rule could not even unite all of Hindudom around their standard, let alone bridge the gap between India's two major religious traditions.

A new chapter opened when British arms and diplomacy placed the whole of the subcontinent under one paramount power for the first time in history. They imposed not only peace and unity on India, but a relatively efficient administrative machinery as well. Gradually the sinews of a new nation were strengthened by the introduction of printing and journalism, railroads, a postal and telegraph system, and by the growth of an all-India economy centering in large modern cities accessible to ocean-going ships.

The new political and economic order attracted able Indians anxious to improve their status and increase their wealth by entering its service. A new class emerged to mediate between the foreign rulers or traders and the mass of the people. Using their knowledge of English as the key to advancement, Indian clerks and functionaries found employment in

government posts; Indian lawyers pleaded in British-style courts; Indian businessmen dealt with foreign firms; and Indian teachers imparted to their countrymen the language and culture of the conquerors. This rising middle class demonstrated a loyalty to the British which outweighed the angry discontent of the old elite—both Muslim and Hindu. The supression of the latter in the Mutiny and Rebellion of 1857–58 only confirmed the entrenched position of their parvenu successors.

But the English education which provided so many willing collaborators for the British in India eventually proved the undoing of their empire. For one thing, the members of the new middle class—whether from the South or the North, from Bengal or from Mahārāshtra—could all communicate with each other through the medium of a common language. Equally important, their reading of the English classics instilled in them the Western ideals of justice, freedom, and love of country. As their numbers grew they found the good government jobs too few, with the best ones reserved for Europeans. To economic frustration was added the bitter sting of racial discrimination, for "the Mutiny" of 1857 had sharpened British suspicions of Indian loyalty, while the late nineteenth-century doctrines of social Darwinism and aggressive imperialism compounded to increase the white man's feeling of inherent superiority over his darker-skinned subjects. Ignoring the sympathetic statements made in Parliament and the conciliatory proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, Britishers in India saw little reason to grant Indians a greater measure of control over their own affairs.

Under these circumstances, it was not long before the seed-idea of nationalism implanted by their reading of Western books began to take root in the minds of intelligent and energetic Indians. A. O. Hume, a Scotsman sympathetic to their aspirations, made possible the first meeting (in 1885) of the Indian National Congress, which was intended to serve as a forum for the discussion of political reforms and patriotic projects. From this beginning as a safety-valve through which the upper classes could air their grievances, the Congress quickly transformed itself into an all-India nationalist organization.

The Moderates, the first men to come forward as leaders of the nationalist movement, shared a great many assumptions with those liberal Englishmen who advised and encouraged them. They believed in the providential character of British rule and in the gradual evolution of

India toward enlightenment and self-government under that rule. They regretted the backwardness of Hindu society and worked to bring about the reform of its grosser evils. The poverty of the people depressed them, and they therefore concerned themselves with plans for India's economic improvement. Although they were not men devoid of religious faith, they accepted the divorce of religion from government and maintained a secular view of politics which contrasted markedly with the religious outlook of the Extremists, who later posed a serious challenge to their leadership.

Having become, as Macaulay proposed, "English in taste, in opinions, in morals, and in intellect," the Indian Moderates gained certain advantages but at the same time ran certain risks in guiding the nationalist movement. Their familiarity with British culture enabled them to appeal to the best instincts of their rulers, from whom they demanded the same rights and liberties which all Britons took for granted. Their knowledge of the gradual rise of democratic government in English history furnished them with useful ammunition, and they repeatedly harked back to the assurances given by Parliament and Queen Victoria that Indians would be allowed to compete freely with Europeans for positions in the Indian Civil Service.

In relation to their rivals the Extremists, however, the position of the Moderates was bound to be a somewhat shaky one for several reasons. Their heavy reliance on British good faith embarrassed them whenever the concessions they asked for were refused or postponed. Moreover, the more anglicized they became in their thinking, the further they removed themselves from emotional rapport with the bulk of the population—the illiterate, poverty-stricken, and devoutly Hindu and Muslim peasantry.

In one respect the Moderates did yeoman's service in tending to the needs of the peasantry. Unwilling to attack British rule for the political and social reforms it had introduced, they focused their attention on the obvious disparity between Britain's prosperity and India's poverty. Dādābhāi Naoroji, an Indian businessman resident in London, placed the blame for his country's plight on foreign rule, and in doing so was seconded by English socialist theoreticians. The Bengali leader Surendranāth Banerjea accepted Dādābhāi's thesis, while M. G. Rānade (pronounced Rānadé) sought a constructive solution in rapid industrialization under

government auspices. Rānade's disciple G. K. Gokhale (pronounced Gokhalé) left the theorizing to others, and bent his efforts to reducing the load of taxation burdening the Indian people.

These four men were probably the most outstanding moderate leaders in the opening decades of the nationalist movement. It is significant that all were scholarly in temperament, and spent part of their early careers as teachers in colleges imparting English education to Indian students. Each possessed a flawless command of the English language and was able to hold his own in debates with Englishmen. Three of them—Naoroji, Banerjea, and Gokhale—made speaking tours in Great Britain to impress the British electorate with the importance of greater self-government for India. The same three were also elected presidents of the Congress, and all four were deeply involved in its work.

Although the Extremist leaders could muster far greater support through their appeal to Hindu symbols and traditions, it is doubtful that they could have succeeded in freeing India without the patient, more diplomatic efforts of the Moderates. Their greater willingness to cooperate with the British in instituting administrative reforms kept the nationalist movement from "going off the rails" into senseless violence, which could only lead to severe reprisals and political deadlock. Their contribution to the achievement of self-government has largely been forgotten by subsequent generations, but independent India's dedication to parliamentary democracy, economic development, and social progress stands as mute testimony to their farsighted wisdom.

DĀDĀBHĀI NAOROJI: ARCHITECT OF INDIAN NATIONALISM

Inevitable as the rise of Indian nationalism may seem to have been under the conditions created by British rule, its emergence would have been impossible without the strenuous efforts of devoted national leaders. The first of a long series of such men, Dādābhāi Naoroji drew the plans and laid the foundations for India's self-government.

This architect of Indian nationalism was neither Hindu nor Muslim, but a descendant of the followers of Zoroaster who had fled Persia after

of the Society will be at Poona, where it will maintain a Home for its members, and attached to it, a library for the study of political questions. The following constitution has been adopted for the Society.

1. The Society shall be called "The Servants of India Society."

2. The objects of the Society are to train men to devote themselves to the service of India as national missionaries and to promote by all constitutional means the national interests of the Indian people. . . .

[Items 3 to 8 and 10 onward deal with organizational questions.]

9. Every member, at the time of admission, shall take the following seven vows:

(*a*) That the country will always be the first in his thoughts and he will give to her service the best that is in him.

(*b*) That in serving the country he will seek no personal advantage for himself.

(*c*) That he will regard all Indians as brothers, and will work for the advancement of all, without distinction of caste or creed.

(*d*) That he will be content with such provision for himself and his family, if he has any, as the Society may be able to make. He will devote no part of his energies to earning money for himself.

(*e*) That he will lead a pure personal life.

(*f*) That he will engage in no personal quarrel with any one.

(*g*) That he will always keep in view the aims of the Society and watch over its interests with the utmost zeal, doing all he can to advance its work. He will never do anything which is inconsistent with the objects of the Society.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE MARRIAGE OF POLITICS AND RELIGION: THE EXTREMISTS

In much the same way as the opening of India to Western cultural influence stimulated the renascence of Hinduism, so the imposition of foreign rule inevitably evoked powerful indigenous reactions in the political sphere. The militant xenophobia which had found expression in scattered attempts at die-hard resistance to British conquest, and in the unorganized uprisings of 1857–58, finally crystallized in the late nineteenth century in the group of zealous nationalists known as the Extremists. This group possessed two weapons which were unavailable to previous opponents of British rule. Firstly, they shared with their Moderate rivals the use of a common "national" language, English, and through it enjoyed the opportunities for political agitation provided by the press, the schools, and the Indian National Congress. Secondly, they were able to draw on the newly formulated ideals of renascent Hinduism and to create a potent ideology out of the marriage between these ideals and the imported concepts of patriotism and national unity.

Being impatient to throw off the foreign yoke, the Extremists concentrated on building up mass support for the nationalist movement. To create this support and to unify the Westernized elite with the illiterate peasantry they appealed to three principal ties common to both the educated and the uneducated—language, history, and religion. Casting off the use of English wherever possible, they wrote and spoke in the regional languages understood by the common people. As a means of heightening patriotic fervor they fostered pride in a glorious past, when Hindu kings and warriors ruled the land. Most effective of all because it had the broadest appeal was the use of religious symbolism and terminology to instill in all Hindus a fervent devotion to the Motherland.

In contrast to the Moderates, the Extremists regarded such tasks as social reform and Hindu-Muslim cooperation as merely side issues draining energies from the political struggle and weakening Hindu solidarity. At times their anger at Muslim collaboration with the British spurred them to engage openly in anti-Muslim activity, heedless of the fact that in so doing they were ruining the chances of creating an independent but undivided India. The 1905 Partition of Bengal into Hindu and Muslim majority areas drove a further wedge between the two religious communities, for it encouraged prominent Muslims to enter into a tacit alliance with the British against Hindu ambitions (the Muslim League was founded in 1906, and its demand for separate electorates was granted in 1909). The danger that the more numerous and better-educated Hindu community would preempt the positions of power and influence in self-governing India gave many Muslims a pressing reason to convert to friendship their traditional hostility to the British.

Both Moderates and Extremists insisted that divided Bengal be reunited, but the latter urged that radical measures be taken to coerce the ruling power. In essence, their program was much like the one Gāndhi introduced fifteen years later, being based on the principle of reducing Indian dependence on the British in every possible way. Its principal aims were the boycott of foreign goods, the use of Indian-made articles (or Swadeshi—"one's own country"), the strengthening of an indigenous system of education, and in time the creation of a parallel government of, by, and for the Indian people.

Such a bold stand, coupled with the religious ideology that motivated it, captured the imagination of younger men more readily than did the cautious policies of the Moderates, and the following of the Extremists increased rapidly in numbers after 1905. Their abortive attempt to gain control of the Congress led to a schism in that body at the 1907 session. For the next decade most of the Extremist leaders were either in jail, in exile, or in retirement, but the continuance of terrorist activity—climaxing in an attempt on the Viceroy's life in 1912—showed that their memory was still honored in their absence. The rescinding of the Partition of Bengal in 1911 and the altered situation produced by the First World War made it possible for the Moderates and the Extremists to patch up their quarrel in 1916. The death of the Extremists' greatest leader, Tilak, in 1920 marked the end of an era, for in that same year the Congress came under Gāndhi's uniquely effective control.

Although the heyday of the Extremists was short-lived, their chief contribution to modern Indian thought—the creation of Hindu nationalism through the union of religious and political ideals—is likely to endure for some time to come. It is entirely possible that as the influence of English culture (by which all of them were deeply affected, but against which all reacted in one way or another) diminishes in independent India, a more virulent and violent form of this nationalism may yet emerge.

BANKIM CHANDRA CHATTERJEE: NATIONALIST AUTHOR

Gokhale's saying, "What Bengal thinks today, all India thinks tomorrow," is nowhere more applicable than in the case of the Bengali writer Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. Bankim, although he took no part in politics, first employed the triple appeal of language, history, and religion which enabled Hindu nationalism to win such widespread support in the opening decade of the twentieth century. His historical novels in Bengali reminded his readers that their glorious past should inspire them to achieve an equally glorious future, and demonstrated the power of the pen as an instrument for stirring up patriotic emotions in times when overt political action was impossible.

Bankim was born near Calcutta in 1838, the son of a brāhman landlord and local deputy collector of revenue. A brilliant student, he passed through the anglicized educational system with distinction and was in 1858 one of two in Calcutta University's first graduating class. He was immediately offered a position as deputy magistrate in the Bengal civil service, and for all but one year held this same rank until his retirement in 1891—a mute comment on the opportunities for advancement given to Indians in government service. Fortunately he found an outlet for his natural talent in another direction, and throughout his career as an official used his spare time to write stories and novels which captured the imagination of literate Bengal. Bankim employed a new prose style which

off. First let the Mother be free, and then shall come our own release from the worldly bonds. This is no mere child's play. O Feringhi [*sic*], here I am with my neck outstretched—offer it up as a sacrifice. You will see, I shall again be born in the land of Bengal and shall cause much more serious confusion. Can you intimidate us? Our power is more than human. It is divine. We have heard the voice telling us that the period of India's suffering is about to close, that the day of her deliverance is near at hand. It is because we have heard the voice that we have left our forest-home and came to town. Your overweening pride is due to your possessing a few cannon and guns. Just see to what plight you are reduced. You imagine that by causing a *Kabulyat*[6] of loyalty to be written, you will drive us to a corner. But the signatories of that document are nonentities. We have all the advantages of the ancient greatness of India on our side. We are immortal. If you are wise, you should help towards the attainment of deliverance by India. Otherwise, come, let us descend into the arena of war. We hereby summon you to battle. See what a mighty contest presently begins all over the country. The sons of the Mother are preparing themselves. All the arms—fiery (Agneya), watery (Varuna), airy (Vayabya)—in her vaults, are being polished. Hark, the flapping of the fourfold arms of the Mother? Are we afraid of your cannon and guns? Arm brothers, arm! The day of deliverance is near. We have heard the voice and we cannot fail to see the chains of India removed before we die. It is now too late to recede.

[6] Certificate.

CHAPTER XXV

THE MUSLIM REVIVAL

The coming of the British and of Western civilization had, initially at least, a very different impact on the Hindus and Muslims of India. The former, as we have seen, responded to the new situation with both an eagerness to learn from the British whatever would contribute to their own advancement, and a desire to preserve their own sense of national identity by returning to Hindu traditions long neglected. Thus, during the period of British ascendancy, Hindus who had, under Mughal dominance, tended to accept as their own much that was most glorious in Indo-Muslim civilization, found their loyalty to it seriously undermined by these new interests or allegiances. Indian Muslims, on the other hand, clung tenaciously to cultural traditions bound up with the practice of their religion and to the memory of a brilliant civilization which, in their eyes, was irreplaceable by anything the West had to offer.

As time passed the divergent loyalties of Hindus and Muslims were manifested particularly in their differing views of history. The Hindu revival and a new sense of nationalism led to reexamination and, to some extent, recreation of the past. It was, however, a past which Muslims felt they could not share, a "heathen past" in which they could take no pride. For them it was the days of Muslim domination and the exploits of Muslim conquerors to which they turned for inspiration. For Hindus, on the other hand, the period before the Muslim conquest was the age of freedom and national glory, while the long centuries of Muslim domination came to be looked upon as a humiliation, openly referred to as "the days of subjugation and slavery." Hindu rebels against Muslim authority were hailed as patriots who bravely resisted the alien invader and ruler. To Muslims these same men were the villains of history, who had weakened

The present chapter, as well as Chapter XXVII, "Pakistan: Its Founding and Future," have been prepared by Dr. I. H. Qureshī of the Center of Pakistan Studies, Columbia University, particularly with a view to highlighting those developments in the recent past which have contributed to the consciousness among Indian Muslims of separate nationhood.

India from within and prepared the way for the Western aggressor. Thus, the sense of a common attitude toward a common history, which contributes so much to the feeling of unity among a people, was, if it had ever existed in India, almost wholly dissipated.

In the eighteenth century we have already seen, in the views of Abū Tāleb, the near-contempt in which even this remarkably curious and sophisticated Muslim held the Western civilization he observed in Britain. We have noted, too, his prediction that Indian Muslims would continue to ignore Western learning out of "zeal for their own religion." This attitude, indeed, largely prevailed in the Muslim community until, in the mid-nineteenth century, Syed Ahmad Khān appeared to rouse it to a more forward-looking and realistic view of its mission in the modern world.

SYED AHMAD KHĀN AND THE ALĪGARH MOVEMENT

Muslim nationalism had tried to assert itself in many ways before the Sepoy Mutiny, and yet had failed to retrieve its lost position. Almost everywhere it had met with reverses; and the successes it did achieve, such as the victory over the Mārāthas at Panipat (1761), were short-lived. Muslim participation in the Mutiny itself was a last desperate effort, which succeeded only in convincing the British of the Muslims' responsibility for the outbreak. As a result the Muslims were heavily punished, and would have been completely and irretrievably ruined but for the efforts of Sir Syed Ahmad Khān (1817–1898).

Syed Ahmad was born at Delhi to a noble family respected for its learning and piety. He was given an excellent education in the traditional Muslim style. At the time of the Mutiny he was serving the Company's government in a subordinate judicial post, the higher grades being, at that time, not open to Indians. Farsighted enough to see that the Mutiny was unlikely to succeed, he remained faithful to the British and helped them by saving the lives of those in danger.

Syed Ahmad could see that the Muslims would make no progress if they did not accept the fact that British rule had come to stay indefinitely.

The Muslims were weak and disorganized as a result of the failure of the Mutiny. They were backward because of their hostility to the new educational system established by the British. Only a constructive program could save them, and such a program, for its success, needed the enthusiasm of the community as well as the cooperation of the British. There was still, however, considerable reluctance on the part of the British to believe that Muslims could be loyal to British rule. The Muslims, for their part, found it hard to swallow their pride and loyally serve a regime which they had come to hate as the source of all their troubles. There were, however, hopeful factors in the situation as well. The British had come to realize that it was not in the interests of the empire for a large and brave community to remain sullen and unreconciled; an effort to win its confidence was worthwhile. Among the Muslims, too, there was an increasing number who saw the need for allaying the suspicions of the British, without whose help the Muslim community could not be rescued from its low condition.

Syed Ahmad started work on all fronts. He wrote voluminously to allay British misgivings about the Muslims and Islam itself. He carried on incessant propaganda among his own people to convince them of the futility of any attempt to overthrow British rule, and the desirability of taking full advantage of the possibilities for self-improvement which the stability of the British empire offered. Syed Ahmad laid the greatest emphasis upon education and scientific knowledge and established a society for popularizing science among the Muslims. His greatest achievement was the founding of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental College, which was to educate Muslim youth in Western knowledge without neglecting their religious training. Sir Syed's aim was to produce a progressive, educated, well-informed Muslim, capable of success in the modern world without in any way forswearing his loyalty to the tenets of Islam. This college, founded in 1875, was raised to the status of a university in 1921, as the Muslim University of Aligarh.

Sir Syed published a magazine in Urdu called the *Improvement of Manners and Morals* (*Tahdhīb-ul-Akhlāq*), devoted mainly to social and religious problems. His immediate aim was to assimilate the best in Western life and thought into Indo-Muslim culture without in any way compromising the fundamentals of his faith. Through this, however, he was led further to give a new interpretation to Islam. First of all he criticized

harmony among the real sovereign, the political sovereign, and the legal sovereign. The legal sovereign shall be the Muslim law; but its definition shall be in the hands of a legislature representing the people which will, by deliberation and discussion, decide how to apply the principles of Islam to the needs of the community in varying circumstances. If the people of Pakistan are overwhelmingly Muslims and their representatives in the legislature represent their opinions and views, it is obvious that they will be honest guardians of the teachings of Islam. The political sovereign shall be the people who will elect and dismiss their legislatures and their governments. We have accepted this principle in our Objectives Resolution wherein we have recognized that the people are the vehicle of the authority delegated by God to the state of Pakistan. The real sovereign will be basically the principles of Islam, which influence the public mind only if the problems are brought into the public forum and discussed at full length. If we want that Islam should be the real sovereign in Pakistan we will have to strengthen the Islamic elements in the education of our children and our people. And one of the methods of education is that the problems facing the community shall be discussed openly, permitting all those who have something to say to participate in the discussion.

CHAPTER XXVIII

SIX PATHS TO INDIA'S FUTURE

The intellectual climate of India has always allowed a great variety of ideas to flourish and coexist with one another. The modern period of Indian thought reveals this luxuriant tendency as much as do the classical and medieval periods, with one significant difference. Whereas the speculations of the literate class (both Hindu and Muslim) had traditionally centered in religion, by the time the British withdrew from the subcontinent educated Indians and Pakistanis were primarily concerned with urgent economic and political problems.

This remarkable transformation of values had of course by no means permeated the entire society in the space of a century and a half. Hundreds of millions of peasant- and artisan-villagers in South Asia continue to abide by the rules and precepts laid down centuries ago in their sacred books, and the thought of changing their traditional way of life would seem to them as fantastic and dangerous as travel to other solar systems may seem to the average Westerner today. Genuine Hindu saints, such as Rāmana Maharshi in South India, continue to appear, and pilgrimages to holy places have actually increased with the advent of modern transportation. Even among the educated and Westernized fraction of the population there is no lack of interest in religious speculation and no dearth of writing on religious subjects.

Nevertheless, now that independent India has become a part of the modern world, the pull of the tide is today strongly secular, drawing men's minds toward the practical tasks involved in creating a better social order. Many prescriptions are being offered as to the best means of achieving this goal, some old and some new. The moderate program of social reform and gradual political change initiated by Rāmmohun Roy could be said to be the dominant philosophy of the Congress Party which governs India today. Meanwhile, Gāndhi's more radical social gospel is still