ALIGARH AND JAMIA FIGHT FOR NATIONAL EDUCATION SYSTEM

S. M. TONKI

S PUBLISHING HOUSE

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Foreword by
A. RAHMAN

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The beginning of Aligarh lay in the realisation by muslims of their educational backwardness and efforts to establish an educational institution free from the control of colonial power and its interference and to "change the mode of thought of our students" and who were to act as focal points "for spreading enlightened notions amongst the people at large". This was thought to be important since "the mode of life amongst the Mussulmans of India needs far greater reform than even the mode of education".

Further, the establishment of the Mohammodan Anglo-Oriental (M.A.O.) Colleges at Aligarh was a cooperative endeavour with the help and active support of countrymen, including non-muslims belonging to different religions. The tablets in the Stratchey Hall, the main hall of the university, constructed at the time of the establishment of the college, still proclaim the participation of people belonging to all communities.

The question naturally arises as to how an institution with such lofty ideals and objectives, which was started as a joint endeavour of hindus and muslims, became sectarian appealing to narrow loyalties?

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tract—Syed Mohammad Tonki: Tonki Saheb to his students, himself a student of the university in its tumultuous period of non-cooperation. He was later to migrate from the university to belong to the first batch of students to join Jamia Millia Islamia. He was later to come back to the university and to join school to spend his entire life devoted to the education of school children. According to him, it was the increasing role of Aligarh, as a focal point of radical thinking, which attracted the attention of the colonial government, and whose interference and role tended to reduce the M.A.O. College to play the role of a recruiting ground for them. In this context, the visit of Surendranath Bannerji in 1884 to Aligarh "proved turning point in the policy of the Europeans led by Mr T. Beck, the principal".

Mr Beck was a bad teacher and students had a poor opinion of him. Besides, he was both bureaucratic and arrogant, unlike his predecessor, Mr Siddons, who "worked selflessly without the air of white supremacy". In order to gain domination and control over the college affairs he played politics with the members of staff and students. His aim was to isolate radicals and build up a group of lackeys. Mr Beck encouraged and patronised sportsmen, this "patronage had adverse effect on the academic atmosphere of the college. Players and sportsmen, who neglected their studies and set a record of successive failures, were hailed as Seniors and those who devoted their time to studies were dubbed as bookworms".

This dominant trend in Aligarh, built assiduously and systematically, was based on a political strategy and had a well defined social and political objective to serve the ends of the colonial power. Its dominance, based on official patronage and active encouragement, did not, however, mean that the larger objective was lost sight by all. There appears to have remained an active group of staff and students who continued to dream of freedom from European domination and to shape the education according to the needs of the community and the country to build a

new future. This becomes evident from the explosion which took place at the time of non-cooperation movement.

The author of the book convincingly shows that the very word, 'non-cooperation', took its birth at the meeting of students at Aligarh, and Aligarh had become a focal point of political fight against colonial power. The role of Aligarh students in this fight was a beacon light for the rest of the country, as is evident from both the importance given to it by the colonial power as well as the press. The evidence, brought forth in the book, focuses our attention to a few very interesting points. It shows that despite the policies followed, a large number of trustees, staff and a large body of students yearned for freedom from British domination and British dominated policies, that they had not forgotten the original aims of the founders of the college and that given the leadership they rallied to reassert what they had always cherished. It also shows that in action, in pursuit of their objectives they realised, strived for and maintained hindu-muslim unity. This is particularly significant in view of the vicious campaign launched against non-cooperators and use of all sorts of religious and social prejudices to break this unity—achieved in action, and to wean away students from the united action against the British and their lackeys.

It is also interesting that original objective of the non-cooperators was not to form another institution, in fact, they resisted such an attempt till the last. They aimed to convert the college into a national university, for the objectives for which it was formed. That Jamia was born as a separate institution to express the national will only when non-cooperators were forced to do so. Jamia was, therefore, a creation of revolution, against British, for hindu-muslim unity and for linking education with national goals and objectives.

Aligarh and Jamia were, therefore, a result of the same aspiration and objectives. The two, however, followed two different roads till about the time of independence of the country. Partition of the country had grave consequences for both the institutions and they came together, when the

leading light, a person who had sustained Jamia in its most difficult period, Dr Zakir Husain became the vice-chancellor of the Aligarh University. The ending of the demoralisation and major development of the university during his vice-chancellorship was as a result of the infusion of the original spirit and turning back to its original aims and objectives.

Today, both the institutions, though at different stages of development, are closer to each other, but, alas, this sharing of the spirit is not based on common vision of the future, but of a frustration and isolation, arising from their lack of ability to come to grips with the existing realities and lack of capabilities to control the situation and march forward, shoulder to shoulder with others to a bright future, which this country has.

This book, by showing the true spirit of the Aligarh movement, the objectives and goals of the institution and. by throwing light on its tribulations, various moods and struggles, will show what Aligarh and Jamia had been and could be and thus pave the way for the future.

The book as it has been written brings to life various events. The author has adopted a narrative, through which he makes the reader participate in the events, as if they are taking place before his eyes. This is so because the author has been a part of the events. He was one of the leaders of non-cooperator students, and had migrated to Jamia and was one of the first graduates of Jamia. He later came to Aligarh to become a teacher at school, he had taken a vow to become and remain a school teacher all his life, in order to mould the young generation in their early ages. Later he became a part of radical politics of the university, and organised school teachers and class IV employees of the university and fought for better conditions of work and emoluments for them. He was by all standards one of the finest teachers of his generation, respected by all, even by his bitterest enemies, as a fine teacher and a man of integrity and tremendous courage. He always worked for bringing back the university to its

early ideals of community life, freedom of expression and hindu-muslim unity and a new vision of the future as a teacher, as an organiser of teachers movement, their trade unions, of non-teaching staff and as a political activist. His humility and self-effasiveness is also evident from his book, even though he was in the thick of the struggle and in forefront of all the events he describes, he never even once mentions himself. That is why one of his students said at his passing away: For years to come the times will shed tears at your passing away.

This book may serve a useful purpose particularly at this juncture.

A. RAHMAN

January 26, 1982

Preface

This book in English, the Urdu version of which under the title—**Baniye Jamia**—was published in 1971, was completed in 1972. It, however, could not see the light of the day through various accidents, first the manuscript was lost, later when it was printed but before it could be bound and released, the entire printed matter was lost and could not be retrieved despite all efforts.

Before this manuscript was sent to press a second look revealed certain lacunae and some incidents and comments needed filling up, elaboration or foot notes. The latter particularly in view of the fact that the present generation may not be aware of them. Consequently these additions have been made in the text without jeopardising the meaning of the original text.

The references to newspapers and other materials referred to has been checked, where it was not easy to verify it has been left as it was.

Baniye Jamia in the present enlarged edition published in the English language is due to the persuation of my nephew, Abdur Rahman of CSIR and the keenness of Shri V. C. Joshi, director of archives section, Nehru Museum, New Delhi.

I am indebted to messers Syed Farrukh Ali Jalali, incharge of Sir Syed Room of Azad Library, Aligarh, who provided me with old records.

Aligarh S. M. TONKI
September 21, 1971

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Contents

Historical Background

Jamia Millia Islamia was founded at Aligarh by old boys and freedom-loving students of the famous M.A.O. College, Aligarh (now Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh). It was not just a brain-wave of a few persons, which brought it into being but the realisation of an old dream and culmination of a struggle persistently carried on for half a century.

The dream was expounded, by Syed Ahmad Sahib (generally known as Sir Syed) in his letter dated May 15, 1870 to Mehdi Ali Khan (Nawab Mohsinul Mulk) in the following words:

"This college may expand into a university whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to proclaim the gospel of free enquiry, large hearted tolerance of free morality."

Three years later Syed Mahmud, illustrious son of the founder, presented the scheme at the meeting of the M.A.O. College Foundation Committee held on February 10, 1873, and said:

"Before offering any remarks upon the scheme to be adopted for the proposed Institution, I may be allowed to bring to the notice of the Committee, a word which appears to me to have been used by mistake. This Committee calls itself 'The M.A.O. College', but a University, and I hope the members will consent to my proposals and that instead of the word 'College' the word 'University' may be substituted.

"I beg to lay before the Committee the following remarks, on the management and the course of study, to be adopted at the proposed University."

He made six remarks of which 1, 3 and 6 might be mentioned:

"I have to mention first of all that the management of this institution should be perfectly free from any control of the Government, beyond supervision."

Later on while explaining the point he remarked,

"As long as we depend upon Government for wants which are essentially of a domestic nature, as education naturally is, we expect to get what is simply impossible to obtain. The best educational institutions in Europe are either entirely free or next to entirely free from any control of the Government of the country and thus in countries where the rulers belong to the nation whose education is to be conducted. With how much greater force does this argument holds good in case of India where the Government is almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a nation, totally different from us in language, religion and in the mode of thought."

Here it may be noted that he referred to India as a whole, which means that he regarded freedom from Government control as a basic prerequisite for educational institutions both for Muslims and Hindus.

The third remark deals with the spread of enlightened notions as he observes:

"Thirdly, that subjects which are not exactly of any practical importance, but which improve the mind, should also be taught. I consider that, by far the greatest benefit, which ought to accrue from one University, is to change the mode of thought of our students, and thus to produce men who may afterwards prove as so many instruments in the hands of the University, for spreading enlightened notions amongst the people at large. If we fail in gaining this object, we must really consider the university as a failure too."

The sixth remark relates to the residential character of the university:

"That residence within the precincts of the university and under its discipline should be as indispensable as education in the course of study itself", because "the sixth point is of the most vital importance. It is to be the chief distinctive feature between our own institution and the universities which already exist in India. The mode of life amongst the Musalmans of India needs far greater reform than even the mode of education. And unless we bring a large number of students and able teachers in one place, and form a society of their own, whose notions and objects should be different from the present society of Indian Muslims, educational project cannot be carried to any considerable extent."

It is thus evident that the university was meant to be an effective instrument in working and developing a new social and intellectual pattern.

For academic purpose "the university" was to be divided into two departments:

I. The School

II. The college

The college, in its place, was to be divided into two departments:

1) The lower

2) The upper

The lower corresponds to a pass degree and the upper to an honours, or master's degree leading to Fellowship which were 30 in number and distributed as follows:

Languages 8 (including Sanskrit), Mathematics 5, Logic, Rhetoric, Philosophy and Science of History 4, Natural Science 4, Mohammadan Law and Jurisprudence 5.

The administration of the university as proposed in the scheme was admirable. It laid down:

"The fellows will form the governing body of the university. They will meet at least once a term in the combination room to decide points concerning the management of the university. The Senior Fellow will be considered as the President of the meeting and will have the

casting vote. He will also be considered as the head of the College. Whenever the Fellows meet for deciding any point concerning education, the Lecturers who are not Honorary Fellows, will also have a right to appear in the combination room, and give votes like the fellows of the university."

The first step towards the realisation of the dream was taken when the M.A.O. Collegiate School was opened on May 10, 1875. The opening ceremony of the school witnessed the determination, devotion and open mindedness of its founders. Syed Sahib invited his hindu friends, Raja Jai Kishan Das and Pandit Radha Kishan, to participate in the opening ceremony; who readily responded. The opening day, thus, witnessed perfect communal harmony and set a very noble example. Tablets commemorating the names of those who contributed to the foundation of the school in the famous Strachey Hall bear witness to it even today.

Syed Ahmed Sahib dreamt of and strived for an educational institution for the muslims free from obscurantism and government control. By 1877 school was transformed, through opening of college course and M.A.O. College came into being. The first headmaster and principal of the college, Mr. Siddons, worked selflessly without any air of white supremacy.

The appointment of the second Principal, Mr. Theodore Beck, changed the situation. Self-respecting and vigilant trustees of the college were startled by the bureaucratic and arrogant behaviour of the principal and his Europeans had encroached on their privileges and assumed an air of complete freedom from their control. Trustees began to resist and a serious struggle ensued against it within the Board of Trustees.

Inside the college, the bureaucracy started tightening its hold by curbing freedom of students. This was resented and resisted by the students with great determination. The showdown came, when Beck, who as principal of the college, was also the president of the union, wanted his

nominee, Mohammad Husain, son of Syed Sahib's old friend, Maulvi Mohammad Shaheed Khan, to be elected vice-president of the union in 1885. It was so vigorously opposed by Aziz Mirza, the first student leader of India, and his party that his opponent could not be elected even as an ordinary member of the cabinet. The principal called the newly elected cabinet to his presence, expressed "his displeasure at the undesirable election and cancelled it". As a protest against this attack on their freedom to choose their representatives the members resigned **en block** from the membership of the union and thus forced the arrogant principal to withdraw his order.[1]

It goes to the credit of Aligarh movement that it was the first to stand for modern education free from foreign control. In this struggle some members of the Board of Trustees and students were united in maintaining their self-respect and freedom in their respective spheres, as Mir Wilayat Husain states:

"Sir Syed was like father to students and Maulvi Samiullah Khan like mother. Generally students had no access to Syed Sahib but Maulvi Samiullah Khan visited the boarding house at times and met each boarder, enquired about his affairs. Some students visited his residence and unburdened themselves frankly."[2]

The students asserted their right to manage their own affairs. In the following year they elected a committee to look after the Boarding House, under the active supervision of a student Mazharul Haq, "who kept an account of income and expenditure on this item and regulated daily menu according to the fund available".

While the students were encouraged and were organising themselves, the Europeans tried to encourage management staff to complain against students. For instance, while Sir Syed approved the idea of students running their own mess, "they made changes in the personnel of the Committee to run the mess at the instance of the

1. **Ab-bitee**, pp 46-47, Life of Mir Wilayat Husain, Aligarh, 1972.
2. **Ab-bitee.**

manager who often made complaints against students to Sir Syed".[3]

The visit of Surendranath Bannerji in 1884 proved a turning point in the policy of the Europeans led by Mr. T. Beck, the principal. "A meeting was held in the building of the Scientific Society under the Presidentship of Syed Sahib. He was deeply impressed by the services and sacrifices made by the honourable speaker who eloquently dwelt on the wrongs done to Indians."[4]

Before the importance of Bannerji's visit is discussed, it may be worhwhile to say a few words about Mr. Beck. No description would be better than that given by his contemporaries. According to which: "Mr. Beck, who was B.A. (Cantab) in mathematics, without any distinction, took up English literature in graduate classes but he often entered the class without any preparation, so much so that he cut open folded pages of the book in the classroom hence students had a poor opinion about him as a teacher."[5]

He, Mr. Beck, without any literary distinction, an indifferent teacher, was alarmed at the Syed Sahib's very favourable impression about Surendranath Bannerji and immediately held talks with the local nawabs and rajas, roused their prejudices against them and warned them against the domination of Bengalis. He asked them whether brave people, as they were, they would tolerate to be under Bengali collectors and judges.

In order to achieve his objective, of isolating muslims from the freedom movement and radical social changes, he sought to get control of college publication to spread poison. He, therefore, asked Syed Sahib to hand over the control of the Institute Gazette to him, to which unfortunately the latter agreed. Thus armed with an effective means of communication, he started a compaign against freedom movement by picturing it as a movement of Bengalis aimed at the domination of India. Later on he gave it another political turn.

3. **Conference Gazette**, September 24, 1936, p 4.
4. **Ab-bitee**, pp 48-49.
5. **C.G.**, September 8, 35, pp 4-5.

According to Mir Wilayat Husain he spent most of his time in opposing political movements and other activities. He and his colleagues, particularly, feared Samiullah Khan. They feared that if the latter became secretary of the college Beck and his colleagues in the staff will not be spared.[6]

Beck was always on the look out for isolating those students and Trustees who were for freedom of thought and democratic functioning of the college. He turned a small incident into a major opportunity for himself in 1887. The manager of the Boarding House did not relish students' participation in the management and had prejudiced Syed Sahib against their free behaviour, which was termed as arrogant and dictatorial. This tussle developed into a conflict with the manager, who controlled the bearers at hostel. The bearers were encouraged to have an indifferent attitude towards the students, often leading to unpleasant incidents. In one such incident, tempers rose and one student, Mohammad Husain, called Bangroo (the rude), slapped a bearer for his extreme negligence. Perhaps an exaggerated version and complaint was made to Syed Sahib who issued a notice rusticating Bangroo.

The students in their turn held a meeting at the room of their leader, Aziz Mirza, and drafted an application to Syed Sahib, submitting therein that drastic action against them would enbolden the subordinate staff and create more trouble. Syed Sahib rejected this plea and reaffirmed previous order. This was more than the students could stomach. They struck, packed their belongings and two-thirds left the boarding for a building called **Kachchi Sarai.** They wired to Maulvi Samiullah Sahib for support. Maulvi Sahib intervened and induced them to give up strike.

The strike provided an opportunity to Beck to isolate Maulvi Sahib and humiliate radical students. Beck, now feeling strong, struck both at the students and Maulvi Sahib. He drafted an apology and insisted that the stud-

6. **Ab-Bitee**, p 81.

ents could be readmitted only after signing the apology, then seeking forgiveness from him before begging Syed Sahib to forgive them. Maulvi Sahib, who had prevented the strike from growing and thus prevented any damage to the institution, felt humiliated and left Aligarh. Mr. Beck emerged victorious. Aziz Mirza, Mazhurul Haq and a few others were declared as ring leaders and were not admitted. Others, feeling helpless, submitted their apologies and returned. From the position of a bad teacher, Mr. Beck rose to dominate the college.

Beck got another opportunity to isolate Maulvi Samiullah from the college when in 1888, Syed Mahmud, married a girl, who had been earlier, betrothed to Hamidullah Khan, Maulvi Sahib's son. Mr. Beck took full advantage of the strained relations between Syed Mahmud and Maulvi Samiullah as a result of this marriage. He urged the European staff to pressurise Syed Sahib, through Syed Mahmud, that uncertainty about Syed's successor made them anxious about their future and if he could nominate Syed Mahmud as his successor in his life time they would feel reassured. Syed Sahib agreed and Beck drafted Law of Trustees proposing Syed Sahib as Life Honorary Secretary and Syed Mahmud as Life Honorary Joint Secretary to become Secretary after his death.

Maulvi Samiullah Sahib, Khawja Mohammad Yusuf and others opposed it but with the backing of Syed Sahib, the new law was passed. This lead to Maulvi Sahib and his party severing their relations with the college. It was a major victory for Beck.

There was a temporary rapprochement between Syed Sahib and Maulvi Sahib through the intervention of Viqarul Mulk of Hyderabad and Maulvi Sahib and his friends were retaken in the Board of Trustees. Mr. Beck, however, took alarm, he feared Maulvi Sahib's interest, in the management of the Boarding House and in the well being of each and every student, would create problems for him. He, thereon, proposed a Board of Management, consisting of members of the staff and trustees, in place of the old committee. Maulvi Sahib realised this man-

oeuvre to defeat him and observed that it would be difficult for the trustees to be present at each and every meeting of the board and he would be out-voted by the principal and his staff. He, therefore, refused to be a trustee of the college.

This was Mr. Beck's final triumph. Syed Sahib had been completely isolated from his old friends. Maulvi Sahib was the right hand man of Syed Sahib at the initial stages, as it was he who urged him to open the school in 1875, despite paucity of funds, and ran it successfully in his absence till he returned to Aligarh after his retirement from service. The latter, therefore, held Maulvi Sahib in great esteem and declared that he was "his younger brother, though young in age he was mature in knowledge and wisdom". But after disassociation from the college, he was severely attacked in the columns of the **Gazette.**[7]

The root cause of the rupture has been pointed out by Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Baqi in his article in **Conference Gazette**[8] wherein he wrote:

> "Powers of the English staff were the root cause of the difference between Syed Sahib and Maulvi Sahib, which had by then become so wide that none dared to reduce them."

To soften the edge, Mr. Beck encouraged and patronised players and sportsmen, mixed with them very freely and entertained them lavishly at his residence where Mrs. Beck played host. To prove that he was a real well wisher of the institution he even offered a large sum of money for the construction of a new hostel.[9]

This patronage had an adverse effect on the academic atmosphere of the college. Players and sportsmen, who neglected their studies and set a record of successive failures, were hailed as seniors and those who devoted their time to studies were dubbed as bookworms.

His successor, Mr. Morison, felt stronger and ignored the trustees totally. His role was summed up by Sahib-

7. **C. Gazette,** September 24, 1939.
8. **C. Gazette,** July 8, 1936, p 6.
9. **Ab-Bitee,** p 95.

zada Aftab Ahmed Khan, who said, "He is not our well wisher, he is the well wisher of his government. Without consulting us he approaches the government and gets its sanction for whatever he wants to do. We are thus forced to keep his word. Mr. Beck used to introduce us to every great European visitor, but he does not. We know of such men's visit only after their departure."[10]

Mr Archibold who succeeded Morison moved even further towards autocracy and clashed with Honorary Secretary, Mushtaq Husain, Viqarul Mulk. Viqarul Mulk was an honest and straight forward person and wanted to free the college from the iron grip of the European staff.

Archibold was not only arrogant but derived pleasure in humiliating Indians. When he referred the matter of his differences with Honorary Secretary of the M.A.O. College to the lieutenant-governor of UP for arbitration, the governor favoured the secretary on some minor points, but fully endorsed the principal's position on all major points. The secretary resented this biased decision and resigned.

The history of M.A.O. College is one of continuous conflict between the principal and European staff on the one hand and the Trustees on the other. The struggle continued between the self-respecting trustees and the all powerful principal till 1919, when the last of them, Mr. Towle, resigned with the European staff following him **en bloc**.

The conflict and the consequent struggle against the attitude and domination of the English principal and European staff was not limited to trustees only. Students on their part were as active as the self-respecting trustees. They were conscious of anti-British struggle outside India and their political consciousness and desire for freedom surfaced in many ways. For instance, on one of the student leaders Aziz Mirza's reported speech to welcome Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal, on his return from England after sucessfully completing his studies, drew direct inspiration from Irish struggle. According to a report "Mo-

10. **Ab-Bitee, p 140.**

hammad Aziz Mirza rose to propose a toast for the health of the Chief Guest. He pointed out that by a curious coincidence the number of the second class boarders was eighty-six being exactly the number of Irish party; and he hoped that although they may not follow the tactics of Irishmen but give as much proof of their patriotism in the cause of Mahammedan Education."[11]

It may be noted that Irish struggle is not termed as a treason against Her Majesty's government but as an expression of patriotism to be emulated in the field of education.

The struggle against European staff was carried further by Ali brothers, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulana Shaukat Ali, Hasrat Mohani, Agha Safdar and others. We find reference to it in Dr. Abdur Rahman Bijnori's letter to his brother, Habibur Rahman. He writes, "When you wish to visit a European Professor, have an appointment with him through a letter and be very punctual. As they are touchy, your language should be respectful. This arrogance kept me at a very long distance from them."[12]

This section of students to which Bijnori and others belonged, prized their freedom. Bijnori, as Old Boy's representative, made pointed reference to it in two booklets: **The Proposed Muslim University** and **Hindu University Act and the Proposed Muslim University.** The first was published at the request of Viqarul Mulk and the second in confrontation with Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan's booklet **Muslim University.**

In Part I of the first book 6th point of item 2 he observes, on concerning the appointments of the Provosts: "If the appointment of the Provost is in the hands of the court then it would be on the permanent basis, with the result that the Provost like the Principal of the College, would become an unbridled officer which would always create difficulties which had been experienced in the past. This is the next important point of my suggestions."[13]

11. **Institute Gazette,** November 3, 1886, p 1368.
12. June 3, 1912, **Baqiyate Bijnori,** p 91.
13. Part I of 6th point of item, 2. p 27.

In Part III, he takes up the problems of discipline vis-a-vis the teaching staff under the statutes and says, "Professors shall have nothing to do with the discipline. College professor's wish to be administrators can be compared to the wish of the executive officers to have judicial powers. But real professor's task, who would no doubt be scholars, should be diffusion of knowledge and not rule (over students). Students' legitimate freedom demands that they should have to deal with the Provost only and not with the professor so far as administration of discipline is concerned."[14]

He further states:

"I note one more thing in the proposed Regulations, that the 'powers of restricted freedom' enjoyed by the students of the college, which during my eight years' stay in the college were gradually wrested from them and not restored despite powerful agitation and definite assurance of the trustees, have been totally erased from the Regulations. No shred has been left. It is useless to mention that every person and all educationalists know that educational institutions are not prisons."[15]

"If one ponders over the relation between the teachers and the taught he finds it to be nothing more than that of two members of a majlis, but who listens to their tale and that too as narrated by me."[16]

The summing up of discipline and students freedom in the readjusted couplet of Ghalib speaks volumes on students' freedom as envisaged by the Old Boys' Association. The Aligarh Brotherhood.

The second booklet **Hindu University Act and the Proposed Muslim University** takes up the problem of discipline under Article 18 in which he says:

"Many a time discipline has been proved to be an instrument for suppressing freedom of students. No university can be a success as long as there are no friendly acade-

14. Part III, pp 50-51.
15. **Ibid.**
16. It is a translation of Urdu couplet by Ghalib: **ibid.**

mic relations between students and teachers. No fear can instil respect for teachers in the hearts of the students as long as the former's love does not catch the latter's hearts."[17]

This clarification is followed by a question in relation to the Muslim University. "Shall we have powers to frame rules of discipline or they would be drawn up at the direction of the Government? Whosoever shall have powers regarding it shall be ruler of the University."[18]

The above observation is full of significance and exposes the stranglehold of European staff backed by the might of the firmly established British government. It is again as fully expressive of an Aligarian's yearning for students' self-government.

Later in the book he takes up the demoralising effect of the special privileges enjoyed by the European staff, and says: "If European staff is granted special privileges and is preferred to others than it is bound to have a demoralising effect on trustees, Indian staff and students, all these. This reduces the trustees from being masters to mere servants and degrades Hindustani professors to serve by flattery and imprints upon the students might of autocracy."[19]

Inequality is the basis of all political troubles. Unequal treatment has bred agitation and struggle in Aligarh. "... If you make a rule according to which only a European can be Provost of the university then you admit that Hindustani and Muslim professors of the college are inferior to the English staff so far as teaching and administration are concerned."[20]

To strengthen his statement, he quotes the views of Mr. Mohammad Yaqub in his **Risala Muslim University** wherein he emphasizes: "Even if we accept even for a single minute that European Provost is better than Hindustani one, even then I proclaim it with all the force at my command that a bad government wherein we enjoy self-

17. **Ibid,** p 37.
18. **Ibid.**
19. **Ibid.**
20. **Ibid,** pp 12-33.

respect and freedom is better than having the best government at the cost of the two."[21]

The struggle, of the last four decades, was a determined effort to realise the dream of a free educational institution. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan refers to it in his booklet, **An Interesting Dialogue Regarding the Proposed Muslim University** between Dost Mohammad Khan and Matinullah Khan. The former, while stating that the bomb which burst on the head of poor muslims was fired from Simla and not from Constantinople.[22] He opposed acceptance of a university without powers to affiliate institutions outside Aligarh, working under too many restrictions and too much government control. He further states that despite all these restrictions, the Secretary of State still reserves his right to make amendments. Matinullah Khan defended the acceptance, with even limited sphere of influence and powers. His reasons for doing so are evident from the arguments he puts forth. Matinullah first points to the absence of sterling virtues among muslims.[23] "Do you not know that the scheme of the Muslim University is not a new one? The blessed Syed had presented the whole project and complete outline before the community in 1870." He then stresses the point, "Do you confine the movement for the university merely to the struggle for a University in 1911? Do you think this whole project and scheme to be some new proposal to be decided by you? Do you think that its fulfilment depends upon the efforts and sagacity of a single person or committee? Do you think had there been no auspicious occasion of the coronation in 1911 and had not Agha Khan led the university with his farsighted intelligence and sagacity the scheme would not have been fulfilled. If we make the Government understand it may not insist on the change of name but if it does not respond we should not let the old scheme die out."[24]

In another booklet, **Nawab Mushtaq Viqarul Mulk's Opinion on All India Muslim University**, published in 1912,

21. **Ibid**, p 23.
22. **Ibid.**
23. **Ibid**, p 64.
24. **Ibid.**

the writer says, "When we were disappointed by the Government in having a university for which we had been striving for 40 years there struck to our mind an idea of such a Jamia Islamia which may be regarded by us as a remedy to all our evils and troubles."

A note in **Jamia**[25] confirms Viqarul Mulk's statement: "It was mere chance that Jamia was founded during non-cooperation movement. Its need had been felt for long. For years the idea was nurtured in different minds till ultimately it took the form of Jamia Millia Islamia."

In another note,[26] one finds, "It is not strange that all the founders of Jamia had once been prominent members of Aligarh Movement. As they had stronger feelings than others and their nature had been good very soon they realized that the community could not attain its destiny for centuries if it goes on treading the old path."

A later writer, Dr. K. M. Ashraf, put it in the following words:

"Ultimately there emerged a new tendency in Aligarh which united not only Deoband and Aligarh but also united the separate currents of Hindu and Muslim parties on the firm and sound basis of anti-British policy.

"The educational policy of Jamia Millia and the political movement of Khilafat is the historic symbol of the peoples' democratic unity and anti-imperialist activity...the late Maulana Mohammad Ali was the leader of this movement."[27]

The muslims had been dreaming and striving for a university which could be run by them without the interference of the British government. Their hopes had been strengthened by Minto-Morley reforms and formation of the Muslim League and they were sure that at the Coronation of George they would be granted a charter for such a free institution.

Muslim University Foundation Committee had been formed and its leading members had talks with high gov-

25. February 1924, pp 71-72.
26. In the same journal of September, 1925.
27. Jauhar Jubilee Number, p 22.

ernment officials who hinted at the possibility of such an institution. All these had stirred the muslim community. I[28] as a student of class V at that time, still remember how I jumped again and again to have a glimpse of Agha Khan and showered flowers on him. All the students of Islamia High School, Etawah, sacrificed one month's breakfast and fire-works at Shabi-barat[29] to add our mite to the university funds.

All these activities led to the publication of the Draft Constitution of the Aligarh Muslim University. This was published as a supplement of **Comrade**,[30] November 1911. Preamble dealing with the need of the Muslim University refers to inadequate representation of the muslims in the existing university, to the enthusiasm which their own university would rouse among the muslims for education at every stage, to the advantages of a teaching university over a purely examining one and to the need of the religious education and safeguarding oriental learning.

In section 7 of the Draft Constitution, the authorities of the university have been mentioned:

The authorities of the university shall be:

1) The Chancellor
2) The Vice-Chancellor
3) The Pro-Vice-Chancellor
4) The Vice-President of the Court
5) The Court of Trustees
6) The Council of Trustees
7) The Senate
8) The Syndicate
9) The Faculties

The aspiration for education, the type of education, need of the university, its organisation and method of functioning is fully reflected in the Draft Constitution.

In the Draft Constitution under powers of the university, items 6, 9 and 10 are of special interest, because they

28. Refers to author.

29. Muslim festival when all night religious services are performed and reading of Quran is done.

30. Journal published by Maulana Mohammad Ali.

dwell upon the main aims and working of the institution. Item six lays down: "To affiliate or recognise other institutions upon such terms and conditions as shall be laid down in the Statutes and Regulations." Item nine mentions: "to enter into alliance with any other university or educational Instituton". Item ten further elaborates the previous item: "to cooperate with other Indian university or authorities for the conduct of matriculation and other examinations, for the examination and inspection of school and for such other matters as the university may from time to time determine."

The university, therefore, was not meant to work in isolation. As regards the authorities, "The Viceroy and Governor General shall be the ex-officio Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor and the Vice-President of the court were to be elected from amongst the members of the court but Pro-Vice-Chancellor's appointment was subject to the approval of the Chancellor."

Section 14 vested the court with supreme powers and clearly stated it to be "The Supreme Governing Body of the university and shall have absolute powers within the university subject to the provisions of the Act and the Statutes."

The council, being executive body, shall be subject to the control and supervision of the court followed by the Senate, the academic body subject to statutes and supervision of the court and shall consist of such members as may be specified in the Statutes. Then comes Syndicate in whom "the executive work of the Senate shall be vested and which shall consist of such members as may be specified in Satutes."

Section 24 declares, "University shall be open to all and no religious test shall be imposed upon any person in order to entitle him to be admitted as Professor, Lecturer, Teacher or student of this University, except for Professor and Lecturer of theology. The study and examination in theology shall be compulsory for muslim students only."

Chapter IX is on the membership of the court, consisting of 200 men, composed of (a) Foundation member, (b) Ordinary members, (c) 20 members elected by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference, (d) 20 elected by the Old Boys' Association, (e) 10 elected by Indian muslim graduates from amongst themselves, (f) 5 elected by muslim land owners and jagirdars paying one pie in a rupee upon revenue payable to the government, (g) 5 muslim tax payers provided the sum paid is not below Rs 25, (h) 5 by Islamia College Committee, Lahore, (i) 15 Ulamas elected by the court, (J) as many other persons to be elected by the court to make the total.

This long account clearly proves that Jamia Millia Islamia founded on 31 October, 1920 was the realisation of an old dream and climax of a struggle started as early as 1870 by the leaders of Aligarh movement and Aligarh boys till the date of destiny. It was in this context that Maulana Mohammad Ali stated in October, 1920,[31] "In other circumstances I would advise the students to remain in college premises and turn the college into a fully Independent Muslim University for which we had been dreaming for half a century."

31. **Comrade**, October, 1920

The Shock—Rethinking

> The hope of a free and independent Muslim University had been wishfully nourished all these years because some European principals had expressed their sympathy. Many had faith that the "Benign Government would help its Muslim subjects to rise high to be worthy subjects of such a blessed government. That ruler is really fortunate who rules over civilized subjects. Can we not aspire this much so as to become worthy of the pride of our rulers."[1]

This is not a stray opinion of an immature student. Even Aftab Ahmad Khan writes passionately on the need of Muslim University. "We call the Government blessing of God and regard it as such because doors of all types of progress are open to us. India is a mixed country and real solution of the population lies in presence of this government and in the progress and cultures of Hindus & Muslims."[2]

Further on he gets more eloquent and passionate when he asserts, "The people of this land have not as yet fully realised the value of this government because they accuse it of spreading plague when they are inoculated. The reasons for which we regard this government as blessing of God are to be published and driven home to the community and the country for which Muslim University would be the best means. Through this Muslim University over generations will present its blesssings and splendour to the world."[3] A man of Viqarul Mulk's eminence writes in the same strain, "The problems of the proposed Mus-

1. Syed Sibte Hasan—a student in **Ham and Hamari University,** published in 1911.
2. **Ibid,** p 15.
3. **Ibid.**

lim University is one of the many blessings which our country has been receiving through English people. The grant of this university or otherwise depends merely upon the kindness and will of the government."

All these hopes were shattered by the letter of Sir Harcourt Butler, education member, government of India, dated August 9, 1911. The letter is very significant, it fully exposes utterly the despotic attitude of the "Benign Government". He writes:

"Dear Raja Saheb,[4]

I am in a position to communicate to you the decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State in regard to the proposed 'University of Aligarh'. You will remember that the movement was started without any reference to government. Not until May 1911, did a committee consisting of Mushtaq Husain, Mr. Aftab Ahmad Khan, Dr. Ziauddin Ahmad and yourself approached me informally. We had some discussion and I said before going any further that the government of India must obtain the sanction of the Secretary of State for India in regard to the principle of establishing a university. On 31 July 1911, I communicated to you the readiness of the Secretary of State to sanction the university, provided, first, that your committee could show that you had adequate fund in hand for the purpose and, secondly, that the constitution of the proposed university **was acceptable in all details to the government of India and himself.**" I added at the end of my letter that the Secretary of State "**had reserved full discretion in regard to every detail of any scheme** which may essentially be laid before him. At that stage no details could be placed before the Secretary of State for India. The discussions which have taken place between us were conducted on this clear understanding which I more than once repeated. As regards what I may call the external relations of the university. His Majesty's Secretary of State has decided, after **mature consideration that the proposed uni-**

4. Raja Saheb here refers to Raja of Mahmoodabad.

versity should not have powers of affiliation outside the locality in which it may be established."

After indicating the decision of state Mr. Butler states objections to affiliation. These amongst others were: conflict with the territorial universities, fall in standards and loss of residential character and finally university's inability to control all colleges. Finally, he conveys "The decision of His Majesty's Secretary of State is **final and must be accepted as such."**

Not content with this he writes, "...as regard of what I may call the internal relations of the proposed university, considerable modification of the proposed constitution will be necessary. The Secretary of State has decided that the Viceroy should not be the Chancellor and that university should elect its Chancellor, and that the powers which it was proposed to vest in the Chancellor, should be exercised by the Governor General in Council, with one exception, namely, that the professors should be appointed without previous approval of the Governor General in Council.

"The distribution of powers between various bodies of the university must be the subject of future discussion... His Majesty's Secretary of State still **reserves** his discretion as to the constitution, in all details and specially mentions in this letter as decided, and particularly in regard to distribution of powers among the component bodies of the university.

"In conclusion I must tell you that the Secretary of State has decided that the proposed university should in public be stated the 'University of Aligarh'."

This was in sharp contrast to the hopes and aspirations of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and the muslims, who had hoped to develop Aligarh into a teaching and residential university, and this hope was repeatedly expressed from the very beginning of the college by leading muslims and others, who were connected with the college. In the preamble of the draft constitution proposed by the constitution committee it was stated: "from the beginning the object of the founder and the Muslim Community was to raise such college to the Status of a University".

How despotic, arbitrary and humiliating is the letter! The benign blessed master would not let his unintelligent subjects go astray from the path of implicit loyalty. If they do they may forget to cringe for crumbs and may start asserting their **needs.** Surveying the weeds one commentator, Dr. Abid Husain, observes, "the successors of Sir Syed soon realised, that they were bound by the will of the Government not only on course and methods of education but they could not move an inch against the policy of the Government in ordinary political matters. Sir Syed could lead the political movement against the Congress but when Nawab Moshinul Mulk wanted to oppose Hindi being made language of the court in the United Province he was forcefully prevented."

The attitude of the government regarding the Muslim University opened the eyes of the Aligarh youth and this bitter fact dawned on them that the British wanted to mould their education in their own pattern and wanted to use them as their pawns on the chess-board of politics. The spirit of self-respect and personal dignity instilled in them by Iqbal's poems and Maulana Mohammad Ali's personality rose in rebellion against the intellectual domination of the government.

Butlers' letter expounding British government's policy, however, brought in bold relief the differences between the **Ihrar** (independents) and **Istibdadi** (reactionaries) among the trustees of the college and the **Aligarians.** Among the trustees it was Viqarul Mulk who not only opposed the bill as outlined by the government but proposed the establishment of an independent "Jamia Islamia" as pointed out earlier. He presented a complete scheme of Jamia Islamia in the second part of his booklet referred to earlier. Among the Aligarians it was Abdur Rahman Bijnori, the representative of 'Old Boys' in the Muslim University Association who led the opposition to the bill. He was full of ideas which were both modern and scientific.

The name of the universities proposed by the government were "Aligarh University" and "Banaras University".

There was a reaction to these names also, as seen by the remarks of Viqarul Mulk. He states: "It is a wrong policy which has pained the hearts of 350 million subjects. As much of the constitution we have presented to the Honorable Member of Education. We have very clearly stated therein that the doors of the university shall be open to all communities and (followers) of different religions, with only this difference that we would not be able to provide for the religious education in the university except for the mussulmans."

The shock was greater because till then, i.e. before the publication of the letter, attitude of the responsible government officers had strengthened the hope that an independent Muslim University shall be granted at the time of the Coronation Darbar. As Viqarul Mulk writes: "In those early consultations which were held under the presidentship of Honorable Sir Raja of Mahmoodabad with some of the government's high and responsible officers, and in which I had the honour of participation it was quite clear that the Government of India wanted to fulfil this very old desire of its Muslim subjects. But when on the one side—we felt that an independent university was about to come into existence then suddenly on the other hand Secretary of State on the basis of power which he had reserved for himself presented the following conditions for the proposed university:

(a) It shall not have power to affiliate colleges outside Aligarh.

(b) Viceroy shall not be Chancellor of the university who would be elected by the university and the powers proposed for the Chancellor would be used by the Governor General in Council.

Third, all matters related to courses of studies, training, examination shall be in the hands of educationists (which meant European staff).

Fourth, some seats should be reserved in the Council for representatives of Senate.

Fifth, the Secretary of State still reserves his decision regarding the constitution, in all its details, especially regarding the distribution of powers among constituent bodies of the university.

In the atmosphere of very strong hopes, inspired by the historic delegation, consequent government patronage of muslim cause and finally the sympathetic and helpful behaviour of very high and responsible government officers during consultation, Butler's letter fell like a bombshell. This unnerved the weaker section of the trustees and students and they yielded. However, the stalwarts took up the challenge. Viqarul Mulk, one of those who took up the challenge, proposed the establishment of a Jamia Islamia in place of proposed Muslim University. He referred to the successors of Sir Syed, the latter's ideas relating to some arrangements in the college for the education of those youngmen, who did not intend to enter government services, separate from the Education Department of the government and free from the influence of government universities. These ideas could not be acted upon because of lack of funds. He proposed that now when lakhs of rupees had been collected for the proposed Muslim University which was not coming forth, the funds be utilised for establishing Jamia Islamia for the Mussulmans of India in place of the university.

He suggested that Jamia Islamia should spread its network of institutions all over India, big cities having large institutions and small towns having smaller institutions. Further, he advocated that every place having a certain number of muslims should have an educational institution and a boarding house where it is deemed to be necessary.

For the details and administration of the proposed Jamia he put forth that there should be a consultative body comprising not only of the present trustees of the college,. and administrators of other muslim institutions, but a good number of representatives from each province. He also included, and further stressed in that connection, that for the membership of Jamia Islamia those people

should be elected from each province and district who have interest in these matters.

There was intense desire to wrest the control of education from the hands of European teachers and considerable resentment against their functioning and behaviour. Consequently, the desire for the complete control of the university is reflected in many ways. Viqarul Mulk further spells out:

"We be absolutely free in our administration. Our Syllabus of studies shall be in our own hands, we will be absolutely free in the appointment of Professors and examiners, fixation of salaries, types of expenditure and the amount for them. In short we shall have full control over the whole budget and administration."

The language of the above quote speaks volumes on the suffocation self-respecting trustees felt under the domination of the European staff.

Maulana Shibli had poignantly summed up the feeling, when he said;

"This system of our education should be in our own hands" to which Akbar Illahabadi had sarcastically retorted: "provided that your hand is (really) your hand."

To pacify those who felt education to be the "means for government service and keeping in mind that" it cannot be denied that to secure national position and achieve their national aims it is essential for Mussulmans to secure a suitable part in government services, Viqarul Mulk proposed that M.A.C. College, Aligarh, Islamia College, Lahore, or any other colleges established anywhere in India should have departments of Jamia Islamia. Through these colleges there should be retained education as it now exists for those who intend to join government universities and Jamia Islamia should provide all help they need. This arrangement would meet the criticism that a single college cannot satisfy the needs of Mussulmans all over India. The education in all such colleges shall be

restricted to BA and higher education solely be confined to Aligarh. Thus Aligarh should serve as a main centre and laboratory, containing all in one single system and shedding healthy light on their departments of Jamia Islamia.

The Centre of Jamia Islamia may according to the opinion of Mussulmans be shifted to any other place in the United Province or to other province.

In addition to the needs of seekers for government job the Jamia shall have to provide for the education of the following categories of muslim population:

"a) Girls,

b) Big muslim amirs, zamindars and talukdars, to produce educated, able and religious minded successors,

c) Big traders, shopkeepers and factory workers so that they may have more for the community,

d) Ulemas, sheikhs and mashaiqs,

e) Unani physicians so that they benefit from the modern education and improve their own art,

f) Millions of those good family children who cannot bear the high cost of government controlled education, an education to enable them to earn their living independently and respectfully.

g) All the rest who are engaged in different occupations, crafts and domestic services to earn their living with the aim that there should be no Mussulman who in addition to knowledge of prayers, fasting and other articles of Islam, may not be able to read and write in their mother-tongue, may not have elementary knowledge of arithmetic and an outline of geography for all the above categories of muslims provisions shall be made for the teaching of English according to their capacity and needs."

After giving these details of Jamia Islamia, he minimises the importance of conquest of countries (to attain glory), by terming it as a passing phase and direct the attention of Mussulmans to what he promises as real progress much according to him lies in moral standards.

Further, according to him, this noble life could only be achieved through Jamia Islamia. Finally, he stresses that Urdu should be the medium of education in all subjects except English literature. In this connection he drew attention to Bijnori's conversation with a German missionary who had affirmed that the Indians would not be really educated within one thousand years if they did not give education to their people through their mother tongue.

It appears from the introduction to Bijnori's **Proposed Muslim University** by Viqarul Mulk that the latter was very much impressed by the former as he thought the booklet "as a rare book which should be called memorable" and felt "very happy that at my request he willingly agreed to shoulder the responsibility of printing this valuable book".

Let us now turn to Bijnori for he was one of those who demolished citadels of superstitions.

Muslim leaders had been nourishing a fond hope that the university would be an all time cure to all the ills of the muslim community and once it was established Mussulmans would begin going up the ladder of progress and prosperity.

Writing to his friend Mohsin he wrote from Berlin:

"Has ever a move of royal pen established universities? To believe it is to strike the world with wonder by one's magical tricks.

"But I am happy with the idea that the utopia which served as a block will be obliterated. There was a feeling that the day university will be established Imam Mehdi will come in person and then the whole world of Islam intoxicated with learning shall be leader of the world. The glory of Qartaba (Cordova) and Baghdad as centres of learning shall open up before our eyes rather the new light would dim their glory. In near future the Imam Hazir (the present leader) if not Imam Mehdi would be present with the charter but the learned man sleeping in the grave yards of Qartaba, Baghdad may hardly be roused with the trumpet of the new scientific resurrection.

They would not know it but we surely be startled that it was but a dream.

"His fertile mind demolished the utopia and moved to find other avenues of struggle and work. Perhaps our attention may be turned to other direction after this (after being disillusioned by the university) and we may seek another path. Movement is better than stagnation."

Thus Bijnori, lays before those who were striving for the university as a representative of Old Boys' Association a path of struggle to chalk out **new avenues** and **find new methods**. Such struggle shall have to be carried on all fronts and so he affirms in the same letter, "but the community should continue its efforts for its freedom through the struggle in future be it even against the leaders of the community."

Bijnori's opposition to government interference and to the bureaucratic administration may be easily judged from his views on discipline and student's freedom quoted earlier, and need not be repeated again. His opinions on academic problems are, however, worth mentioning. The foremost among them is the underlying spirit. In those days reading of science was not favoured, since it was thought that its study would lead to atheism. Bijnori in his letter refers to an earlier anecdote, when under the pressure of orthodox opinion study of science had to be done rather surreptitiously. The long letter to his younger brother ends with the advice: "The more you would ponder over science and arts and keep your eyes open, you will feel God's revealation in every phenomenon. 'Allah is the light of Heavens & Earth'. Always follow that respected and learned man who, when being asked about the subject matter of his reading, replied that he was reading **Majusti**.[5] He was then asked what the book was about, he said commentary on Quran Sharif, while **Majusti** is a book on astronomy.

"So whenever you read books on science, always feel as if you are commenting on Quran Majeed.

5. Almagest.

"One of the many reasons for having a separate Muslim university was that islamic sciences were not taught in the Indian universities." Bijnori's first reason is that "the present education in India is neither high nor free and even education in modern science is a black spot in them. Further, according to him, in the absence of islamic science in the universities, "just as we cannot establish a Darul-uloom for India by fully copying Jamia Azhar (Egypt) in the same way a mere copy of Cambridge, Oxford or Berlin cannot be called a Muslim University because our needs are different. The draft shows that European universities have been blindly followed beyond any limit.

"It does not suffice for the development of a country's culture that education be imparted in mother-tongue but it is also essential that the subjects taught should be selected with regard to the national and country's needs. Syllabus of studies is not an inheritance which one generation receives from the other, on the other hand, it is incumbent on every generation of every nation and millat to arrange its syllabus of studies afresh. But unfortunately countrymen and men of our community are not aware of it.

"Old educational institutions are still bound by **Darse Nizamia** and in new English institutions all oriental learnings are considered out of date. Education in only oriental languages and Arabic is useless and harmful in our days owing to many reasons. Education in Arabic, without a knowledge of modern sciences, shall have the effect of, instead of being of any use, a deadly poison and deadly drink. As long as oriental learning are not studied with a thoughtful and critical mind and the brass is not separated from the real metal, our studies in oriental sciences will create slavish copying instead of free thinking (induction) and will develop intellectual passivity in place of intellctual boldness. Who does not know that many aspects of Arabic and oriental sciences have been disproved by modern research. Thus, therefore, as long as the students do not know those mistakes, so that he may avoid them, education in oriental science is nothing more than pseudo-

literacy. We are under the grip of such political and cultural situations wherein not to move with the times is equivalent to death".

Justice Amir Ali observes in his memorable book:

"The nation which tries to cover up its dead past in a rotten cloak is destined to be obliterated from out of existence at the very beginning."

In the two books on the **Proposed Muslim University** and **Hindu University Act and Proposed Muslim University:** the same opinion has been reiterated with the same force.

Stress on mother tongue as medium of instruction does not ignore study of other Indian languages. In the first supplement on page 88 it is mentioned, "Indian muslims occupy a peculiar position, having both its difficulties and advantages also. By virtue of being Indian they have to deal with Sanskrit and languages derived from it, and by virtue of being muslims they are associated with Arabic, Persian and Turkish and being born in modern times they need to learn English, Dutch, German and Russian languages as they need western science. It is therefore necessary to acquire power that they have men among them who know these languages. I, therefore, propose that the university should set a separate school for the teaching of languages in Aligarh. It should be kept separate from the university for various reasons."

Alternative Schemes

The shock, caused by Butler's letter and the government's changed attitude, stirred the Trustees, Old Boys and students to new thinking and they evolved an idea of Jamia Islamia and an independent model college. The first by Viqarul Mulk and the second according to Dr Abid Hussain, by Abdul Rahman Bijnori, which in reality was a joint scheme of independent old boys.

Under the heading **Aims of Jamia Millia,** Dr Abid Hussain writes: disappointed by the government, Nawab Viqarul Mulk proposed establishment of an independent Jamia Islamia, but with the exception of very few trustees, none supported him. The worthy son of Aligarh, Dr Abdul Rahman Bijnori drew up a project of an independent educational institution, at Dehradun under the patronage of Her Highness Nawab Sultan Jahan Bagum, ruler of Bhopal and Prince Hamidullah Khan (later ruler of Bhopal, 1946) but it could not take practical shape because of untimely death of Dr Sahib.

My late uncle Maulavi Syed Sharafuddin Sahib's report differs from Dr Abid Hussain's observations. My uncle who was a language teacher in Islamia High School, Etawah (now Siddiqi Inter College) had it from Maulavi Bashirruddin Sahib—the manager and an old associate of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, that Ali Brothers and their friends decided to open a new college at Dehradun under the name of Sultania College with Mohmmad Ali, as Principal, Dr A. R. Bijnori, A. R. Sindhi (later Siddiqui), Raja Ghulam Hussin. Shoeb Qureshi and others as members of the staff. All were to receive a fix pay with no grade and no annual increment, the highest receiving Rs 400 a month, with free quarters.

As they intended to establish a model institution free

from unnatural discrimination and frivolous ostantations, they also laid down that the maximum expenditure of a student should not go beyond Rs 15 P.M. including his pocket money. Thus they intended to provide education even to those who had no means to study at M.A.O. College where charges were very high. Most of the muslim boys of meagre means, who were keen on receiving education, could not join the M.A.O. College Aligarh. And they far outnumbered those who entered the portals of the college.

The atmosphere of the envisaged college, both administrative and academic, could be judged from Bijnori's observations on student-teacher relations, discipline and oriental sciences. It was thus to be an institution where teachers and students could enjoy full freedom and were to be bound in a healthy academic relation.

This group, who was endeavouring to establish model College at Dehradun, was emotionally attached to Osmanli Turks and the British government was strongly opposed to them, as they had very close relations with German empire, of Kaiser Williams, and finally joined the Triple Alliance when the war broke out in 1914. Bijnori's letter to his father dated August 21, 1912 very eloquently expressed this attachment wherein he says: "It is the duty of the mussulmans of the world to forget themselves, their community, their country and help the Ottoman Turks. If Ottoman Turkey is saved today then the future of Mussulmans shall be very glorious and if, God forbid, it did not happen then Muslims would be obliterated from world's face and never be able to rise from the abyss of humiliation and disgrace." Mohammad Ali's feelings vis-a-vis Turkey were later summed up in his famous article **Choice of the Turks** which cost him his paper **Comrade**, its press and his freedom too. Sir James Meston—then the Lieutenant Governor of UP was alarmed at the scheme and dubbed it as a college of Envar Pashas' supporters and hence it could not be started.

That such a college was proposed and could not be started is proved by a report in the Extraordinary issue

of the Institute Gazette Aligarh. Under the heading, **Ruin of Aligarh** a note in daily **Hamdam** (October 22, 1920) is given: lamenting Mr Shaukat Ali's remark about demolishing present Aligarh to build a grander Aligarh of world fame, that before doing so he should convince the community that the demolished Aligarh shall not remain in ruins and really a new and more glorious institution would be built up in its place.

Al Bashir (Maulvi Bashiruddin's paper) writes on the same topic:

We are grief-stricken at the fact that Mussulmans have lost power to work and carry on of whatever is left rather than to wreck things, otherwise Mussulmans have Delhi College funds, wisdom demanded that non-affiliated college be started in Delhi and an experiment could be made in it. A sum of more than five lakhs is there for Sultania College, Dehradun and the college could not be established because Allahabad did not grant it affiliation. It is time now that it may be established as a non-affiliated college. Maulvi Bashiruddin Sahib's remark in the above quoted paper, also proves Dr Abid Hussain was not quite right in saying that college could not be started because of Dr Bijnori's death, as he clearly affirms that the government did not permit its affiliation. He does not and, I think, could not mention the name of the Lieutenant Governor of UP because of decorum. It is, however, evident that the question of recognition could arise only if the college had been established and not before its establishment.

First World War and Its Impact

It may be worthwhile, before we continue the story of the struggle for the establishment of Muslim University and the alternative schemes of other colleges, to briefly touch upon the impact of war on Indian mind.

Soon after world war I broke out, Mohammad Ali lost his paper, its press and both brothers and other hindu and muslim leaders were interned. A reign of terror was let loose. Recruitment to the army was done ruthlessly and some very shameful methods were adopted to recruit able-bodied young people. War funds were collected with as much ruthlessness.

The "Indian Blackies" yielded to foreign ruler for the time being but their self-respect had been injured and their whole fabric burned with indignation and found expression in noble satire like, "May God destroy German guns" and "O Cruel 1917, what did not you do. You got the white Sahib slapped by black hands, may God curse you" (referring to Indian soldiers' attacks on Germans). Then bidding "Good-bye to 1918", the same journal gives details of sufferings:

"The years preceding were so disasterous that you would have found more than halved.

"Unlike the cruel monarchs of old, who used men to fight for their amusement, they made nations, races, countries, dynasties fight one another and enjoyed their fun. For the sake of their fun they got not only millions but billions of men slaughtered. Such funs were witnessed in old ages also but they were confined to a country or people but these stone-hearted years played holi with men's blood throughout the world.

"We would not tell a lie. They kept us away from this field of slaughter. But it matters little, these blood thirsty

years dragged our choicest countrymen to thousand of miles and there watched the fun of our fighting and being killed.

"And were we, who did not go there, saved from distress, we were in distress at our home. We thirsted for grain and water. We were deprived of the most trifle needs of life. But the greatest calamity was this—just as an enemy captures every soldier and puts them in chains in the same way we, here, in our own home, were bound down hand and foot. Neither could we read or write, nor could we freely talk with friends so much so that we could not even listen to what the outsiders spoke. Our condition was exactly according to the old saying 'Imam with a beard is the criminal but the man with a moustache is to be punished.'"

The British government had assured the Mussulmans that it was not a Holy War and after entry of America on the side of the allies another declaration was made that it was being fought for the right of self-determination of nations. Contrary to these solemn declarations General Allenbys' entry into Jerusalem was felicitated with all religious fervour. Archbishop of Canterbury solemnly announced from the pulpit, "The Eastern Christian Conscience cannot rest satisfied as long as the Imam preaches Quran from the pulpit which has been sanctified by the preachings of Gregory and Christiandom."

People expected self-determination as a reward of their loyal services but were awarded Roulatt Act which would have turned India in a vast prison house. People were indignant at this breach of faith and protested forcefully to which the government responded with the brutal massacre at Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar.

Dismemberment of Turkey together with Jallianwala Bagh tragedy caused volcanic eruption. The atmosphere was so surcharged with indignation that it became too hot for the loyalists to plead for the Benign government. It was this new India which welcomed Ali Brothers—the chief representatives of Old Boys' Association fraternity when they were freed from Betul Jail in 1919.

Their dear Aligarh College too had undergone a great change. Qazi Khuda Bakhsh, the newly elected Vice-President of the union observed:

"The mentality of the people has risen. The latent instincts are coming into prominence and their intellectual horizon has widened. New opportunities have been sought and secured. It is preposterous that absurd opinion still continue to be held in certain circles which are apt to think in a particular way that university should still be kept within the air-tight compartment of the college discipline. A communique recently issued by the Bombay government rightly observes—total abstention (from politics) is not to be expected, nor is it entirely desirable. It is part of the educational equipment of every youngman standing on the threshold of his career to have a well balanced knowledge of the social and political problems of the age without which when freed from the disciplinary restraint of his college life he may be tempted into dangerous path."

The above quotation will amply prove the wisdom of abandoning the antiquated policy of shutting out the future generation of one country from the benefits of a sound and unbiassed knowledge of the country's affairs which go by the name of politics.[1] Qazi Khuda Bakhsh was denied admission in the next session, and he thus paid a price for this bold opinion. During these times of political upheaval muslim youth and intelligentsia looked to Ali brothers for leadership. According to Dr K. M. Ashraf, "When Gandhiji's satyagraha was common talk in India, I was receiving my education in M.A.O. College, Aligarh, and all of us eagerly awaited Maulana Mohammad Ali's release from imprisonment to deliver the message of freedom to us. At last the moment came when the Maulana attended the Amritsar session of the Congress and immediately after that there was clamour for non-cooperation[2]."

1. **Aligarh Monthly,** Vol. VII, nos. 9 and 10, January and February, p 8.
2. **Jauhar,** Jubilee Number, pp 29-30, 1946.

Sajjad Ansari, a well known writer in twenties, writes in a more vigorous strain:

"It is miraculous that the most devout and self-sacrificing persons who came out in support of religion and politics, with heads on the palm of their hand, rose from the same idol house (M.A.O. College, Aligarh) where government prestige was worshipped. Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali were the silver and gold idols in whom the idol makers of Aligarh took pride."[3]

Subash Chandra Bose holds the same opinion in his book **Indian Struggle**. The leadership of this Khilafat movement was assumed by Ali Brothers, Mohammad Ali, the younger and Shaukat Ali, the elder... during the war, both of them had been interned for carrying on propaganda against the British government and in favour of the Turks. The agitation in the wake of their incarceration had made them prominent in the public eyes and when the Khilafat movement began, it was natural that they should be invested with the crown of leadership.

There were other leaders of as tall a stature, like Maulana Mohammad Hasan, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Maulana Azad, Maulana Abdul Bari, Dr Ansari, Hasrat Mohani and Maulvi Abdul Qadir Qusuri. Their contribution to the movement has not been assessed, but it cannot be minimised as without their support in the respective fields the movement would not have emerged as strong and wide as it did.

During the first great war (1914-18) Ali brothers, champions of Sultania College, Dehradun, had been tested and found firm; hence they rose in public estimation. From Betul jail they went direct to Amritsar where the historic Congress Session was being held. "The Ali Brothers", according to Tendulkar, "had arrived there straight from jail. When they entered the congress pandal, the vast assembly rose as one man to greet them. They walked up to the dais, profoundly bowed to Tilak and

3. **Jamia**, February 1924, pp 71-72.

others, Mohammad Ali appearing on the platform said that he came with a return ticket."[4]

They were accorded very enthusiastic reception at many places especially at Delhi but the one at Aligarh was unprecedented. The young Turks both among the trustees and the students were intoxicated with pride and joy. Maulana Aslam Jairajpuri very eloquently expressed the feelings in his poem for the occasion. It opens with a couplet that a muslim has been created for trial (in the cause of truth) and not merely for show. Trials are the distinctive features of those who are honoured by the creator and the blessed alone are put to trials and distress.

Before giving more details of the struggle, it is necessary here to deal with the relative position of Maulana Mohammad Ali and Mahatma Gandhi, as some writers attribute the foundation of Jamia Millia Islamia, Aligarh, now at Delhi, to the initiative of Gandhiji. As for example Tendulkar who writes "Jamia Millia Islamia or National Muslim University was founded by the joint efforts of Gandhi and Mohammad Ali."[5]

Gandhiji's position is clearly stated in the **History of the Congress** by Pattabhi Sitaramayya. "Gandhi himself had just arrived in India and if we may say so, did not start his public life on definite basis."[6] Gandhiji testifies to the above when he writes, "I do consider my participation in Congress proceedings at Amritsar as my real entrance into Congress politics. My attendance at previous sessions was nothing more than an annual renewal of my allegiance to the Congress. I never on these occasions thought of any other work cut out for except of a private. Nor did I desire more."[7]

Non-cooperation movement gradually built up Gandhiji's position and raised him to the stature of an undisputed, all India leader. The movement was first mooted at Khilafat platform. In his article, "The Congress and non-co-

4. **The Mahatma,** Vol. I, p 336.
6. Ibid, Vol. II, p 42.
6. Ibid, Vol. I, p 160.
7. Ibid, Vol. I, p 339.

operation", Gandhiji writes, "The mussulmans must take action now. They cannot wait for Congress decision. They can expect the Congress to ratify their action and share their sorrow and burden. Their action cannot be delayed till the Congress had decided on a policy, nor can their course be altered by an adverse decision of the Congress."[8]

This was because of very strong anti-British feelings among muslims which led to the holding of All India Khilafat Conference in November, 1919. Maulana Hasrat Mohani laid stress on the boycott of British goods. He also referred to Gandhiji's cooperation with the British government which turned Gandhiji's mind to non-cooperation as he himself observes, "As the Maulana was delivering his speech it seemed to me it was vain for him to talk about effective resistance to a government with which he (Gandhi) was cooperating on more than one thing, if resort to arms was impossible or undesirable the only true resistance to the government, therefore, was to cease to cooperate with it. Thus I arrived at the word non-cooperation. I had not then clear idea of all its manifold implications. I did not, therefore, enter into details."[9]

Khilafat workers held conferences at many places throughout the country, especially at Allahabad in June 1920, and declared on June 20 that if the British government did not reject the present peace conditions Turkey Khilafat Committee would launch non-cooperation from August 1. This was just a token of Muslim's resolve to shatter British dreams of subjugating Turkey. Subhash Chandra Bose observes, "About the middle of 1920, anti-British feeling was much stronger amongst the muslims than among the rest of the Indian population. Mr Montague had been able to divide the nationalist forces but had failed to win over any section of the muslims."[10] With this solid backing, Gandhiji attended the special session of the Congress held at Calcutta from September 4 to 9,

8. Ibid, Vol. II, chapter 1, p 4.
9. Ibid, V. I. p 344.
10. **Indian Struggle,** chapter II, p 53.

1920, which was "really the first Congress which he attended with a view to secure the adoption of his own special programme". [11] He could succeed there as "unassisted, therefore, by any first leader in the country; Mr. Gandhi had to rely on the support of Ali brothers and the increasing Congress following and mass enthusiasm to carry out this item—boycott of educational institutions".[12]

Bose, too, is of the same view. "He (Gandhi) had strengthened himself by an alliance with muslim leaders and the All India Khilafat Committee. In fact, he was so sure of his position in the country that if the Congress rejected his plan of non-cooperation, he would have launched his campaign with the support of the Khilafat organisation."[13]

Let us study the proceedings of the session. There was full dressed debate on September 7. According to **Tribune,** Lahore:[14] He (Gandhi) gave his utterance to Mr C. Rajagopalachari who had grieved him by his observation which amounted to saying that he, Mr Gandhi, was trading on his past reputation, he asked to be judged as a practical man before the Congress... in his (Gandhi) view the function of the Congress was not **acceptance and action** but one **of the expression of the verdict of the people.** The Congress resolution, as he conceived it, is not a party resolution and he considered it was not right to **make fetish of the resolution.** The Congress did not **issue a command** as the **Central Khilafat Committee** did, and so it was that he used the word advised in the resolution. If the Congress found within a few months that the opinion expressed was not of the country, it shall change it. Gandhi, said that students and lawyers could give up their studies and profession gradually but boycott of council was "immediate and complete".

Mr C. R. Das in replying to the debate referred to many false issues which had been raised. To him the political movement of the Congress was a religious movement.

11. **Gandhi As I Knew Him,** Indulal Yagnik, p 144.
12. Ibid, p 164.
13. Ibid, p 54.
14. **Tribune,** September 17, p 2, C 3.

He refused to admit any distinction. "but...I maintain that we should seek election to the councils in order to promote non-cooperation and that they offer non-cooperation through the councils."

The same paper observes on page 1, column 2, under "Mr Gandhi and Boycott of Councils"—"and it was only to be expected that Gandhi consistently maintained, while the fate of his programme was hanging in balance, that adverse decision of the Congress would not be binding on him, he would, after the programme had been accepted in the modified form by the Congress, be equally consistent in maintaining that the favoured decision was not binding upon his opponents. In his opinion the resolution is only an expression of authoritative opinion and **is in no case, a mandate**".

Lala Lajpat Rai, the President of the session, strongly differed with Gandhiji's views that "Swaraj is a means for a goal" when he observed that on his part he was prepared to exchange swaraj for any other system of government if it were for the good of the country. To him the statement that swaraj was a means to an end was entirely without meaning. Swaraj was the only and sole object of his life. He (Lalaji) said, "I strongly feel that the Congress has been committed to a programme, several items of which are, in my humble judgement, not only impracticable but injurious to the interest of the country."

In the President's closing speech, we read under the subheading, "Nation's Education", "unless they would have National Government the talk of National Education was useless... what was National Education? How would it be the National? Would it be Hindu system of education or Muslim system of education. What would it be in character? What would be the language?...it would be absolutely suicidal at the present moment to withdraw their boys and girls from schools and colleges where they were studying."[15] **Bande Mataram** did not accept the resolution as a national decision as it remarked: "The decision

15. **Bombay Chronicle**, September 10, p 7, Cs 2 to 5.

arrived at the Congress, though adopted by an overwhelming majority, cannot be said to be the decision of the whole nation."[16]

Though it was a weak resolution because of its advisory character yet the opponents, who had first rate leaders like C. R. Das, Mr M. A. Jinnah, Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Lala Lajpat Rai, Dr Annie Besant, Mr Khaparde, Tej Bahadur Sapru, among them, did not yield. They took up the fight. Among the opponents Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya was first to deliver lectures against it on Home Rule League Grounds. In one of the lectures, he said that those weak points in the programme about which there existed a difference of opinion among leaders, whose honesty of purpose and intention was no less undoubted than that of Mr Gandhi... There was never after the session of 1906 such a hot discussion in the annals of the Congress. Though on the first day the majority was supporting the opposition but the ballot, which was demanded was postponed to another day when many of the delegates had gone away and others did not go to polling. Further, since the votes were not taken separately, on Mahatma Gandhi's programme and that of Mr Bepin Chandra Pal, Mahatma Gandhi's programme was adopted.

The speaker said he was opposed to the withdrawal of children from schools and colleges, let them open national schools but so long as these schools were not opened, education must be obtained in whatever form it could be obtained.[17]

Bakshi Tek Chand, General Secretary, Punjab Provincial Congress Committee and Pandit Gorakhnath Mishra, Joint Secretary, All India Congress Committee, resigned together with Mr Ishwaran Saran, President of the UP Provincial Congress Committee.[18] Madras did not lag behind in resigning from Congress posts. Messrs Kasturi Iyengar, A. Rangaswami Iyenger and Satyamurti resigned from the Presidentship of Madras Provincial Committee

16. Ibid, September 13, p 9, C 2.
17. **Independent,** October 5, pp 3 and 5.
18. **Bombay Chronicle,** September 17, p 7, Cs 5 and 6.

and Secretary of Madras Committee respectively.[19]

Dr Mohammad Alam referred to Lalaji's opposition to parts of the resolution in his letter to **Tribune:**

If it is mandate, then clearly every part of it is equally binding, including the points which Lala Lajpat Rai has always, which he still, condemns, and to which he looks forward to Nagpur Congress to ratify the mistake just made.[20]

Under notes and comments, there is "Pandit Malviya's open declaration". It was his most powerful duty to defer from Mr Gandhi entirely in regard to this resolution. He was, therefore, determined to remain in the Congress and at the same time seek election to the local council.

Lalaji later asserted his opinion in an interview sought by **Tribune** "In my opinion, for all those who want to lead active political life there is one course open; it is to boycott the councils. As to the other three items of Mr Gandhi's resolution which are impracticable will be modified by the next Congress."[21]

It were not only the top leaders who took up cudgels but others of less fame who also opposed it. Dr Mali addressed a letter to Lala Lajpat Rai wherein he writes: "...The question of Non-Cooperation is a burning question of the hour. There are those who wish to examine this question very carefully and see whether the very fluid programme by Mr Gandhi is practicable. Our memory, as pointed out by Mr Chakrabarty, is still green with regard to similar proposals during the Swadeshi movement and the fate they met with...those who wished to be elected for the subjects committee had to declare themselves as pledged to all that Mr Gandhi has so far preached without the authority of the Congress.[22]

The same paper noted under notes and comments on September 21, "we are now in a position to state that all that Lala Lajpat Rai meant by the use of the

19. Ibid, September 14, p 7, C 3.
20. **Tribune,** September 19, p 1, Cs 2, 3.
21. Ibid, September 19, p 2, C 1.
22. Ibid, September 19, p 2, C 2.

word binding, while speaking of Congress resolution of Non-Cooperation, at the recent interview, was that it was morally binding but people can still remain member of the Congress while they oppossed it."

Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya started countrywide campaign and declared at Lahore, "You have not touched even the fringe of the population, you have not penetrated except a few places, you should therefore, attain Swaraj and acquire strength more than anything... But it has to be used with effect, and one essential conditions of its being used with effect is that, it must be mass movement, there must be tremendous numbers of people who will take it up. That requires education.[23]

Pandit Malviya declared himself as unequivocally against the particular programme of non-cooperation which the Congress has since adopted.[24] Even Gandhiji had to admit in **Young India** that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was the most uncompromising opponent.[25]

The opposition was so strong that they felt overjoyed at the later decision of the All India Congress Committee. Under notes and comments **Tribune** records:

It is highly significant that on every contested point that the All India Congress Committee has decided against non-cooperation sub-committee. They have deleted the statement that "the Congress has adopted Mr Gandhi's full programme including withdrawal from the Council and Military duty and non-payment of taxes. They have eliminated the interpretation on the word gradual in the Congress resolution. Lastly they have omitted the statement about the boycott of foreign goods, being an unfortunate interpretation. In all these respects the Sub-Committee Report went beyond the resolution of the Congress and beyond its own proper jurisdiction, and we are pleased to find that All India Congress Committee have set the things right".[26]

23. **Tribune,** September 21, p 4, C 1.
24. **Tribune,** September 23, p 1, Cs 3-4.
25. **Independent,** October 6, C 2.
26. **Tribune,** October 7, p 1, Cs 1-2.

On to the Field

> At the local conferences, which were held, the two groups tried their strength. One such was held at Moradabad on October 2, 1920 under the presidentship of Babu Bhagwandas. It was attended by Hakim Ajmal Khan, Gandhi, Mohammad Ali, Shaukat Ali, Swami Satyadev, Pandit Malaviya, Dr Ansari, Masud Hasan and Swami Shardanand. Recording the proceedings of the conference, **Tribune** reported that Babu Bankey Behari Lal Verma moved an amendment endorsing the policy of non-cooperation and recommending for the present the suspension of that part of Congress resolution that related to the suspension of practice by lawyers, withdrawal of students from schools supported or aided by the government.

Mohammad Ali challenged it and moved a resolution asking the trustees of the hindu and muslim universities to stop taking grant and to return their charters. The resolution also wanted affiliated and aided institutions to stop taking grant and to get themselves disaffiliated. He said he was going to Aligarh to make an appeal to the university authorities and if the trustees will not listen he would ask the students to leave the institution. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya opposed it but the resolution was carried.[1]

Special representatives of the **Independent**, Allahabad, reported "referring to Hindu and Muslim University, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Mr Masudul Hasan

1. October 12, p 2, October 14, p 3, C 2 and October 15, p 3, C 1 under Hindu Muslim University.

observed at the conclusion of his address: "Thank God our country is after all rising up to this realization. At the clarion call of Maulana Shaukat Ali and Mahatma Gandhi, the country has raised in a united response. Whether this is the effect of the earnestness of those great men or the result of the awakening effected by incessant catastrophies."[2]

As representatives of old Aligarians and trustees Ali brothers and others have already launched their campaign in Aligarh and addressed a letter to the Honorary Secretary to the same effect long before Moradabad Conference. Ashfaq Ali's letter dated Aligarh, October 13 was published in **Tribune**[3] under the heading "M.A.O. College, Aligarh, and Non-Cooperation" and in **Independent**[4] under the heading "An appeal to M.A.O. College Trustees".

The following requisition has been signed by the undersigned trustees who have requested to Hony. Secretary, M.A.O. College to put this note before the trustees any time before October 29, 1920. The signatories were Hakim Mohammad Ajmal Khan, Dr M. A. Ansari, Moszzam Ali, Zaheer Ahmad, Shaukat Ali Khadim Ka'ba, Mohammad Ismail Khan, Haji Mohammad Moosa Khan, Amir Mustafa Khan, Mohammad Ali Khadim Ka'ba.

"Dear Sir,

In view of the open hostility showed by Great Britain to Islam in the treaty forced upon Turks, the distribution and continued occupation of Jazirat-ul-Arab, the Non-Cooperation Committee of the All India Khilafat Committee has decided that all educational institutions which are being carried on by Government or in any way receiving its aid must be boycotted and all students and teachers be withdrawn from them. The All India Muslim League and Congress have also passed similar resolution

2. October 14, p 1, Cs 1-3.
3. October 14, p 4, C 2.
4. October 15, p 3, C 1.

at their special sessions held at Calcutta. We feel certain that in the existing circumstances, it must be as repugnant to our colleagues of the Board of Trustees of the M.A.O. College and to the Muslim University Association as it is to us receiving any financial aid for these institutions from or permit any kind of interference therein to Government which has so contemptuously disregarded our religious obligations and national sentiment and so unscrupulously betrayed its own repeatedly pledged words. We, therefore, call upon you and other trustees of the court and member of the Muslim University Association to refuse henceforth to receive any aid from the Government to permit any kind or sort of government interference whether directly or indirectly through the Allahabad University or any agency in these institutions as we desire to inform our other colleagues that we are also calling upon teachers and adult students at Aligarh to withdraw their wards from the college and school on 29 October, 1929, if the Trustees refuse to comply with these obvious requirements of the Islamic faith. We, therefore, request you with the earnestness at our command to take the action we recommend at the earliest possible date and treat this matter of the greatest urgency."

Mohammad Ali had announced at Moradabad Conference that he would be going to Aligarh for the same purpose. This was not just a pious wish but as the above requisition indicates a firm resolve "to carry out this item", as Indulal Yagnik referred to it. The Khilafat resolution, Mohammad Ali's speech at Moradabad and Mr Ashfaq's strong letter with a definite date for action had stirred the expectant students at Aligarh and there were discussions among them for and against the proposed action.

Tribune reported the Aligarh campaign on page 4, column 3 of the same issue under the heading "Tour of Mr. Gandhi and the Party".

The party reached Aligarh the same night and on 12, Gandhi, Ali Brothers and Swami Satyadev addressed a meeting of trustees, staff and students in the afternoon in the college union and a mass meeting in the city on the

grounds of Lyall Library (now Malviya Pustakalay). In the evening a number of trustees of the college and members of the Muslim University Association called upon their colleagues on the two bodies to give up government grant and cut off all direct and indirect connection with the government in the affairs of the college and the university and have also called upon staff and adult students to withdraw from the college before October 29, if the course urged upon the trustees is not followed. It is understood that some members of the staff and the vast bulk of students are already notifying to the principal that they intend to respond to the call of their creed and country. Others are expected to follow this lead almost immediately on 13. A report to the same effect appeared in the **Independent.**[5]

The report of the principal of M.A.O. College, Aligarh was published in the extraordinary issue of the **Institute Gazette,** Aligarh, to this effect.

I returned from the meeting of the council on October 10 and immediately received news that Mr Gandhi, Messrs Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali shall be coming tonight. The same morning a meeting of Syndicate was held wherein a resolution was passed regarding the policy of the college. It was directed therein that the staff should cooperate in acting upon this policy. On October 11, I held a meeting of the staff and as they had received no copy of the resolution passed by the Syndicate, it was orally repeated by Mr A. F. Rehman who was present at the meeting of the Syndicate and every member of the staff assured me that they would cooperate wholeheartedly in following college policy.

On the night following October 11, Messrs Gandhi, Shaukat Ali, Swami Satyadev and others reached Aligarh from Moradabad and two-fifth of the students welcomed them at the station. On the morning of October 12, I met Mr Gandhi at the earliest opportunity and I convinced

5. 15 October on p 3, C 2, dated October 20, pp 1 and 2, Cs 1-2.

him that it would be improper for him to propagate his cause in college.

When I met Mr Gandhi there were members of the staff with me and I reminded Mr Gandhi that when I met him last in March 1920, he had promised that he would keep the students aloof from his movement and would announce it, what new factor now forced him to change his opinion. Mr Gandhi retorted that the publication of Hunter Committee Report had influenced his opinion. As a teacher I requested him to tell me if he regarded this action of his own as wise and that if he had been in his place whether he would have tolerated such a process to advise the students to busy themselves openly in the politics of the country and thus be lost in the politics of the country without informing the trustees, members of the staff and the principal. To all these objections he replied that keeping the rules of education in view these things were illegal but there were higher reasons which compelled him. He knew that the trustees would not listen to him, and, therefore, he had decided to address the students directly and he desired that the students should use these high buildings as National College to spread and propagate national education.

I asked him afterwards that he selected only Aligarh for non-cooperation while he could establish a National College at other place and that it would be much proper for Ahmedabad. Regarding Banaras University he said that Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya did not agree with him; after my talk other members of the staff tried to dissuade him from it but he assured all that he had decided to do it. Mr Mohammed Ali met in the principal's office but could not have detailed talks with him because of his being too busy.

On October 12, a meeting was held in Siddons Union Club (now Muslim University Students' Union) at 2 P.M. and Messrs Gandhi, Mohammed Ali, Shaukat Ali and Swami Satyadev delivered speeches before the students. I was neither informed of it nor any permission

was sought from me. In this meeting, Mr Gandhi dealt upon non-cooperation and desired that the students should accept his programme. Mr Shaukat Ali repeated the atrocities perpetuated on Islam and insisted that the students should say good-bye to the college. Swami Satyadev delivered a provocative speech. Some members of the staff were present who informed me that from the tempers of the students it did not seem that they agreed with the speakers. The speech of every student, who spoke, was against what they had been asked to do. The meeting came to a close after people had delivered their speeches from sunset till about 10 P.M.

This movement got momentum from 11.30 P.M. till 3 A.M. As they had failed at first to win arguments, therefore they started arousing students' emotions. On 13 October the students did not attend the college and assembled in a body in the Siddons Union Club. Not a single member of the staff was present. Mr Shaukat Ali came to the meeting and spoke in favour of the resolutions of boycotting education, which was passed by the students.

The last portion of the principal's statement was corroborated by press reports wherein it was noted:

Mr Gandhi and Ali brothers spoke but their arguments did not seem at the time to convince a very great majority of students and Mr Shaukat Ali himself confessed that the result was beyond all their expectations and that he was very much ashamed of the failure of their attempt at Aligarh. The students and the professor were given one week's time to ponder over; in one single night the whole college world was changed and not a single student attended classroom yesterday; the situation is serious.

The Clarion Call

The **Independent** came out with a fuller report in its issue of October 19, dated Aligarh October 16 under the heading "The Aligarh Victory, Tremendous Enthusiasm".

In the afternoon, the meeting was held under the presidentship of Syed Nurullah—the vice-president of the union. The hall was packed to its full. There was a big crowd in the verandah outside and even on the ground below them. Syed Nurullah described atrocities committed in the Punjab, explained the Khilafat question and appealed to non-cooperate with the government.

A. Aziz, barrister, asked what would the students do after leaving the college and it was said they would do Khilafat work. He asked again about the scheme of constructive work and Maulana Shaukat Ali replied even in the absence of that scheme Mussulmans should not hesitate to sacrifice all upon religion. He asked again what would happen to the Hindu University, Maulana Mohammad Ali replied that Khilafat is a religious duty of the muslims, the question, therefore, is irrelevant.

Gandhi said he supported the Khilafat movement because if Islam is in danger, then hinduism shall also face a danger. Gandhi announced that despite Malviyaji's opposition he would go to Banaras and appeal to the students. Some more questions were raised and then Ali brothers recited verses from the Quran to point out Mussulman's duty. During the meeting, Maulavi Taj Mohammad and Jan Mohammad, barrister from Sind entered the hall and were given a great reception. Maulavi Saheb spoke for a few minutes and urged the audience to do its duty. Professor Hyder Khan and A. F. Rehman who were asked to give their opinion said that they want-

ed time. When A. Majid Khawaja, barrister, was asked to express his opinion, he said he realised his duty but would not exhort others without stopping his practice.

Syed Nurullah thanked the guests and the audience and exhorted the students to be ready to do their duty and appealed to the staff members to make a sacrifice in their salaries when government grant was rejected.

The editorial of the **Independent** of the same date notes on page 4 the telegram though loose and clumsily worded —of the Associated Press which we publish elsewhere apropos the achievements of Mr Gandhi and his associates —is an inspiring reading. As we expected the principal of Aligarh College appears to have performed a religious duty by demonstrating with Mr Gandhi, of course, firm as a rock. "Education", he is reported to have said, "must be sacrificed for higher politics." What followed was a meeting of the students which was addressed by Mr Gandhi and Ali brothers. And "in a single night" the principal's 'poison' became the students' 'food'. The whole college world is changed, says the report, not a single boy attended the classrooms. The students are taking oaths to follow the flag of non-cooperation. The students further decided to wait on the principal and persuade him to renounce his title and boycott the council.

The news has not come as a surprise to us. We could have been surprised and also disappointed if Aligarh had not responded to the call of Islam and the nation. "Give us Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali and we shall take Home Rule said Aligarh to Raja Ghulam Husain of **New Era** when he went to feel the pulse beat of the Old Boys and new ones. Aligarh's pulse beats today as its best then. It is ready to follow the tribune of Muslim democracy into the darkness and peril under the banner of Mahatma Gandhi. May God give our boys strength to hold on, to preserve to make themselves useful here as the students of Egypt who played no less active part than Zaghlul Pasha in making Egypt free." Some facts which had an impact on the students have not been stated. They have

to be mentioned here on the basis of the personal experience of the writer who was a student of M.A.O. College and present at the meeting.

In those key days of British raj every educational institution had to put big portraits of their Majesties, the emperor and the empress, at a central place as a mark of respect to the crown and on special occasions the halls were decorated with Union Jacks. Siddons Union Club followed this custom. On that day, however, Union Jacks had not been put up in the hall. When Gandhi entered the hall he did not look round and quietly assumed his seat but in his speech he said that under the same Union Jack under which they were sitting, atrocities were perpetrated upon the muslims which evoked on immediate point of order from A. Aziz, barrister, "Huzoor, have a look round there is not a single Union Jack here." Further on Gandhiji remarks, "you think that Ali Brothers have put me in their pocket; it is not so. I am active and alert and inform you that place, where we grow something or build a house, is first dug up and levelled, it is, therefore, necessary to remove the British and their system of education so that we may manage our education according to our wishes and national need". This again provoked A. Aziz to remind him that there were many places in India he should first dig them up and level them and then start doing the same here. Gandhiji did not respond to it.

Swami Satyadev, however, pointed to the Napoleon's invasion of Russia and voluntary destruction of property by the Russians, crops and other materials as a mark of their patriotism and their strategy against Napoleon. That is why Dr Ziauddin Ahmad, the principal, referred to it as a provocative speech.

Gandhiji's failure to respond effectively to the point of order was referred to in the **Institute Gazette** of November 10, page 3, C 2 under "Mr Gandhi and His Followers". When a lawyer criticised Mr Gandhi at Aligarh and Mr Gandhi could not meet it then Mr Shaukat Ali very strongly rebuked him to sit down.

Gandhi's speech, because of his silence over the above points of order and because of his feeble voice, had very little force and hence Dr Ziauddin Ahmad reported to the secretary that the students did not seem to agree with what the speakers had said. Swami Satyadev, however, won the title of an 'Orator' because of his roaring voice and better exposition of the case. The principal who was kept well informed by the loyal staff and students had rightly observed that "between 11.30 P.M. till 3 A.M. the movement grew in strength because its supporters having failed to convince with arguments took resort to stirring enthusiasm". During the discussion which started immediately after Maghrib prayers the opponents of non-cooperation stressed Gandhiji's silence on the points of orders raised by Mr A. Aziz and that Banaras should have been his first target and not Aligarh. They strengthened their argument with the remarks that he was not as determined about Banaras as about Aligarh because he simply intended appealing to the students at Banaras while we have received a strict mandate.

We had to divert their attention from the personality and speech of Gandhiji and focus it on Ali brothers, their services and present activities with an additional argument which struck to our minds at midnight. It was that Banaras and Hardwar were not the target of British attack, it was sacred Ka'ba whose central religious position they were bent upon demolishing and we were duty bound to non-cooperate with such a government in all possible ways. It worked like magic and we had won the day by 3 A.M., as the principal reported.

The Battle Begins

> The **Independent** and the **Tribune** reported the position at Aligarh in their issues of October 16 under the heading "Very Grave Situation". "The situation in the college is very grave. Yesterday the students did not attend the lecture rooms though professors range at fixed periods. The students held their meetings for 6 or 7 hours and took an oath to abide by Non-Cooperation. Messrs Gandhi, Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali remained with them till noon when they left for Etah. Students are to wait on Dr Ziauddin to persuade him to renounce his title and withdraw from Provincial Council. They also intend to appeal to trustees. The School has not yet followed the example of the College." The **Tribune** report contained an additional sentence—Mr Shaukat Ali promised the boys a crore of rupees for the college.

Words fail here to portray the hectic activity and the surcharged atmosphere on the following day, October 13, when totally deserting the classroom, the students of the M.A.O. College assembled in the union to hold their meeting. For hours there were hot debates, Syed Mahmud of Bihar for the non-cooperation and Ghazanfarullah against it stand out as main speakers, till at last Syed Nurullah—the president of the meeting proposed from the chair.

That this meeting of the students of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh

1) Strongly condemns the attitude adopted by the British government towards Turkey.

2) Whole-heartedly approves of the suggestions made by the Khilafat Committee.

3) Strongly urges the trustees to **stop receiving aid** and

refuse government aid immediately, disaffiliate the college from the government university (Allahabad).

4) If the trustees do not agree to give up government aid and disaffiliate the college before October 29, 1920 that students will employ all means in their power to turn the college into national organisation under the aegis of Central Khilafat Committee to train youngmen in Khilafat work and they will refuse to have any connection with any government chartered university.

5) Requests the title holders among the staff members to resign from honorary government posts and renounce titles.

6) Requests government scholarship holders to refuse to accept the same in the event of their refusal they be boycotted, those government scholarship holders who cannot live in the college without it be helped by the society. (Dr Ziauddin referred to this resolution in his report.)

There is additional piece in the report published in **Independent**. "The situation in the college is extremely hopeful. Students are very enthusiastic. The national anthem was sung daily after Maghrib prayers in every boarding, funds for Khilafat are being enthusiastically raised and an appeal has been issued on the Ulamas that their presence is very necessary. The followings have refused their scholarship: Habibur Rahman, BA, Rauf Pasha, Ghulamus Saiyidain, Ghulam Osman, Shamsuddin, Jamilullah, Noor Mohammad, Gulam, Ali, Syed Nurullah, BA. The chairman of the meeting also renounced his claim to government scholarship."

This was too much for the loyalist group. They took up points against the non-cooperation. The Syndicate, the trustees and the parents and guardians mobilised their forces and started their concerted attacks. Columns of **Institute Gazette** are full of their activities. A look at the issue dated October 20, 1920, would, I think, suffice.

1) Old boys at Gorakhpur unanimously request the trustees and the principal to stand firm and reject dan-

gerous proposal of Gandhi and Ali brothers even at the risk of temporarily closing the college.[1]

2) This meeting of the leading muslims[2] of the district and old boys of the Aligarh College views with much alarm and dismay the activities of Mr Gandhi including the dangerous and suicidal doctrine of non-cooperation in the minds of the alumni of the college and, thereby, undermining the foundation of the greatest institution of India and undoing the lifelong work of the great national leader, Sir Syed of revered memory.

In view of the grave situation, this meeting requests the muslim public and particularly the trustees to strongly oppose the proposal of Mr Gandhi and his co-workers, and expects that the parents of the students will take immediate steps to prevent their sons from joining such ruinous movement.[3]

3) Messrs Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali's visit has created a grave situation in the M.A.O. College. The Syndicate and staff are absolutely unanimous in upholding the traditional policy of the institution and are trying to cope with the situation as best as they can. The Syndicate appeals to the parents, the public, specially the muslim community, the trustees and the old boys and all well-wishers of the institution to rise to the occasion and lend their support in maintaining and saving the college from ruin. Parents and trustees are being invited to come on 27th and help the institution. with their advice and deliberations.[4]

4) Considering the situation in the college, the Syndicate notify that no one should come to the college with the object of delivering lectures, or address the students, except with the previous written permission of the principal.

5) "Dear Sir,

"Your sons and relations who read in this college depend upon education for their personal, national and

1. P 1, C 1.
2. P 1, C 2.
3. Ahmad Bakash.
4. Secretary's report.

material welfare. But the present situation which has been brought about a sudden change deserves your most serious attention, I, as principal of the college and as responsible muslim, feel that my responsibility for these students and my desire for their welfare, are not less than yours. I, therefore, consider it my duty to acquaint you with the present situation in the college and ask for your assistance, and appeal to you to give me whatever help you could.

"Nearly everyday I held meetings of the staff to discuss this position and means may be suggested to face the struggle. Local trustees have held some meetings where some members of the staff also participated. The college would have reverted to its normal condition after a short period if the student had been left alone but every moment efforts are being made to maintain the agitation."[5]

Institute Gazette was a weekly but from October 20 special issues were started to carry on anti-non-cooperation campaign with full vigour.

Special number dated October 20, contained three letters from parents in support of the Syndicate and denunciation of the non-cooperation movement. One father wrote to his son, "if you are going to put Gandhi's Janeev (sacred thread) round your neck you need not come to me."

The non-cooperators remained firm and the principal posted urgent letters and appeals, one following upon the heels of the other. In one he writes "Considering these conditions and dangers I appeal to you to come to Aligarh after pondering over my letters and take charge of your sons and relations who have notified their freedom from the present college administration. I have not faltered a little in discharging the responsibility of the burden you placed on my shoulder but I fear I cannot bear the whole burden of responsibility."[6]

The Syndicate held its meeting on October 13 stating that opinions of the non-cooperating trustees were entirely opposed to the declared and recognised policies of the founder and resolved that the "Syndicate requests the

5. Concluding portion of the principal's report.
6. **Ibid.**

Principal to communicate the policy of the trustees to the members of the staff and carry out the solid policy in such manner as he considers best under the circumstances and it expects all members of the staff to loyally cooperate with the principal and give their support in carrying out the said policy."[7]

Further the "Principal is assured that he will have the fullest support of the Syndicate in carrying out his policy."

To strengthen the position of the Syndicate and the principal loyal old boys held meetings at Saharanpur, Aligarh and other places. The one held at Saharanpur on October 20 passed the following strongly-worded resolution:

"Saharanpur old boys, parents and well-wishers of the college view with displeasure the action taken by the present students against their alma-mater for its ruin and destruction because it is impossible to make such an institution anew, which has done so much among the Mussulmans to develop national life and which is expected to do the same in future also. This meeting also expresses its contempt that this educational tree, which was planted by Sir Syed of blessed memory with his own hands and leaders like Nawab Mohsinul-Mulk spent his life in nurturing it and turned into National University, into a political wrestling ground of Gandhi, Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali. These people have adopted an absolutely wrong method by the exciting tempers of the youth."[8]

While the cooperators were freezing in their shell the unambiguous and forceful resolution passed by the students had stirred students throughout the length and breadth of the country as reported by the **Independent** under the heading "Aligarh Victory Inspires Students from Lahore to Madras to Follow the Flag of Non-Cooperation".

The Madras Youth League congratulated the students

7. **Ibid**, p 2, Cs 1-2.
8. **Institute Gazette**, October 24, p 2, C 2.

of Aligarh on their courageous stand for religion and country; Islamia College Lahore was ready to follow.[9]

The students of M.A.O. College, Aligarh had moved a step forward and appealed "to their parents to abide by religious commandments and to see to it that every grown up Muslim, not excluding your own grown up child, now in the college, fulfils this obligation".[10] Next day, there was another heading "Aligarh influence steadily spreads" recording the growing impact of Aligarh resolve.

Parents too were stirred and the **Independent** published a letter from Ahmad Husain contradicting the principal's letter to parents and latter's telegram informing them further, not to worry because he found "there was enthusiasm among students, but they are disciplined and there is no disturbance and classes are regularly held. Why then letters and telegrams were sent to parents to terrify them and make them spend their money."[11]

On October 23, **The Tribune** published an editorial praising the boldness of the Aligarh students under the caption "**Aligarh and Azhar**".

"The Aligarh incidents have evoked respect from our Anglo-Indian and liberal contemporaries, whose warnings and prophecies of war which are perfectly incomprehensible to us. At all events they took their time, but the students exploded the hypothesis by the admirable way in which they organised themselves and dealt with the situation. Their advice to the parents may have been audacious and disrespectful, but obviously the youngmen knew their own mind and could think out and argue religious and political matters with reverence and conclusive cogency. Orthodoxy and old age may loose temper at the audacity of the boys, but the reason and honesty are on the side of the young people. Some of the guardians who were unconvinced and came down to Aligarh, as suggested by the principal, have been convinced by the students. They

9. October 20, p 5, Cs 2 and 4.
10. Ibid.
11. October 23, p 5, C 1.

have followed their counterpart of Al-Azhar in Egypt. In his day he (Sir Syed) was a rebel and Orthodoxy raised a cry against him."[12]

The leaders revisited Aligarh and this time in greater force. The **Institute Gazette** reported under the heading: **"Visit by the Non-Cooperators"**, Ahmad Karim, Maulvi Abdul Kalam, Mr Mohammad Ali, Maulvi Abdul Majid, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr Ansari reached Aligarh yesterday at 1 P.M. After Maghrib prayer a meeting was held in the college mosque where they were welcomed with cries of Allaho Akbar. About 300, very eager students, had assembled. Mr Mohammad Ali started speaking and said that it is wrong that his **non-cooperation movement** was for high political aims as Mr Gandhi had stated, his aim was to free national education which will **provide full freedom for the students** and wherein spiritual education will be imparted. Criticising the present education he said Sir Syed's efforts at educational progress of the muslims did not prove right. Mohammad Ali did not present any scheme of national education but presented himself for its principalship and proposed the name of Maulana Azad as the Dean of National College. Dr Ansari made an announcement to this effect. Mohammad Ali directed the students that they should not refrain from non-cooperation, even if their parents prevent them from it, they should obey God alone. Maulana Abul Kalam and Maulvi Abdul Majid emphasised that they should be ready to face severe hardship and declared that their journey was trying. They should not follow their parents if they prohibit them from non-cooperation. They insisted that "obedience to God's command was obligatory on them". "If this is going to be education at National College, University, then not single family could escape destruction."

Dr Ansari said categorically that Islamia University will be opened on October 29 in Aligarh College and for the present the staff would mostly be hindus whom he had selected. Mr. Mohammad Ali and Dr Ansari forbade stu-

12. P 4, C 3.

dents to leave the college unless force was used. Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr Ansari detailed the evils of English education which produced vakils and government servants. Maulvi Abdul Majid had brought Maulvi Mahmood ul Hasan's fatwa[13] regarding four items.

Then in column 2, the speeches of non-cooperators were reported. First of all Mr Mohammad Ali spoke. While discussing the evils of the present education, he said, it was not only useless but harmful and expressed the need of free education completely in the hands of the community. "It is wrong that we want to ruin the college. We have studied 4 years at school and 4 years at college and every brick of the building is dear to us. We do not want to ruin the college but instead to make it useful for the country and community and desire to impart you an instruction which may create light in the mind and which may be according to islam. We cannot say that we will offer you daily dishes as food and very fine room to live, it is just possible that you may have to sit on mats and get frugal and simple food, but it is certain that the education we will impart will be far better and more useful." He further said, "We do not demand sacrifice of life and money from you but wish that you may bear some trouble to Non-Cooperate. The religious aspect of Non-Cooperation will be placed before you by Abul Kalam Azad who will tell you the clear religious injunction about Non-Cooperation". After it; Maulana Azad stood up and said, after praising Allah and his prophet: "O dear ones, do you know the expectations which have been associated with you due to the publication of your statements and messages in the country. Do you realise how much burden you have put on your shoulders. A week before this there was no responsibility, no burden on your shoulders but the burden you have put on your shoulders which has placed all the responsibilities of all the muslims of India. If your steps, therefore, falter, even a little it would cause great damage to the muslims, I do not know whether you have pondered over all this.

13. Religious decision.

"I wish to tell you the first principle which is obligatory both rationally and theologically and upon which are based all matters. As you have started acting on Non-Cooperation and adopted this course on the basis of religious injunctions, you should therefore, decide to make one person your confidant in religious matters and accept without demur and act upon what he should say from the Quran and the tradition of the prophet. If you do not do this, nothing is done and all your efforts will be in vain. You should confide in the man who, you are sure, will correctly explain to you the injunctions of Allah and his prophet and obey him as long as it is not proved that he directed you against the Commandments of God and his prophet. He will suggest for you a system of action about your religious obligations. I, therefore, cannot detail religious obligations as long as you do not make a decision. I do not demand a reply now. Go to your rooms, think over it during the dark, God will help you in the light of the day."

It was followed by a short speech by A. M. Budauni who read Maulana Mahmoodal-Hosan's fatwa on non-cooperation, and who had wanted to be excused because of fatigue due to journey.

Dr Ansari dealt with the evils of the present education and stressed on the need of a national college and stated that they wished to make the college a free institution and impart an education which may develop light in their minds and they may live in a free atmosphere. He stated that they intended to inaugurate the Islamic university on 29 instant that is, next Friday, the ceremony should take place after Juma prayers. "We have professors who would work on a meagre pay and some even without pay. There is a majority of Hindus among these professors for the time being. Mohammad Ali would act as Principal. He then stated that he hoped the trustees would accept the desire of turning Aligarh College into a national college as they, also, have the same Islamic zeal which he had. We will try to the last that they may accept our request and the present staff may continue in the new institution."

Hakim Ajmal Khan said, "the aim of present education is slavery that is government service which does not create any light in the mind as there is no model at present of the type of education we wish to impart; therefore, you cannot compare it, but when we would start we will have an opportunity to realize how useful it is". While supporting Maulana Azad, he remarked: "by adopting non-cooperation they shouldered a heavy responsibility, if God forbid, they faltered it would cause great harm to the Muslims".

Then Mohammad Ali rose again, referred to his heavy engagements which consisted of helping muslims of Anatolia and Thrace, especially, the homeless women there. In addition, he had to uproot the tyrannical government of the country. "I declare openly that I will free the country from the tyranny and oppression, whether they be in British India, or in the Dominions of Nizam, or Rampur, Bhopal or Baroda States. I am, therefore, very busy and God's earth is very vast for one to work. I do not really wish to be the Principal but I wish that Dr Ziauddin may continue to do his duty. But if, unfortunately, he does not accept and no other talented Muslim be ready for it, then I am willing to do the job. I would, however, continue to make an effort to pursuade Dr Ziauddin or some other talented Mussulman to accept the post."

We do not intend to do any harm to Aligarh as it is wrongly attributed to us. We want to do good to Aligarh and turn it into a national institution and shall continue our efforts for the purpose and will not leave the college out of our free will until we may be forcibly driven out, we do not wish to use force, but would be patient which does not mean that we will give up our activity or give you up but would continue our work and hope that trustees will accept our thinking and would work with us. I wish to tell you one thing very plainly that you should follow, my discipline except in the case that my order be against the commandment of god and his prophet.

In such situation you shall have full right to disobey my order and put me right.[14]

The **Tribune**, also, published a report by the Syndicate under the caption: "Aligarh College", that parents are indignant at non-cooperating students and 300 students have given out their desire to study in the college under their signature. The whole staff with the exception of two students who were given a chance in junior staff are firmly against non-cooperation.

The **Independent** published two news items:

Mohammad Ali gives details of his democratic university. Students confirm their precious resolution. They called for names and about 150 gave their names. Brief reports of the meeting appeared in **Tribune** and **Independent**, the latter reported indigenous Muslim University will be inaugurated with Mohmmad Ali as Principal on October 29, 1920. **Tribune** mentioned the names of Dr Saifuddin Kichlew, Dr Iqbal and others who offered their services for Jamia Millia.

This meeting was followed by another general meeting in the Union Hall on 24 October and was reported under the heading "Speeches of Non-Cooperators".

A general meeting was held in the Union Club on October 24. After the opening proceedings Maulana Azad rose to speak "If you are ready to trust me in this question, then I will state before you the commandments of God and his prophet. I am then willing to place before you the insight given to me by God in this question. So you first have to answer my question whether you have confidence in me in regard to this question or not."

The whole gathering responded in the affirmative. Then the Maulana stated that non-muslim people fall into 2 categories:

1) Those who did not fight a war against the muslims, did not force them to migrate, neither they attacked the sacred places nor Islamic countries. Muslims have not

14. October 27, p 3, C 4.

been forbidden to have decent relations as it suits a good society with this category of non-muslims.

2) The commandments regarding those who fought against the muslims, occupied muslim countries and forced them to migrate from their houses are definite and there is no difference of opinion on it. This command of god does not imply any other meaning. A Mussulman has to accept or reject. With regard to non-cooperation the easiest way is to give up education—nothing can prevent you if you intend and then receive an education which frees you from such obligation.

The demand that education cannot be given up as long as there is no alternative arrangement is, in principle, will mean that no one can disturb any affair in the world and no new work would be taken up.

It is our duty to make arrangement and we are making such arrangement. After non-cooperating it is not obligatory that you may study Arabic or take up Khilafat work. You would have done your duty after giving up your education, but if any one of you has a taste he can work for Khilafat. It is possible that you may care for western education together with religious education.

He was followed by A. M. Budauni who dealt with the dangers Islam had to face in its long history leading to the tragedy of Karbala and Islamic survival after all these changes. Then Mohammad Ali stood up and said—so make a final decision on whatever you like and make this decision after serious thought and great consideration. Search your hearts whether you are prepared for non-cooperation or not. No further speech is needed, if you are ready. He said that it is not just today, but for the past many years we have been intending that education of muslims should be in muslim hands. We had been wanting continuously to reform the college, but people did not listen to us. When Sir Syed started the college there were hundreds of government colleges and schools where the hindus received their education, could not muslims have received education there, but Sir Syed intended that the education of Mussulmans should be in the hands of the Mussulmans

and with this aim in view he established the college. Our aim, therefore, is to turn the college into a muslim institution and establish a university for which we had been dreaming for the last 50 years. We would, therefore, establish an "independent Muslim University which would very soon be inaugurated".

On other pages of the same issue of the **Gazette**, there are letters from Nawab of Rampur ordering Rampur students to leave for home and from parents one of whom wrote that his letter should be shown to his son and to be as strict with son, who without his permission joined non-cooperation, as it may be necessary. And that out of 650 boarders, 350 had already left and the rest were ready to leave. It was followed by a student's confession that he had withdrawn his signatures for non-cooperation. Some muslims had taken objection to Mr Gandhi's preaching commandments of muslim religion to muslims which is quite strange.

The issue of the **Gazette** on the following date opens with the report of the Honorary Secretary wherein he stated that at the report of Mr Shaukat Ali's direct instruction to students to launch non-cooperation. The meeting of Syndicate was held on October 10 declaring our adherence to Sir Syed's declared policy and hoped that members of staff and the principal shall cooperate in maintaining the policy. Then it refers to the visit of the leaders, Dr Ziauddin's interview with Gandhi and that non-cooperation scheme should have started from Banaras and that some students raised objections against Mr Gandhi's speech.

The students, however, did not attend classes on the following day and passed resolutions.

The Honorary Secretary points out the irregularities on the part of the leaders, non-cooperators' trustees and students. According to him, the first being direct address to the students, second special meeting of the trustees could only be called when requisitioned by 26 trustees after a period of 35 days. The number of signatures to the re-

quisition according to him was not as required and instead of 35 days', only 16 days' notice was given and a decision was demanded by October 20, by which date the national university shall be formed.

He then relates to the parents' visit to take their children back to home and that 375 parents have sent letters disagreeing with non-cooperation that through 410 students of the college have informed the principal to study in the college and appear for the examination. Yet these (students) did not wait for October 29 and established a sort of self-government in the college and ulamas from outside as Azad Subhani, Maulavi Kifayatullah and Maulavi Ahmad Said held meetings under their own authority without previous permission. He then refers to letters of trustees, old boys and parents against the intrusion of outsiders without previous permission, and terms it as very dangerous and grave. The Secretary then states that the Syndicate can simply order but when trustees themselves violate the rules, the Syndicate has no powers to maintain the disciplines. The report then refers to the visit of the leaders, their speeches on 23 and finally reveals how students have demanded the stoppage of scholarships, which really help the students, further, after violating all rules and having broken all principles, the students have occupied the college.

On page 5, under condition of the college students, there is Syndicate decision to close the college for one month. The notice was reported in the **Independent** of 30 October as Aligarh report dated 26 October that "the Principal had notified to the students to leave the college immediately".

Chinese Wall

> All these efforts to rouse religious repulsion against Gandhi or non-cooperation and careers of the students and threats from parents and rulers of Indian states, were of no avail.

The students stood as firm as Chinese Wall and despite all impediments carried on work to further the cause of non-cooperation. Leaders were in great demand throughout country and it was very difficult to take them to a particular place. But Qazi Inamullah and Mr Qamruddin were very active and brought Maulana Azad Subhani on 17 October, as pointed out by the Secretary in his report, and later Maulvi Ahmad Said and Mufti Kifayatullah to counter religious revulsion.

The Union and the Strachey Hall had been locked to prevent students from holding meetings, but undeterred by all these they held meetings in the open. Maulana Subhani addressed the students standing at the steps of Strachey Hall.

Another incident is reported in the issue of 24 October, it says. A father came to his son. During the talk with the son, he took a six chamber pistol and said to his son that he should desist from following non-cooperation, otherwise, one shot would for him, other four are for his comrades and the sixth is for the father himself. At this, the son left for railway station.

The newspaper report was mischievious, incomplete and distorted. It relates to the incident of Qazi Mahmood Ali of Khurja who lived in Mumtaz House Hostel in the eastern wing. There was a discussion between the father and the son whereupon the father fell the son, mounted on his breast, took his pistol to shoot him, Mahmood remained absolutely calm and on repeating the threat said

quietly, "You are free to shoot me but I cannot give up cooperation with Mohammad Ali." This calm determination disarmed the father, Mahmood then saw off his father at the railway station and returned to continue his work for non-cooperation.

A short report of the same appeared in the **Tribune**, Lahore, under the heading "Threat to non-cooperation" with other instances of threats to their parents who were employed.

The Aligarh struggle had created so great an enthusiasm on all sides that editors could not resist writing, in inspiring language, day after day. In 26 October issue, one reads under "The National Muslim University".

We are glad that Aligarh crisis is to end in a constructive victory. The existing college is to be converted into a new university with Mohammad Ali as principal. Mr Mohammad Ali's recent activities as a public leader should not lead people to forget his record of scholarship and brilliant intellectual work at Aligarh and Oxford. It is right that the leadership of the youth of the nation should centre round Aligarh. It is happy sign that Aligarh, recognising the burden thrown on her by the will of history, is ready to throw her doors open to all the youngmen who have given up studies in schools and colleges as part of the non-cooperation movement. We have no doubt that the Aligarh of the future would do as splendid service for Islam and the country as the Aligarh of the past years. We hope to hear of the similar conversion of the Islamia College, Lahore, and Khalsa College, Amritsar, into national institution. Banaras could not be far behind, either. With these institutions pledged to non-cooperation there should be little difficulty in making provision for the training of patriotic youngmen.[1]

Independent came out with an editorial on the Hindu University and non-cooperation.

The echoes of Aligarh victory are reverberating in the bathing ghats of Banaras. The winds whisper to us that

1. October 27, P 4, C 2.

Banaras will not lag behind Aligarh, Mrs Besant, Mr Raza Ali and the little band of anti-non-cooperators notwithstanding. Her influence does not count, if any influence counts, there it is that of revered leader of these provinces of India. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya was opposing the application of non-cooperation to Banaras Hindu University. Pandit Malaviya is reported to have said at the last Provincial Conference that "the Hindu University is indebted to the Government for the grant of land on which the buildings have been erected and whole thing will have to be demolished."[2]

The **Independent** had another leading article on "Banaras and Non-Cooperation".

We have already said that the indebtedness of the Banaras Hindu University to the bureaucracy is not very great. We showed therewith the aid of facts and figures that the university had paid for the land on which it is built:

While we agree with Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya that it has making the independent university in India, its independence is rather tainted.[3] Again on October 27, there was the following comment under Aligarh:

"Nobody can really watch the events at Aligarh in flippant mood. Aligarh is a great name in the annals of Islamic education. The college contains some of the finest youngmen in the country who could not escape leadership if they chose, men who could not run away from their duty if they could. They are the hope of Islam. We painfully recognise that whatever the event, the decision to be taken by boys, will be grave and fateful... Those who refuse to do so (government offers of posts and comforts) will not miss these prizes, but he is driven to wilderness... The boys of Aligarh could but throw away the prizes preferred to them and embrace persecution by a deliberate decision to do the right in the storm of consequences. For the brave men the decision would give a

2. October 27, p 4, Cs 1-2.
3. No 7, p 4, C 1.

moment's difficulty. They would cling to their faith and laugh the world in the face. But if the nation is to be saved, there must come into being a new race of leaders who will have the courage and clarity to look worldly success in face and expose her for the fraud that it is... Aligarh has in her the giving of such men to the nation. According to her strength has come the challenge. The decision is her children's. They decide rightly."[4]

Syed Nurullah, the representative of the students, addressed a letter to the principal of the college dated October 27, published under "Aligarh College Affairs", "Students Letter to the Principal", and another sub-heading "support for non-cooperation, from S. Nurullah."

The following urgent application has been sent to the principal by about 160 students last night:

"Sir,

"We understand you have furnished today to the Syndicate an estimate of the non-cooperators among students, now in residence in the college. So far as we are aware your estimate is incorrect and we hereby inform you that we the undersigned, are now in residence in the college and are firm adherents of non-cooperation movement, we hope you will inform the Hony. Secretary and the trustees before tomorrow morning's meeting that we, the undersigned are non-cooperators. We are aware that considerable pressure has been brought to bear upon the students to return home before October 24 and many have already left. We trust you will bring this, also, to the notice of the Hony. Secretary, so that the trustees may be informed of the true state of affairs. Among the signatories are 14 graduates, 37 IVth year students, 21 IIIrd yr., 52 IInd yr., and 35 Ist year students."

This firmness electrified the country's youth and "telegrams and letters" of congratulations urging the trustees to adopt non-cooperation and the students to remain firm by their resolve have, also, been received from students of

4. **India, p 4, C 3.**

Kanpur, Godaveri, Cananore; Mussulmans of Salem; Khilafat Committee of Bhivani and Jullundur.[5]

The college was closed for a month, rooms were locked, food, light and water supply were cut off and even sweepers were ordered not to clean the latrines. But all these failed to discourage non-cooperating students. The **Independent** reported, "Common dinning hall is closed for students, college buildings are locked, over one hundred boarders out of a total of 675 are still staying. They have all shifted to Sir Syed Court. Students have taken forcible possession of one hostel.[6]

The undaunted group bared its breast and invited the opponents to shoot arrows after arrows at time to test how unflinching they were in the movement. The rapture and transport of new and free life may be guessed from Dr Ashraf's article wherein he says:

"The Day of **Baiate Rizwan**[7] shall always be remembered when the leader of the caravan Maulana Mohammad Ali called us one by one into a dark narrow room in **Pucci** Barrack and made us vow with Quran in our hands that cooperation with the British government was in no way permissible for us as long as British domination did not come to an end. This contract endowed new life and venture to numberless like me and we decided to devote our lives for national struggle and country's freedom."[8]

The principal had informed the Syndicate that a handful of 69 students were staying in the hostels, the others had left. "On hearing this Maulana Mohammad Ali asked the students to assemble in one place in order to ascertain the exact number of non-cooperators. Most of the students present assembled and Maulana Mohammad Ali addressed them. He told that the non-cooperators, what hardships they would have to undergo as non-cooperators and frankly advised them to desist from non-cooperation, if they

5. **Tribune**, October 26, p 2, C 3.
6. October 31, p 5, C 4.
7. It alludes an episode in muslim history when the Prophet invited his followers to take oath.
8. **Jauhar**, Jubilee Number, 1946, p 36.

were not sure of remaining firm by their resolve. He, also, declared that students should particularly submit to all hardships and should not on any amount of provocation have recourse to violence. He emphatically denounced people who were spreading rumours of intended violence by non-cooperators and emphasized the non-violent feature of non-cooperation. The above application was then drafted and signatures were affixed.

Meeting of the Trustees

"Total No. of trustees is 124, of whom 62 trustees attended the meeting on 27th Oct. in person while 28 sent messages condemning the action of Ali brothers and their associates, only two trustees sent messages approving their action. The meeting lasted all day. It had been called an emergency meeting though not specially provided for in the Regulation as Messrs Shaukat Ali and his friends demanded by 29th Oct. as will appear from their letters (Mr. Ashfaq's letter reproduced earlier) on 12th which has not been published... The meeting lasted all day."[9]

The following members have been named in press-reports among those who attended the meeting were: Prince Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal, Akbar Hydari from Hyderabad, Sir Abdul Qayyum from Peshawar, Raja Mehmoodabad, Habibur Rehman Khan Sherwani, Nazir Husain, Syed Raza Ali, Mohammad Ali, Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr Ansari, Khwaja Abdul Majid, Tassuduq Ahmad Khan Sherwani, Amir Mustafa Khan, Agha Safdar, Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, Saeed Mohammad Khan, Qasim Husain and Syeed Nasir Husain. The last eleven voted for non-cooperation and 48 voted against and fully supported the principal and condemned Ali brothers as they had violated discipline.

Among the speakers, the names of Dr Ansari, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Habibur Rehman Khan Sherwani are conspicuous. Dr Said said that the movement was not only religious but also political and educational and that

9. **Institute Gazette**, November 2, p 3, Secretary's report.

the Calcutta University Commission had also condemned the present system. He urged the abandonment of grant.[10]

When the trustees met again after mid-day prayers Mohammad Ali said he had come to teach the true religion and did not care to observe academic or other principles and asked them to give up everything for Islam. Habibur Rehman Sherwani said that he welcomed the message that the students were in need of Islamic teaching but objected to Gandhi's preaching Islam as it was against Shariat. Non-cooperation (as conceived in Islam) does not mean this form of non-cooperation. Those who preach non-cooperation cause harm to Islam. Akbar Hydari supported him.[11]

Mohammad Ali questioned on technical grounds the statutory character of the meeting and Mohammad Ali along with Hakim Ajmal Khan Sahib and Dr M. A. Ansari issued a statement, that the chair was occupied without any election and there were irregularities during proceedings as all trustees were not given a chance to speak, and wrong rendering of the letters were presented. When Dr Ansari questioned whether all trustees had been invited, the Hony. Secretary replied that he had deliberately excluded those who had made the requisitions. Dr Naziruddin Hasan had pointed out that all trustees should have been invited to which Syed Raza Ali replied that telegrams had been sent to all. Mohammad Ali pointed out that telegrams had been sent just yesterday and those who were at distant places, for example Shaukat Ali is in Bombay, cannot reach in time. The chair overruled Naziruddin Hasan's suggestion.

Mohammad Ali was the target of attack as he stuck to the place to deal with students and the Loyalist group which had ranged against him. The press message wired by the Hony. Secretary, M.A.O. College, Aligarh reads as follows:

It has just been reported to me that Mohammad Ali

10. **Tribe**, October 26.
11. **Tribe**, October 31, p 4, C 3.

has burst upon some of the rooms in the college buildings and has started making formal admission to what he calls National University.

I, as Hony. Secretary, acting under my emergency powers under section 90 of the Rules and Regulations, and acting with the full concurrence of the Syndicate have just issued the following notice to Mr Mohammad Ali.

In view of the powers vested in me under Section 90 of the trustees of M.A.O. College, Aligarh, I request you to kindly vacate the college premises and to withdraw your friends and students and other persons connected with you and your propaganda by 3.30 O'Clock this afternoon. Further, I request you not to hold any kind of meeting for any purpose, whatsoever, nor to address the students on any subject whatsoever within the boundaries of the said college after the receipt of this notice.

The notice was served on him at 12.30 P.M.

Maulana Mohammad Ali replied:

With reference to your notice of today's date, I desire to state as follows:

The work which has brought me here is God's work and I am acting in obedience to his commandments. I cannot, therefore, carry out your request which contravenes those commands.

Even if the discretionary powers which you preferred to exercise had been vested in you by the Rules and Regulations of the trustees, which I deny, I think I would have been justified in refusing to comply with your request and in the interest of the college of which I am a trustee, challenging your exercise of them, as above, of discretion.

Section 90 on which you rely gives to the Secretary in certain emergencies, under certain conditions with certain limited power to do or act, as they themselves might lawfully do. But since the trustees have no power to demand of a trustee's compliance with request such as yours, you cannot lawfully demand of me. I request you not to ignore the fact that I am trustee of the college and although

under section 90 clause (d), I can be lawfully removed from office in certain circumstances, the section is explicitly precluded by provision (b) of section 90 itself from exercising in any case the power conferred on the trustees by rule 20.

...Beside the Hony. Secretary, the Principal had also served the following notice on Mohammad Ali.

"You are staying in the college campus and without the permission of the Principal which is against Rule No. 159 of the Regulation of the Trustees. You have broken open some of the locked rooms of the **Pucca** Barrack which is against the peaceful withdrawal of which repeated assurances have been given. I, therefore, do beseech you to leave the college precincts immediately and withdraw all the students who are under your influence."[12]

In addition to the above steps, other means were adopted to discredit Mohammed Ali and cause friction in his followers, so he issued the following statement:

I have read in the public press several statements wrongly attributed by hostile persons including the Hony. Secretary, the principal of the Aligarh College, but I have not been able to find time from more pressing preoccupation to contradict them. However, I think it right to state, as publicly as possible that I have never anywhere said anything about digging the foundations of governments like Hyderabad, Baroda and Rampur, nor anything about advising the students of Aligarh College not to leave it unless carried on people's shoulders. On the other hand, there are many statements that I have made which obviously involve, what most people call grave personal risks, and I need hardly say that I have not the least desire to stick my responsibility for them. May I request my fellow journalists to exercise a little more discretion in publishing statements attributing to those who are opposed to their views than they have seemed to have done hereto.[13]

12. **Tribune,** October 30, p 2, Cs 1-2.
13. **Tribune,** October 31, p 3, C 1.

In another statement, Mohammad Ali said there was mis-statement about him and Mahatma Gandhi that they advised the students to use force. They would advise the students to leave the college peacefully, though under protest, if it is declared that force was intended to be used in ejecting them or if a majority of trustees regular meeting decided that students should be turned out of the college, but that in all other cases, he would recommend students remain in the college and transform it into a completely independent Muslim University of which they had dreamed for half a century.

The notices served by the Hony. Secretary and Principal fully express their anxiety for the "Dreadful Day" as Amir Mustafa Khan's appeal after Juma prayer, followed by Maulana Shaukat Ali's letter to the meeting held on October 27 that all trustees were not invited. Only those whom they trusted as their own men were invited to it. The scheme of the Muslim National University is ready. It has just to be started.[14]

The very idea that open revolt from the benign British government would be given a permanent organisational shape on October 29 made them shiver. But, the onslaught was too much for them to check. The leaders, the old boys, and the young non-cooperators had iron will and the day did come as a silver lining for those who had been struggling against heavy odds.[15]

Let us read the report as published in the Syndicate's paper **Institute Gazette** (the lines within the brackets being from press report) under "The Opening Ceremony of the So-called Independent National University" (Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari, Mohammad Ali, Maulana Mehmoodul Hasan and all those leaders stayed with Khawaja Abdul Majid, Hazrat Shah Hamid **(Mehmoodul Hasan)** is in very precarious condition. He has an enlarged liver and has fever, so he is bed ridden. The moment he

14. **Tribune**, October 27, pp 3, 6.
15. I.G. October 30, p 1, Cs 1-2.

took a better turn, an invitation was sent on behalf of National Muslim University. Though his relatives and disciples were reluctant he announced his visit to Aligarh. His grandmother was in a critical condition and he is not sure to find her alive on his return.

People started assembling in the college mosque from 1 P.M. on October 29. The followers of Messrs Gandhi and Mr Ali numbered about 168, the rest of the students had left for their homes. In addition to this old boy, Trustees and other supporters of the college had come from outside and most of them were present. The overwhelming number consisted of hindu and muslim spectators including very young children. A glance at the gathering suggested that the holders of the meetings aimed at great numbers of the audience because half of the audience, the hindus and muslims, consisted of classes which are generally called low and who, not to speak of any having relation with the university and the college, never had even distant relation with education and teaching. These people did not know the purpose of the meeting. Generally, these people had come to have a darshan of Mr Gandhi because it had been announced in the city that Mr Gandhi would be coming. The proceedings of inauguration began after the prayers and hindus and muslims mixed and occupied the courtyard and dalan of the masjid. Children of hindus and mussulmans took seats at the hauz of the mosque and some on the graves of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and Mohsinul Mulk. One hindu who appeared to be a bania from his cut and dress was closely sitting in the Mihrab (central place).

Another report said, "There were Hindus in great numbers and were roaming in the same garb in the vaults of the Mosque with shoes on, vendors and fruit sellers had set their shops at the graves of Sir Syed and Mohsinul Mulk and those who bought threw the refuse at the tombs. Ekha* drivers were smoking within the boundary of the

* horse driven carriage.

mosque. Hindus and muslims both were sitting on carpets for prayer. In short, it was a sample of freedom."

The proceedings began with the recitation of Holy Quran. After it Maulana Mehmoodul Hasan's (who was especially brought to Aligarh to preside at the meeting and open the independent university) arrival was announced. His condition was worth seeing. He would not move wihout support from others and it was in this condition that he was taken to the meeting. He was too weak and helpless. People led him in their arms to the high pillar. The holders of the meetings wanted to strengthen the movement with the name and renown of the Maulana, otherwise the weak and helpless condition of the Maulana due to old age made it beyond his power to discharge the duties of the chair or to deliver a speech from the blessed tongue.

It appeared difficult that he could be in his proper sense. In short, Hakim Ajmal Khan after his arrival proposed him for the chair wherein he pointed to his internment (at Malta where he suffered torments and did not waver but remained firm) and stated it was the Islamic zeal with which the Maulana had been inspired. The move was supported by Haji Moosa Khan. After a young Maulavi named Shabbir Ahmad from amongst his companions read out a proposal which was so to say presidential address wherein the need for non-cooperation was stated and there was satisfaction at the unity between Aligarh and Deobands in concluding portion of the address.

It was added that hindu's sympathy for the cause of Khilafat deserved response for justice in the Punjab Martial Law and cooperation with hindus to win swaraj. This wish is praiseworthy and does not conflict with principles of Islam.

During the proceedings a **fatwa** was read out which appeared to be written by Maulana with his own hands. In this **fatwa** young immature youths have been directed not to heed their parents regarding non-cooperation, rather force their parents to adopt it. The address was being de-

livered when the Maulana's condition worsened, (at the strong insistence of his physician and friends) therefore, he was taken away from the meeting in the arms of the people. As Maulana Abdul Bari of Firangi Mahal had arrived he was elected president proposed by Mohammad Ali and supported by Maulana Azad Subhani.

Mr Mohammad Ali had been named Maulana, therefore, he was dressed like a moulavi (in a cloak) but instead of turban he had a Kalpak cap. Mr Mohammad Ali said that "we do not want to build a separate university or college but want to reform the present college. We tried our best but failed with regard to Khilafat vis-a-vis British government. Mussulmans should either migrate or declare a jihad for the former as they have no power, so we have only one thing at our hands to declare jihad, that is **non-cooperation** and **ulemas** have decreed it as religious commandment.

The more Mr Mohammad Ali proceeded with his speech the more enthusiastic he became, his eyes were red and mouth full of froth. Perhaps he sighted Prince Hamidullah Khan, the son of her Highness Begum Bhopal, who was present and some trustees from Hyderabad. He grew furious and said, "The rulers of Rampur, Bhopal, Hyderabad had wired students of their states to come home, I had hoped that there must be some God's servants who felt that we are God's subjects and shall always act according to the commandments of God. I say there are people who say we will act upon the order of God and not on the one from the ruler of a state. These rulers of the states must realise that the earth belongs to God."

After dealing with the rulers of the states, he turned to British government and declared that the government was a **satan** and those who did not follow **non-cooperation** were followers of **satan**. The college has been built by the Mussulmans and they are its owners and, therefore, an independent Muslim University should be established here. "So we establish a University and will leave this place only when either opponents force us to go from here or we are ejected by force."

He said, "if the trustees would lock up all furniture we will take classes on mat and if science equipments are locked and denied to us, then we wont mind. I ask, whether education is preferable to education inculcated by God and his prophet. We have learnt that water carriers and sweepers have been ordered not to work for non-co-operators, but we do not mind it. I give my word to you that I will clean night soil which struck the hearts of the young." After this, Azad Subhani said the non-cooperation was a religious question and those who questioned or opposed it should prove their case here. He was followed by Maulana Hasrat Mohani who pointed out that they should continue their education in the college buildings and should leave it only when forced to do so. He added that the trustees who opposed non-cooperation were not muslims and they had gone out of the fold of islam.

A muslim stranger reminded Mr Mohammad Ali that he would leave Aligarh while the students would stay here who would be responsible if they were harassed, treated badly and consequently there grew up a tussle. To this, Mchammad Ali replied that one would leave Aligarh and all workers would stay here. We have declared once that we will not resort to violence and would leave if forced to do so. Why should then there be any disturbance. We will establish our university where we think proper whether it be in Aligarh or any other place.

After it telegraphic messages of congratulations were read out and donations from Shah Suleman, Mohammad Nasim, Nawab Ali Khan and Hakim Ajmal Khan were announced.

The Target

> It was too much for the Syndicate, for the local and the central government. They concentrated their attack on the General i.e. Mohammad Ali. An old boys' deputation numbering about 40 visited Mr Mohammad Ali on October 30 at 2 P.M. and requested him not to carry on his movement in the college premises to which he replied that he had come to discharge a religious duty and he would not leave it, until a regular meeting of the trustees should desire it to issue a regular order to him.

Syed Sajjad Hyder, Mohammad Musunna and Syed Ali Hasan, and Nawab Nazir Jung Bahadur requested him but Mohammad Ali turned down their request and these people said to him "good-bye" and left. Those two gentlemen (Prince Haji Hamidullah Khan and Akbar Hyderi) used to urge upon the trustees in the meetings of the Syndicate that they should give some time to Mohammad Ali who would establish his university away from the college.

It is heard that Khawaja Abdul Majid, Dr Ansari, Hakim Ajmal Khan and Amir Mustafa Khan persistently tried to convince Hasrat Mohani and Mohammad Ali that it was advantageous for them to leave the college and establish their college separately, but Hasrat and Mohammad Ali especially Mohammad Ali did not accept and said that he would not leave the college compound and turn this college into National University. He added that he would remove **kufr** (infidelism) at this very place and spread islam. In these conditions Hakim Ajmal Khan and others informed the Prince and Sir Hyderi that Mohammad Ali did not want to leave the college.

On the other hand, the Hony. Secretary wrote the following letter to Mr Gandhi:

Dear Sir,

With reference to the open letter which you have addressed to the trustees of the M.A.O. College, I deem it my duty to draw your attention to the events that have occurred in this institution since your campaign of non-cooperation with government was preached by you in person within the precincts of this college. A request signed by Mr Shaukat Ali and a few others was received by my assistant on the night of October 12 declaring that in the event of trustees refusing to comply with the demand made therein by October 29, the signatories would call upon the trustees and adult students to withdraw themselves and upon the guardians of other students to withdraw their wards from the college and school on October 29. The request was, also, made to take action recommended by them at the earliest possible date and to treat the matter as of the greatest public urgency. On receipt of this request a meeting of the trustees was convened on October 27. This meeting was attended by 62 trustees from all parts of India—the target number that have even been present and it passed by an overwhelming majority the resolution which is, herewith, attached and which has already been published in the press, you will notice that the trustees have emphatically rejected, after free and full discussion, your programme as injurious to the educational needs of the muslim community.

In your open letter referred to above, you have laid down that if we "after a full and free discussion decide by a majority that the College and School boys may not remain in college ground either as students or even as boarders if they persist in their demand for disaffiliation and rejection of Government grant, they will be peacefully withdrawn".

On October 26 in an interview with Mr Hyderi and Ross Masood this assurance was renewed by Mohammad Ali.

On October 27 the college was closed and urgent notice was given to the students to leave at once.

On the morning of October 28 Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr Ansari assured Prince Hamidullah Khan of Bhopal and Mr Hyderi in their personal capacity that the college premises would be vacated without the application of any violence or force.

It has become notorious, however, that in spite of these distinct declaration Mohammad Ali has openly been proclaiming his intention to remain with his followers in the college compound to use the college mosque for other than religious purposes.

On the morning of October 29 Prince Hamidullah Khan and Hyderi again visited Hakim Ajmal Khan and Dr Ansari who personally repeated their previous assurance.

It became clear, however, that contrary to your own distinct promise and the repeated assurance of these gentlemen, Mohammad Ali and a number of students remained in the college and retained illegal possession of it and Mohammad Ali made a public statement to that effect in the meeting held in the mosque after Juma prayer on 29.

Notwithstanding this attitude of Ali and the exceedingly impassioned speeches delivered by him and some of his followers in the mosque, the trustees in the meeting which they held to consider the situation as it existed then, deputed 4 trustees which included Prince Hamidullah Khan and Hyderi to get in writing from Dr Ansari who had that very day been appointed Secretary of the newly founded National Muslim University, as Mohammad Ali calls it, a renewal of the assurance that the college premises would be peacefully vacated. This was refused and today I am informed that forcible possession of some of the college buildings that had been locked up is completed.

It must be evident to you by the enumeration of these facts that the trustees have spared no pains to settle the matter rather peacefully without any use of violence and force, and that they have given Mohammad Ali and his colleagues here every opportunity that they could consistently with their duty as trustees of this institution and

that your followers have contrary to your own declared intentions and their own repeated promises not vacated the precincts of the college.

They have also utilised the college mosques for political purposes and by bringing within the sacred enclosure a large number of non-muslims with their shoes on, have hurt the religious sentiments of the large number of the trustees. Under these circumstances, if you are not able to get your followers and the students who have joined them to withdraw themselves immediately from the college, apprehended eventualities which I am sure will be as painful to you as to me.

Relying on your promise the authorities of the college have stayed their hands till now and refused to be precipitated into any appeal to force. If they are now constrained to act more urgently, the blame shall remain not with them but with you and your followers.

Yours faithfully,
S. M. Ali
Hon. Secretary,
M.A.O. College, Aligarh.

Aligarh 30.10.29.

Resolution

The trustees in this meeting expressed their emphatic disapproval of the action of Mr Shaukat Ali and other trustees in obtaining direct access to the students and using it to get a resolution passed by them in favour of non-cooperation in continuing to reside in the college premises with a number of persons engaged in political propaganda in addressing students in direct defiance of

the authority of the principal and others causing serious break of discipline in the college and, also, of sending an irregular and threatening notice to the Hony. Secretary violating resolution and request of the trustees. The meeting lasted all day. Since that meeting the trustees and other Syndicate met daily, sometimes sitting from 6 to 11 P.M., discussed the situation and ways and means of Mr Mohammad Ali and his friends to withdraw themselves and his students who had refused to go to their homes, from the college premises, but all attempts have failed. Even the old boys who had come in large number had failed in their endeavour to persuade Mohammad Ali to leave though they called upon him to do so in the name of god and Ansari and Ajmal Khan, but with no better success. Though these two gentlemen said they were going to vacate the college premises on November 1 or thereabout, they would give no definite undertaking in writing. While the trustees were trying to act with every consideration and were anxious to avoid any coercion or force, Mohammad Ali was openly declaring that he had no intention of moving or opening a separate National College or University, his object being to purify the very college. He had, also, collected students with few exceptions into the main quadrangle some rooms of which were forced open. It was reported that he intended to break open some lecture rooms and take forcible possession of the principal's office. He started making formal admission of students to his socalled National College by swearing each student on the Holy Quran. It was reported that Mohammad Ali was about to be joined by his brother and staff of professors and that students of other colleges who had struck were coming to his National College. The situation was hourly getting more and more serious; it was felt by all that action had to be taken immediately or never. The trustees could not take the law into their own hands and bodily eject Mohammad Ali or the students. They, therefore, had to seek protection of college authorities and it was decided by the Syndicate at 8 P.M. on 30 that the district

authorities should be approached. Accordingly, the Hony. Secretary, under the instructions of the Syndicate, applied to the District Magistrate to deal with the situation in the best way he could.

The Day of Destiny

The story as reported by the daily press is worth studying. There emerges a clear picture of the final stage of the undaunted general who stuck to the deck all alone and finally hoisted the flag after half century's struggle started by his forerunners of Aligarh brotherhood. Here it is.

There are two headings.

Mohammad Ali served notice to leave the college, Hony. Secretary served notice on Mohammad Ali to quit college by 4 P.M. followed by Maulana Mohammad Ali and others evicted as criminal trespassers.[1]

Secretary calls up armed police. Before dawn the Additional District Magistrate, the Deputy Superintendent of Police and the Hony. Secretary of the college after having surrounded the buildings and the old boys' lodge with an extra-ordinary big armed police force and closing every access from the city to the college, met Mohammad Ali who was down with fever and the District Magistrate formally communicated to him the application of Hony. Secretary as representing the Syndicate of the trustees he had come to order under section 144 Indian Penal Code, Mohammad Ali and all persons staying in old boys' lodge and all students in hostels to be evicted as criminal trespassers and requested to have the students peacefully evicted and himself leave the old boys' lodge along with other occupants.

Mohammad Ali informed the District Magistrate that like Mahatma Gandhi, he and his associates had publicly announced more than once their determination to advise students to withdraw themselves peacefully, in case they

1. **Independent**, November 3, p 4, C 3.

were threatened with forcible eviction or in case the trustees by a majority in a properly held meeting carried out the similar decision.

Mohammad Ali informed the District Magistrate of the decision that he would advise the students accordingly and had every hope that they would follow his advice but Maulana contended the old boys' lodge was the property of his association and he was one of the owners in possession. So, he would have refused to leave, since civil disobedience has not been adopted by non-cooperators he would obey any order lawfully issued to him.

Ordered to leave the lodge.

Thereupon he was virtually ordered under section 144 of the Indian Penal Code to leave the old boys' lodge and he did so along with Maulana Abdul Majid and other occupants. The party then offered morning prayers at the college mosque and then offered Fatiha for the founder of the college, his son and associate who lay buried there and thereafter Mohammad Ali collected a number of students and advised them to withdraw peacefully themselves to bungalows near the college that had been rented for them and tents erected for them on their grounds in anticipation of such a contingency. The students unhesitatingly followed the advice and refused to take the transport offered by the District Magistrate and agreed to use motor lorries and hackney carriages brought to the college only if payment was accepted.

Persistent rumours that there would be clashes between the police and the students and provocative demonstration of the armed people had convinced the district authorities of clashes with the students but apprehensions proved wrong and he had to confess to Maulana Mohammad Ali that he had been agreeably disappointed at the perfectly peaceful and calm behaviour of the students. He had, also, requested Mohammad Ali to advise the students to accept orders of their parents with regard to non-cooperation. This Mohammad Ali flatly refused to do so, being outside the jurisdiction of the Magistrate

who, therein, said, "you want to bring up these students as disobedient boys". Mohammad Ali replied, "No, Mr Campbell, there you are wrong, I want to bring them up as obedient to God". Mr Campbell then remarked, "and to yourself", Mr Mohammad Ali retorted, "Mr Campbell, I think we can very well spare each other this sarcasm." After this, the District Magistrate was throughout perfectly courteous. The District Magistrate sought a promise from the Maulana not to hold any public meeting before he received instructions from the government which the Maulana flatly refused unless an order was regularly served on him to this effect. Thereupon the District Magistrate served a written order under section 144 of I.P.C. prohibiting him from holding the meeting "Whereas, owing to the dispute to the buildings of M.A.O. College, Aligarh, in which you and your associates are likely to have committed serious acts of trespass and house unlocking and have needed to be evicted by me at the request of the lawful owner of the college I, William W. Campbell, the District Magistrate of Aligarh, hereby, given you and your associates notice, as there is a serious danger of disturbance to public tranquility, you and your associates are hereby prohibited from holding any public meeting till further notice."

Many hostile trustees and old boys' employed by the government and sent by the government from their districts were present throughout.

The city was highly strung. There were wild rumours which led to spontaneous and complete hartal. Though people were indignant yet they were well disciplined and self-controlled and when some arrived in the college after eluding police and breaking the cordon, the Maulana assured them and sent them to assure their fellow citizens.

The town has most generously come to the assistance of students providing, besides cash, food, servants and everything needed, insisting on working as coolies and labourers and organising watch and ward in the camp of the National Muslim University until chowkidars be en-

gaged. They have taken their solemn vow to share their last crumb with every student left staying by his parents, because of his obedience to god's command. Indeed the team rose to the occasion beyond the highest expectation of the greatest optimist.

The Caravan Marches to Its Destiny

> At 2.15 Maulana Mohammad Ali bid good-bye to the college building and led the caravan of his devoted followers to Krishna Ashram (a two-storeyed building after Chauraha Minto circle on the road to Anupshahr) with a dignity that the journalist reported:

So calm and collected were the students that the succession of lorries and carriages moving backward and forward was the only outward sign of the tragic exodus when the muslim students were turned bag and baggage from the principal educational institutions of muslims of India at the instance of the muslim trustees for the unpardonable sin of obeying god's command. By half past twelve, all the baggage had been removed and Mohmmad Ali who had stayed in the old boy's lodge by arrangement in order to ensure peaceful withdrawal of students led them amidst cries of Allaho-Akbar to their new abode.

Country Electrified

The salient dignified march electrified the country as Kishan Dass observes in seven months with Mahatma Gandhi:

"Shri Kishan Chand was with me as my valued assistant during the stirring non-cooperation days while I was touring through Assam and elsewhere. He recorded the events of those days in his diary... The volumes are chief extracts from that diary and have been before the public for sometime... I have gone through them. And the facts appear to me to be correctly set forth and exhaustively dealt with... The volumes are the only narrative we have of the seven months with which Kishan Dass deals." (Gandhi in **Young India**, December 26, 1929.)

It was in November 1920 that the whole of India was stirred to the depths by the news of the students strike in the renowned Aligarh College, under the influence of non-cooperation movement. The waves of excitement gradually spread from Aligarh to Banaras Hindu University. First George Joseph, the Editor of the Allahabad **Independent**, the Maulana Mohammad Ali and after him Pandit Moti Lal Nehru had come to Benaras, addressed the students to win them over to the principles of non-cooperation and finally towards the end of November, Mahatma Gandhi himself had arrived.

On November 7 the **Independent** appears with the following headings on page 1:

A New Aligarh on the Ashes of the Old.

Lusty Child of Non-Cooperation Movement.

All about the National Muslim University.

"I am proud of my boys", says Principal Mohammad Ali and the following report by special correspondent (no

other than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, vide his letter on Jamia Jubilee in 1946). "I arrived at Aligarh late on the night of November 1. Even at the late hour I found leading spirits of the new National University hard at work solving the many problems that confront them. Maulana Mohammad Ali and Shaukat Ali were there and so were Hakim Ajmal Khan, Dr Ansari, Abdul Majid and Azad Subhani. Till long past midnight they discussed the work which lay before them and future of that lusty child of non-cooperation, Muslim National University. It consists of two bungalows and a number of tents neatly pitched in an ordered way. In these houses and tents, lives the Principal with his happy family of students. There were over hundred residents. They were a joyous crowd, yet fully sensible of the responsibility they have undertaken and the heavy work that lies ahead. There are no regrets in any mind, no sorrow at the step, only elation and earnest desire to raise a new Aligarh on the ashes of the old, a worthy home of national, islamic culture."

It was real portrayal of their calibre as the following message proves:

ALIGARH'S MESSAGE TO BANARAS

In the name of Allah, the compassionate and merciful.

Dear brethren,

It was with extreme happiness that we met this morning your representative whom you were kind enough to send to us to inspire us with hope and courage to learn from him the welcome news of your expected entry at an early date in the ranks of non-cooperators. Today when our country needs our services most we are being looked upon as the trustees of posterity. We are, therefore, placed in the vanguard of the present struggle and have to bear the full brunt of the fight as befits our youthful and adventurous spirit. We, the students of this institution, realised our great responsibility. Deliberately and with full knowledge of the grave risks and difficulties

that attend our path we have confidently taken the final step. Trusting in Allah, the Almighty, and the force of truth and we have broken as under the strong chains of thraldom that subject our country to slow degeneracy and sure decay. We thank God that we have, already, gone past the abyss. We now breath the sweet and pure air of liberty in our independent Muslim National University, and enjoying it ourselves we invite you to share with us our bliss. With your help we feel confident that all along we shall be able to convince the rest of the student world in India of the need for bold and decisive action and with a rejuvenated youth, free our long suffering motherland from the chains that enslave her. We never thought that you could deny us your assistance at this critical juncture and now we feel sure you will not. Then, come brothers, we await you.

YOURS BROTHERS IN WEAL AND WOE
The Students of Muslim University, Aligarh

November 10, 1920

Mr Mohammad Ali is proceeding on the principle of Swaraj and the students have been put in charge of their own affairs as far as possible. They have appointed a general committee and subcommittee for the purpose. Even applications for leave are first considered by the students subcommittee before they are referred to the principal.[1]

There were 100 students in the residence, one of them being a hindu. Most of the other hindu students of the old college were day scholars and they have already indicated their intention of joining the new university. Many applications of enrolment are being received from outside students but the principal is not enrolling them for the present. In a few days as soon as the new university is in working order, it is hoped to enrol outsiders. Many of the students of the college who had gone home are ardent non-cooperators. They had gone home in de-

1. **Independent,** November 14, p 1, Cs 2 and 3.

ference to their parents' wishes. The Principal, Mohammad Ali, has in all such cases freely advised the students to go to their parents. All that he objects to is their remaining in the old college so long as it is not disaffiliated. But the old college is dying and is hardly likely to survive large number of applications for joining; the staff are coming in and telegrams of congratulations pour in from all parts of India. A message of good cheer that was most appreciated came from C. F. Andrews. There is a stream of visitors all day and, altogether the principal has no easy time of it yet Maulana Mohammad Ali was good enough to give me an interview (special correspondent, the **Independent**, Allahabad). More and more joined the new institutions as Maulana Mohammad Ali's wire to the press disclosed, "The country will be gratified to hear that the students who had gone home to satisfy their parents that there was no truth in Ziauddin's panicky telegram and letters, are now returning to Aligarh as members of National Muslim University." Boarding and lodging arrangements have now been made in the university's temporary new abode. Lectures will shortly begin commencing with the inaugural lectures in the field of Muslim Theology. Arrangements have been made to receive incoming students at the railway station if the time of arrival is communicated to the university authorities.

Among members of the staff, the noblest of them Maulana Rashid Ahmad and among the school teachers Hasan Mohammad Hayat were with the caravan. The exodus was not confined to the intellectuals only. The illiterate members of the subordinate staff, bearers, bhishtis (water carriers) of the hostel, cooks of the kitchen, even sweepers of the college migrated with their dear students. Venders like Ghulam Husain left the M.A.O. College, where he used to sell his snacks from childhood, never to return till his death.

Jamia Millia Islamia—A Stabilising Factor

"They have failed to pursuade more than a practical proportion of the title holders to surrender their title, or of lawyers to resign their practice. But, on the other hand they have been successful in causing educational dislocation to a considerable degree... In this connection it is significant to notice that where Mr Gandhi was confronted with an institution like the Banaras Hindu University, which definitely preaches to its students the ideal of Indian Nationality and Hindu Culture, and where, in addition, he encountered an antagonist, in the person of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was no whit less orthodox, determined and confident than himself, he encountered a severe check. In the case of the great Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh he was as might have been expected from the position of the Khilafat in the forefront of his platform considerably more successful although even here, where once the magic of his personality was removed, the students who in the first rush of enthusiasm had resigned from the college began by slow degrees to return."

Mr Gandhi addressed one single meeting and the students' struggle started after his departure and was carried with doggedness till the final ejection on October 31, 1920. After October 31, they started returning, as Mohammad Ali informed, as two Kothis near the District Jail had to be rented for the newcomers (in Udaibir Singh Compound). "From the very first, the good sense of a large number, even of Mr Gandhi's personal followers revolted from the enterprises, and had it not been that his destructive campaign in all cases accompanied by a program-

me of educational reconstruction by means of 'National' School and College, this particular phase of the non-co-operation movement would have ended in early failure."

It is evident from the writings of Kishan Dass and the above report that Jamia not only electrified the country in its campaign for National Reconstruction of Education but served as a stabilising factor also. Soon it had branches in Moradabad, Sambhal, Utmanzai and Bombay, etc.

The preceding description, brief and cursory as it is, brings out the true nature and character of Jamia—born out of struggle of people against British educational policy and the latter's supporters. It also brings out clearly as to who was the leader of the movement, who shaped and guided the movement for a free and purposeful educational system. It was Mohammad Ali who could be said to be the true founder of Jamia and it was he who guided it in its early formative years.

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