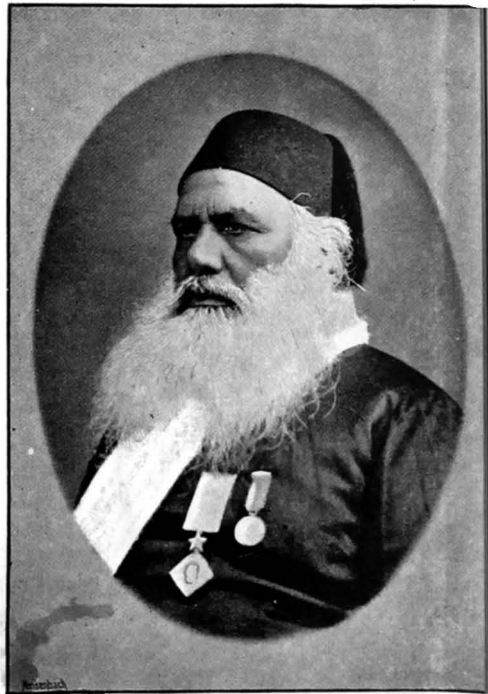




SYED AHMED KHAN



SYED AHMED KHAN.

THE LIFE AND WORK  
OF  
SYED AHMED KHAN  
C. S. I.

BY  
LIEUT.-COLONEL G. F. I. GRAHAM  
B. S. C.

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS  
EDINBURGH AND LONDON  
MDCCCLXXXV

√2 w 1917.

BS

508

TO  
CHARLES ALFRED ELLIOTT,  
C.S.I., B.C.S.,  
CHIEF COMMISSIONER OF ASSAM,  
THIS SKETCH OF OUR MUTUAL FRIEND,  
SYED AHMED KHAN,  
IS DEDICATED.

## P R E F A C E .

---

IN September last, happening to be on a visit to Syed Ahmed Khan at Allygurh, I asked him for some particulars of his youth and early manhood, as I wished to write an article on the subject of his life and work. He acceded to my request, and on returning to Agra I commenced my task. The subject-matter increased so largely, however—the appetite growing with what it fed on—that I deemed it better to abandon the original idea, and rather write a short sketch of his life in book form for the benefit of the youth of this country and the information of many people at home who are interested in India and its natives. In October I was invited by Syed Ahmed to meet the Nawab Salar Jang, the Minister of Hyderabad, at Allygurh, and it was then that I asked Syed Ahmed to allow me to write the sketch of his life. He was at first very

averse to the undertaking, saying characteristically, "No life!—no life yet!" On my pointing out to him, however—as his numerous friends sincerely hope may prove to be the case—that he would probably live for many years, and that the next ten or fifteen years would in all probability be most important ones for India's Mohammedans while the effect upon the present youth of India her future men, of a sketch of his long, blameless, interesting, and honourable life, would be most beneficial, he considered for a few moments, and then said, "I put myself entirely in your hands." His full biography has yet to be written; but for the present I trust that this small contribution of mine—a labour of love to me—may prove useful to the rising generation of this country, and at the same time not be without interest perhaps for the general public at home and in India. The reason why this has been a labour of love to me is, that for nearly a quarter of a century I have known Syed Ahmed more like a relative, I may say, than a friend. I have been associated with him in many of his literary works, and the longer and more I have known him, the greater has been my respect and esteem for him.

G. F. I. GRAHAM.

AGRA, Jan. 6, 1885.



# CONTENTS.

---

## CHAPTER I.

	PAGE
BIRTH AND FAMILY—THE OLD COURT OF DELHI—ENTERS THE BRITISH SERVICE — ARCHÆOLOGICAL HISTORY OF DELHI, . . . . .	I

## CHAPTER II.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF DELHI—SUBORDINATE JUDGE OF BIJ- NORE, . . . . .	9
---	---

## CHAPTER III.

THE MUTINY AT BIJNORE—ATTACK ON THE JAIL—INTERVIEWS WITH A REBEL CHIEF—ESCAPE OF THE EUROPEANS—MADE ADMINISTRATOR OF THE DISTRICT—ESCAPE TO MEERUT— VISIT TO HIS ANCESTRAL HOME IN DELHI — REWARDS FOR SERVICES, . . . . .	19
--	----

## CHAPTER IV.

'THE CAUSES OF THE INDIAN REVOLT'—PRIMARY CAUSE OF THE REBELLION—NON-ADMISSION OF A NATIVE TO THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL—STATE INTERFERENCE WITH RELI- GION—MISSIONARY SCHOOLS—REVENUE AND LAND ADMIN- ISTRATION—NECESSITY OF MUTUAL SYMPATHY BETWEEN GOVERNORS AND GOVERNED, . . . . .	33
---	----

## CHAPTER V.

'THE LOYAL MOHAMMEDANS OF INDIA'—THEIR SERVICES IGNORED—LIST OF REWARDS—COMMENTARY ON THE BIBLE, . . . . .	58
--	----

## CHAPTER VI.

THE ALLYGURH SCIENTIFIC SOCIETY—INAUGURAL SPEECHES —TRANSLATIONS—GHAZIPORE COLLEGE, . . . . .	72
--	----

## CHAPTER VII.

EDUCATIONAL MEETING AT BADAON—SPEECH ON NECESSITY OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BEING MORE PROMINENTLY BROUGHT BEFORE PARLIAMENT—PRESENTED WITH GOLD MEDAL BY LORD LAWRENCE—DETERMINES ON TAKING HIS SON TO CAMBRIDGE, . . . . .	88
--	----

## CHAPTER VIII.

SYED AHMED IN ENGLAND—RECEIVED BY LORD LAWRENCE, LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY, ETC.—MADE C.S.I.—SPEECH AT SMEATONIAN SOCIETY—PETITION TO THE DUKE OF ARGYLL—'ESSAYS ON THE LIFE OF MOHAMMED,' . . . . .	97
--	----

## CHAPTER IX.

SYED AHMED'S LETTERS FROM ENGLAND—JOURNEY ACROSS INDIA—THE BARODA—MISS CARPENTER—A RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION—SEA-SICKNESS—ADEN—EGYPT—MARSEILLES, . . . . .	116
---	-----

## CHAPTER X.

LETTER FROM LONDON, . . . . .	182
-------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XI.

RETURN TO INDIA—MISUNDERSTANDING WITH SIR WILLIAM  
MUIR—SOCIAL REFORMS—MOHAMMEDAN OPPOSITION, ✓ 194

CHAPTER XII.

REPLY TO DR W. W. HUNTER'S 'INDIAN MUSSULMANS'—  
WAHABIISM—THE FRONTIER FANATICS, . . . . . 205

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE—PRIZE ESSAYS  
—RETURN OF SYED MAHMUD — OPENING OF THE ANGLO-  
ORIENTAL COLLEGE AT ALLYGURH—SYED AHMED'S RETIRE-  
MENT—SIR WILLIAM MUIR'S VISIT TO ALLYGURH—LAYING  
FOUNDATION-STONE OF COLLEGE—DINNER AT THE ALLY-  
GURH INSTITUTE, . . . . . 245

CHAPTER XIV.

SYED AHMED IN THE VICEREGAL COUNCIL—THE DEKKHAN  
AGRICULTURISTS RELIEF BILL—EDUCATION COMMISSION  
—VISIT FROM SIR SALAR JANG—EDUCATION COMMISSION  
IN THE NORTH-WEST—VISIT TO THE PANJAB, . . . . . 289

APPENDIX.

A—"IF IT BE REAL, WHAT DOES IT MEAN?" . . . . . 385  
B—THE MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE, ALLY-  
GURH, . . . . . 400

## APPENDIX A.

“IF IT BE REAL, WHAT DOES IT MEAN?”.

IN publishing a telegram from Bombay reporting the crowded and enthusiastic meeting recently held there for the purpose of establishing a memorial to Lord Ripon, a Calcutta paper headed the notice with the words, “If it be real, what does it mean?” This is doubtless a question which a good many in India are asking themselves. Is the enthusiasm that has everywhere met the Viceroy during his journey to Calcutta, and which shows no signs of abating, genuine, or is it fictitious? Is its object rather to do honour to Lord Ripon, or despite to the English community? Is the feeling, supposing it to be genuine, universal? or is it limited to certain sections of the country, such as Bengal—or to certain classes of the community? Finally, what has evoked it? Is it more than a passing current? or does there lie beneath it a deeper significance, which those who are resident in India for private ends, no less than those who are responsible for the administration of India, will do well to attempt to understand?

It is probable that the majority of Anglo-Indians will be inclined to regard the movement as superficial, and as being aimed rather at themselves than in honour of the retiring Viceroy. Others who have had opportuni-

ties, whether from long residence or from intimate relations with the people, of judging more accurately of their character, will scarcely be satisfied with this explanation. A few, unquestionably, will have had their attention arrested by a movement which, though more accentuated than they anticipated, is yet in a direction for which they were prepared. They will be at no loss to admit that, so far from being superficial, the demonstrations now being made throughout the country are significant of a profound change which for many years has been preparing itself, and which the incidents of Lord Ripon's administration, more particularly those connected with the passing of the Criminal Procedure Bill, have brought into the foreground of events. They will regard them as indicating the problem which has to be dealt with as the main problem at this present day of their common political life, by Europeans and natives alike. On the manner in which this problem is treated will depend, in their judgment, much of the future progress and development of British rule in this country. The object of these remarks is to explain the considerations which lead the last section of observers—of whom the writer is one—to regard the demonstrations we are witnessing at the present time as outward signs of the commencement of an era pregnant with the gravest consequences to the future of our rule in India.

It is impossible to attempt to understand the real meaning of what is passing under our eyes if we detach from it the events which have led up to it. To deal singly with any epoch in history, without taking account of the course of events which have preceded it, is a method obsolete and useless. The India of to-day, like the Indian of to-day, is the heir of a former time. To understand either, we have to ask, what are the circum-

stances in which the heir finds himself? what were those which surrounded his predecessors? and what, if any, change of treatment is necessitated by such difference in past and present circumstances as the inquiry may establish?

Speaking broadly, but not on that account inaccurately, the collapse of the East India Company, and the assumption of the government of India by the Crown, may be said to have formed the boundary-line between an old era and a new. The business of Englishmen in the first sixty years of this century was to bind together in one mass the separate and disintegrated atoms which at the commencement of the century represented the Indian body politic. Order and respect for law, the repression of individual caprice or licence, and the substitution of the method and harmony of a single rule for discordant and conflicting personal, religious, political, or tribal aims, was the work immediately before our predecessors. It was an era of war and force—a time of foreign politics, in which there was little or no leisure to attend to home affairs. During those sixty years were formed the powerful traditions which govern Indian administration at the present day. The great names which have exercised an overwhelming influence over the imagination and the views of successive generations of Anglo-Indians were enshrined in the annals of Indian history. A legend of British rule was cut in deep characters on the length and breadth of the land, and there grew round it an observance and veneration which raised it to the sanctity of a cult. But even during that troubled time forces were at work which, though unseen and unfelt at the moment, were gathering strength and rapidly developing as the era drew to an end. Education, freedom of discussion, equitable

laws and their rigorous application, contact with a civilised people, the opening up of a hitherto dark peninsula, could not fail to produce their natural effect. Had the people inhabiting the land been slow to understand, or careless to profit by, the advantages opened out to them, or so hardened to the former order of disorder as to be with difficulty led into the quiet paths of peace, the earlier epoch alluded to might have been prolonged. But it was far otherwise. The people, as a whole, are of exceptional intelligence, of singular versatility, quick to perceive and profit by material advantages, orderly, imitative, and sagacious. Hence, so soon as the work of force, which reached its highest and final development in the events of 1857, was completed, the unrestricted operation of the influences above alluded to began to have full play. Commerce, on an ever-extending scale, added itself to the civilising elements already at work; and of all civilising elements, commerce is probably the most powerful. A society, securely bound and compressed together during the events of the first half of the century, now entered into the possibility of a corporate life and continuous self-improvement and progress, and advanced with amazing rapidity towards the goal to which it was encouraged. The dry bones in the open valley—"very dry," as they may have seemed to the eye—were about to be instinct with life. Even at that earlier day there was a noise and a shaking, and the bones were coming together, bone to his bone. Though as yet there was no breath in them, the word had already issued, "Come from the four winds, O breath, and breathe upon these slain, that they may live."

It may be urged that this picture is exaggerated—that there may have been much stir, but that there is little

real life. Proof may be demanded of the existence of what is here taken for granted. It will be asked, finally, why, if such a general change was occurring, Englishmen in India failed to be conscious of it?

To begin with the last question. At any time a great administrative service, whether it be that of the Napoleonic Prefecture or of the Indian Civil Service, is, from the nature of its existence, unwilling to recognise progress other than that which it has itself promoted and presided over. Still more is this the case when outward and visible signs give little indication of the maturity of the seed which is rapidly ripening underground. It is very natural and very reasonable to question the accuracy of assertions that great changes are taking place, when as yet those changes are in the earlier stages of accomplishment. In India there are several reasons to explain why the recognition of the organic change which has occurred should have been exceptionally difficult. So far as could be seen, it was mostly confined, for example, to isolated centres with which the mass of the English official world were rarely brought into contact. In outlying tracts or in provincial towns little of it met the eye. Native officials trained under the old school—the class in closest contact with members of the Civil Service—had little sympathy with the new ideas, even had they succeeded in understanding them. The very rapidity with which the empire was acquired, and the deep veneration with which the names of those associated with its earlier development and with the method of administration known as “a benevolent despotism” are regarded, blinded officials—the conditions of whose existence predisposed them to such blindness—to what was taking place about them. The large section of Indian society which is dominated by



military opinion, was averse to recognise an order of things which was profoundly incompatible with the notions of discipline and subordination inseparable from military habits of thought. Finally, the commercial and mercantile world is rarely inclined, or, were it inclined, has rarely the leisure, to raise its head from its desk, or to ask itself what is passing beyond the sombre precincts of the counting-house.

We come next to the criticism that the movement is greatly exaggerated. To those conversant with native society in the Presidency towns of India, or in such cities as Poona, Allahabad, or Lucknow, the change in native thought and native life is, for the most part, obvious. But even others who have more restricted means of observation, must be aware how greatly the habit of seeking an education in England has of late years extended. In remote districts where thirty years ago the Hindu of the old type lived quietly among his retainers, his son visits but occasionally the home which residence of several years in England has taught him to regard with distaste. Mohammedans are flowing in ever-increasing numbers to the English colleges and universities. The rapid development of railways is facilitating the interchange of ideas among all classes of the native community, and the beat of the engine is breaking down barriers which the voices of many missionaries were impotent to remove. Like the first flushings of dawn at the immediate advent of an Eastern day, a glow of enlightenment, still tremulous and tentative, but growing ever warmer and warmer as the horizon clears before it, is visible throughout the land. Religions, it has been said, are disused, not disproved. Civilisation, similarly, is of inhalation, not merely of instruction; and its progress in India is far more rapid than by any process of mere

education could have been attained. A vernacular literature, rough, crude, and in embryo no doubt, but full of energy and full of aspirations, is rapidly assuming very considerable proportions. Pamphlets on economic questions, such as that of Saiad Muhammad Husein on agricultural economy; on policy, as the pamphlet recently published by Sir Madhava Rao; or, more important still, on social and domestic reform, such as the writings of Mr Behramji Malabari,—are circulating broadcast about the country. The reports brought back by those who go to England of the consideration conceded to them by the English, and the contrast they find on their return, has created a profound conviction that the attitude of Englishmen in India towards them is local only, and is not shared by the mass of the English. With that conviction has come the desire to resist and to induce a change in an attitude believed to be humiliating and unauthorised. In a thoughtful article<sup>1</sup> which appeared in the ‘Allygurh Institute Gazette’ of the 25th November, the writer has dwelt much on this particular aspect of the case. His point is, that the nature of the difference between yesterday and to-day is, that yesterday the native respected authority only, whereas to-day, though he respects authority, no less he has learnt also to respect himself. Self-respect, or the sense of what is due to one’s self, follows necessarily on the consciousness of exertion and improvement. The writer concedes to the English the entire credit of having, by their policy, conferred on the people of India this boon; but he holds that the boon is irrevocable, and has become a grave political force. Few will be found to deny the truth of Sir John Strachey’s assertion that “the England of Queen Anne was hardly more different from the Eng-

<sup>1</sup> *Vide ante*, p. 377.

land of to-day, than the India of Lord Ellenborough from the India of Lord Ripon." Yet what in material affairs is so obvious, meets with absolute scepticism or angry denial in respect of moral, social, or intellectual advancement. Sir John Strachey, indeed, though he dealt immediately with the material side of the subject, was careful to add that India had "gone on, with a speed hardly surpassed in any country, steadily increasing in knowledge and in wealth, and in all the elements of progress." Many of us, however, on the contrary, seem to consider that the fruitful changes which have taken place around him in successive epochs of political development, have left the native of India simply as they found him; that the laws of evolution have not touched him; that he must remain, as he was of old, the primitive creature of prehistoric strata; and that, like his own immemorial elephant, he is at best but a monster of the slime, fitted only for splendid servitude. It is unnecessary to dwell further, however, on this part of the case. Those who are inclined to deny the great change alleged to have taken place, must be left to the operation of time; but not, it may be hoped, to that relentless logic which inevitably overtakes all who shut their eyes to accumulating dangers, and who refuse to be convinced that the storm is about to gather, until it has descended upon them and discomfited them.

The above, imperfectly as it may have been expressed, is the answer which the writer would be inclined to give to the question put in the paper above referred to—"If it be real, what does it mean?" It is real; and it means that while the English mind in India has been tempted to stand still, arrested by the contemplation of the fruits of its efforts in former times, and by the symmetry of the shrine, the pride of its own creation, in which it

lingers to offer incense to its past successful labours, the Indian mind has been marching on, eager and anxious to expand its own sphere of action, and to do what it, for its own part, has to do. Rapidly maturing under the influence of great facilities for communication, stimulated by more frequent contact with England, and encouraged by the opportunities afforded during successive years of profound peace, it has succeeded at length in awaking to the consciousness of its own powers and the assurance of its own success. The breath has come into the bones, and they are about to live and stand up upon their feet, an exceeding great army. It means that while the native mind is still in this mood, half day-dawn, half chaos, has occurred the catastrophe of March 1883. The sudden declaration of the English in India that they would recognise in the Indian nothing but simply a subject-race, has brought the issue clearly and without possibility of self-deception before all classes and all races in the country. The dry bones of the children of the captivity, their opponents have urged, shall not live, nor again stand up upon their feet. There shall be subordination; there shall be no citizenship. Nevertheless, the prophecy had said that the bones should live; that the spirit of their Maker should be in them; that He would place them in their own land; and that then they should know that He had spoken it and performed it. Hence the question on the one hand was—Are we to go on in our hitherto progress, or are we to desist? as on the other side the question must now be—Are we to maintain the stern traditions which have in past circumstances characterised our rule; or are we to recognise that those circumstances are in truth passing, and to cast about for the methods which, in the new order of affairs, may

be as successful in our hands for the furtherance of our rule in the country, as were the former methods in the former order of affairs in the hands of those predecessors of whom we are so proud ?

On the answer to these two questions must depend the future of our rule in India. As to the first, there can be no doubt. The native mind will expand, native society will become more and more enlightened, and with enlightenment and expansion its demands will become more and more reasonable and more and more irresistible. No Mrs Partington will mop back that Atlantic. Are, then, the methods with which we are to control these new developments to be the same as those hitherto employed ; or are we to seek to adapt ourselves to the new position, and recognise that the old traditions are unsuitable and insufficient to enable us to meet and guide the forces which there is no longer any possibility of denying ? We have, in a word, to ask ourselves whether it is only the natives of India who have to be educated, or whether we ourselves have not much to forget and much to learn ? Have we not ourselves to forget so much of the old system as made for mere repression ? Have we alone of all men not to learn that as the times change we must change with them ? It seems, indeed, but a truism to affirm that the genius of our nation in India must conform itself to the requirements of progressive days. The task of the present generation is unquestionably far more difficult and far more delicate than that which awaited their predecessors. To bind is easy ; to unloose, inspire, and encourage in the conduct of a new departure, requires an infinite skill. The business of the last generation was to restrain ; the problem which lies before that of the present day is to guide. The experiment of British rule in India, con-

ducted, as it must be, in conformity with those fundamental principles of equity and freedom which are the divine fire intrusted to the Anglo-Saxon race, and carried out as it equally must be in the presence of a free Parliament and a free press, is thus entering upon a most critical stage. The creative, adaptive, and plastic skill with which the Sclavonic races are exclusively credited, is what we now in India especially need; and time only can show whether we possess it—or whether, from the failure in this regard with which, among the nations of Europe, we are generally reproached, and from blind veneration of an old Olympus, with its demigods and its honoured myths, we are destined to bring affairs to such an *impasse* as to lead to events the gravity of which it is impossible to exaggerate. "Our fathers worshipped in this mountain," it is admitted, and to criticise the creed of our forefathers may seem presumptuous; but unless we choose, with the Samaritan, to be content with such truth as lingers among ancient hill-tops, we must submit to be searchers for that spirit of the time to which the present days are bringing us.

If the exposition here traced out is accurate, it may go far to explain the divergence of views and the want of sympathy which have been so painfully marked in the relations of the Viceroy and of the mass of the English in India. What was comparatively hidden from men whose eyes were dulled by daily gazing on the same scene, must have been more evident to a mind uncoloured by association with the traditions of a former day; fresh to India, though habituated to the study of Indian questions; trained in the public life of a free people; and accustomed to the expression and indication of the views and ways of thought which are inseparable from the advance of enlightenment; able,

finally, to take in the aspect of the present circumstances, untrammelled by personal memories of former days, or individual familiarity with an ancient order of ideas. Lord Ripon, if he could boast no practical experience of India, brought at least an eye unobscured by impressions received from them of old time, unclouded by the trite results of such limited personal experience as falls within the opportunities of most Englishmen in India. "Lookers-on," says the adage, "see most of the game;" and so far as the game, is played between natives of India and Englishmen resident in India, Lord Ripon may be said, during the comparatively limited term of Viceregal office, to have been in the position of a looker-on. To him on arrival it may have seemed only too clear that a stage of progress had been reached which was unrecognised by most of those habituated to residence in the country. He would have discerned this, not from any superior insight, but simply from his position as an outsider, fresh to the scene and deeply interested in understanding and interpreting what was passing. The determined opposition to his policy among the English in India may in great part be because each has approached the question from an opposite quarter. It is very probably, in great part, not a difference so much of view as of point of view. A policy of self-development, of local self-help, of educational extension, of free trade, of recognising and conceding a generous sympathy to the aspirations he saw everywhere about him, must have seemed to the Viceroy as much the legitimate and irresistible outcome of the conditions which he diagnosed, as *stare super antiquas vias* seemed to his opponents to be still the highest wisdom. Is it not because of this fact—that what others did not or would

not recognise, Lord Ripon, from the vantage-ground of his standing-point, admitted and allowed—that the native mind has shown itself so conscious of his goodwill towards it, and on the occasion of his departure has exhibited the extraordinary enthusiasm which is making even the dullest sleeper turn uneasily on his pillow? If this is not the true explanation, it would be curious to learn what other is true. That the explanation is reasonable, it has been the object of these remarks to show; that it is correct, we have the assurance of the best organs of the native press, which, if they do not trace, as has been here done, the philosophy of the movement, are unanimously in agreement as to its immediate cause. If a man will ask himself whether it is in the power of any individual to create an unbounded enthusiasm for which there exist no materials,—whether a mine can be fired before it has been laid,—he will have some idea of the unreasonableness of supposing that what is passing under our eyes is mere moonshine—that a *consensus* of Anglo-Indian opinion (even did it exist) is necessarily a final verdict—and that Lord Ripon is a mere dreamer and a visionary.

It may be contended that while there is truth in all this, and whatever the present Viceroy may claim in respect of truer insight than his countrymen, his methods and his practice, insomuch as they have precipitated events, deserve all that has been said against them. *Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona*; and it will be denied that previous Viceroys have had less sympathy than Lord Ripon with the native mind, or have all failed to reckon up the situation. Lord Ripon, it must be answered, may have committed tactical errors, the responsibility of which must be shared by the experienced advisers who surrounded him. It is infinitely to be re-



gretted, however, that the real nature of the issues at stake has been obscured by the controversy raised over the merely collateral question of the Criminal Procedure Bill. The result has been unfortunate in two ways. It has enabled the extreme reactionary party to claim as their allies a large section of Englishmen in India who, while they may on this one question have agreed with them, are entirely opposed to them on the larger questions discussed in this paper. It has, in the next place, created a seeming chasm between the whole English community in India on the one side, and Lord Ripon with the native community on the other, which in truth has no existence, but which to the ordinary observer may seem to have been all that Lord Ripon has to show as the outcome of his tenure of office. As time passes, and as the infinite evil done by the agitators of 1883 is forgotten, it will probably be recognised that there was far less difference of opinion between the Viceroy and the more thoughtful body of his countrymen in India, than between that body and the outrageous tail to which unhappily it moved responsive. Be this, however, as it may, if what has been written in this paper is in any degree correct, it is but little, comparatively, that Lord Ripon could have done to restrain or to precipitate events. The incident of the Criminal Procedure Bill may no doubt have brought about abruptly, brutally, and of force, what would otherwise, in the ordinary course of events, have arrived in the consummation of time. But the time, in truth, was ripe; the hour of the new birth was but a narrow question. Whether it were by Lord Ripon or another, the charm which held the sleeper bound was to be broken, and the time for breaking it was at hand. The attitude, moreover, taken up by his opponents has thrown into relief

and has exaggerated what, calmly considered, has been the position of the Viceroy. If he seems more enthusiastic than any of his predecessors, it is because the violence of conflicting views has compelled him to emphasise his own. It is not that the sympathy of his predecessors with the natives has been less, but his own occasion more. It may indeed prove, however much we may regret the events of 1883, to have been matter of pure gain that the real situation has been so unequivocally exposed. Neither side, in future, can pretend to misunderstand the other. The problem has been unmistakably formulated in Lord Ripon's time; the solving of it, we now know, cannot be deferred, but must needs be worked out by his successors. It is as clear as the sun at noonday that no one now can put back the hand upon the dial. A reactionary policy (improbable at any time in India, unless the programme of successive English Cabinets, of either party, were to be abandoned, reversed, or repudiated) has now from the force of circumstances become, if persisted in, by far the greatest political danger to which our rule in India can be possibly exposed. Of all men in the world, Lord Dufferin, with that sagacity and insight into situations which constitute his chief claim to pre-eminence, is least likely to be blinded to the real nature of affairs. What methods he may adopt to further their possible development, it is not the business of this paper to discuss. He may point out to the natives that they have obligations as well as rights; that the *nidus* of all civil progress is the domestic hearth; and that their hearth is still dimmed and darkened, while the avenues which approach it are desecrated and defiled. He may seek to regulate, to restrain, and to remonstrate. He may be enabled to bring before the eyes of Englishmen a vision of the

time, in its relation to their duty in India, so imposing, so attractive, and withal so full of vital interest to each and every one of them, as shall induce them to admit that the hour has come to emulate, no longer merely to imitate, the genius of those who preceded them in the empire. But whatever he may do, on the success with which he meets in this endeavour will mainly depend the issue of his Indian administration. Among the most formidable obstacles to the success which the English community in India unquestionably wish him, is at present their own unwillingness to recognise the signs of the times, and that fateful inability to review their position which has betrayed them into conflict with his predecessor.

---

## APPENDIX B.

### THE MOHAMMEDAN ANGLO-ORIENTAL COLLEGE, ALLYGURH.<sup>1</sup>

AS the final result of his determination to do his utmost to benefit his country, and especially the Mohammedans of India, Syed Ahmed Khan decided to found a college. India, he considered, stood less in need of political than of social reform. Laws and institutions were of small importance compared with trained men. And while this was true of India as a whole, the need of education in his own community was more pressing still. Syed Ahmed had been profoundly touched by the

<sup>1</sup> By Theodore Beck.

ruin of the noble Mussulman families at the time of the Mutiny. He saw the remnant of this mighty race too proud and too prejudiced to adopt English education, and being left every day further behind in the race of life with the Hindu. A sullen despondency was spreading itself over the Mussulman community. Moulvies who depended for their livelihood on their knowledge of Persian, were supplanted by the English-knowing Bengali. Everywhere the decay of the Mohammedans in wealth and influence was marked—a fact not only deplorable in itself, but very dangerous to the peace of the empire. Could a community which saw itself thus fast losing ground, becoming every day more powerless, more poverty-stricken—a community which cherishes great traditions of a time not very long past, and which can point to the noblest buildings in India, palaces and tombs, as the trophies of its former empire—be expected to be enthusiastically loyal? To turn the tide of misfortune was the task Syed Ahmed set before himself. It seemed, it still seems, an almost impossible one; though the unexpected success that has attended his efforts may well awaken feelings of hope.

But while his first object, as the name of the college implies, was to benefit the Mohammedans, Syed Ahmed had at the same time a wider aim. He wished to introduce into India a new model of education. The Government system, while perhaps the only one open to Government to adopt, has manifest drawbacks. The training of the students from their earliest years is intellectual only. Manners, morals, and religion are left to take care of themselves, and in consequence fare badly. The boys live scattered throughout the town, separated by caste prejudices, and enjoying little of healthy school-life. The master's duty begins and ends with the class-

room. The whole thing is mechanical. The beautiful Eastern tradition, common alike to Hindu and Mussulman, of the parental relation between teacher and pupil, is lost sight of. The love of learning for its own sake, a love which still draws many poor students from distant parts of the Indian continent to the old schools of Arabic and Sanscrit, gives place to the sordid ambition of passing an examination and obtaining a clerkship in a Government office. For this purpose the most abject system of cramming and learning by rote is adopted, at the end of which the intellect itself is but little benefited. Meanwhile manners have suffered a marked deterioration. The student thinks his knowledge of English justifies his looking down on the old Eastern gentleman. The latter, for the dignity of his bearing and the charm of his courtesy, excels anything we can show in modern England. Our system has as yet chiefly affected the lower classes, and the students are apt to assert their newly found independence by an offensive absence of politeness. The result of this is to embitter the race prejudices which are the bane of India. Morals, too, are not attended to, and very little is done to check the vices of lying and deceit. We do not mean to deny the great benefits that have arisen from the noble effort of Government to educate the people of India. We wish solely to point out some of the deficiencies in the system which led Syed Ahmed to base his college on a different principle from that adopted in the ordinary Government institution. He determined to attach to his college a good boarding-house, to subject the students to careful supervision, and to give Mohammedan boys religious instruction.

In order to carry out his project of founding a college many requisites were necessary, two of the most essen-

58  
175

*The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College.* 403

tial being money and power of organisation. The latter Syed Ahmed brought in abundance ; the former was wanting. How to obtain it? There were wealthy men in the community, but they were blind to the benefits of English education—nay, more, they were bitterly opposed to it. So insuperable, therefore, did this difficulty appear, that the scheme was laughed at as chimerical. His friends thought him a madman, his enemies a devil. There were some who supposed he was Antichrist. Nevertheless he prepared a book for subscriptions, wrote down his own name and his son's, and collected what money he could. Government, advised by Sir John Strachey, gave him a large piece of waste land. At length, in May 1875, a master, Mr Siddons, was engaged, and a few small boys, the sons of Mohammedan gentlemen, personal friends of Syed Ahmed, were collected to receive instruction from him. The youthfulness of the institution may be realised from the fact that some of these original pupils are still reading in the college. When Mr Siddons arrived, he had no notion of the magnitude of Syed Ahmed's intentions. He found the Syed encamped on the jungle that Government had given him, and was amazed when he drew out from a box the plans of a magnificent building which he said it was his hope to erect.

At the age of fifty-eight Syed Ahmed had now commenced the great work of his life, by which his name will be handed down to posterity as a benefactor of his countrymen. From that time to this the old man has stuck to his object with indomitable pluck and untiring energy. Little by little, by a hundred devices, he has collected money. Through the press and on the platform he has advocated his cause. And although, up to the present, not more than a quarter of the required building has

been erected, what has been done is wonderful, and is full of promise for the future.

The buildings, when complete, will form a large quadrangle, whose interior dimensions will be 1004 feet by 576 feet. The size of this may be best realised by comparing it with the quadrangle of an English college. This will be divided in two by a row of buildings down the middle—a hall, library, museum, and lecture-rooms. Adjacent to these, at either end, will be a group of classrooms. At the corners will be two dining-halls, and two mosques, one for the Sunnis and one for the Shias.

In describing what has been already done, we will take the reader through an imaginary tour of inspection, stopping here and there to express such thoughts as the place suggests.

The first thing we notice is a handsome stone wall enclosing the hundred acres or so that constitute the college grounds. This wall is built in sections seven or eight feet long, and on every section a name is engraved. The name is that of the donor of the section. A section costs Rs. 20. This plan of inscribing the name of a subscriber on the building he has erected has been adopted throughout. It has a double advantage. It acts as an incentive to the giver, and it invests the place with associations; the more so as many of the names are of men who will be remembered in history. If you walk round the wall you will find written in the graceful curves of the Persian character the names of people from all parts of India, of Englishmen, of Englishwomen who have never visited the country, and even of Hindustani ladies who pass their lives behind the *purda*. The wall, when finished—it is now about half subscribed for—will thus be, as it were, a long scroll of the names of the supporters and well-wishers of the institution.

Within the wall, surrounded by their own gardens, are three bungalows occupied by the Englishmen on the staff—the Principal, the Professor of English Literature, and the Head-master. Driving past two of them, we enter the college grounds and come upon a large straggling bungalow, where the school classes are for the present held. Syed Ahmed's institution is called a college, but in England we should call it a school and college combined. Both are equally needed by the Mohammedan community, and it is difficult to say which is as yet the more important. The ages of the students range from seven to twenty-three. There are at present 215 students in the school department and 40 in the college. Of these there are 70 Hindus, 184 Mohammedans, and one native Christian; 158 are boarders.

Next we come to six small bungalows, containing each four rooms, in which the Hindu boarders reside. Farther to the left is the house of the resident native doctor. Ahead of us is the building of the Siddons Union Club, the students' debating society, named after the first Principal of the College. The club contains a debating room, and rooms for a library and newspapers. It is founded on the model of the Cambridge Union. Debates are held twice a-month in English, and once a-month in Hindustani. The students take to the art of public speaking with zest—although the Mussulman, as contrasted with the Bengali, boasts a preference for the sword rather than the tongue. At the foundation of the club an interchange of greetings with the Cambridge Society took place. The following message was sent from Allygurh to Cambridge:—

“The President of the Siddons Union Club of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College presents his compliments to the President of the Cambridge University



Union Society, and begs to inform him that the Cambridge University Union Society has given birth to a similar, though at present small, Society in the far East. He invites the sympathy of members of the ancient and flourishing society at Cambridge for the youthful club founded by men who, though different in race, are citizens of the same great empire. The creed of Allygurh is, that the relationship of Englishman and Indian should be that of brothers. He hopes that if any member of the C.U.U.S. should visit Allygurh he will experience a practical exemplification of that aim."

To this the following reply was received :—

"At the first private business meeting of this term, the following resolution was proposed by the President of the Society (Mr W. Howard Stables, Trinity College), and seconded by Mr J. Austen Chamberlain, Trinity College, and carried with one dissentient :—

"That the Cambridge University Union Society desires to express its satisfaction that a Society based on the same principles as itself has been founded at Allygurh by one of its ex-Presidents ; and as a means of displaying its sense of the brotherhood which exists between all subjects of our sovereign, and also of the close tie that binds the two Societies together, herein sends its heartfelt sympathy and congratulation to the President and members of that Society.'"

It is the wish of Syed Ahmed Khan to make as intimate as possible the connection between his college and the University of Cambridge, and it is his hope that some day the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College may be formally affiliated to the University.

Leaving the Union, we pass round a large bed of roses, to the main building of the college. We ascend some

steps that lead on to a semicircular verandah, and walk into the chief lecture-room. Let into the wall are two slabs of marble, stating, the one in English and the other in Persian, that the cost of the room was defrayed by two Nawabs of Hyderabad, who erected it in honour of their uncle, the "Nawab Mahomed Rafi Uddin Khan Bahadur Namwar jang Umdat-ud-Dowlah Uamdat-ul-Mulk Shams-ud-Dowlah Shams-ul-Mulk Shams-ul-Umara, Amir-i-Kabir, in connection with the science of astronomy, of which he was up to the last a zealous student."

On each side of this lecture-room are four others, half of which contain the names of great supporters of the college, the other half bearing vacant slabs ready for others who may come forward. The four men whose names are here preserved are : Maulvi Sami Uliah Khan Bahadur, C.M.G., who accompanied Lord Northbrook to Egypt, Syed Ahmed's right-hand man ; Raja Syed Baker Ali Khan, C.I.E., a great Shia ; Koer Lutf Ali Khan, member of a great Rajput family who were some generations ago converted to Islam ; and Maulvi Mahdi Ali, finance secretary of the Nizam's Government at Hyderabad.

Adjoining this block of buildings are two more lecture-rooms in honour of the last-mentioned gentleman.

We now enter the boarding-house, which, as at an English college, forms the main part of the quadrangle. It is built of red brick, and consists of rows of rooms, with a corridor in front supported on beautiful Saracenic arches, and approached by steps. As yet not quite half one quadrangle has been built, while the other has been enclosed with a temporary erection to accommodate students until money can be collected for the permanent building. What has been built, however, has a most pleasing architectural effect, which is height-

ened by elegant gardens and fine old trees. A set of rooms consists of a sitting-room 16 feet square, and a bedroom half the size. They are high and airy, and will compare favourably with the rooms at Oxford and Cambridge. Those who are familiar with Eastern houses will understand that to live in these clean and commodious apartments is in itself an education. As in England, it is a first lesson in decoration for the student to furnish his room, except that here it teaches more, for the main article of furniture in a purely Indian house is the carpet. In the students' rooms here, large pictures of the Queen and the Prince of Wales are conspicuous.

Every set of rooms has above it a stone tablet inscribed with the name of the donor, each set costing Rs. 1500. Among the names of Mohammedan landlords and Hindu rajas we find two English gentlemen, Mr C. A. Elliott, C.S.I., Chief Commissioner of Assam, and the Hon. W. W. Hunter, member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. Thus the very stones of his building bear witness to the aspiration of Syed Amed Khan, that Englishmen and natives should work side by side as brothers. The fact here made conspicuous, that the Indians have been helped in their own enterprise by the private generosity of Englishmen, cannot but exert a loyal influence on the youths who are brought up within the college walls. A very different political atmosphere from that of Calcutta is indeed observable in Allygurh. Loyalty to a united empire is inculcated as an active sentiment, and among that people—the Mussulmans—who naturally most dislike our rule.

Walking along the corridor we come to the Salar Manzil or dining-room of the first-class boarders. This is named after the great Sir Salar Jang, who was a warm

supporter of the college, giving it Rs. 10,500 from his own pocket, and an estate worth Rs. 1200 a-year. His untimely death was a great blow not only for the college but for the whole Mohammedan community. The room is made use of for dinners on important occasions. When the present Nawab Salar Jang visited the college there was a dinner-party here of fifty people, half English and half Mohammedan. Speeches were given, and the proceedings were characterised by hearty and friendly intercourse between Englishman and Eastern. Sometimes, too, there are college feasts. There was one when the cricket team returned victorious from a tour in the Panjab. There was another when some return matches were played, and the college was full of students from other places. There was a third when a student returned from England, where he had been to finish his education and join the Bar. It is only in a community where caste does not prevail that such entertainments can occur, and hence they are not found in other Indian colleges.

At the Salar Manzil there is a gate which leads us out of the quadrangle. Here we face a large well called the *Chah Akhwanus Safa*, or well of true brethren. The cost was defrayed by thirty-two men, each of whom gave Rs. 50. Their names are inscribed on a stone tablet, last of all coming "their servant, Syed Ahmed." The supporters of the college are chiefly the followers of Syed Ahmed in his religious, political, and social reforms. They are a comparatively small body of men, but are spread over a large tract of country, and many are of considerable influence. The students of the college come from places as distant as Hyderabad, Mysore, Bombay, Kathiawar, Karrachi, Peshawar, Calcutta, and Chittagong. Little boys are brought by

their fathers railway journeys of four or five days and left at the boarding-house. Once two came with an English governess. All this argues a great future for the institution when the trying days of its infancy are past. At present, although there is a marked decrease in the opposition, the great bulk of the Mohammedan community has not been reconciled to the movement. The political importance of effecting the revolution initiated by Syed Ahmed Khan in the most martial and most united people in India, it is difficult to exaggerate. Government has recognised it by giving an annual grant-in-aid of Rs. 12,000, and by the personal support of three successive Viceroys. The confidence felt by Government is also manifested by its sending several wards of Court to be educated here.

From the well we may walk into the Muir Park, passing two small palm-trees brought from Arabia, and re-enter the quadrangle by a gate which will, when finished, be the main entrance. The money for this was collected especially for the purpose of founding a memorial to Syed Ahmed Khan. We may now proceed to the centre of the quadrangle and inspect a large temporary building, to be called when built the Strachey Hall, in honour of Sir John Strachey. In this all grand meetings will be held, as well as examinations. An effort is now being made to raise subscriptions and build it. The total cost will be Rs. 50,000; and it is hoped that a hundred people will be found who will each give Rs. 500. Here is placed the foundation-stone laid by Lord Lytton in 1877. Under the stone are deposited a copy of the address given to Lord Lytton, enclosed in a bottle, some coins, and a short account of the ceremony engraved on a copper plate.

*The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College.* 411

On either side of this building are the foundations of the Nizam Museum and Lytton Library.

We have now taken our reader round all the chief buildings, and may finish our tour with a visit to the cricket-field. The Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College is famous for its cricket. Its eleven has beaten the best native teams in Upper India. In November they went on a tour into the Panjab, playing at Meerut, Amritsar, Lahore, Meean Meer, Jalandhar, and Delhi—being beaten only once by a team of British officers. Several matches have also been played with varying success against the English eleven of Allygurh. The last two were characterised by a most agreeable feature that is quite novel in India: the ladies and gentlemen of the station invited the students to lunch with them in a large tent on the ground. By such means, and not by violent agitation, the relations of Englishman and native can be greatly improved. The table at which the students sat was presided over by Mrs Aikman, wife of the Judge of Allygurh. Syed Ahmed sat at another; and as he observed the kindness shown by Mrs Aikman towards the boys of his nation, his heart glowed with the hope of a happier day for India. He rose after lunch and made a short speech. He said that every nation performed certain ceremonies on the day that it took to be the New Year's Day. He thought that on the New Year's Day of the natives of India ceremonies should be performed showing love and goodwill between them and the English. He therefore regarded this day as their New Year's Day. He intended to keep alive the memory of Mrs Aikman in the college by founding a gold medal, named after her, to be given every year to the best cricketer of the season.

We left our reader in the cricket-field. We will now drive him out of the grounds, through a gate erected by Nawab Sir Faiz Ali Khan, late Prime Minister of the Maharaja of Jeypore, and hope that the next time we invite him to inspect the buildings of the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College we may be able to point them out to him in a state of completion.

THE END.