MUSLIM POLITICS IN THE INDO-PAKISTAN SUB-CONTINENT

1858 - 1916

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by

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Muslim Politics in the Indo-Pakistan Sub-Continent 1858 - 1916.

ABSTRACT

Chapter I.

Introductory.

The decline of Muslim power in India became complete with the abolition of the sovereignty of the King of Delhi after the 1857 Mutiny. In the succeeding years far reaching changes took place in the economic and political condition of the Muslims. As is explained by Hunter in his Indian Musalmans, owing to the unfavourable educational and administrative policy of the Government, within fourteen years of the Mutiny the number of Muslims in Government departments and in respectable professions in Bengal had decreased to a negligible proportion. Conditions in other parts of the country were almost as depressing as in Bengal.

The impoverishment of the Muslims had not wholly resulted from the events following the Mutiny. In fact, it had continued side by side with the decline of their power in India.

The first reaction to this development appeared in the form of the Faraizi and the Wahhabi movements of the early nineteenth century. The Wahhabi movement, started by Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi, aimed at the re-establishment of Muslim rule in India by resorting to a holy war first against the Sikhs and after that against the British. He started the Jihad against the Sikhs in 1826 on the North-West Frontier and continued it with some success till 1831 when he was killed in a battle at

Balakot. His followers appear to have remained active on the Frontier till the 1860s.

The most influential Muslim in the post-Mutiny period was Sayyid Ahmad Khan. He believed that the Muslim regeneration in India was possible only after the establishment of cordial relations between them and their rulers. Both by his pen and word he endeavoured to prove that the Muslims were not disloyal to British rule. His efforts helped a great deal in bringing about a reconciliation between the Muslims and the British.

Chapter II

The Muslims under British Rule and the Question of the Jihad.

About the end of the 1860s the question of the Jihad in India assumed prominence owing to the recent Wahhabi trials. The Anglo-Indian and the Hindu press expressed the view that according to the law of Islam India was a Dar-ul-Harb and it was a religious duty of the Muslims to prosecute a Jihad against their Christian rulers with a view to ending their rule.

This attracted the attention of some of the eminent Muslim authorities on the law of Islam. Their general opinion was that India under British rule was neither a Dar-ul-Harb nor a Dar-ul-Islam but something intermediate between these two positions. The status of the Muslims was that of a protected people (Mustaman). So long as the status of India and of the

Muslims continued to be so, a holy war against the Christian rulers was not allowed by Islam.

This opinion helped much in determining the political relations between the Muslim subjects and their Christian rulers.

Chapter III

Development of Muslim Political Organization 1858 - 1885.

For many years after the Mutiny the Muslims made little attempt to organize themselves politically. Their first important association after the Mutiny was the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta formed in 1863, to promote among the Muslims interest in Western learning and progress, and to bring the requirements of Muslims to the notice of the Government. The Society held regular monthly and annual meetings. Politically it was pro-British and loyalist. It regarded India under British rule as a Dar-ul-Islam and endeavoured to disseminate this opinion throughout India.

Another important Muslim society was the Scientific Society Aligarh formed in 1864. Under its auspices many standard English works were translated into Urdu. It also provided a platform where Indians and Englishmen met and talked over subjects of common interest. The Aligarh Institute

Gazette was started by the Society which after the birth of the Congress was the chief representative of the Muslim point of view in politics.

The first political association of Muslim origin was the British Indian Association formed at Aligarh in 1866. Its membership was open to all Indians and foreigners resident in India. The Association was perhaps the first joint Hindu-Muslim political organization that envisaged the development of a common outlook towards the relations of Indians with the British Government.

In other parts of the country social and religious associations of a semi-political nature were also formed. Their chief object was almost everywhere to bring about a better understanding between the Muslims and the British and to promote the social and religious interests of Muslims.

The most important Muslim political organization during this period was the Central National Muhammadan Association formed in 1877 by Sayyid Ameer Ali. It aimed at the political regeneration of the Muslims and the recognition by the Government of their just and reasonable claims. It represented a considerably large number of upper and upper middle class Muslims and had its branches in almost all important centres of India. Its membership was open to non-Muslims. It was the first Muslim organization that asked the Government in

1883 to provide for the election of Muslim members of local bodies by Muslim voters.

Chapter IV

The Muslims and Indian Nationalism 1885 - 1906 I.

Indian nationalism in its organized form began with the birth of the Indian National Congress. This body demanded the expansion of legislative councils by the admission of elected members, and suggested that the members of provincial councils be elected by bodies like municipalities and district boards, or persons having educational or pecuniary qualifications; and that members of the Governor-General's Council should be chosen by the elected members of the provincial councils. It also demanded that all appointments other than peonships and the like, be filled by competitive examinations.

These demands became the basis of Muslim opposition to the nationalist movement. Because the Muslims were not well-educated in English they were unable to compete with the Hindus. Nor were they rich enough to be qualified to become electors. They were convinced that the acceptance of these demands by the Government would result in the domination of the Muslim community by the Hindu majority.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the most influential Muslim leader of the time, advised his co-religionists to keep aloof from the Congress

Very few Muslims attended the first two Congresses. But the third Congress which was presided over by a Muslim was attended by quite a few Muslim delegates. This alarmed Ahmad Khan as it helped the Congress to claim that its ideology was supported by all Indian communities. In August 1888 he formed an association of Hindus and Muslims known as the Indian Patriotic Association to counteract the "false impression" that the Congress movement drew support from the whole of the people of India and to make known to the British public that not only the Muslims but also many influential Hindus were opposed to it.

In 1889 the Muslim opposition to the Congress demands appeared within the Congress itself. When the resolution on the expansion and reform of legislative councils came up for discussion, some Muslim delegates demanded that the number of Muslim members in the Imperial and provincial councils should always be equal to that of the Hindus. The refusal of Congress to accept this resulted in the withdrawal from it of many Muslims who had recently joined it.

The Indian Councils Act of 1892 provided for an elective principle in the councils and thus partly fulfilled Congress demands. This situation brought about a change in the policy of the Muslims. Instead of opposing the introduction of the elective principle they now decided to secure such a modification of the existing rules of election to legislative councils and

local bodies as would give them a reasonable and just representation on them. In 1896 they put forward two schemes proposing representation of Muslims on local bodies and on the Imperial and provincial legislative councils in excess of their numbers, by means of separate electorates. The Congress, however, showed little interest in these proposals. These were perhaps the last direct efforts made by the Muslims for a settlement with the Congress during the period under discussion.

Chapter V.

The Muslims and Indian Nationalism 1885 - 1906 II.

The Growth of Hindu-Muslim Antagonism and its Effects on the Development of the Muslim Political Movement.

Religious differences have almost always kept the Hindus and Muslims divided. After the Mutiny an open rift between them began in 1867 when some Benares Hindus started an anti-Urdu movement. In subsequent years dissension between the two communities grew and their attitude towards politics became increasingly communal.

From the 1890s began the era of Hindu militant nationalism under B.G.Tilak. In 1893 he started the Ganapati festival. It gave occasion for theatrical performances and religious songs which stirred up hatred of the foreigner - the European and the Muslim. Next year Tilak inaugurated a movement to emulate the

deeds of Shivaji who had revolted against Muslim supremacy during Aurangzeb's rule and had treacherously killed the Muslim general Afzal Khan. This widened the gulf between the two communities.

The anti-Urdu movement of the Hindus again became strong about the turn of the century and resulted in the Government's decision that along with Urdu a knowledge of Hindi was also essential for Government service.

As a result of this development, in October 1901, a representative Muslim meeting at Lucknow decided to found an all-India political organization to look after Muslim interests. Some district associations were formed in 1903 to become the basis of the proposed central organization which did not materialise. However the work done in this direction prepared the ground for the formation of the Muslim League in 1906.

In 1905 the province of Bengal was partitioned and a new province, Eastern Bengal and Assam, was formed. As the Muslims formed a majority in this province they supported the change. The Hindus, however, disliked the Partition and started a movement against it which was given a religious flavour. This caused much bitterness between the two communities and resulted in communal riots. In utter disregard of Muslim interests the Congress supported the anti-partition movement.

Before the birth of the Muslim League in 1906 the Hindus and Muslims had almost completely drifted apart. The Congress as a factor for welding the people of India into one nationality had proved a failure.

Chapter VI

In July 1906 the Secretary of State for India referred in the House of Commons to the appointment of a Committee by the Governor-General to consider the extension of the representative element in his Legislative Council. The Muslims had not been satisfied with the working of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 which had resulted in their scanty representation on the Councils. They placed their demands before the Viceroy on 1st October 1906 through an all-India deputation, known as the Simla Deputation.

The Deputation pointed out that the Muslims, who were a distinct community with additional interests of their own, were inadequately represented on the Councils. Their representatives who were almost always nominated did not enjoy the approval of the community. It demanded that the Muslim representatives on all Councils - local, provincial and Imperial - should be elected by means of separate Muslim electorates, and that the representation accorded to the Muslims should be commensurate with their numbers as well as the value of their contribution to the defence

of the Empire. The proposals of the Deputation represented the only practical solution to the communal problem which was becoming acute because of the domination of the Hindus in the councils of the Government.

Chapter VII

The Muslim League and the Development of Muslim Politics 1906-1916

A movement towards forming an all-India Muslim political organization had been developing among the Muslims since 1901. On 30th December, 1906 the All-India Muslim League was formed at Dacca. From this time to the birth of the Khilafat Movement Muslim politics in India remained almost completely the politics of the Muslim League.

Up to 1911 the policy of the League was guided by the conservative section of educated Muslims. During this period it did not advocate self-government even in a limited form. It regarded this ideaas premature in a country divided by racial and religious prejudices.

Its attention remained mainly devoted to the question of Muslim representation. As a result of its efforts the Muslims were granted separate electorates in the Morley-Minto reforms. Other important matters specially attended to by the League concerned the partition of Bengal, and representation of Muslims

in the public services and the preservation of Urdu as the language of the courts in the United Provinces and the Panjab.

After 1911 came a rapid change in the policy of the League. It adopted self-government for India as one of its objects and began to criticise the Government openly.

The circumstances that caused this change were chiefly influenced by the growing decrease of Muslim confidence in their British rulers, owing to certain events within and without India. These events included the Turko-Italian War of 1911, the revocation of the partition of Bengal in the same year, and the Balkan War of 1912 in which the policy of the British Government caused disappointment to Muslims and affected their interests adversely.

This development resulted in the ascendancy of the young progressive Muslims in the Muslim League.

In March 1913 the League declared the attainment of self-government suitable to India as its political creed. It however continued to advocate separate electorates for Muslims. Some Hindus had by now become reconciled to this point of view. Similarity in basic political ideals brought the League and the Congress nearer. In 1915 they held their annual sessions at the same time at Bombay and appointed committees to prepare a

joint reform scheme for India. This caused the withdrawal from the League of many conservatives.

In 1916 the two organizations entered into an agreement, known as the Lucknow Pact. It provided for Muslim representation on the councils of Government by means of separate electorates When again disputes arose on this question the Hindus and Muslims drifted apart. The ultimate result of this conflict was the partition of India in 1947.

PREFACE

Little attention has been paid by previous writers, both Indian and European, to a connected account of the develbpment of Muslim politics in India in the period following the Mutiny. In this thesis an attempt is made to supply that need. The period under consideration, 1858 to 1916, comprises three main phases of Muslim political development. The first of these, from the Mutiny to the 1880s, is chiefly concerned with Muslim efforts to bring about a reconciliation between them and their Christian rulers. The second covers the period between the inception of the Congress in 1885 and that of the Muslim League in 1906. It is characterized by the growing realization by Muslims that the safeguarding of their interests depended on their keeping aloof from the nationalist movement, the logical consequence of which was the formation of the Muslim League. The third phase from 1906 to 1916 was marked by well-organized efforts on the part of Muslims to protect their rights as a community differing fundamentally in many vital aspects from the Hindu majority. This ended in 1916 as the result of an agreement between the Congress and the Muslim League that the representation of Muslims on the legislative councils should be as a distinct community by means of separate electorates.

No part of Indian history has been more overwritten than the development of the nationalist movement. With rare exceptions these books and monographs have been the work of Hindus only too eager to minimize the importance of the Muslim minority. It must however be remembered that Muslims constituted a very important minority, larger in numbers than the population of any European country, except Russia, and larger than the total white population of the whole British empire. To term them a minority was mathematically correct. Politically it was a misnomer.

In the chapters that follow I have taken great pains to present an accurate and impartial account. In the first chapter I have gone back to the pre-Mutiny period by devoting a full section to the Faraizi and Wahhabi movements. This was necessary in order to provide a background to the development of Muslim politics after the Mutiny.

The material on which this thesis is based has been derived from various sources: private papers; official reports and documents; the proceedings of various associations, conferences and societies both in India and in England; the writings and utterances of Muslim leaders; and the files of contemporary English and Urdu newspapers. Every possible effort has been made to obtain access to original and contemporary sources.

Secondary sources have been used only where original sources have not been available. Although I can claim, fairly confidently, that a substantial portion of the material used in this volume has not been made use of by previous writers, I am fully aware that I have not been able to examine all of the enormous material that exists on the long period covered by this thesis.

I am greatly indebted to my supervisor, Dr. C.C. Davies, Reader in Indian History in the University of Oxford, for his valuable guidance and inspiring encouragement without which it would have been difficult to complete this thesis.

I am also thankful to the librarians of the India Office, the Indian Institute Library Oxford, and the National Library of Scotland for allowing me to consult the published and unpublished material available in their libraries. My special thanks are due to the Librarian of Christ Church Oxford for allowing me access to the Salisbury papers. I am also indebted to Dr. Abdul Hamid, Professor of History, Government College, Lahore, for his kindness in sending me his unpublished thesis on Sayyid Ahmad Khan.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE THESIS

Abstract	Abstract of Proceedings of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta
Asbab	Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind
B.M.	British Museum
Calc.Rev.	Calcutta Review
E.D.	Elliot, H.M. and Dowson, J., The history of India as told by its own historians
E.I.	Encyclopaedia of Islam
J.A.S.B.	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
Khulasa	Muhammadan Educational Conference, Khulasa-i-Karwai-hai-yazdeh salah
Mukammal Majmua	Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Mukammal Majmua-i-Lectures wa Ispeeches
A Quarter Century	A Quarter Century of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta
R.A.P.D.	Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies
Report	Report of the Committee of the Central National Mahommedan Association for the year 1883-84.
Review	Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Review on Dr.Hunter's Indian Musalmans
Rules and Objects	Rules and Objects of the Central National Mahomedan Association and its Branch Associations
S.R.G.I.	Selections from the Records of the Government of India
S.R.B.G.	Selections from the Records of the Bengal Government

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

A

The Position of Muslims in the Post-Mutiny Period

The decline of Muslim power in India that began in the latter half of Aurangzeb's rule[1] became complete with the abolition of the phantom sovereignty of the last Mughal Emperor of Delhi after the 1857 Mutiny. In the succeeding years far-reaching changes took place in the economic and political condition of the Muslims. They were considered to have been mainly responsible for the rebellion[2] and were confronted with a great deal of suspicion[3] and antagonism on the part of the

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1. See the New Cambridge Modern History, vol.VII, pp.541-42.
2. "The most obvious, popular and pressing theory is that the Muhammadans have rebelled. It is said and believed that there has been a general Muhammadan movement; that the Muhammadans are our enemies, and must be put down". (Campbell, G., Memories of My Indian Career, p.392). "The whole of the Calcutta press, apparently, without exception, have taken up the idea that this is a Muhammadan rebellion, not merely, in the sense that the sepoys were worked upon by Individual Muhammadans - which may or may not be true - but that the entire Muhammadan community is disaffected" (Parliamentary Papers 1857-58, vol.XLIII, Petition of the Inhabitants of Calcutta for the Recall of the Governor-General. See Appendix E Letter from Mr.Samuells, the Revenue Commissioner at Patna, to the Secretary of the Government of Bengal). Sir Alfred Lyall put down the whole Mutiny to the Muslims. (Durand, M., Sir Alfred Comyn Lyall, p.89.
3. The British had come to believe "that Muhammadans as a body" were specially hostile to them. (Campbell, G., The British Empire, p.93).

ruling class.[1] These factors greatly influenced the development of Muslim social and political movements in post-Mutiny India.

The most serious effects of their loss of political power were in the economic sphere. The community which once enjoyed enormous privileges and monopolised almost completely the power and emoluments of government[2] was soon reduced in status to

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1. W.H.Russell writes:
"The fact is that the Muhammadan element in India . . . causes us most trouble and provokes the largest share of our hostility . . . Our antagonism to the followers of Muhammad is far stronger than that we bear to the worshippers of Shiva and Vishnu. They are unquestionably more dangerous to our rule . . . If we could eradicate the traditions and destroy the temples of Muhammad by one vigorous effort it would indeed be well for the Christian faith and for the British rule". (See My Diary in India in the year 1858-59, vol. II, p.78).
For the repressive attitude of some British officials and the exemplary punishment inflicted upon the Muslims after the Mutiny, see Thompson, E., The Other Side of the Medal, pp. 40, 46, 48, 51-52, 61-63; Cotton, H., Indian and Home Memories, p.143; Russell op.cit., p.43.
Sir A.C. Lyall who had himself fought against the sepoys remarks:
"The consequence (of the Mutiny) was, as all can recollect who were in Northern India in 1857-58, that the English turned fiercely on the Muhammadans as upon their real enemies and most dangerous rivals". (see Asiatic Studies, p.239).

2. Hunter, W.W., The Indian Musalmans, p.151.

that of the poorest and the most humiliated in the country.(1) A very touching account of the position Muslim India reached within fourteen years of the Mutiny is given by Sir William Hunter in his book The Indian Musalmans.(2) In its fourth chapter he has described the general condition of the Muslims and also the difficulties and disadvantages they were confronted with on account of the unfavourable educational and

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1. Hali laments the impoverishment and degradation of the Muslims in the following words:

نہ اہلِ حکومت کے ہمراز ہیں ہم نہ درباریوں میں سرافراز ہیں ہم
نہ علموں میں شایانِ اعزاز ہیں ہم نہ صنعت میں حرفت میں ممتاز ہیں ہم
نہ رکھتے ہیں کچھ منزلت نوکری میں
نہ حصہ ہمارا ہے سوداگری میں
تنزل نے کی ہے بُری گت ہماری بہت دُور پہنچی ہے نکبت ہماری
گئی گذری دنیا میں حرمت ہماری نہیں کچھ اُبھرنے کی صورت ہماری

See Musaddas-i-Hali, p.47.

2. Hunter's book first appeared in 1871 under the title Our Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen? This title was criticised by the Muslims, particularly by Sayyid Ahmad Khan who regarded it as implying an indictment of the Muslims (See his Review on Dr.Hunter's Indian Musalmans, p.7). Perhaps for this reason it was changed in the later editions into The Indian Musalmans. This book is supposed to have been written as a result of the desire of Lord Mayo to find out the reasons for the discontent among the Muslims of India. Hunter, however, claims that the Government made no attempt to influence his views. (See Preface to the Second Edition). The Indian Musalmans received the warm approval of Lord Mayo.

administrative policy of the Government.(1) Hunter spoke of the Muslims of Bengal, the province with which he was best acquainted. However, he believed that his description was true of all the Muslims of India.(2)

Speaking of the land-owning classes of Bengal, Hunter declared that if any statesman wished to make a sensation in the House of Commons he had only to narrate the history of one of the ruined Muhammadan families.(3) Those who had formerly dwelt in palaces were compelled to live in stables. The ruined mansions of the impoverished aristocrats swarmed "with grown-up sons and daughters, with grand-children and nephews and nieces, and not one of the hungry crowd" had "a chance of doing anything for himself in life".(4) "A hundred and fifty years" earlier "it was almost impossible for a well-born Musalman in Bengal to become poor".(5) It was now "almost

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1. Hunter, op.cit., pp.148, 165, 175; Bowen, H.C., Muhammadanism: its present condition and influence in India, pp. 37, 39, 40. After the Mutiny it was advocated as part of Government "policy towards the Musalmans to deprive them of all offices of trust". (See the pamphlet, "What shall we do with the Musalmans?" p.3.
2. Hunter, op.cit.
3. ibid., p.157.
4. ibid., p.155.
5. ibid., p.158.

impossible for him to grow rich".(1)

Hunter next refers to the position of Muslims in the public service which during their supremacy in India had been the main source of livelihood for their educated classes. The new policy of their British rulers resulted within a few years in their almost total exclusion from all important services.(2) They were now shut out of the army as it was considered to be necessary to the safety of British rule in India.(3) This caused impoverishment to a large number of aristocratic families

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1. ibid.,
2. All offices of importance became now "virtually closed to Muhammadans" (Bowen, op.cit., p.45).
   "Try whatever branch of civil or public life we will, the same fact is always to be found, that the Musalman is rapidly disappearing from public employ". (ibid., p.46)
3. Hunter, op.cit., pp.159, 165.
   The higher army posts were now denied to Indians and, therefore, no Muslim of rank could enter the army, his "beau ideal of a profession". (Bowen, op.cit., p.45)
   "A very few Muhammadan gentlemen hold commissions from the Governor-General, but so far as I can learn, not one from the Queen". (Hunter, op.cit., p.159, footnote 2)
   The British suspicion of Muslim loyalty had not stopped at the exclusion of the latter from the higher ranks of the army. Immediately after the Mutiny exclusion of Muslims was effected even from the lower ranks of the army. In the Panjab alone where disaffection was negligible, nearly 13,000 Muslim soldiers were relieved of their services, thus causing them to lose their means of subsistence. See General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories, from 1856-57 to 1857-58, p.40.

Another source of income for the Muslims had been the collection of revenue. This had also gone out of their hands as a result of the policy of the rulers regarding the question of the permanent settlement, thus bringing misery to a large proportion of the Muslim aristocracy in Bengal.(1)

Another important source of Muslim power had been their monopoly of posts in the judicial and political services.(2) Facts and figures supplied by Hunter show that their proportion in these services had fallen alarmingly below their numerical strength. Referring to this situation he remarks: "None of the native gentlemen who have won their way into the covenanted Civil Service, or up to the bench of the High Court,(3) are Musalmans."(4) In the judicial and civil services their percentage had decreased rapidly. The following statistics

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1. Hunter, op.cit., pp.160-65.
   James O'Kinealy who had studied the permanent settlement most minutely in connection with recent Muslim disaffection remarked as follows:-
   "It elevated the Hindu collectors, who up to that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of landholders, gave them a proprietary right in the soil, and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Musalmans under their own rule". (ibid., p.163)
2. ibid., p.166.
3. "Among the Judges of Her Majesty's High Court of Judicature in Bengal are two Hindus, but no Musalman". (ibid., p.171). "These gentlemen rank among the first grade of public servants; their salary is £5,000 a year". (ibid., footnote 1)
4. ibid., p.166.

show their position in the year 1871:

1. Higher grade: "One Musalman to three Hindus".
2. Second grade: "One Musalman to ten Hindus".
3. Third grade: "Three Musalmans to a total of twenty-four Hindus and Englishmen".
4. Lower ranks: Four Muslims "among a total of thirty-nine".
5. "Among the probationers from whom the service" was recruited there was not a single Muslim.(1)

The situation in the less conspicuous departments was worse. "In 1869 these Departments were filled thus:- In the three grades of Assistant Government Engineers there were fourteen Hindus and not one Musalman; among the apprentices there were four Hindus and two Englishmen, and not one Musalman. Among the sub-Engineers and supervisors of the public works Department there were twenty-four Hindus to one Musalman; among the Overseers, two Musalmans to sixty-three Hindus. In the Offices of Account there were fifty names of Hindus, and not one Musalman; and in the Upper Subordinate Department there were twenty-two Hindus, and again not one Musalman".(2)

Hunter did not think it necessary to multiply instances of a fact that was "patent in every page of the Civil list".

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1. ibid., p.168.
2. ibid., pp.168-69.

He, however, drew a table[1] of gazetted appointments for which Englishmen, Muslims and Hindus were alike eligible, and showed that out of 2,111 posts in Bengal in 1871, only 92 had gone to Muslims, while 681 were held by the Hindus and 1,338 by Europeans. The proportion of Hindus to Europeans was over one-half and that of Muslims less than one-fourteenth. Thus "the proportion of the race which a century ago had the monopoly of Government", had "now fallen to less than one-twenty-third of the whole administrative body".[2] In the Presidency Town, the exclusion of the Muslims was more complete from the less conspicuous official establishments. In fact there was scarcely a Government office in Calcutta in which Muslims could "hope for any post above the rank of porter, messenger, filler of ink-pots, and mender of pens".[3]

Next Hunter describes the position of Muslims in the non-governmental professions of Law and Medicine, two very respectable non-official sources of prestige and income. The Law, according to him, was "even more strictly closed to the Muhammadans than the official services".[4] Referring to the list of pleaders of the High Court he remarks: "This was a branch of the profession almost completely in the hands of Musalmans within the memory of men still living".[5] Even as

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1. ibid., p.169.
2. ibid., p.170.
3. ibid.,
4. ibid., p.171.
5. ibid.,

late as 1851 the number of Muslim pleaders was not less than the combined number of the Hindu and European pleaders. By 1868, however, they had almost completely lost their representation in this class of lawyers.(1) The situation in the profession of Medicine was equally depressing.(2)

Conditions in other parts of the country were not much different from Bengal.(3) About a year after Hunter's book came out Lord Hobart wrote his famous minute on the education of Muslims and their employment in the public service, in the Presidency of Madras.(4) His inquiry revealed that the Muslims

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1. "Out of two hundred and forty natives admitted" as pleaders "from 1852 to 1868, two hundred and thirty-nine were Hindus, and only one a Musalman". (ibid., p.172)
2. "In 1869 the statistics stood thus:- Among the Graduates of Medicine in the Calcutta University there were four doctors; three Hindus, one Englishman, and no Muhammadan. Among eleven Bachelors of Medicine, ten were Hindus and one an Englishman. The hundred and four Licentiates of Medicine consisted of five Englishmen, ninety-eight Hindus, and one solitary Muhammadan". (ibid., p.174)
3. The Muslims of the inland districts of the Madras Presidency appeared to Mr. Blunt to be the poorest in India. Commenting on their condition about the 1880s he remarked:
   "Isolated in a population wholly Hindu, possessed of no traditional industry, without commercial aptitude or knowledge of other service than the sword's, they seem dumbly to await extinction". (See Blunt, W.S., India under Ripon, pp.288-89).
4. Hobart (Lord), Essays and Miscellaneous Writings (Edited by Mary, Lady Hobart) vol. II: Minute No.II - By His Excellency the President, dated 29th July, 1872. Muhammadan Education and Employment of Muhammadans in the Public Service.

had almost disappeared from the public service in the Presidency and that in education they were far behind the Hindu community.(1) A statistical analysis of the Judicial, Magisterial, and Collectoral appointments in the Presidency showed that out of 485 natives of India holding these appointments only nineteen were Muslims. Apart from the fact that this number was far below the percentage of the Muslims to the total population of the Presidency(2) the majority of these posts belonged to the lower grades of the service.(3)

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1. ibid., p.272. Two and a half years later in a private letter to Lord Salisbury Hobart affirmed that both in education and public service the Muslims were "in a position of decided inferiority to the rest of their fellow-subjects" in the Presidency of Madras. (Salisbury MSS. Hobart to Salisbury, 12th January 1875).
2. The percentage of Muslims to the total population of the Presidency was six. (See the Census of the Madras Presidency 1871, vol.II, pp.31-35; see also the Report of the Indian Education Commission [1882] p.484).
3. The following table drawn up by Hobart shows the proportion of Muslims employed in different grades of the Uncovenanted Civil Service in the Presidency of Madras:-

Designation of Appointment	Hindus	Muslims	Others	Total
(1) Judicial Department				
(a) principal sadr Amins on salaries of Rs.500	10	-	2	12
(b) District Munsifs on salaries from Rs.200 to Rs.300	87	6	17	110
Total:	97	6	19	122
(2) Revenue & Magisterial Department				
(a) Deputy Collectors & Magistrates on salaries ranging from Rs.250 to Rs.600	31	2	17	50
(b) Tahsildars	143	4	9	156
(c) Sub-Magistrates	146	7	4	157
Total:	320	13	30	363
Combined total of (1) and (2):	417	19	49	485

Only two out of nineteen came in the salary group of Rs.250 to Rs.600.

The small number of Muslims in the public service was ascribed to the unavailability of qualified persons among them.[1] This was, however, not the whole truth. Officials showed a preference for Hindus[2] and most of the posts went almost invariably to them. On the other hand Muslims were scarcely ever selected even if they were qualified.[3] Lord Hobart, having been convinced that the gradual decrease in the number of Muslims employed in the public service was not only injurious to the Muslim community "but to the most vital

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1. Hobart, Minute , p.270.
2. The following remarks of Hobart show how degenerating was the effect of the impression among Muslims that officials preferred Hindus:
   "One of the causes . . . of the almost entire absence of Muhammadans from our schools and colleges is" the "impression . . . that in face of the official preference for Hindus and others it is useless to prepare themselves for the service of the Government". (ibid., p.276)
   The Central National Muhammadan Association of Calcutta regarded the subordinate Hindu officials as mainly responsible for the exclusion of Muslims from the public service. In a memorial presented to Lord Ripon in 1882 the Association stressed: "When any subordinate office in a Department happens to fall vacant, the claims of the Muhammadan candidates are either not brought to the notice of the Head of the Department, or are treated with contempt or indifference. Sometimes when a Muhammadan has been fortunate enough to obtain an appointment, intrigues are set on foot, often not unsuccessfully to get him out". (See S.R.G.I., Home Department, No.CCV, p.242)
3. Lord Hobart admitted this to be the fact, but he believed that it was not based on any prejudice on the part of the Government. (See Hobart, op.cit., p.274)

interests of the Empire", strongly advocated that steps be taken to make their share proportionate to their numbers and intelligence.[1] However, his anxiety to rectify the inequality between the Muslims and other Indian communities soon brought him into disrepute with the official and the Hindu community in Madras, and a complaint soon arose against him that he showed an undue preference to Muslims over Hindus.[2] The matter was brought to the notice of the Secretary of State for India and Lord Hobart was obliged to explain his position.[3]

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1. ibid., pp.272-75; Salisbury MSS. Hobart to Salisbury, 12th January, 1875.
2. In reply to Lord Salisbury's letter dated 20th November 1874, in which he seems to have inquired this matter, Lord Northbrook wrote: "He (i.e., Hobart) has, no doubt a feeling in favour of Muhammadans, but I do not know that he has thereby shown them an undue preference over Hindoos". (Salisbury MSS. Northbrook to Salisbury, 18th December 1874).
3. With a view to explaining his position about the allegation of 'preference' for Muslims Hobart wrote to Salisbury: "The use of the term shows (I must be allowed to say) the misapprehension as to the facts under which my critics have spoken. A reference to the order of my Government (passed in the autumn of 1872) prescribing the measures to be taken in the interest of Muhammadans would have showed them how entirely inappropriate the expression is. In that order it was expressly and emphatically announced that the motive of the Government was not to confer privilege, but to afford redress ... I found that the Muhammadans were...in a position of decided inferiority to the rest of their fellow-subjects, in regard (1) to education, (2) to the employment in the public service; and my object was to rectify this inequality. In writings, in speeches and by every other means in my power, I have since endeavoured further to impress upon them that...the purpose was not to prefer them but only to place on equality with others, and that they need expect neither privilege nor favour: and I believe that I have completely succeeded. I can hardly conceive a greater error on the part of a government than to show partiality to any class of the community: and I trust that after this explanation, you will acquit me of a course of conduct which would have proved me...quite unworthy of the position which I hold". (Salisbury MSS, Hobart to Salisbury, 12th January 1875).

The immediate reason for the allegation against him was the appointment by him of a Muslim as a Police Magistrate of Madras, although it was in complete accordance with the regulations and was unanimously approved by his Council "who recognised the singular fitness of the nominee".(1)

In the Presidency of Bombay the position of Muslims was almost similar to that of Madras. In 1871 not a single Muslim name could be found in the list of high civil and judicial officials.(2) Of the four Indians who held important judicial posts, three were Hindus and one was a Parsi.(3) Even as late as 1882 the proportion of Muslims employed in the public service in that Presidency was unduly small.(4) Statistics provided by the various Divisional Commissioners showed that the majority of the Muslims in Government departments belonged to the lowest ranks.(5) In Sind, a preponderantly Muslim

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1. ibid.,
2. See The Indian Army and Civil List, 1871.
3. ibid.,
4. S.R.G.I., op.cit., p.261, Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bombay, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 6th October, 1882.
5. ibid., pp.263-64;
   The Chief Secretary to the Bombay Government admitted that in the Department of Land Revenue "the number of Musalmans holding appointments in higher grades above the rank of peons" was "extremely limited". (ibid., p.262).

province, there was not a single Muslim among the subordinate judges.(1) In the Northern Division there were 1930 Muslims serving in the Police Department. Of these only 57 belonged to the salary group of Rs.30 and upwards.(2) In the Revenue Department they numbered 481, but only two received Rs.30 or upwards per mensem.(3) In the Forest Department they were 261. Of these all, but three, were serving on salaries of less than Rs.30 each per mensem.(4)

The pitiable condition of the Muslims of Orissa is mirrored in a petition presented by the local Muslims to the Divisional Commissioner to consider their case for government service. It ran: "The Orissa Muhammadans have been levelled down and down, with no hope of rising again. Born of noble parentage, poor by profession, and destitute of patrons, we find ourselves

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1. S.R.G.I., op.cit., p.266. H.Birdwood, the Judicial Commissioner in Sind, wrote to the Chief Commissioner in Sind on 28th July, 1882:
   "The list contains the names of 109 Subordinate Judges, of whom 21 were appointed before Act XIV of 1869 became law. Of these 21 Subordinate Judges, 19 were Hindus and two Europeans. Of those who have been appointed since the 19th March 1869, two are Europeans (Portugese), six are Parsis, and 80 are Hindus". (See S.R.G.I., op.cit., p.266)
2. ibid, p.263, See Tables A and B.
3. ibid., See Tables C and D. In the Presidency as a whole these were the only two Muslims in the Revenue Department who were employed on salaries over Rs.30. (ibid., p.261).
4. ibid., p.264. See Tables E and F.

in the position of a fish out of water . . . The penniless and parsimonious condition which we are reduced to, consequent on the failure of our former Government service, has thrown us into such an everlasting despondency, that we speak from the very core of our hearts, that we would travel into the remotest corners of the earth, ascend the snowy peaks of the Himalaya, wander the forlorn regions of Siberia, could we be convinced that by so travelling we would be blessed with a Government appointment of ten shillings a week."(1)

In the North-Western Provinces and Oudh innumerable Muslim land-owners had been expropriated for their complicity in the Mutiny.(2) Speaking of the ruination of scores of eminent Muslim families in the Provinces, Sayyid Ahmad Khan declared: "After the Mutiny I was unmindful of my own sufferings. What I was grieved at was the annihilation of my people . . . I was filled with despair and could not think that they will ever rise again and attain to a respectable position. For sometime I remained overwhelmed by this state

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1. Hunter, op.cit., p.176.
2. The Oudh land-owners had proved to be the most "strenuous and determined rebels. Confiscation of their lands was declared as the general penalty". (See Cunningham, H.S., Earl Canning, p.159. See also pp.155-56.) For the condition of the Muslims of Delhi see General Report on the Administration of the several Presidencies and Provinces of British India during the year 1857-58, Part I, p.50.

of mind. This gnawing grief aged me prematurely".(1)

The Panjab had remained quiet during the Mutiny. Even there the situation did not remain satisfactory for a long time. The non-Panjabi Muslims were soon after the Mutiny "weeded out of the various branches of public service".(2) As to the Panjab Muslims, some high officials did not like to see them preponderate in Government departments, although the Province was overwhelmingly Muslim.(3) The reports of the Panjab Education Department show that within a few years of the Mutiny the Government was hoping to bring about a balance between the Hindu and Muslim employees in that Department, because it considered it inexpedient that the latter should predominate.(4) Fuller, the Director of Public

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1. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Mukammal Majmua-i- Lectures wa Ispeeches, p.399; Hali, Altaf Husain, Hayat-i-Jaweed, Vol.I, pp.80-81. Ahmad Khan felt so depressed at the affliction and humiliation of his people after the Mutiny that he decided to leave India permanently and settle in Egypt. It was, however, at Moradabad, where Muslim losses were incalculable, that he resolved not to desert his people but to stand by them in their ordeal. (ibid.)
2. General Report on the Administration of the Punjab Territories from 1856-57 to 1857-58, p.10.
3. In the 1860s the total population of the Panjab was 17,611,498. Of this the Muslims numbered 9,337,685 and Hindus 6,112,087. (See the Report on the Census of the Punjab, 1868, p.7.)
4. The Secretary to the Government of the Panjab wrote to the Director of Public Instruction:
"The numbers of Muhammadans and Hindoos in the department should be more nearly equalized; at present the former greatly predominate". (See Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, for the year 1861-62, Addenda, p.iii, Letter No.318, dated 30th January 1860.)

Instruction, writing in 1861 expressed dissatisfaction at the preponderance of Muslims among the teachers who were being trained for imparting vernacular education, and advised the District Officers "to prepare the way for a gradual change by encouraging more Hindus to qualify as teachers, and by appointing them to schools where the residents" were "not too strongly prejudiced in favour of Muhammadan instructors".(1)

The irrigation and revenue policy of the Panjab Government also seems to have adversely affected the Western districts of the Province which were mainly populated by the Muslim agricultural classes. In the beginning the Government devoted its attention entirely to the canalisation of the eastern rivers regardless of the needs of the Muslim tribes of the western region. Thorburn, an eminent member of the Indian Civil Service, who served as Commissioner of Rawalpindi, and later as the Financial Commissioner in the Panjab has thus described the situation:(2)

"By canalising the eastern rivers before breaking ground westwards the Government laid itself open to various charges - the

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1. Report on Popular Education in the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1861-62, p.15.
2. Thorburn speaks from personal knowledge about the effects of the policy of the Government on the Muslims of the Western Panjab. He claims to have, during his service in the Panjab, pressed their case on the consideration of Government with some measures of success. (See Thorburn, S.S. The Punjab in Peace and War, [Edinburgh, 1904] p.284).

continued neglect of Muhammadan for Hindu interests, the prior protection against famine of the less insecure half of the Punjab, the watering of submontane tracts already supplied with numerous wells, and blessed by a considerable and fairly certain rainfall, and the sinking of a larger capital on construction than would have been necessary for any of the Western rivers. Trans-Ravi the canal-heads being situated in the flat plain, far south of the skirts of the Himalayas, the obstacles to economic construction and maintenance, so serious cis-Ravi, would have been absent. The Sirhind canal, no doubt, converted potentially troublesome Sikhs and Jats into well-fed, and therefore contented, farmers, but at the same time it, coupled with the Bari Doab and Western Jamna canals, gave . . . the Hindu section of the community a great advantage over the Western Muhammadans, who were already, owing to their scantier rainfall and less self-helpful habits, the chief sufferers from fixity of demand and unsympathetic inflexibility of our administration".(1)

It is important to note that the impoverishment of the Muslims had not wholly resulted from the events following the Mutiny. It had, in fact, continued side by side with the decline of Muslim supremacy in India. Its perceptible effect seems to have appeared after 1765, the year in which the Mughal Emperor,

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1. ibid., pp.269-70; See also pp.283-84.

Shah Alam, granted the Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the East India Company.(1) This entitled the latter to collect the revenue of these areas and retain "any excess over twenty-six lakhs as the emoluments and for the expenses of the office."(2) Anyhow this change did not bring about any immediate alteration in the position of Muslim revenue and judicial officers.(3) A material change in their position set in from the time of Lord Cornwallis.(4) He introduced various changes in the judicial and revenue administration. As part of these changes he angiicized all important offices.(5) This led to the exclusion from these offices of the hitherto predominating Muslim officials. However, they still figured fairly prominently in the lower ranks of the Government service.(6) It was during Lord William Bentinck's Governor-Generalship that the

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1. The grant was made by a Farman issued on 12th August, 1865. (See Aitchison, C.U., A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sanads, Vol.I, pp.225-229.)
2. Ascoli, F.D., Early Revenue History of Bengal, p.30.
3. The Cambridge History of India, Vol.V, p.434; Ascoli, op.cit., p.31.
4. S.R.G.I., op.cit., p.238.
5. Stokes, Eric, The English Utilitarians and India, p.6.
6. "In spite of the status which the Hindu collectors of revenue had acquired under the permanent settlement, and the new system of judicature, the Muhammadans continued to occupy the front rank among the Indian communities. The Civil Lists of those days show a proportion of 75 per cent of Muhammadans in the service of the state". See S.R.G.I., op.cit: Memorial of the National Muhammadan Association to the Marquis of Ripon, p.238.

policy pursued and the changes effected struck the most serious blow to their prosperity and importance.(1) The most important change brought about by Bentinck's Government related to the official language. Hitherto Persian had been the official language(2) and had given the Muslims ascendancy over other communities both in Government employ and in intellectual prestige.(3) It was now replaced by English and by Provincial vernaculars.(4) Unlike the Hindus the Muslims had not taken to English education. They had, therefore, no chance of being appointed to the posts for which a knowledge of English was essential.(5) In the provinces where the vernacular language was Urdu they managed to continue in subordinate Government offices,(6) but in the provinces where the local vernaculars were not akin to Persian or Urdu they were excluded even from minor posts.(7)

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1. ibid,
2. Some writers say that the change in the official language was effected in 1835 (See Boulger, D.C., Lord William Bentinck, p.188; Spear, P.,"Bentinck and Education", Cambridge Historical Journal, Vol.VI, No.1 (1938), p.82). But the National Muhammadan Association holds that it was brought about in 1837 (See S.R.G.I., op.cit., p.238). As to the status of Persian in India Spear remarks: "Persian was the official and polite language of the upper classes, and occupied much the same position in India as French did in medieval England..." It "was spoken and written in all the Durbars from Lahore to Tanjore". (See Spear, op.cit., pp.86, 87).
3. S.R.G.I., op.cit., p.238.
4. ibid.,
5. ibid., p.239.
6. These Provinces were Behar, the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab.
7. ibid.,

This development not only caused damage to the economic prosperity and social and political importance of the Muslims but also gave rise to what later came to be known as 'the Hindu-Muslim Question' in India . The English-educated Hindus now poured into every Government office and made it practically impossible for the Muslims ever to regain their previous position.(1)

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1. ibid.,

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Muslim Religious and Political Movements before the Mutiny

The decline of Muslim political power had also degenerating effects on the social customs and religious practices of the Muslim community. Islam in India is supposed never to have been completely free from the influence of the customs and rites prevalent among the idolatrous majority.(1) This influence seems to have been prominent during Akbar's time due to his great leaning towards Hinduism,(2) and continued, though in a lesser degree, in the time of his successors.(3) Even the strong

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1. Soon after the conquest of Sindh by Mohammad bin Qasim the Muslims and Hindus are supposed to have felt the need of "a via media whereby to live as neighbours". The influence of the culture of the Hindus on that of the Muslims and vice versa, seems to have begun from that time. (See Chand, T., Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, p.137.)
2. Under the influence of his Hindu wives and Hindu vizir, Birbal, Akbar worshipped the sun. He also prostrated himself before fire. (See Ain-i-Akbari [Blochmann's Translation] Vol.I,p.165. Smith, V.A., Akbar, p.164; Badauni, Abdul Kadir, Muntakhbut-Tawarikh E.D. VolV, p.530). He declared cow-killing illegal. On certain festivals he wore the Brahmanical cord and had his forehead marked like a Hindu sectary. (Badauni, op.cit., p.530; Ikram, S.M., Raudi-Kausar, p.124; Titus, M.T., Indian Islam, p.157; E.I. II, p.490.)
3. Jahangir is said to have kept up some of the Hindu customs that Akbar had adopted, and observed such Hindu festivals as the Diwali. On Siva-ratri he invited Hindu yogis to the palace and ate and drank with them. (E.I. op.cit., J.A.S.B. Vol.LXIII;"The Mohammadans of Eastern Bengal", Article by James Wise, p.35; Ikram, S.M., op.cit., p.403.) However, on account of the influence of Sheikh Ahmad Sarhandi, he seems to have, in the later part of his reign, been weaned away from Hindu influence. (See Faruqi, B.A., The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, p.26)

hand of Aurangzeb could not eradicate it completely. During the decline of Muslim rule in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century it grew stronger and penetrated almost every aspect of Muslim life.(1) The first reaction to the weakening of Muslim political power and the ascendancy of non-Muslims to authority, came, therefore, from the side of religious reformers in the early nineteenth century. They believed that the fall of the Muslims from political power was owing to their fall from religious ideals,(2) and founded religious reform movements which came to be known as the Faraizi Movement and the Wahhabi Movement. The former was founded by Haji Shariat ullah in Eastern Bengal about the year 1802, and the latter was started by Sayyid Ahmad of Bareli in northern India about 1818.

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1. In Bengal Hindu influence seems to have grown very prominent during the eighteenth century. Even the Muslim Nawabs and potentates joined in Hindu festivals, and sought after Hindu gods in times of difficulty and disease. After the Treaty of 9th February, 1757, Sirajud Dawla proceeded to Murshidahad and celebrated the Holi festival in his palace at Manshurganj (Datta, K. History of the Bengal Subah, Vol.I, pp.94-95.) Muslim poets of Bengal sang praises of Hindu deities, such as, Siva, Sarsvati and Kali, with no less reverence than the Hindus. (See Ghosh, J.C., Bengali Literature, p.82; Sen D.C., History of Bengali language and literature, p.798, [Calc. 1911]; E.I., II, p.491.) The low-class Muslims usually "joined in Durga puja and other Hindu festivals". (Census of India 1901, vol.VI: Bengal, Part I, p.176.)
   For the superstitious practices prevailing among the Muslims of India in the early nineteenth century which had greatly changed the form of Islam in that country, see "Asiatic Journal", Vol.VI, Sept.-Dec.1831. Article by Garcin De Tassy: "On Certain peculiarities in the Mohammadanism of India".
2. Prasad, R., India Divided, p.86.

The Faraizi Movement

The Faraizi Movement derived its name from the word Farz[1] — divine command. Its founder, Haji Shariatullah, came of a lower class Muslim family and was born in Eastern Bengal sometime in the 1760s. At the age of eighteen he made a pilgrimage to Mecca where he became a disciple of the Head of the Shafi sect, Sheikh Tahir as-Sunbal al-Makki.[2] Well-versed in Arabic and skilled in the art of disputation, he returned to India in 1802[3] and commenced quietly in his home district, Faridpur, the dissemination of his newly formed doctrines. He declared that India under non-Muslim rule was a Dar-ul-Harb[4] and that the observance of Friday, 'Id-ul-Fitr (The Fast breaking festival)[5] and Idul-Adhā (The Feast of Sacrifice)[6] prayers was not lawful in that country.[7] He denounced all association

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1. فرض
2. E.I., II, p.57; Titus, M.T., Indian Islam, p.179.
3. ibid., James Wise wrote that Shariatullah came back to India in 1820. (See J.A.S.B., 1894, Vol.LXIII, p.48.) Some other writers using Wise as their source also regard the time of his return to India as 1820. However, the view that he came back in 1802 seems to be correct.
4. دارالحرب
5. عيدالفطر
6. عيدالاضحى
7. E.I. II, p.57. In the Census of India Report 1901, VolVI, Shariatullah is reported to have declared that to wage war against the British was a religious necessity. (See Census of India, 1901, Vol.VI, Bengal, Part I, p.173. See also Dacca District Gazetteer, p.63.) However, no other work containing information about Shariatullah's movement confirms it.

with Hindu rites and ceremonies, the preparation of tazias and the adoration of pirs.(1) When a person joined his sect he required from him penitence (tawba)(2) for past sins and a declaration to lead a more righteous life in the future. Within a few years his influence extended to the districts of Bakerganj and Mymensing and nearly one-sixth of the Muslim population of these districts joined his sect.(3) In the later years of his life Shariatullah's influence appears to have grown considerably among Muslim peasants.(4)

Shariatullah's Movement was strongly opposed by the landlords because it weakened their control over the Muslim peasantry. This opposition sometimes resulted in serious conflicts between the landlords and the Muslim ryots.(5) Violent quarrels also arose between Shariatullah's followers and other Muslim sects because of strong differences as to religious precepts and practices.(6)

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1. James Wise, op.cit., p.48; E.I., II, p.57; Titus, op.cit., p.179.
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3. James Taylor, "A Sketch of Topography and Statistics of Dacca", pp.247-48.
4. James Wise, op.cit., p.49.
5. ibid., E.I., op.cit.,
6. One such quarrel in 1831 resulted in a serious riot and caused legal proceedings against the parties. Some of Shariatullah's followers were imprisoned. He was himself bound down on the security of two hundred rupees to keep the peace for one year. (See Board's Collection 54222, J.R. Colvin's Report, Enclosure No.I)

Under Shariatullah's son, Muhammad Mohsin, commonly known as Dudhu Miyan, the movement grew stronger and its influence spread over almost the whole of Eastern Bengal.(1) Dudhu Miyan was born in 1819. Like his father he made a pilgrimage to Mecca at an early age and on his return to India devoted himself whole-heartedly to the spread of his father's doctrines, and some new ones of his own.(2) He gave the movement a more practical form and stood not only for purifying Islam from Hindu superstitious and idolatrous practices but also for the economic betterment of the reformed sect. With his head-quarters at Bahadurpur he divided Eastern Bengal into divisions and appointed a Khalifa or deputy to each, who looked after the interests of the sect, kept the members united and collected contributions from them for the furtherance of the objects of the movement.(3)

Dudhu Miyan asserted the complete "equality of mankind and taught that the welfare of the lowly and poor was as much an object of interest as that of the high and rich".(4) He

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1. The sect became most numerous particularly in the districts of the 24-Pergunnah, Baraset, Jessore, Pubna, Maldah, Furreedpore, Dacca, Chittagong and Burrisaul. (See S.R.B.G. No.XLII, p.140).
2. ibid., James Wise, op.cit., p.50; Titus, op.cit., p.180.
3. James Wise, op.cit., E.I. II, p.57. Dudhu Miyan's "agents and Khalifa's pervaded the whole country, making converts and collecting a regular tax for the furtherance of the purposes of the sect". (S.R.B.G., op.cit., p.141.)
4. E.I. II, p.57; James Wise, op.cit.,

violently opposed the levying by Hindu landlords of cesses on Muslim ryots for the decoration of the image of Durga or for the performance of other idolatrous rites. He also proclaimed that land belonged to God and that none had the "right to occupy it as an inheritance and levy taxes upon it".(1)

The principles on which Dudhu Miyan organised his sect made him powerful in the areas where his following was considerable. In Bahadurpur he "settled disputes, administered summary justice, and punished any Hindu, Muhammadan or Christian who without first referring matters to him dared to bring suits, as for recovery of debts, in the adjoining Munsif's court".(2) He had, however, to face strenuous opposition on the part of the landlords and indigo-planters whose interests greatly suffered with the extension of his influence. Serious charges of plunder and violence were brought against him several times,(3) but it was not until 1857 that he was arrested and confined to Alipore jail as a state prisoner.(4)

During the 1840s there is supposed to have been a general feeling that the real object of the Faraizis was the expulsion of non-Muslim rulers and the restoration of Muslim power in India.(5) A rumour is also said to have spread at the time of the Mutiny that "they were uniting with the Hindustanees for

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1. E.I., op.cit., James Wise, op.cit.,
2. E.I., op.cit.,
3. ibid.,
4. S.R.B.G., op.cit.,
5. ibid.,

the purpose of creating a disturbance".(1) They do not, however, appear to have come into direct conflict with the Government.

After Dudhu Miyan's death in 1860 the movement diminished in importance as none of his three surviving sons proved a capable leader.(2) The chief Faraizi doctrines of reform, however, continued to live in what is known as the Ahl-i-Hadis sect.(3)

The Wahhabi Movement

The movement that assumed historical importance and had for its object the establishment of Muslim rule in India was started in northern India by Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi about the year 1818.

Unlike the Faraizi Movement, which remained confined to Eastern Bengal, this movement spread almost all over India.(4)

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1. ibid.,
2. E.I., op.cit.,
3. Titus, op.cit., p.180.
4. The Sayyid's movement "excited a strong interest among the Muhammadans throughout India, and from every principal town where they formed a portion of the population - from Delhi, Lucknow, Surat, Hyderabad, and even from Madras and Calcutta, contributions of money and jewels were despatched to him" on the North-West Frontier, where he had started a holy war against the Sikhs "and the younger and more adventurous marched to enlist under his banners". (See Mill's History of British India, Vol.IX, p.150.)
Titus remarks:
"Of the various attempts at reform in Indian Islam during the early part of the nineteenth century, none was prosecuted more vigorously or over a wider area than that sponsored by Sayyid Ahmad of Rai Bareli". (Titus, op.cit., p.181.)

Sayyid Ahmad was born at Bareli on 29th November 1786 (6 Safar 1201 A.H.).[1] About the age of eighteen[2] he went to Delhi and became a disciple of Shah Abdul Aziz,[3] a celebrated Muslim theologian, whom the Arab scholars called the Sun of India[4] (شمس الہند). Abdul Aziz had been for many years promoting by his pen and word the intellectual movement started by his father, Shah Waliullah Dehlvi,[5] in the eighteenth century with the object of reforming Muslim society on the basis of the socio-economic principles of Islam.[6] Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi gave this movement a political character[7] and aimed at re-establishing Muslim rule in India[8] without which Muslim society could not be organised in accordance with the principles of Islam.

About 1810 Sayyid Ahmad joined the army of Nawab Amir Khan Pindari.[9] When as a result of a treaty with the British in 1817 the army of the Nawab was disbanded[10] and he became a semi-independent ruler under the suzerainty of the former,

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1. Mehr, G.R., Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed, Vol.I, p.56.
2. ibid., pp.63, 65-67.
3. ibid., p.70.
4. Calcutta Review, 1870, Vol.L, No.C, p.80.
5. Shah Waliullah was born in 1703.
6. Sindhi, Obaidullah, Shah Waliullah aur un ki siyasi Tehrik pp.33, 35-37, 51.
7. According to Fazl-ur-Rahman Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi's movement came into being as a result of Shah Waliullah's teachings. (See Pakistan Quarterly, Vol.VI, No.2, 1956, Article: "The Thinker of Crisis", p.46)
8. In a letter written during the time he was busy organising his followers for the Jihad Sayyid Ahmad says:
"قیام دین ممالک است واحکام دینیہ کہ تعلق بحکومت دارند بروقت نبودن ممالک صاف از دست می روند"
Quoted by Nadvi (S.A.H.A.) in "Sirat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed", p.120.
9. Ikram, S.M. Mauj-i-Kausar, p.10.
10. Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition) Vol.I, p.444.

Sayyid Ahmad came to Delhi and started his reform movement.(1) Here he got the support of two influential members of the family of Shah Abdul Aziz, Maulavis Muhammad Ismail and Abdul Haye,(2) and soon gathered round him a considerable number of devoted followers. His teachings were consolidated by these Maulavis in a book known as Sirāt-i-Mustaqim (The Straight Path).(3) It laid great emphasis on improving moral character and leading a pure life in accordance with the Law of the Quran, and on worshipping God alone and God direct without the interposition of humanly devised forms and ceremonies. It also described the Jihad as the religious duty of the Muslims to exterminate the forces of evil and establish the true faith, uncontaminated with innovations derived from un-Islamic sources.(4)

Sayyid's doctrines were also described in the Sanad by which he appointed Shah Muhammad Husain, Maulavi Wilayat Ali and Maulavi Inayat Ali as his Caliphs at Patna to enrol followers in his name.(5) It says:

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1. Mehr, op.cit., p.111.
2. The former was the nephew of Shah Abdul Aziz and the latter was his nephew and son-in-law.
3. صراطِ مستقیم
4. See Muhammad Ismail, Sirāt-i-Mustaqim, pp.220-225.
5. The Sayyid arrived in Patna sometime in 1821. He stayed there for many days and enrolled as his disciples some very influential Muslims including Maulavi Ahmadullah, who was afterwards involved in a conspiracy against the British. He also "appointed Shah Muhammad Husain, Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali as his Caliphs". (Calcutta Review, 1870, Vol.L, No.C, p.82; S.R.B.G., No.XLII)

"The Law of the Prophet is founded on two things: First, the not attributing to any creature the attribute of God (Shirk[1]); and second, not inventing forms and practices which were not invented in the days of the Prophet, and his successors or Caliphs (bidat[2]). The first consists in disbelieving that angels, spirits, spiritual guides, disciples, teachers, students, prophets or saints, remove one's difficulties; in abstaining from having recourse to any of the above creations for the attainment of any wish or desire; in denying that any of them has the power of granting favour or removing evils; in considering them as helpless and ignorant as one's self in respect to the power of God; in never making any offering to any prophet, saint, holyman, or angel for the obtaining of any object, but merely to consider them as the friends of God; to believe that they have power to rule the accidents of life, and that they are acquainted with the secret knowledge of God, is downright infidelity (Kufr[3]).

"With regard to the second point, true and undefiled religion consists in strongly adhering to all the devotions and practices in the affairs of life which were observed in the time of the Prophet; in avoiding all such innovations as marriage ceremonies, mourning ceremonies, adorning of tombs, erection of

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1. شرک
2. بدعت
3. کفر

large edifices over graves, lavish expenditure on the anniversaries of the dead, the construction of ta'ziyas[1] and the like, and in endeavouring as far as may be practicable to put a stop to these practices".[2]

It is perhaps on account of similarity between Sayyid's doctrines and those of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab[3] that his movement came to be known as the Wahhabi Movement. However, there is no evidence to show that before the formulation of these doctrines Sayyid Ahmad had any direct contact with the followers of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab. These doctrines had taken a definite shape before he left in 1822 for a pilgrimage to Mecca.[4] The treatise containing his doctrines (i.e. the Sirat-i-Mustaqim) was printed in Calcutta in 1822 when he was away from India.[5] Besides, the Sanad by which he appointed his Patna Caliphs had been composed sometime in 1821 when, on his way to Calcutta, he visited Patna.

After touring the United Provinces, Behar, Bengal, Bombay,

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1. تعزیہ
2. Calcutta Review, op.cit., pp.89-100.
3. For the doctrines of Muhammad bin Abdul Wahhab see the Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol.IV, pp.1086-87.
4. Hunter's view that the Sayyid had not reduced his doctrines to any formulated system till his pilgrimage to Mecca seems to be incorrect. (See Hunter, op.cit., p.53.)
5. S.R.B.G., op.cit., p.128.
   According to the Calcutta Review the Sirat was written in 1818. (See Calcutta Review, op.cit., p.81.)

Sindh, Baluchistan and Afghanistan[1] for many years preaching reform and preparing the minds of the Muslims for the Jihad he contemplated prosecuting in the near future, the Sayyid appeared on the North-West Frontier in 1826. Towards the end of that year he commenced the Jihad against the Sikhs of the Panjab who, it was believed, ill-treated the Muslims, prevented them from fulfilling their religious duties and desecrated their sacred places.[2] His influence rapidly grew among the Frontier tribes. In January 1827 his followers on the Frontier elected him Imam with the authority to prosecute the Jihad and distribute Ghanima according to the Law of Islam.[3] Numerous 'Ulama and tribal chiefs owed allegiance to him. The rulers of Peshawar, Sardars yār Muhammad, pir Muhammad and Sultan Muhammad also recognised him as Imam.[4] His name was inserted in the Khutaba and his dream to establish an Islamic state seemed to become a reality.[5] Men came regularly from India to

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1. Wherever the Sayyid went people flocked to him in large numbers. (Ibid., p.82)
2. Nadvi, A.H.A., Seerat-i-Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed, p.129; Calcutta Review, op.cit., p.81.
3. BM. MS.No.Or.6635, p.39 - Sayyid Ahmad's letter to Mahmud Shad, the Ruler of Herat; Islamic Culture, Vol.19 (1945), p.134.
4. Thanesari, Muhammad Jasfar, Swaneh Ahmadi, p.132.
5. BM. MS. op.cit.,

participate in the Jihad.(1)

On 6th January 1829, at a representative convention held at Panjtar, it was unanimously decided that the customary tribal law should be replaced by the law of the Sharia.(2) The local chiefs subordinated their authority to that of the Sayyid and the rule of the Sharia was introduced in the areas under their control.

By the middle of 1830 the Sayyid had prosecuted fairly successfully many battles against the Sikhs and had occupied Peshawar whose ruler had for sometime been hostile to him. The rule of the Sharia had been extended to Peshawar as well. This experiment did not, unfortunately, prove successful. The Frontier people were not mentally prepared to give up completely their long established social customs. On the other hand the Hindustani followers of the Sayyid sternly enforced the ordinances of the Sharia.(3) A strong opposition, therefore,

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1. About the interest of Indian Muslims in the Jihad of the Sayyid and his colleagues against the Sikhs W. Hislop remarked: "During the period of their recent attack on Runjut Singh's territories, the most fervent anxiety for their success pervaded the Muhammadan population of Delhi. Numbers quitted their homes and marched to join them, including some who resigned employments in the company's service, both the military and civil branches, for that purpose". (See Bengal Political Consultations, 22nd June 1827.)
2. Mehr, G.R., Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed, Vol.II, p.60; Jamaat-i-Mujahidin, p.38.
3. The Sayyid took strong exception "to the tribal custom of keeping girls waiting till the man who was prepared to pay a sufficiently high price became available". He also strongly condemned the custom of not allowing widows to remarry. This is supposed to have been the chief cause of estrangement between the local people and Sayyid's Hindustani followers. (see Thanesari, op.cit., p.126; Nadvi, op.cit., p.189.)

developed against them and one night several of them were treacherously murdered.(1) This caused a serious set-back to the Sayyid's movement. However, he continued his struggle against the Sikhs. He had not yet regained control over the dissident tribes when he, along with 500 of his followers including Maulavi Ismail, was killed in a battle with the Sikh army at Balakot in May 1831.(2)

As appears from his letters the Sayyid's Jihad movement was intended mainly against the British who had by the 1820s occupied the major part of India.(3) In view of their superior military organization and enormous resources it seems impossible that the Sayyid would ever have been able

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1. Nadvi, op.cit., p.193; Dehlvi, Mirza Hairat, Hayat-i-Tayyaba, p.194.
2. Bengal Political Consultations No.39, C.M.Wade to the Secretary to the Governor-General, 17th May, 1831.
3. It is now established that the Jihad Movement of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi which was first directed against the Sikhs was later to be diverted to the British. (See BM. MS. Or.6635, p.39 - Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi to Mahmud Shah, the Ruler of Herat.)
   In his letter to Shahzada Kamran Sayyid Ahmad explains his programme as follows:-

"بعد از پاک کردنِ این بلاد از انجاس مشرکین و الواثِ منافقین بمستحقین حکومت و سلطنت و مستعدین ریاست و مملکت تفویض کرده خواهد شد -- بازخود این جانب مع مجاهدین صادقین بسمتِ بلاد هندوستان بناء بر ازالهٔ اهلِ کفر و طغیان متوجه خواهد گشت که مقصودِ اصلی خود اقامتِ جهاد بر هندوستان است نه توطن در دیارِ خراسان --"

ibid., p.41.

to drive them out of India. However, the influence that he exercised over the people of India and of the tribal territory and the strength he gathered[1] within a few years of the commencement of his movement provides sufficient reason to believe that, had he lived until after the death of Ranjit Singh, he might have been able to occupy the Panjab in the event of a weak Sikh government there.[2] Thereafter conflict with the British would have occurred as an essential part of his programme.

From the official records of the Government of India it appears that the British authorities were not unconscious of the dangerous form the Sayyid's movement would have assumed under such circumstances. As early as June 1827, four years before the death of Sayyid Ahmad, W. Hislop wrote:

> "If the Empire established by Runjit Singh be torn to pieces after his death by internal contests, or even if it fall undivided into hands less able than his to hold it together, the invasion of the Punjab by the

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1. According to Sayyid Ahmad Khan after Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi's election as Imam about a hundred thousand people from India assembled under his command to participate in the Jihad against the Sikhs. (See Asār-us-Sanādid, p.28). C.M.Wade also heard that the number of Sayyid's men on the Frontier amounted to "nearly one hundred thousand". Although he regarded this statement as exaggerated, he had no doubt that a very numerous party had "assembled under his Banners and that the minds of men" had been strongly moved by the spirit of martyrdom he had been endeavouring to diffuse. (Beng.Pol.Consl. No.32, C.M.Wade to C.T.Metcalfe, 3rd March, 1827.)
2. This seemed probable on account of the expected support from the Muslims who occupied the country between the Chenab and the Indus and were "noted for their impatience to Sikh rule". (ibid.,)

Muhammadan fanatics, who lately made the attempt, may be renewed with better success, and were they to succeed the event would be of imminent importance to our interests, for it seems certain that Syyud Uhmud, Molvee Ismail and their colleagues have established a very extensive, if not universal influence over the minds of our Muhammadan subjects".(1)

After the death of Sayyid Ahmad his followers on the Frontier established their headquarters at Sittana in the Swat valley.(2) But they do not seem to have prosecuted the Jihad against the Sikhs for many years. It was during the last few years of the Sikh rule in the Panjab that they became active again. Now they prosecuted the Jihad under the leadership of the Patna Caliphs of the Sayyid, Maulavis Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali. These Maulavis had been for many years preaching Jihad to the people of Bengal, Behar and Hyderabad and had been sending large numbers of recruits to the Frontier.(3) Under them the Wahhabis succeeded in establishing their "dominion over a large extent of territory along the left bank of the Indus, stretching from Harreepore to Kagan, from Sittana to Cashmere".(4) When the British control extended to the Panjab, the Wahhabis were compelled

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1. Bengal Political Consultations, 22nd June 1827, No.38.
2. Calcutta Review, 1870, Vol.51, No.CI, p.186; S.R.B.G., op.cit., p.130.
3. S.R.B.G., op.cit., p.131; Calcutta Review, op.cit., p.184.
4. Calcutta Review, Vol.51, No.CII, p.381.

to surrender these territories. Maulavis Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali were forwarded in custody to Patna and were forbidden to leave the city for four years.(1) Both the brothers were again on the Frontier by the beginning of 1851.(2) However they did not live long to continue the work started by their leader.(3) After their death there appears to have been no strong leader to unite the tribes so as to follow the Sayyid's programme with as much enthusiasm and vigour as was visible during the early days of the movement. Nor were conditions now as favourable to the Wahhabis as they were before the annexation of the Panjab by the British.(4) However, successive state trials in the 1860s revealed that the Wahhabis were still active on the Frontier and had been constantly receiving support from their centres in India.(5)

Within the territory of British India there seems to have been no organised effort on the part of the Wahhabis to rise

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1. ibid., S.R.B.G., op.cit., p.132.
2. ibid.,
3. Wilayat Ali is supposed to have died sometime toward the end of 1851 or in the beginning of 1852 (Calcutta Review, op.cit., p.384; Review on Dr.Hunter's Indian Musalmans, p.19.) Inayat Ali lived for sometime after the death of his brother (See Calcutta Review, op.cit., pp.392, 394, 395.)
4. During Sayyid Ahmad's fight against the Sikhs men and money could flow into the Frontier. The British did not object to it. (See Bengal Political Consultations, 8th June 1827, No.59; Review p.15). Now the support of the Wahhabis on the Frontier was considered to be a conspiracy against the state.
5. See The Indian Musalmans, pp.84-99.

against their rulers. In 1831 there had been at Baraset in Eastern Bengal a conflict between a Hindu Zamindar and the Wahhabis under Titu Mir,[1] on account of the imposition on the part of the former of a tax on his Wahhabi tenants described as a "fine on beards".[2] This conflict later developed into an open opposition to the British which was suppressed by means of "Regular troops".[3] Anyhow, this upheaval was strictly local in character[4] and had no connection with the Jihad movement on the Frontier.

The only other occasion when the Wahhabis rose against the British within their territory was the Mutiny of 1857.[5] But even their participation in the Mutiny cannot be regarded as being connected with any pre-meditated programme.

After the Mutiny the Wahhabi influence in India waned, partly due to the weakening of their organization after the death of their important leaders and partly because of the influence of such Muslim leaders as advocated the policy of co-operation with the rulers.

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1. Titu Mir met Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi in 1821 in Calcutta when the latter arrived there before leaving for pilgrimage to Mecca, and became his disciple. (See Calc.Rev., 1870, Vol.L, No.C, p.82)
2. Judicial Letters from Bengal, 1831-32 - No.22371, 10th April 1832, pp.242-44; Calc.Rev., 1870, Vol.51, No.CI, p.178.
3. Indian Musalmans, p.47. Titu Mir and about seventy of his companions were killed fighting against the troops. (Calc. Rev., op.cit., p.183).
4. ibid., p.184.
5. Parliamentary Papers 1859, Vol.XVIII, Proceedings on the Trial of Mohammad Bahadur Shah...p.169.
   As-Saurat-ul-Hindiya (الثورة الهندية) p.156, quoted by Husain Ahmad Madni in Naqsh-i-Hayat, Vol.II, p.46.

C

Sayyid Ahmad Khan's Work for Reconciliation between the Muslims and the British

Changed conditions after the Mutiny required an approach to the question of Muslim regeneration in a manner different from the pre-Mutiny period. In the 1820s it was possible for Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi to inaugurate the Jihad movement with a view to re-establishing Muslim rule in India. The British having at that time no danger of coming into direct conflict with that movement seem to have let it flourish so long as it kept the Sikh power of the Panjab engaged on the North-West Frontier. Now the conditions were different. The Muslims were suspected by the rulers to be the most dangerous and disaffected people. An effort at starting a movement like that of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi[1] would have made things more difficult for them. The Muslim leaders who led the destinies of their co-religionists after the Mutiny seem to have completely understood this situation.

The most important Muslim in post-Mutiny India was the great reformer of the nineteenth century, Sayyid Ahmad Khan

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1. The word Barelvi means of Bareilli. Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi is also known as Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed and in this work he is mentioned as Sayyid Shaheed as well.

(1817-1898).[1] He was convinced that the first requisite for the regeneration of the Muslims was the establishment of cordial relations between them and their rulers. Soon after the restoration of peaceful conditions in the country he began his work for a reconciliation between the Muslims and the British.

As a first step to this formidable task he wrote in 1858 a treatise known as the Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind.[2] In 1860-61, he published a series of pamphlets under the title Resala-i-Khair Khwahan-i-Musalmanan[3] (An Account of the Loyal Muhammadans of India). About the same period he produced a small pamphlet called Resala-i-Tahqiq-i-Lafz-i-Nasara.[4] In 1862-63 came his Tabyin-ul-Kalam [5] (The Muhammadan

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1. For a brief account of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's life see the Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition) Vol.I, pp.283-84.
2. اسبابِ بغاوتِ ہند
   This treatise was originally written in Urdu. Its English translation appeared in the 1870s under the title "The Causes of Indian Revolt".
3. رسالۂ خیرخواہانِ مسلماں
4. رسالۂ تحقیق لفظِ نصاریٰ
5. تبیین الکلام فی تفسیر التوراۃ والانجیل علی ملۃ الاسلام
   The Tabyin is an incomplete commentary on the Bible, consisting of two volumes, of which the first appeared in 1862 and the second in 1863. Thereafter no volume appeared partly for financial reasons and partly because of other important engagements which occupied the major part of Ahmad Khan's time.

Commentary on the Holy Bible); in 1868 a 'nicely documented theological treatise' called Ahkam-i-Taam-i-Ahl-i-Kitab[1] (Rules for eating with the people of the Scriptures); and in 1872 Review on Dr.Hunter's Indian Musalmans. In addition to these works, Ahmad Khan's speeches, lectures, and articles published from time to time in newspapers and journals contain several passages touching upon the question of reconciliation and co-operation between the British and the Muslims in political as well as social matters, and show an increasing effort on his part to bring the two people closer. Passages are also found in his Essays on the Life of Muhammad[2] (published in 1870) and in his Tafsir-ul-Qurān (published between 1880 and 1895) which point to his effort to remove misunderstanding between his co-religionists and their christian rulers.

In the Asbab Ahmad Khan defends Indians in general and the Muslims in particular. He endeavours to prove that the rebellion was not a planned affair[3] nor was it based on popular support.[4] Its original cause, according to him,

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1. احکام طعام اہل کتاب
2. This work of Ahmad Khan is known in Urdu as Khutbat-i-Ahmadiyya (خطبات احمدیہ). It was written in Urdu during Ahmad Khan's stay in England. Its English version was published in 1870 by Trubner and Co. London.
3. Asbab, pp.19, 21, 23.
4. He expressed this view with greater emphasis in a letter to J.W.Kaye written during his stay in London in 1869. See India Office Records - Home Miscellaneous Series - Vol.725, Sir John Kaye's Mutiny Papers, pp.1011-16, Sayyid Ahmad to Sir John Kaye, 14th December 1869.

was the non-admission of Indians into the Legislative Council.(1) This kept the Government ignorant of the feelings of the people about the laws and the regulations passed by it. Moreover, it deprived the people of the "means of protesting against what they might feel a foolish measure, or of giving public expression to their own wishes".(2)

Speaking in defence of the Muslims he says that there is no ground to suppose that they had for a long time been conspiring to prosecute a Jihad against the British to overthrow their rule.(3) It is here that he first expresses his opinion on the legality of the Jihad in a country under non-Muslim rule. He contends that the Muslims having been protected by the British could not prosecute a Jihad within British territory.(4) In support of his argument he quotes

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1. Asbab, pp.24-26.
2. ibid.,
   It is important to note that Ahmad Khan does not here make any suggestion as to the system of appointment. He remarks: "I do not wish, at this stage, to go into the question as to how the ignorant and uneducated Indians could be allowed to participate in the deliberations of the Legislative Council or as to how they should be selected to form an assembly like the English Parliament". (ibid., p.27.)
   Hali holds that it was due to Ahmad Khan's pleading that provision was made in the Indian Councils Act, 1861 to appoint Indian members to the Legislative Council. (See Hali, op.cit. II, p.36.)
3. ibid., p.21.
4. ibid.,

Maulavi Ismail Shaheed[1] who is supposed to have said that the Muslims living under British protection were not allowed by the law of Islam to prosecute a Holy War in India.[2]

A Fatwa had been published in Delhi in 1857 which declared that the prosecution of the Jihad against non-Muslim rulers was incumbent upon the Muslims.[3] Ahmad Khan endeavours to prove that it was a forgery.[4] It bore, according to him, the seal of a person who had died before the time of the Mutiny.[5]

To exonerate the Muslims from the main responsibility for the Mutiny Ahmad Khan asserts that their share in it was not greater than that of the Hindus, although in certain places

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1. One of the Caliphs of Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi who accompanied him to the North-West Frontier to prosecute a Jihad against the Sikhs. He died along with the Sayyid in a battle with the Sikh army at Balakot in 1831.
2. ibid., The now established fact that Maulavi Ismail and Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed intended to extend their Jihad movement to the British makes it difficult to believe that the former made any such pronouncement.
3. Parliamentary Papers 1859, Vol.XVIII. Proceedings on the Trial of Mohammad Bahadur Shah ... p.169; As-Saurat-ul-Hindiya, p.156, quoted by Madni, Husain Ahmad, in his Naqshi-i-Hayat, Vol.II, p.46.
4. Asbab, p.22.
5. ibid.,

their opposition to the rulers was stronger.(1)

The Asbab was written mainly with a view to acquainting the British with the actual causes and the extent of the Mutiny. It was not published until many years after the upheaval. All its printed copies,(2) excepting the one retained by the author himself, and the one sent to the Government of India, were privately despatched to the members of the British Parliament.(3) Its influence remained, therefore, limited. On the other hand most of the English writers and journalists continued expressing the opinion that the Muslims were the most inveterate enemies of the British.(4) The most serious allegation against them was that they believed it to be their religious duty to wage the Jihad against the English and that it was due to that belief that they rebelled.(5) This induced Ahmad Khan to commence from 1860 the publication of the pamphlets known as The Loyal Muhammadans of India. In these pamphlets he drew the attention of the critics of the

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1. ibid., pp.55-56, 23.
   In one of his later writings Ahmad Khan insists that the Mutiny was started by the Hindus and the Muslims "rushed into it". (See The Present State of Indian Politics, p.62)
2. Five hundred copies were published in all. Hali, Altaf Husain, Hayat-i-Jaweed, I, p.89.
3. ibid.,
4. The Loyal Muhammadans of India, II, p.2. Hali, op.cit.,p.95.
5. ibid.,

Muslims to the services of such Muslim families as had remained loyal to the rulers and had helped to save many English men, women and children from falling into the hands of the rebels even at the risk of their own lives. He also pointed out that the followers of Islam were not only not opposed to Christians, but also were bound by their religion to be friendly towards them.(1) If any people in India could be friendly to the British, they were the Muslims.(2) The misdeeds of a few misguided people should not be regarded as the doing of the whole community.

Next in order of chronology comes the Tabyin-ul-Kalam or the Commentary on the Bible - a work of great merit and the first of its kind produced by a Muslim writer.(3) Ahmad Khan's chief object in writing this commentary was "to bring out points on which genuine Islam and pure Christianity agree, to establish an enlightened concordance between the two, and

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1. The Loyal Muhammadans of India I, p.3; II, pp.2, 8. Ahmad Khan derives this conclusion from the following verse of the Quran: "Thou will surely find that the strongest in enmity against those who believe are the Jews and the idolators; and thou wilt find the nearest in love to those who believe to be those who say 'We are Christians'; that is because there are among them priests and monks, and because they are not proud." The Quran 5:82. Ahmad Khan's view that the Muslims should, according to their religion, be friendly towards Christians and that there should exist no antagonism between the two communities, grew stronger with the passage of time. (See Akhri Mazamin, pp. 29-35: "عیسائیوں اور مسلمانوں میں باہمی مودت واتحاد"
2. The Loyal Muhammadans of India, I, p.3.
3. Garcin De Tassy, Khutbat p.381. Hali, op.cit., I, p.119; Baljon, J.M.S., The Reforms and Religious Ideas of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, p.77; ShahDin, M: "Syed Ahmad Khan as a Religious Reformer", Article in the Hindustan Review, March 1904, p.225.

to show that both these faiths are two harmonious phases of the religious ideal, and as such can and ought to influence the human mind in the same direction".(1) The first part of the book contains most valuable information for both Muslims and Christians and lays the foundation for the removal of antagonism springing mainly "out of religious fanaticism, political rivalries, one-sided views of moral and social virtues, and profound ignorance of each other's fundamental beliefs and ruling ideals in the faith.(2) He seems to have successfully cleared up "some of the knotty points on which there had existed hopeless conflict of opinion.(3) This is well demonstrated by the position he takes up with regard to Tahreef(4) (corruption of the Scriptures). He contends that the general belief among the Muslims that the Jews and Christians effected textual changes (Tahreef-i-lafzi)(5) in the scriptures is not tenable,(6) and

1. Shah Din, op.cit.,
2. ibid., p.226; Hali, op.cit., I, p.lll.
3. Shah Din, op.cit.
4. تحریف
5. تحریف لفظی
6. In his Tafsir-ul Quran which was written many years after the publication of the Tabyin, Ahmad Khan sticks to the opinion that no textual change was made in the scriptures by the Jews and the Christians, although he agreed that the existing manuscripts of the scriptures differed from one another. He says:

"توریت اور صحف انبیاء اور انجیل کے قلمی نسخے جو اب دنیا میں موجود ہیں وہ آپس میں نہایت مختلف ہیں، اگرچہ میں اس بات کا قائل نہیں ہوں کہ یہودیوں اور عیسائیوں نے اپنی کتب مقدسہ میں تحریف لفظی کی ہے۔"

Tafsir ul Quran Vol.I, p.4.

that the Muslim commentators who hold this view have based their judgement on faulty conclusions.(1) References to Tahreef of the Scriptures in the Quran mean, according to him, only Tahreef-i-Ma nawi(2) (a corruption of the meaning). This sort of Tahreef was made in the course of reading by altering the original words of the Scriptures so as to mislead the listeners.(3) In support of his view he quotes the opinions of eminent Muslim commentators of the past such as Imam Ismail Bokhari,(4) Shah Wali Ullah Dehlvi(5) and Imam Fakhr-ud-din

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1. Tabyin-ul-Kalam, pp.67-69.
2. تحریفِ معنوی
3. Tabyin-ul-Kalam, p.91. To prove his point Ahmad Khan has quoted many verses from the Quran of which two are as follows:
   "And, verily, amongst them is a sect who twist their tongues concerning the Book, that ye may reckon it to be from the Book, but it is not from the Book. They say, 'It is from God', but it is not from God, and they tell a lie against God, the while they know". The Quran 3:78. (See Tabyin-ul-Kalam, p.77)
   "And when we said, 'Enter this city and eat therefrom as plentifully as ye wish; and enter the gate worshipping and say 'hittatun'. So will we pardon you your sins and give increase unto those who do well'. But those who did wrong changed it for another word than that which was said to them: and we sent down upon those who did wrong, wrath from heaven for that they had so sinned". The Quran 2:58,59. (See Tabyin-ul-Kalam p.76).
4. "Imam Muhammad Ismail Bokhari writes in his book that the word Tahreef (corruption) signifies to change a thing from its original nature, and that there is no man who could corrupt a single word of what has proceeded from God, so that the Jews and Christians corrupt only by misrepresenting the meaning of the words of God". (ibid., pp.69-70).
5. Ahmad Khan quotes Shah Wali ullah's opinion from Fauz-ul-Kabir El-Usul-ut-Tafseer (فوز الکبیر فی اصول التفسیر) according to which it was in "paraphrases and commentaries" that the people "were in the habit of corrupting the sense of certain passages of the Scriptures". "The original text was not tempered with". The Persian text quoted is as follows:

"اما تحریفِ لفظی در ترجمۂ توریت و امثالِ آں بکار می بردند، نہ در اصلِ توریت - پیشِ ایں فقیر چنیں محقق شد-"

ibid., p.70.

Razi.(1) He says wherever do the names of the Scriptures occur in the Quran they signify such books as were recorded before and existed in the time of the Prophet, and were made known to the world by those names.(2) It is not the belief of the Muslims that these books were independent of or different from those spoken of in the Quran as the Taurat and the Injil in their original form.(3)

Equally important to note in this book is Ahmad Khan's treatment of the 'doctrine of revocation' (Masella-i-Naskh(4)) which had caused between the Muslims and Christians no less conflict than that of Tahreef. The dispute on this point he regards as a war of words because of a misconception about the spirit of the law.(5) The word naskh (revocation) is, in the

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1. For the opinion of Imam Fakhr-ud-din Razi, see Tabyin-ul-Kalam, pp.71-74, 77-78, 82-83, 85, 86-88, 90-91.
2. ibid., p.23.
3. The following Urdu passage gives a fairly clear idea of Sayyid's view:-

"ہم مسلمان یقین کرتے ہیں کہ جو وحی اگلے نبیوں پر نازل ہوئی اور انہی کتابوں میں لکھی گئی جو توریت اور صحف انبیا اور زبور اور اناجیل کے نام سے مشہور ہیں اور جہاں قرآن مجید میں توریت اور زبور اور صحف انبیاء اور انجیل کا نام آیا ہے، اس سے وہی کتابیں مراد ہیں جو ہمارے پیغمبر خدا صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم کے وقت سے پہلے لکھی گئیں اور توریت اور زبور اور صحف انبیاء اور اناجیل کے نام سے کسی نہ کسی وقت مشہور اور مروج ہوئیں اور ہمارا یہ اعتقاد نہیں ہے کہ جن کتابوں کا نام قرآن مجید میں آیا ہے، ان کتابوں کے سوا وہ اور کتابیں تھیں۔"

ibid., p.23.

4. منسوخ
5. Hali, op.cit., I, p.112; Shah Din, op.cit., p.226.

ordinary sense, understood to mean that if any law or command of prior date be found "objectionable or open to improvement", it is nullified and suppressed by another command.(1) This is not the meaning which the Muslims understand by naskh; because it is "irreconcilable with God's omniscience and immutability"!(2) They understand by it simply the expiration of a period during which a command is to be observed.(3) For instance if it is commanded that a particular rule is to be observed for a year, when that period expires, the command may be said to have become cancelled (mansookh), "but, it does not, in fact, become void or null". It is on the contrary, perfect in itself.(4) The only thing that has happened is that the period of its observance has ended.(5) The Muslim view that the commands of the Taurat were cancelled by the Zaboor, that of the Zaboor by the Injeel and finally that of the Injeel by the Quran should only be understood in this sense, and should not be regarded as implying any imperfection in them.(6) If any Muslim holds

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1. Tabyin-ul-Kalām, p.265.
2. ibid., Anyone holding a view contrary to this is considered by Ahmad Khan to be an infidel.
3. ibid.,
4. ibid.,
5. ibid., p.266.
   Ahmad Khan observes that none of God's commands is ever cancelled. The word cancellation is applied just as a medium of expression. The commands which are now considered cancelled, may be re-enforced, if the present structure of society assumes the form of that of the past.
6. ibid., p.268.

a contrary view, he, asserts Ahmad Khan, knows nothing "about the doctrines and articles of his faith".(1)

About the same period when he composed the Commentary on the Bible, Ahmad Khan wrote a small pamphlet called Resala-i-Tahqiq-i-Lafz-i-Nasara(2) (A Brochure on the Significance of the Word Nasara). He was informed that a certain Muslim was given severe punishment because he addressed the Christians as Nasara(3) and that officials considered the use of that term as contemptuous.(4) The pamphlet was written with a view to making known to the rulers the exact meaning of the word.(5) In fact, the Jews spoke contemptuously of Christ as 'the man of the Nazareth'. The term Nasara used by Muslims as a common denomination for Christians was understood by the English as meaning 'Nazarenes' and was, therefore, regarded as contemptuous. Ahmad Khan explained that it was derived from nasr(6) (help) and

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1. ibid.,
2. رسالۂ تحقیق لفظ نصارےٰ
3. Hali, op.cit., I, pp.101-103; II, p.42.
4. The misconception among the British as to the meaning of the word can be noticed in the following lines which appeared as a footnote in the "Proceedings on the Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah":
   "Nasara literally means a Nazarene (from Nazareth the City) and Christian, but in use is applied contemptuously to Christians". (See Parliamentary Papers, 1859 - Vol.XVIII, p.159).
5. Hali says, at the publication of the pamphlet an English newspaper contended that no Muslim had been punished for speaking of the British as Nasara. To this an eminent European replied that he personally knew that a Muslim was hanged in Cawapore for this offence. (See Hali, op.cit., I, p.103)
6. نصر

not from Naserah[1] (Nazareth) and that its use by Muslims to denote Christians implied only the meaning derived from the former root.[2] He proved on the authority of the Quran that in the time of the Prophet of Islam the Christians themselves used the appellation Nasara for their community,[3] and that the term had been used by the Muslims since that time as a respectable name for Christians.[4] It had, he stressed, no relation whatsoever to the village Nazareth. The pamphlet produced the desired result and it is believed that after its publication no Muslim was punished for speaking of the English as Nasara.

Ahmad Khan had so far defended his co-religionists against

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1. ناصره
2. Ahmad Khan says that the Muslims regard this word as derived from نصر (help) because it so appears in the Quran. In support of his argument he quotes from the Quran Sura 3:52, where Christ asks "who will help me in the cause of Allah" (من انصاری الی اللہ) and his disciples reply: "We are the helpers of Allah" (نحن انصار اللہ)
3. He proved this fact on the authority of the Quran, 5:82.
"وَلَتَجِدَنَّ أَقْرَبَهُم مَّوَدَّةً لِّلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا الَّذِينَ قَالُوا إِنَّا نَصَارَىٰ ۚ ذَٰلِكَ بِأَنَّ مِنْهُمْ قِسِّيسِينَ وَرُهْبَانًا وَأَنَّهُمْ لَا يَسْتَكْبِرُونَ ۔"
thou wilt find
"And / the nearest in love to those who believe to be those who say, 'We are Nasara (Christians); that is because there are amongst them priests and monks, and because they are not proud".
4. Hali, op.cit., II, p.42.

allegations of disloyalty and ill-will towards British rulers. In 1868 he produced a treatise entitled Ahkam-i-Taam-i-Ahl-i-Kitab (Rules about eating with the people of the Scriptures) with a different purpose. The Muslims had, under the influence of Hindu custom come to believe that it was not lawful to eat with Christians.(1) This hindered social intercourse between them and the English, which was so important for the improvement of their relations. Ahmad Khan wrote the Ahkām with a view to eradicating this wrong notion. He proves in it that the Muslims are allowed, with the exception of things prohibited by the Sharia,(2) the food of the people of the Scriptures, and that there is no restriction as to eat separately or sitting with them at the same table.(3) He bases his argument on the words of the Quran:

"Lawful for you to-day are good things, and the food of those to whom the Book has been given is lawful for you, and your food is lawful for them".(4)

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1. Ahkam, p.3.
2. Such as pork, wine.
3. "جاننا چاہئے کہ طعام اہل کتاب بشرطیکہ محرمات شرعیہ میں نہ ہو مسلمانوں کے لئے حلال اور درست اور اوسکا کھانا جائز و مباح ہے، خواہ ہم اونکا بھیجا ہوا اور انھیں کا پکایا ہوا اپنے گھر کھاویں خواہ اونکے ہاں جاکر کھا دیں، خواہ ہم انھیں کھلاویں، خواہ ہم اور اہل کتاب ایک جگہ بیٹھ کر کھاویں۔"
Ahkam, pp.3-4.
4. The Quran V:5.
اَلْيَوْمَ اُحِلَّ لَكُمُ الطَّيِّبَاتُ ۖ وَطَعَامُ الَّذِيْنَ اُوْتُوا الْكِتَابَ حِلٌّ لَّكُمْ ۖ وَطَعَامُكُمْ حِلٌّ لَّهُمْ ۔

Ahkam, p.4. Owing to changed circumstances and the repressive mood of the British having been toned down there seems to have arisen, by the middle of 1870s, a class even among the Wahhabi Ulama which allowed the Muslims social intercourse with Christians. (Salisbury MSS. Henry Davies, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab to Lord Northbrook, 21st Feb.1875)

In addition, in support of his pleading, he cites quite a few quotations from a number of well known works on Muslim law, such as[1] Thirmazi (ترمذی), Fatawa-i-Alamgiri (فتاوائے عالمگیری), Fath al-Mannan (فتح المنّان), Mishkāt (مشکوٰۃ), and Matalib al-Mominin (مطالب المؤمنین). As an authoritative opinion with particular reference to India, he quotes a Fatwa of Shah Abdul Aziz issued sometime in the early nineteenth century.[2] In this Fatwa the Shah says that the rule with regard to eating with the English and other non-Muslims (including the idolators) at the same table and from the same dishes is this, that if there appears something unlawful, like wine, pork, golden and silver dishes, it is forbidden, and that if there is no such thing it is allowed.[3]

In the Ahkam Ahmad Khan also deals with the question whether or not it is lawful for Muslims to consume meat or flesh of animals not slaughtered in the Muslim way but served by the people of the Scriptures. The Muslims argued that they

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1. Ahkam, pp.4-5.
2. Shah Abdul Aziz died in 1823 (see Ikram, Raud-i-Kausar, p.575).
3. The text of the Fatwa as quoted by Ahmad Khan is as follows:

وحُكْمُ طعامِ الكفّارِ مِنَ المشركينَ و المُوَاكَلَةِ مَعَ الأنكريزِ على سُفْرَتِهِم وفي آوانيهِم إنْ كانَ مَعَ ظهورِ مُنْكَرٍ كالخمرِ والخنزيرِ وآوانِي الذّهبِ والفضّةِ والتلطّخِ بالنجاساتِ كما حشاءِ البقرِ وغيرِها وزمرتِهِ المجوسِ حرامٌ وإنْ كانتِ الأوانيةُ التي يأكلُ فيها المسلمُ خاليةً عنِ النجاسةِ بأنّ ذالكَ مشاركةٌ معهُم في شعائرِهِم وإنْ خلا عنْ نفسِهِ المفاسدِ وهوَ مباحٌ بشرطِ الطهارةِ -

See Ahkam, p.6.

were forbidden the flesh of animals killed by strangling or that of those on which the name of Allah was not invoked. This implied that they did not consider as lawful the eating of the meat served by their English hosts. Ahmad Khan contended that this condition did not apply to the flesh of animals slaughtered by the people of the Scriptures.(1) Their taam (طعام) was, he said, halal (حلال) for Muslims, and as meat was one of its important items, its consumption was allowed to the Muslims provided it came from the animal whose flesh was not forbidden to them.(2) It did not matter whether it was killed by strangling or by smashing its head.(3)

In view of the circumstances in which the Muslims of India lived when Ahmad Khan wrote the Ahkam, his opinion might be thought as an outcome of expediency. However, he does not appear to have changed it even at the time of writing his Commentary of the Quran and repeats it with rather greater

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1. As an important authority in this regard Ahmad Khan quotes a tradition from the collection of Abu Daud which is said to have been reported by Ibn-i-Abbas. It says that Allah allowed the Muslims to eat from that over which His name has been mentioned and forbade eating from that over which it is not mentioned. He, however, made one exception and said that the food of the people of the Scriptures is lawful for you and your food is lawful for them. (Ahkam, p.17)
2. ibid., p.13.
3. ibid., pp.16-17.

"اہل کتاب کا ذبیحہ ہمارے لئے خدا نے حلال کیا ہے۔ پس جس طرح اونکے نزدیک اور اونکے مذہب میں جانور کی زکاۃ درست ہے وہی اونکا ذبیحہ ہے اور اوسیکا کھانا ہم مسلمانوں کو حلال ہے، یہانتک کہ اگر اہل کتاب کسی جانور کی گردن توڑکر مارڈالنا یا سر پھاڑکر مارڈالنا زکاۃ سمجھتے ہوں تو ہم مسلمانوں کو اوسیکا کھانا درست ہے۔"

emphasis while explaining the meaning of the 4th verse in the fifth chapter of the Quran.(1)

In spite of the fact that Ahmad Khan had to encounter much opposition from the side of the orthodox, the Ahkam helped a great deal in increasing social intercourse between the educated Muslims and the English and in fostering better understanding between them.(2)

In the year 1871 appeared Hunter's book, Our Indian Musalmans: Are they bound in conscience to rebel against the Queen? Basing its arguments on the evidence produced at the recent state trials(3) this book attributed the uprisings on the North-West Frontier in the preceding two decades to the doctrines and the movement of the Indian Wahhabis.(4) Besides, it contended that the Wahhabis wielded great influence over their co-religionists and constituted a serious danger to British rule in India.(5) Soon after its publication came Ahmad Khan's Review of it(6) in which he not only tried to disprove the contention that the Wahhabis exercised great influence on their co-religionists but also argued against the

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1. See Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Tafsir ul-Quran Vol.II, pp.174-183; see also Sayyid Ross Masud, Khutut-i-Sir Syed, p.35. Sayyid Ahmad Khan to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, 6 August 1869.
2. Hali, op.cit., II, p.49.
3. See The Indian Musalmans, pp.84-99.
4. ibid., pp.23-24.
5. ibid., pp.9, 11, 12, 43, 44, 50.
6. Review on Dr.Hunter's Indian Musalmans.

allegation of their hostility to British rule. He said that the followers of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed who remained on the Frontier under the leadership of Patna Maulavies, Wilayat Ali and Inayat Ali, "dispersed on their death which happened a few years after 1851",(1) and that nothing "ever transpired that they ever conspired against the British power in India".(2) The Jihad movement of Syed Ahmad Shaheed was "intended solely for the conquest of the Sikhs"(3) in order to relieve the Punjab Muslims "from the tyranny of that race".(4) It was never directed against the British because no complaint ever arose against them.(5) As to Wahhabi influence over the Frontier tribes, it was non-existent. These "tribes belonged to the Hanafi sect" and were intensely hostile to Wahhabi tenets.(6) The "trans-border hostility to British rule could not", therefore, "be ascribed to Wahhabi fomentations", nor could it be regarded as deriving support from a large section of the Muslim community in British India. "It was largely prompted by the continued presence on the Frontier of a large, disloyal and terror-stricken population (both Hindu and Muslim), who had fled the British territory after the Mutiny to escape

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1. Review, p.19.
2. ibid.,
3. ibid., p.21.
4. ibid., p.14.
5. ibid.,
6. ibid., p.12.

the wrath of the conquerors".[1] The turbulent nature of the border tribes was also a strong reason for this hostility. They had always been in conflict with the constituted authority across their frontier and had been in the past fighting "indiscriminately with the Muhammadan Emperors of Delhi and with the Sikhs in the Punjab".[2]

Ahmad Khan's arguments are supposed to have convinced a number of eminent Europeans that Hunter presented a somewhat exaggerated picture of the situation.

Ahmad Khan's desire to prove that the Muslims were not opposed to British rule became manifest also in his attitude towards Turkey. In the earlier part of his public career relations between Turkey and Britain had been cordial. From 1877, however, the two nations began to drift apart.[3] Ahmad Khan now declared that the Sultan of Turkey enjoyed no spiritual authority over the Muslims of India and that the latter were under no obligation to support his policy towards

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1. Hamid, A, Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the Genesis of the Muslim Separatist Movement in Politics, p.87; Review, p.20.
2. Review, p.19.
3. When Russia declared war on Turkey in April 1877, "public opinion in Europe was anti-Turkish, especially in England". Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 22 (Chicago 1950) p. 605.

other nations.(1) He declared:

> "We owe no allegiance to Sultan Abdul Hamid. He wields no authority over us. He is a Muslim potentate and we rejoice at his good luck and grieve over his misfortunes. But he is not our Caliph. His spiritual suzerainty is limited to the Muslims living within his own dominions".(2)

In the Greco-Turkish war of 1897 Turkey inflicted a severe defeat on Greece. The Muslims expressed great happiness at the Turkish victory.(3) British sympathies were supposed to be with Greece.(4) Ahmad Khan's advice to his co-religionists was, therefore, that of restraint. He said:

> "We do not know what has been the attitude of the British towards the Greco-Turkish war. It is unlikely that they should be at cross-purposes with Turkey. . . Even if it were so, we are bound by our religion to remain obedient to our rulers. The most we could do is to pray to God that relations between Britain and the Muslim states like Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan should remain cordial and no conflict should arise between them".(5)

The policy of reconciliation between the Muslims and their British rulers initiated by Sayyid Ahmad Khan seems to have been

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1. Akhri Mazamin, see article on "خلافت اور خلیفہ" pp.50-54. Ahmad Khan contended that Khilafat as a religious institution did not continue longer than 30 years after the death of the Prophet of Islam. A Muslim ruler after that period could not be called Caliph in the true sense of the word, and did not therefore enjoy any religious authority over the Muslim Millat. (ibid., p.53).
2. ibid., p.33. This passage, which is a translation from Urdu, is quoted from Hamid A., op.cit., p.89.
3. Akhri Mazamin, p.61.
4. For the attitude of the British Government towards the developments that led to the Greco-Turkish war see The Annual Register 1897, p.307.
5. Akhri Mazamin, p.54. See also p.61.

the underlying factor in the development of Muslim social and political movements in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was pursued almost without exception by every Muslim organization that emerged during this period, and, also, by almost every Muslim leader who worked for the regeneration of his community.

Chapter II

The Muslims under British Rule and the Question of the Jihad.

In their efforts to improve relations between their co-religionists and their British rulers the Muslim leaders came face to face with the question of the religious significance of the Jihad[1] in India. The writings and activities of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed and his followers in the first half of the nineteenth century and the publication of a Fatwa[2] in Delhi during the hectic days of the Mutiny which declared that it was the religious duty of the Muslims to rise against their British rulers,[3] had already caused in the minds of the latter a great deal of suspicion about the loyalty of the Muslim community. During the 1860s it was, as a result of

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1. Holy War.
2. فتوے A fatwa is an opinion given by a recognized Muslim canon lawyer on the legality or illegality of a certain action from the point of view of the Sharia.
3. Husain, Abu Saeed Muhammad, A Treatise on Jihad, p.23; Hunter, W.W., The Indian Musalmans, p.116; Mehr, Ghulam Rasul, "1857", p.122; Parliamentary Papers 1859 - Vol.XVIII - "Proceedings on the Trial of Muhammad Bahadur Shah...." p.169.
   The Fatwa is said to have been issued on the initiative of Maulavi Fazl-i-Haq Khairabadi. It was signed by Mufti Sadr-ud-din Azurdah, Sadr-us-sudoor Delhi; Maulavi Abdul Qudir; Qazi Faizullah of Delhi; Maulana Faiz Ahmad Badauni; Maulavi Wazir Khan Akbarabadi; and Sayyid Mubarak Shah Rampuri. See As-saurat-ul-Hindiya الثورة الهندية p.156, quoted by Madni, Husain Ahmad, in Naqsh-i-Hyat, Vol.II, p.46.

the Wahhabi trials, revealed that the Wahhali settlement at Ambeyla on the North-West Frontier had been supported by a regular organization spread over the provinces of British India.(1) This furnished a new occasion for the rulers to suspect the loyalty of the Muslims and gave a handle to that section of the Anglo-Indian and Hindu community which either had an unchangeable belief in Muslim disloyalty or had been greatly prejudiced against that community. The Anglo-Indian and the Hindu press now took up the question of Muslim loyalty and endeavoured to prove that since India was considered to be a Dar-ul-Harb(2) by the Muslims, they were, according to the law of Islam, either at liberty or bound to wage war against its non-Muslim rulers.(3) Some representatives of the Hindu

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1. Hunter, op. cit., p.9; Selections from the Records of the Government of Bengal, No. XLII - "Papers relating to the Trial of Maulavi Ahmadoollah of Patna and others," pp.103, 134.
2. دارالحرب In literal sense the term means 'House of War'.
3. ".....up to the last four or five years the whole Muslim community regarded British India as the country of the enemy. In such a country the majority consider that the Faithful are either at liberty to, or bound to, wage war against the infidels." See the "Englishman" 3rd April, 1871.

community greatly misrepresented the situation.[1] The Hindoo Patriot, an influential organ[2] of that community, presented a much exaggerated picture of the influence of the Wahhabi and the Faraizi sects on the Muslim community and tried to prove that their existence in India was a constant danger to the security of the country.[3] The Wahhabis, emphasised the paper, were "a far more dangerous sect as one co-present with" Islam.[4] It was said that the movement, having sprung up at the fountain-head of Islam in Arabia, had spread throughout the Muslim world and had "for its object the resuscitation of the political supremacy of Islam". If it were allowed to gain strength in India, it might at a suitable

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1. "....whilst the English and Muhammadan papers are urging on Government the necessity of raising Muhammadans from their present fallen condition, and of assisting them to obtain their fair share in the government of the country, the Hindu community comes forward, and bids the public remember that there is a well-defined class of disloyal Muhammadans, and that it is still unknown how far they carry with them the sympathy of the whole Muhammadan community" The Calcutta Review, 1870, Vol.L., p.73.
2. Under the editorship of Kristo Das Pal the 'Hindoo Patriot' "had become the first Indian newspaper in Bengal, and perhaps in India, exercising great influence over the people and Government". See Banerjea, S.N., A Nation in Making, p.68.
3. The Hindoo Patriot, 2nd August, 1869.
4. Ibid.

time, in concert with its supporters on the borders of India and abroad, very much endanger the state.(1) The paper did not confine its remarks to the Wahhabi and Faraizi sects. It rather endeavoured to throw doubt on the good intentions of the entire Muslim community with regard to its attitude towards the rulers and other non-Muslim communities. It impressed upon its readers that in spite of the fact that some of the peculiar tenets of the Wahhabi and Faraizi sects were repugnant to orthodox Muslims, the latter shared their main aspirations, namely, the resuscitation of Muslim supremacy in India, and the prosecution of a Jihad (جہاد) "against the infidel, Christian or Hindu, Jew or Budhist."(2)

At a time when the rulers were still suspicious of the loyalty of the Muslims, the propagation of such views involved serious consequences for the latter. As these views coincided with those generally held in European countries about the

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,

the concept of the Jihad[1] which had not been infrequently misrepresented by the Muslim 'Ulama themselves, and as conditions in India provided at least apparently some justification to regard them as having some foundation, the likelihood that the rulers would be influenced by them could not be entirely ruled out. This situation called for a critical examination of the institution of the Jihad and of the question whether or not it was incumbent upon Muslim subjects to rise against a non-Muslim ruler who acquired the control of a country previously held by Muslims. It was also necessary to find out whether it was possible for Muslims to live under non-Muslim rulers, and if so, under what circumstances. The future relations between the British

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1. For the views of western writers about the concept of the Jihad see Maulavi Cheragh Ali: A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad, pp.114-161; The Nineteenth Century, December 1877, pp.831-842, Article by Malcolm MacCall: "Some Current Fallacies about Turks, Bulgarians, and Russians"; See also Bowen, H.C., Muhammadanism: Its Present Condition and Influence in India, p.10. It is interesting to note that Bowen who seems to be convinced that it is not binding on the Muslims of India to prosecute a Jihad against their non-Muslim rulers, believes that the Quran ordains that Muslims should wage war against non-Muslims. He remarks: "There is no doubt that the plain teaching of the Kuran is that the followers of Islam are to reduce the whole world to obedience giving to every nation the alternative of conversion, a submission amounting to slavery or death" ibid., pp.10, 11.

and the Muslims in India, and the existence of peaceful conditions, so important to the moral and material progress of the Muslims and successful administration of the country, rested very much on the correct understanding of these questions, on the part of both the British and the Muslims.

These questions had already been dealt with in detail by Sayyid Ahmad Khan in his treatise The Causes of Indian Revolt[1] and his pamphlet An Account of the Loyal Muhammadans of India[2] which we have discussed in the preceding pages. About this time, however, the question assumed such a dimension that it attracted the attention of the Muslims in almost every corner of India.[3] Having realised the harm that the growing suspicion among the rulers about the attitude of the Muslims towards them would do to the cause of his co-religionists, and believing that, in the absence of a clear exposition of the religious significance of the Jihad, a considerable portion of orthodox Muslims would remain susceptible to the influence of the movement on the Indian frontier, one Sayyid Ameer Hussain of Bhagalpur[4] drew out in the late sixties the following istifta (استفتاء)[5]

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1. Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind.
2. An Account of the Loyal Muhammadans of India, part II, pp.13-18
3. Hunter, op.cit., p.117.
4. Sayyid Ameer Husain was Personal Assistant to the Commissioner of Bhagalpur.
5. A question asked of a Mufti on a point of Muslim law.

and sent it round to some well-known Ulama of Northern India[1] to ascertain their opinion on the status of India under British rule and the legal position of the Jihad in that country:-

> "What is your Decision, O Men of learning and expounders of the Law of Islam, in the following? Whether a Jihad is lawful in India, a country formerly held by a Muhammadan ruler, and now held under the sway of a Christian Government, where the said Christian Ruler does in no way interfere with his Muhammadan subjects in the Rites prescribed by their religion, such as Praying, Fasting, Pilgrimage, Zakat, Friday Prayer, and Jamaat, and gives them fullest protection and liberty in the above respects in the same way as a Muhammadan Ruler would do, and where the Muhammadan subjects have no strength and means to fight with their rulers; on the contrary, there is every chance of the war, if waged, ending with a defeat, and thereby causing an indignity to Islam".[2]

In reply to this istifta a Fatwa was issued in July 1870 by nine eminent Muslim Law Doctors which expressly declared that the Muslims having been accorded protection by the Christian rulers in India, the Jihad was not, according to the Law of Islam, allowed in that country. The text of the Fatwa is as follows:

> "The Musalmans here are protected by Christians and there is no Jihad in a country where protection is afforded,[3]

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1. Ameer Husain sent the istifta to the Ulama of Delhi, Lucknow, and Rampur, all well-known centres of Muslim learning in India. (See his letter in the Englishman, Calcutta, 24th Sept.1870).
2. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Review on Dr.Hunter's Indian Musalmans, Appendix II; Hunter, op.cit.; Appendix II; Abstract of Proceedings of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, on Wednesday, 23rd November 1870, pp.9-10.
3. The authors of the Fatwa quoted the following passage from the Minhāj-ul-Ghaffār, to prove that the Muslims who were Mustaman (i.e. who were accorded protection) under the Christian rulers of India were not allowed to rise against them:- "For he, having accepted the conditions of protection (or civil and religious liberty), has taken upon himself an engagement not to commit an offence against them (i.e., his protectors), and the commission of such an offence by him is treachery, and treachery is unlawful". (See Abstract, p.10).

as the absence of protection and liberty between Musalmans and Infidels is essential in a religious war, and that condition does not exist here. Besides, it is necessary that there should be a probability of victory to Musalman and glory to Islam.(1) If there be no such probability, the Jihad is unlawful".(2)

Sayyid Ameer Hussain got the istifta and the Fatwa published all over the country through the vernacular and English press(3) with a view to making known to the Muslims their status in India and their duty towards their rulers, and for removing the growing misconception among non-Muslims, including the rulers, that the Muslims were, according to the Law of Islam, bound to wage war against non-Muslims and could under no circumstances live as peaceful subjects of non-Muslim rulers. However, the second portion of the Fatwa created a great deal of misunderstanding among certain sections of the Anglo-Indian population. Considering the text of the Fatwa as a whole it meant that a Jihad would be lawful only when there existed no "protection

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1. In the text of the Fatwa given by Hunter the words "glory to the Indians" are used which seem to be incorrect.
2. Review, Appendix II; Abstract, pp.9-10; Hunter, op.cit. Appendix II.
   The Fatwa bore the seals of seven Maulavis whose names are as follows: (1) Maulavi Ali Muhammad of Lucknow; (2) Maulavi Abdul Hai of Lucknow; (3) Maulavi Fazlullah of Lucknow; (4) Maulavi Muhammad Naim of Lucknow; (5) Maulavi Rahmat ullah of Lucknow; (6) Maulavi Kutab-ud-din of Delhi; (7) Maulavi and Mufti Saadullah of Lucknow; (8) Maulavi Lutfullah of Rampur; (9) Maulavi Olum Ali of Rampur.
3. See Ameer Husain's letter in the Englishman, 24th September 1870.

and liberty between the Musalmans and the Infidels" and further that there was "a possibility of victory to Musalman and glory to Islam". In other words even if there was no protection and liberty between the Muslim subjects and non-Muslim rulers, the prosecution of a Jihad would remain unlawful, if there was no probability of victory to the Muslims. The Anglo-Indian journals, having not understood the correct position and having not realised that absence of protection and liberty to the Muslims was, under all circumstances, essential to make a Jihad lawful, misinterpreted this portion as meaning that any time the Muslims were "strong enough to cope with the British, they would be justified in rising against the Government".(1)

A few months later came a "forcibly written pamphlet"(2) on the subject. It was based on the proceedings of a meeting of the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta devoted to the question concerning the status of India under the British and the legal position of the Jihad in that country. The immediate reason for convening that meeting was, according to one of the participants, Maulavi Fazl-i-Ali, the misunderstanding that

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1. See the Englishman, 3rd April 1871; see also Ahmad Khan's letter in the Pioneer, 4th April 1871.
2. Abstract of Proceedings of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta on Wednesday, 23rd November, 1870.

had arisen on account of the Fatwa of the Law Doctors of Northern India[1]. The Muslims of India were, according to this Fatwa, the Mustaman[2] and so long as they enjoyed that status a Jihad was unlawful in that country. The Fatwa did not, however, say anything about India being Dar-ul-Harb or Dar-ul-Islam. On the contrary the Muhammadan Literary Society looked at the question from a different angle. It examined the question whther or not a Jihad was lawful in India by first considering whether India was a Dar-ul-Harb or a Dar-ul-Islam, and decided the matter in the light of the conclusion arrived at with regard to the latter subject. It declared India to be a Dar-ul-Islam and regarded a Jihad as illegal in that country, because, it believed, there could be no Jihad in a Dar-ul-Islam. The Society rejected the view that the status of Muslims in India was that of the Mustaman, because that position implied that India was a Dar-ul-Harb.[3]

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1. ibid., p.8.
2. مستأمن = one who is afforded protection. According to Hedaya the term is applied to those people who live in peace and security under a ruler professing a different creed. (See An Account of the Loyal Muhammadans of India, Part II, p.16.
3. Abstract, p.8; Maulavi Fazl-i-Ali was of opinion that if India were considered to be a Dar-ul-Harb, Hijrat (هجرت) from that country would become incumbent upon Muslims.

These views emanated mainly from a well-known authority on Muslim Law, Maulavi Karamat Ali of Jaunpur,[1] and were further elaborated by some other eminent Ulama present at the meeting. Karamat Ali said that according to Imam Abu Haneefa, the country which once became a Dar-ul-Islam retained that status until the following three conditions came to exist there simultaneously.[2]

1. "That the rule of infidels is openly exercised, and the ordinances of Islam are not observed.
2. "That it is in such contiguity to a country which is Dar-ul-Harb that no city of Dar-ul-Islam intervenes between that country and the Dar-ul-Harb.

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1. Karamat Ali was born at Jaunpur early in the nineteenth century. "He came of a Sheikh family, which had held the office of Khatib (خطیب) under" Muslim "rule; his father was Sarishtadar (سرشتہ دار) in the Jaunpur Collectorate. He studied theology and other Muslim sciences under various celebrated teachers of the time", especially Shah Abdul Aziz of Delhi "who was also the teacher and afterwards follower" of Sayyid Ahmad Shaheed.
   In the early 1820s when Ahmad Shaheed made a tour through Bengal Karamat Ali met him and became one of his most devoted followers. However, "he does not appear to have taken part in the Jihad which" Ahmad Shaheed "waged against the Sikhs, or to have ever been in the Afghan borderland, where Sayyid Ahmad was slain in battle in 1831".
   Karamat Ali exercised enormous influence on the Muslims of Bengal. His following was so large that there was hardly a Bengal village without his disciples. He died in May 1873.
   See the Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, pp.217-18; Buckland, C.E., A Dictionary of Indian Biography, p.239; Census of India, 1901, Vol.VI, Part I, (Bengal), p.174; Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol.LXIII, Part III, p.54-6.
2. Abstract, op.cit., pp.3-6.

3. "That no Muslim is found in the enjoyment of religious liberty, nor a Zimmi . . . under the same terms as he enjoyed under the Government of Islam".

The existence of any one or two of these conditions, said Karamat Ali, did not convert a Dar-ul-Islam into a Dar-ul-Harb. He stressed that in India not even one of these conditions existed.(1) Referring to the first he said its non-existence was proved by the fact that, although the rulers of the country were Christians, most of the injunctions of Islam were in force among the Muslims.(2) As to the second condition, he said, it too was non-existent. "For, not to speak of the countries beyond the frontiers of India, there" were "still many small principalities in the very heart of the country which" could "be undoubtedly termed Dar-ul-Islam. And, as for the countries beyond the Western and North-Western frontiers of India, they were "nothing but Darul-ul-Islam".(3)

The non-existence of the third condition he proved by pointing out that the entire Muslim population of India had

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1. ibid.,
2. "The injunctions of Islam that have reference to worship and prayer are in force here entirely. There is no hindrance whatever to their observance. The injunctions of Islam, that have reference to secular duties are also mostly in full force in questions of Marriage, Divorce, Dower, Maintenance, Inheritance, Gift, Endowment, Pre-emption and the like, arising among Muhammadans". (ibid.)
3. ibid., p.6.

"continued just as they were before the advent of the British" and the "Hindoos, who were Zimmis....during Muhammadan sway" were "in no way worse off."(1)

In view of this situation Karamat Ali declared India to be a Dar-ul-Islam and regarded a Jihad in that country as forbidden according to the law of Islam. He affirmed that any war in such a country would be considered "rebellion" and that if anyone rose in arms against the rulers it would be the duty of their Muslim subjects to assist them in suppressing the rebels.(2)

Karamat Ali also declared that Hijrat from India was not incumbent upon the Muslims because Hijrat was not required from a Dar-ul-Islam.(3)

To prove still further that India was a Dar-ul-Islam, it was pointed out by a distinguished Arab(4) present at the meeting that a Fatwa from the Law Doctors of Mecca existed to that effect and was affirmed by the President as having been obtained about the end of the year 1866.(5) It was issued as an answer to the following question:-

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,
3. ibid.,
4. "Sheikh Ahmed Effendi-el-Ansari (a respectable resident of Medina, and a descendant of Abu Ayyubel-Ansari, one of the Companions of the Prophet)". Abstract, p.18.
5. The President said that a friend of his, Haji Saeed Bakht of Sylhet brought the Fatwa with him from Mecca about the end of the year 1866. Abstract, pp.21-22.

"What is your opinion (may your greatness continue for ever) on this question; whether the country of Hindustan, the rulers of which are Christians, and who do not interfere with all the injunctions of Islam, such as the ordinary daily Prayers, the Prayers of the two 'Ids, etc., but do otherwise depart from a few of the injunctions of Islam, such as the permission to inherit the property of the Muhammadan ancestor to one who changes his religion (being that of his ancestors), and becomes a Christian, is Dar-ul-Islam or not?"

The Fatwa contained the following answers from the Muftis of Mecca:-

(1) Jamal Ibn-Abdullah Sheikh 'Omar ul-Hanafi:

> "As long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islam prevail in it, it is the Dar-ul-Islam."

(2) Ahmad Ibn Zaini Dahlan, Mufti of the Shafi Sect of Mecca:

> "Yes! As long as even some of the peculiar observances of Islam prevail in it, it is Dar-ul-Islam."

(3) Husain Ibn Ibrahim, Mufti of the Maliki sect of Mecca:

> "It is written in the Commentary of Dasoki that a country of Islam does not become Dar-ul-Harb as soon as it passes into the hands of the infidels, but only when all or most of the injunctions of Islam disappear therefrom."(1)

About the same time a small pamphlet(2) appeared on behalf of the Shia sect. It represented the Shia view about the question of the Jihad, The fundamental point of Shia faith is the belief in twelve Imams, the last of

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1. ibid., Hunter, Appendix I; Review, Appendix I.
2. "On the Word Jihad as it is understood and believed by the Shia Sect" by Munshi Amir Ali Khan Bahadur,

whom, Muhammad al-Muntazar ('the Expected one') disappeared about 873.(1) His return is expected in the capacity of a Mahdi(2) and it is believed that a Jihad for the triumph of the faithful "to combat evil and re-establish justice and righteousness" would only be lawful under his guidance.(3) The pamphlet explained the Shia view about the Jihad strictly in accordance with this fundamental principle of Shia faith. After explaining the three meanings of the word Jihad, namely, Jihad fi-'llah, Jihad ba Nafs-i-Ammara and Jihad fi-ddin,(4) it laid down that until the following seven conditions were fulfilled, the Jihad would not, in its meaning of a Holy War against the infidel, become lawful:-

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1. Gibb, H.A.R., Mohammadanism, p.124; Tritton, A.S., Islam, p.74.
2. For an exposition of the Shia doctrine of Mahdism, see Dwight M. Donaldson, The Shiite Religion, Chap.21.
3. Khadduri, M., War and Peace in the Law of Islam, p.67.
4. These words are explained as follows:
"(1) Jihad fi-'llah, diligence in the adoration of God, who is glorious. (2) Jihad ba Nafs-i-Ammara, the conquering of inordinate appetites, and bringing them under the control of reason, so as to make them yield to acts of devotion, deter them from unlawful pursuits, and keep a watch over the mis-spending of time. (3) Jihad fi-ddin, or Holy War against the infidel, as authorised by Muhammadan Law."

> "First when the rightful Imam is present, and grants his permission. Second, when arms and ammunitions of war and experienced warriors are ready. Third, when the Jihad is one against mutineers and enemies of God. Fourth, when he who makes Holy War is in possession of his reason, when he is not a lunatic or a man of impaired senses, and when he is neither sick, nor blind, nor lame. Fifth, when he has secured the permission of his parents. Sixth, when he is not in debt. Seventh, when he has sufficient money to meet the expenses of his journey and of the inns by the way, and to pay for the maintenance of his family."

As the key-note of the Shia view about the lawfulness of the Jihad is the presence of the Imam, the pamphlet stressed that till his appearance any attempt at it would be "presumptuous and sinful". The non-fulfilment of the first condition, therefore, rendered, for an indefinite period, the fulfilment of other conditions as superfluous.(1)

The Shias thus solved the question of the Jihad in India. For them it did not matter whether this country was a Dar-ul-Harb or a Dar-ul-Islam.

The Shia concept of the Jihad and the emphasis laid in the pamphlet on the Shia duty to act strictly in accordance

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1. The following remarks of the pamphlet as to the time of appearance of the Imam and as to the prosecution of a Jihad except under his leadership, are noteworthy:-
"When that innocent Apostle shall appear, is known only to the all-knowing God, and to no one else. To commit bloodshed, except under the leadership of that Imam in person, is strictly forbidden by Shia law. Those are the rebels and sinful ones who would revolt without the Divine sanction of the Apostle."

with it was gratifying enough to the rulers, but they did not consider it of much importance because its influence could hardly extend beyond the Shia sect which formed but a small fraction of the Muslim community. They were mainly interested in the views of the sect that constituted the majority of the IndianMuslims. It was, therefore, with regard to the Decisions (فتاوے) of the Law Doctors of Sunni Muslims that a detailed examination was made.

It is worthy of note that until this time the general view of the ruling class and other non-Muslims had been that the Muslims regarded India as a Dar-ul-Harb and as such thought it their religious duty to prosecute a Jihad against the non-Muslim Government with a view to re-establishing Muslim rule in that country and converting it into a Dar-ul-Islam. It was mainly to combat this view that the Muhammadan Literary Society gave its opinion on the status of India under British rule and on the lawfulness of the Jihad in that country. The society proved India to be a Dar-ul-Islam and declared in explicit terms that a Jihad was not lawful in that country on the ground that there could be no Jihad in a Dar-ul-Islam. But now was introduced another view as to the condition that made a Jihad lawful.

Its author was no less important a person than W.W. Hunter.(1) He contended that if a country was de jure Dar-ul-Islam, it was the duty of the Muslims to make it Dar-ul-Islam de facto.(2) This he believed could be done only through waging a Jihad against the ruling power. With this line of thought about the Muslim duty of Jihad he viewed the Decision of the Muslim Law Doctors of Mecca, which had said that India was still a Dar-ul-Islam, as suggesting that it was the religious duty of the Indian Muslims to strive against non-Muslim rulers and drive them out of power.(3) "They affirm", said Hunter, "that India is a country of Islam, and leave it to the Faithful to conclude that for this reason they ought to strive, by war or otherwise, to drive out the infidels who have usurped the Government and who in a hundred ways have interfered with the practices and procedure, both legal and religious, of the former Muhammadan rulers."(4)

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1. Hunter seems to have been influenced a great deal by the views of Professor Blochmann of the Muhammadan College, Calcutta. (See Hunter, op. cit., p.127, footnote 1.)
2. ibid., p.131; The Pioneer, 23rd November, 1871, Leading Article: "Jihad".
3. Hunter, op.cit., pp.126, 132.
4. ibid., p.126.
   In view of the text of the Fatwa of the Mecca Law Doctors Hunter's opinion that they wanted the Muslims to strive against the rulers seems to be based on wrong inference.

It appears that Hunter became convinced that the danger of a Jihad against the British could only be averted if India was regarded as a Dar-ul-Harb and the Muslims in that country were considered Mustaman. The opinion of the Muhammadan Literary Society being quite the opposite, he endeavoured to prove that it was based on wrong assumptions and therefore faulty conclusions.(1) The three conditions proved by Karamat Ali to be non-existent in India, thus exempting it from coming within the definition of a Dar-ul-Harb, were believed, by Hunter, to have existed for many years and to have converted India from the status of a Dar-ul-Islam into that of a Dar-ul-Harb.(2) As he believed that in a Dar-ul-Islam the Muslims had according to the law of Islam, the

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1. ibid., pp.124-32. Hunter remarked:
"The pamphlet argues that India is still a country of Islam because it was so under the Muhammadan Rule, and that, although now conquered by an infidel race, yet the three conditions under which it would have become a country of the Enemy (Dar-ul Harb, literally, 'House of Strife') do not apply to it. These three conditions were laid down by the greatest authority of the Muhammadan Law, Abu Hanifa. The tract quotes them, however, not from one of the older and universally received works, but from the Fatawa-i-Alamgiri of the reign of Aurangzeb. This latter text materially differs from the earlier works; and it is an unquestionable fact that conditions as laid down by Abu Hanifa and by the old authoritative law-books, do apply to India, and that according to the orthodox doctrine, India is a country of the Enemy" ibid., p.126.
2. ibid., see also Hunter's article in the Englishman, 16th May 1871.

right to rise against the ruler if he did not act in accordance with or deviated from the ordinances of Islam, he stressed that "if India were still a country of the Faithful"[1] a Jihad would be incumbent upon the Muslims against their British rulers who had interfered in many respects "with the Muhammadan Code, extirpated the Musalman Law Officers, and abolished the whole Islamic procedure."[2] He said if the view of the Literary Society that India still retained its status as a Dar-ul-Islam were accepted, the adherence of the Government to the principle of "religious toleration" towards other communities and negligence with regard to "the maintenance and spread" of Islam "would itself constitute a capital crime" and would provide to the Muslims ample cause for rebellion.[3]

In a Dar-ul-Harb, Hunter believed, the Muslims, if

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1. Hunter, op.cit., p.131.
2. Ibid., p.132
3. Ibid., pp.131-132.
To support his argument Hunter said:
'The Muhammadan texts lay down that if the Ruler or King of a country of Islam does not look after the maintenance and spread of the True Faith, rebellion against him becomes lawful." He further said: "In the reign of Akbar, who modified the Muhammadan Law in a spirit of toleration towards his Hindu subjects, Formal Decisions commanding rebellion were published, and led to bloody insurrections." p.132.

afforded protection,[1] were according to their own religious law bound to be loyal to the non-Muslim ruler so long as the latter adhered to the principle on which protection was afforded. He regarded the Muslims of India as Mustaman who obtained in that capacity "a certain amount of . . . civil and religious privileges (Aman)" "from their English rulers" and in return accepted "the position of subjects". This, he believed, would have not been possible if India had remained a Dar-ul-Islam.

Both the Literary Society and Hunter had extreme views on the status of India under British rule. It was, in fact, neither a Dar-ul-Islam nor a Dar-ul-Harb in the primary sense of the terms.[2] It was an intermediate position between these extremes. This is what seems to be the probable view of the Law Doctors of Mecca, and this is what now was explained by Sayyid Ahmad Khan in a series of articles in the Pioneer and the Aligarh Institute Gazette, and in his Review on Dr. Hunter's Indian Musalmans.

Ahmad Khan's view on the Jihad was already well-known. He regarded the Muslims of India as Mustaman under the British and believed that the Mustaman could under no circumstances

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1. i.e. if they were given the status of the Mustaman.
2. Review, p.52.

rise in rebellion against the rulers.(1) Even if the rulers created obstacles to the observance of the religious ordinances of the Muslims, the latter could not rebel. "All that they could do under such circumstances would be to expatriate themselves.(2)

Now that the question of the Jihad was being considered in the light of the status of India as a Dar-ul-Harb or a Dar-ul-Islam, and a great deal of confusion had arisen as to the duty of the Muslim subjects towards the rulers with regard to India as a Dar-ul-Islam and India as a Dar-ul-Harb, Ahmad Khan made a critical analysis of the situation and explained what was, according to him, the exact position of India under British rule and the basis of relationship between Muslim subjects and their rulers. He explained the primary meaning of the word Dar-ul-Harb as the 'House of strife' and that of Dar-ul-Islam as the 'House of Islam'.(3) They were, however, never used in Muslim law, in their original sense.(4) A Dar-ul-Harb was, he said, a mere technical name for a country not governed by Muslim Law, or a country not under a Muslim Government. A Dar-ul-Islam was, on the other hand, a country under

1. Asbab, p.21; An Account of the Loyal Muhammadans of India, II, pp.13-16.
2. ibid., see also the Pioneer, 4th April 1871, Ahmad Khan's letter.
3. See the Aligarh Institute Gazette, 12th May 1871.
4. ibid.,

Muslim rule and governed by the Law of Islam.(1) Taken in this sense a country brought under Muslim rule would be converted into a Dar-ul-Islam and a country conquered from the Muslims by an infidel ruler would become a Dar-ul-Harb. But it would, stressed Ahmad Khan, be a great mistake to suppose that a country could only be either a Dar-ul-Harb(2) or a Dar-ul-Islam and that there could be no intermediate position.(3) He admitted that a true Dar-ul-Islam could under no circumstances be termed Dar-ul-Harb, and vice versa. There were, however, certain countries which, with reference to certain circumstances, could be termed Dar-ul-Islam, and with reference to others, Dar-ul-Harb.(4) The position of India was exactly such under British rule.(5) It was in view of this intermediate status of India that the question of

1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,
3. ibid., see also Review, p.42.
4. Ahmad Khan explained his views in the following words:
   "An Infidel Government in which the Muhammadans enjoy every sort of peace and security, discharge their religious duties with perfect freedom, and which is connected with a Muhammadan Government by a treaty, is not Dar-ul-Islam, because it is a non-Muhammadan Government, but we may call it so as regards the peace and religious freedom which the Muslims enjoy under its protection; nor is it Dar-ul-Harb, because the treaty existing between it and the Moslem Government makes Jihad against it unlawful. It may however be called Dar-ul-Harb as it is not a Muhammadan Government".
   The Aligarh Institute Gazette, 12th May 1871.
5. ibid., Review, p.42.

relationship between the rulers and the ruled and that of lawfulness of the Jihad should be determined. Looked at from different angles India was both Dar-ul-Islam and Dar-ul-Harb. It was a Dar-ul-Islam in the sense that the Muslims in it enjoyed peace and religious freedom, and was a Dar-ul-Harb in the sense that its rulers were non-Muslim. This last condition, believed Ahmad Khan, determined the status of the Muslims as the people having been afforded protection (technically known as Mustaman) by the rulers and made the prosecution of a Jihad illegal in India.

The question of the Jihad seems to have remained till the end of the nineteenth century one of the most important subjects that attracted the attention of Muslim thinkers. About the middle of the 1880s appeared a well-argued treatise[1]

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1. The treatise was, in fact, compiled in the year 1876. Copies of it were circulated to 'Ulama all over India to elicit their opinion as to the line of argument followed in it. It was published in 1887. (See Husain, Abu Saeed Muhammad, A Treatise on Jihad, p.1)
The treatise was compiled with a definite purpose, i.e., to impress upon the Muslims that the "Jihad is not lawful against every non-Muslim merely because he is not Muhammadan, without reference to conditions which govern Jihad, and especially against those under whose protection they live"; and to convince non-Muslims that "it is not the duty of the followers of Islam to fight non-Muhammadans as such; to force them to embrace Islam or to spread their religion by the sword or to rebel against a non-Muhammadan Government". (ibid., p.32; see also p.1.)

on the subject known as Iqtisad Fi Masailil Jihad.(1) The author was a Muslim Law Doctor of Northern India, Maulavi Abu Saeed Muhammad Husain.(2) He maintained that the object of the Jihad was only to protect Muslims from oppression and to prevent the opponents of Islam from doing injury to the faith.(3) A Jihad was not to be called religious if it was not prosecuted within these limits. It never meant "oppression of another religion" or persecution of aliens to Islam.(4) Moreover, it was not allowed in a country where the Muslims enjoyed religious freedom. Such a country should not be called a Dar-ul-Harb, even if it was under non-Muslim rule. It should, on the other hand, be termed Dar-ul-Islam(5) or at least 'Dar-us-Salām wal-Amān' (دارالسلام والامان (6)). If

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1. اقتصاد فی مسائل الجہاد An English translation of the Iqtisad appeared under the title "A Treatise on Jehad".
2. Maulavi Abu Saeed Muhammad Husain was the Editor of a religious journal, Ishaat-us-Sunnah, Lahore, and could, in that capacity, claim influence over a fairly large number of his co-religionists. He was also the secretary of the Anjuman-i-Hamdardi Islamia Lahore. (See Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1882-83, p.284).
3. Husain, A.S.M., A Treatise on Jihad, pp.3, 6.
4. ibid., pp.3, 8.
5. Ibid., pp.9-13.
6. The House of Peace and Protection.
   Maulavi Cheragh Ali, a well-known Muslim modernist of the nineteenth century, seems also to accord a similar status to India under British rule. He says it may be called Dar-ul-Aman or Dar-ul-Zimma, i.e., a house of security or of protection. See his book The Proposed Political, Legal and Social Reforms in the Ottoman Empire and other Muhammadan States, pp.24-25. For his view on Jihad see his later work, A Critical Exposition of the Popular Jihad, pp.114-161.

the non-Muslim rulers of such a country interfered with the religious duties of their Muslim subjects, a Jihad against them would not be lawful unless the Muslims were sure of their success.(1)

As regards India the Maulavi said it was a Dar-ul-Islam under British rule because the Muslims there enjoyed religious freedom just as they did under Muslim rule.(2) The Jihad was under all circumstances illegal in that country because the Muslims enjoyed the protection of the British, and the protected people could never rise against the rulers.(3)

Another name to be mentioned among Indian Muslims who wrote about the legal position of the Jihad in India is that of Mirza Ghulam Adhmad of Qadian. Having laid down the foundation of a new religion in India and having declared himself the Promised Messiah, he declared that the days of the Jihad had gone, and that it was the duty of the Muslims to give under all circumstances sincere obedience to the Government.(4) His views were, however, not representative

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1. Husain, A.S.M., op.cit., p.24.
2. Ibid., p.13.
3. Ibid., pp.15-16, 21-22.
4. For Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's view on Jihad in India see his pamphlet The Jihad and the British Government. See also his undermentioned works for his opinion on Jihad and loyalty to the Government. He pleads for full loyalty to British rulers and declares Jihad unlawful.
   (i) Brahin-i-Ahmadiya Part III, pp. الف and ب ;
   (ii) Izala-i-Auham, Part II, pp.509, 723-726, 825-835, 849, 853;
   (iii) Itmam-ul-Hujjah, pp.26-27.
   (iv) Zarurat-ul-Imam, pp.23, 41, 48.

of Muslim opinion, nor could they be expected to have any effect on the general body of Indian Muslims[1] because they regarded his claim to prophethood as false and his utterances as mainly opposed to their own belief.

The general opinion of Muslim thinkers that India under British rule enjoyed an intermediate position between a Dar-ul-Harb and a Dar-ul-Islam, and that the Muslims were Mustaman in that country, served a great deal in determining political relations between the rulers and the ruled and in making them realise their duties and obligations towards each other.

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1. With the exception of his followers, who formed only a negligible minority in India.

Chapter III.

Development of Muslim Political Organization

1858-85

For many years after the Mutiny the Muslims appear to have made little attempt to organize themselves politically. During this period Muslim leaders remained mainly devoted to the social and educational uplift of their co-religionists and to the task of erasing from the minds of the British the belief that the Muslims were their inveterate enemies and were bound by their religion to overthrow their rule.

Muhammadan Literary Society

The first important Muslim association was the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta. It was founded by Nawab Abdul Lateef in April 1863[1] with the help of some influential and public-spirited educated Muslims of Calcutta.

Abdul Lateef was born in 1828. He belonged to a distinguished Muslim family of Eastern Bengal which traced its descent to the celebrated Muslim General Khalid bin Walid.[2] He was

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1. See A Quarter Century of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, p.4; Lateef, A., A Short Account of My Public Life.
2. Birt, F.B.Bradley, Twelve Men of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century, p.113; The Statesman, 11th July 1893.

educated at the Calcutta Madrasah, where a few years after completing his education he became the Professor of Arabic.(1) In 1849, at the early age of twenty one, he was appointed a Deputy Magistrate by the Government of Bengal.(2) Sometimes he acted as the Presidency Magistrate in Calcutta. On the creation of the Bengal Legislative Council he was appointed as one of its original members, and was the first Muslim to become a member of an Indian Legislative Council.(3) In 1870 and 1872 he was again selected for this position.(4) His great interest in education having been recognized by the Government of India he was in 1863 appointed a Fellow of Calcutta University.(5) He was made Khan Bahadur in 1877, Nawab in 1880; C.I.E. in 1883, and Nawab Bahadur in 1887.(6) The Government considered him an enlightened and "progressive member of his community" and often consulted him on questions concerning Muslim interests.(7)

Distressed at the position into which the Muslims had

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1. Birt, op.cit., p.117.
2. ibid., p.118; Lateef, A., op.cit., p.1.
3. ibid., p.4; The Statesman, 11th July 1893.
4. ibid., p.5; Birt, op.cit., p.122.
5. Lateef, A., op.cit., p.16.
6. ibid., p.32; Birt, op.cit., p.137.
7. Buckland, C.E., Dictionary of Indian Biography, p.2.

rapidly fallen after the Mutiny, Abdul Lateef set himself from the early 1860s "to combat prejudices that prevented them from moving with the times and adapting themselves to altered conditions".(1) For this purpose the Muhammadan Literary Society was founded.

Maulavi Muhammad Wajeeh, the Head Professor of the Arabic Department of the Calcutta Madrasah and a respected member "of the learned and respectable classes of the Muhammadan community in Bengal"(2) was the first elected president of the Society.(3) Abdul Lateef was its secretary.

Sir Cecil Beadon, the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was the first Patron of the Society.(4)

The objects of the Muhammadan Literary Society were

(i) to break down the prejudice and exclusiveness of the Muslims and to imbue them "with a desire to interest themselves in Western learning and progress;"(5) and

(ii) to bring to the notice of the rulers the requirements of the Muslim "community in regard to education, legislation and other cognate objects, bearing upon" their interests.(6)

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1. Birt, F.B.B., op.cit., 116; A Quarter Century, pp.3-4.
2. Ibid., p.4.
3. Ibid., p.6.
4. Ibid.,
5. Lateef, A., op.cit., p.16.
6. Ibid., p.17; A Quarter Century, p.10.

It met once a month at the residence of Nawab Abdul Lateef and discussed matters concerning the moral and material progress of the Muslims. At its meetings eminent European and Indian scholars read papers and delivered lectures on various scientific, social and literary subjects.(1) Sayyid Ahmad Khan found the Society the first public platform to express his views on the dissemination of Western knowledge in India.(2)

Once a year the Society held a Conversazione at the Town Hall, Calcutta. It was chiefly attended by the educated Muslims of Bengal. High Government officials and some eminent members of the European, Hindu and Parsee communities also took part in its proceedings. At the first Conversazione held on 13th March, 1865, about 2,000 people were present.(3) The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and some other high officials were among them.(4)

In the subsequent years the Conversazione was almost regularly attended by the "successive Viceroys, Lieutenant-Governors, Commanders-in-Chief, and other eminent. . .officers of the Government".(5) The sixth Annual Conversazione was

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1. For the names of some eminent European and Indian scholars who delivered lectures at the monthly meetings of the Society, see A Quarter Century of the Mahomedan Literary Society of Calcutta, p.9.
2. ibid., p.5; Hali, op.cit., I, p.121; Mukammal Majmua, p.8.
3. A Quarter Century, p.5.
4. ibid.,
5. ibid., p.8.

attended by the Duke of Edinburgh.[1] At the Eighth Conversazione, held in 1872, the King of Siam was present.[2]

The lectures delivered and discussions held at the monthly meetings and the annual conversaziones of the Muhammadan Literary Society are supposed to have played an important part in arousing Muslim interest in Western education[3] and in bringing home to them that in order "to keep pace with other nationalities" of India their children should no longer be deprived of instruction in modern sciences and arts.[4]

Politically the Society was pro-British and loyalist. It believed in full co-operation with the rulers and stood for making representations to them in a manner conforming to the principles of loyalty and faithfulness. It waited in deputation on successive Viceroys and Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal with addresses of welcome at the time of their

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1. ibid., Abstract. See Preface.
2. A Quarter Century, p.8.
3. The service done by the Society in this regard was recognized in the following words by the Bengal Government in a letter addressed to Nawab Abdul Lateef:
"By founding the Muhammadan Literary Society. . . you have successfully led Muhammadans, not only of Bengal, but of India generally to look beyond the narrow bounds of their own system, and to explore those accumulated treasures of thought and feeling which are to be found embodied in the English Literature". (See Lateef, A., op.cit., p.21, Secretary to the Government of Bengal, to Abdul Lateef, 23rd April 1867.)
4. A Quarter Century, p.10.

assuming office.(1) Presentation of farewell addresses at the time of their retirement became also a permanent feature of its activities. These occasions provided it with ample opportunity to express the loyal feelings of the Muslims towards their British rulers and served to lessen the estrangement between the two communities.

In 1870 the loyal feelings of the Society towards the British were displayed in the opinion expressed by it on the question of prosecuting a religious war (Jihad) in India. At that time the misconception that the Muslims were bound by their religion to rise in rebellion against their Christian rulers seemed to have become prominent. The Society obtained on this question the opinion of one of the most eminent and influential Muslim preachers, Maulavi Karamat Ali, and got it explained at a meeting held on 23rd November 1870.(2) The Maulavi proved India to be a Dar-ul-Islam and on that basis declared that a Jihad against its rulers was not allowed by the Sharia. Five thousand copies of the proceedings of this meeting were

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1. ibid., The first address to a Viceroy was that presented to Lord Mayo on 15th February 1869, in which the objects of the Society were set forth. The Society claimed that on all occasions it had been "able to enlist the sympathy and patronage of all the successive Vice-roys".
2. ibid., p.13; Lateef, A., op.cit., pp.28-29.

circulated throughout India.(1)

With regard to Muslim education the sphere of the activities of the Society widened with the passage of time. It presented an elaborate address to the Commission(2) appointed in the early 1870s by Sir William Grey to inquire into the backward condition of the Calcutta Madrasah and to suggest means for its reorganization.(3) In 1883 it established several scholarships and prizes to be awarded to deserving Muslim students of the Madrasah.(4) It also placed before the Indian Education Commission of 1882 the educational requirements of the Muslim community.(5) Similarly it explained to the Public Service Commission of 1886 the opinion of the Muslim community and pointed out that "the adoption of

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1. A Quarter Century, p.13.
   The opinion of Maulavi Karamat Ali having been widely circulated is supposed to have exerted considerable influence on the Muslims of Eastern Bengal among whom he was very popular as a religious leader. This was acknowledged by Sir Edward Clive Bayley, in a letter dated 4th April 1878, addressed to Nawab Abdul Lateef, who was chiefly responsible for obtaining this opinion. ~~Sir~~ Bayley wrote:
   "At your request I am able to say that it is true that Lord Mayo expressed himself pleased with your efforts to calm the excited feelings among the Muhammadans of Lower India, or at least certain of them, about the end of 1870, and that he thought those efforts were likely to prove useful". (See Lateef, A., op.cit., p.29.)
2. A Quarter Century, p.13.
3. Ibid., p.14.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

certain proposed changes" in rules concerning recruitment to public services would prove injurious to Muslim interests.(1)

The Muhammadan Literary Society appears to have been recognized by the Government of India as a representative body of educated Muslim opinion in Bengal and was on several occasions invited to express its views on questions concerning Muslim law and custom.(2) It rendered valuable service to the Muslims of Bengal by developing among them a sense of organized effort for their moral and material progress. Before the inauguration of the Central National Muhammadan Association, it appears to have been the only organized Muslim body in Bengal that made representations to the Government from time to time on behalf of the Muslims.

II

The Scientific Society Aligarh

Another important Muslim society came into being in the North-Western Provinces in January 1864.(3) It was founded under the name of the Translation Society(4) by Sayyid Ahmad

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,
3. Graham, G.F.I., The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, p.49.
4. ibid.,

Khan at Ghazipore where he was at that time stationed as Sadr-us-Sudūr.(1) Ahmad Khan's chief object in establishing this society was to get standard English works translated into Urdu so as to make it possible for Muslims to become acquainted with the latest developments of Western thought.(2) It was also to serve as a platform where Indians and Englishmen "could meet and talk over subjects of common interests".(3) Hali says Muslim prejudice against learning English was one of the chief factors that induced Ahmad Khan to establish this society. He thought translations would prove an effective means to bring them into contact with Western knowledge and to dispel their prejudice against it.(4) There was, however, nothing communal about this society. It was rather a combined Hindu-Muslim effort for the enlightenment of the people of India as a whole. Its membership was open to all Indians and

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1. صدر الصدور

2. ibid., Hali, op.cit., I, p.121, II, p.44; Mukammal Majmua, p.12; Report of the Education Commission (North-Western Provinces) p.282.
3. Hamid, A., op.cit., p.44; Hali, op.cit., I, p.120.
4. Hali, op.cit., I, p.120.
Ahmad Khan is said to have been so much convinced of the benefit of rendering standard English works into Urdu that he, at this stage, gave it preference to English education. Hali says:

"انہوں نے خیال کیا کہ ملک میں علوم جدیدہ کی اشاعت اُس وقت تک نہیں ہو سکتی جب تک کہ علمی کتابیں دیسی زبان میں ترجمہ نہ کی جائیں - انہوں نے اس بات کو انگریزی تعلیم کے پھیلانے سے بھی زیادہ ضروری اور مقدم سمجھا۔"

ibid.

Europeans without any distinction of race, colour and creed. The Duke of Argyle was its Patron and the Lieutenant-Governors of the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab were its Vice-Patrons.(1)

When in the later part of 1864 Ahmad Khan was transferred to Aligarh, the headquarters of the society was also moved to that place. Its name was now changed into the Scientific Society Aligarh, and W.J.Bramly, the District Judge of Aligarh was appointed its president.(2)

At Aligarh the Society soon grew popular among Europeans and educated Indians and its membership increased.(3) It held regular monthly meetings and arranged lectures on various subjects of educational and social importance by eminent European and Indian scholars.(4) Within a few years of its establishment it got several English works translated into Urdu. Among them were Elphinstone's History of India, Rollen's History of Ancient Egypt, Malcolm's History of Persia, and many works on political economy, agriculture and chemistry.(5)

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1. ibid., p.121.
2. ibid., p.123; See also Graham op.cit., p.55. Mr.Bramly took keen interest in the work of the Society. He contributed one thousand rupees to the funds of the Society (See Report of the Education Commission, 1882 [North-Western Provinces] p.301.) and was instrumental in enlisting for it the support of quite a few Englishmen. (Hali op.cit., p.123)
3. ibid.,
4. Ibid., p.124.
5. ibid., p.125.

In 1866 the society started a bilingual —Urdu-English — newspaper known as the Scientific Society Paper[1] which was later known as the Aligarh Institute Gazette. The chief objects of this paper were

(i) to keep the British informed about the conditions, needs and feelings of Indians, and

(ii) to acquaint Indians with the British political system and educate them to be able to appreciate Western political thought and institutions.[2]

Sayyid Ahmad Khan himself edited the paper and guided its policy. Articles were published on all important social, ethical, scientific and political topics of the day.[3]

The Aligarh Institute Gazette[4] played a very important role in the development of Muslim social and political movements in India. After the birth of the Indian National Congress it was the most representative organ of the Muslim point of view in politics.

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1. Masud, Ross, KKutut-i-Sir Sayyid, p.178.
2. Hali, op.cit., p.129.
3. Ibid.,
4. In 1877 the North-Western Provinces had 65 newspapers and periodicals. According to official estimate the best informed among them were the Agra Akhbar and the Aligarh Institute Gazette with a circulation of about 350 each. See Statement exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India, 1876-7, pp.96-97.
   In 1882 it was one of the few papers of the North-Western Provinces with a large circulation (See Report on the Administration of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 1882, p.422; see also Report for the year 1883, p.280).

III

The British Indian Association, Aligarh

The Muhammadan Literary Society and the Scientific Society were not political associations. But to a limited extent they served the purpose of political associations. When they were established the political need of the Muslims was to bring their co-religionists and their British rulers into contact and to prove that the Muslims could live under British rule as peaceful and loyal subjects. The spirit with which these societies worked helped considerably to achieve this object.

The first political association of Muslim origin was the British Indian Association Aligarh[1] founded in 1866 by Sayyid Ahmad Khan.[2] On 10th May of that year a meeting of some eminent European and native residents of Aligarh was held at the Institute of the Scientific Society to consider the necessity

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1. F.B.Bradley-Birt says that the National Muhammadan Association was founded by Nawab Amir Ali (see his Twelve Men of Bengal in the Nineteenth Century, p.74) and B.Majumdar thinks that it was founded during the 1850s and was the first Muslim political association (see his History of Political Thought Vol.I, pp.392-93, 397). Both are mistaken. The National Muhammadan Association was founded by Sayyid Amir Ali in 1877 (see Islamic Culture, January 1932, p.9) and no association of this name existed prior to this time.
2. Hali, op.cit., I, pp.126-27; Graham, op.cit., pp.58, 62; A Speech by Syud Ahmad Khan on the institution of the British Indian Association, N-W Provinces", p.3.

of founding an association through the medium of which Indian affairs should be brought before Parliament more prominently than had, hitherto, been the case.(1) Ahmad Khan delivered a speech at the meeting in which he explained the importance of maintaining contact with the British Parliament. He said that during the rule of the Company the chief drawback was that almost all matters concerning India were dealt with by the Court of Directors and that Parliament had very little to do with them. Now that Indian administration had become the direct responsibility of the Crown, and that Indian affairs were mostly to be dealt with directly by Parliament the interests of the people of India demanded that the members of Parliament should be kept fully informed about their needs and requirements.(2) An association representing all parts of the North-Western Provinces should, therefore, be formed, which should, in co-operation with the East India Association, London, bring to the notice of the British Government the feelings of the people of India with regard to laws and regulations concerning different aspects of British administration in India.(3)

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid., pp.4-5; Hali, op.cit.,
3. A Speech by Syud Ahmad Khan on the institution of the British Indian Association, N.W.Provinces", p.7.

Ahmad Khan's suggestion was accepted and the foundation of the British Indian Association was laid at the same meeting. Some prominent members of the Hindu and Muslim communities became its founder members.(1) Sayyid Ahmad Khan was elected secretary and Raja Jaikishan Dass was made president.(2)

The objects and aims of the Association were laid down as follows:-

1. "To improve the efficiency of the British Indian Government and to promote its best interests by every legitimate means in the power of the Association. . . with a view to benefit the natives of the country and other permanent settlers in it, thereby advancing the common interests of Great Britain and India."
2. To draw from time to time "the attention of the Government to redress and amend such already existing measures as appear likely to prove injurious to the interests of the country, or to adopt such other measures as may be calculated to promote those interests, whether viewed in relation to law and jurisprudence, or trade and agriculture, or the general condition of the people".(3)

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1. Hali, op.cit., p.127; Graham, op.cit., p.62.
2. Bye-Laws of the British Indian Association N.W.Provinces", p.7.
3. ibid., p.3; articles 2 and 3.

The constitution of the Association provided that "all respectable individuals, without distinction of race and creed. . . permanently settled in India, and all foreigners resident in the country" who approved of its aims and objects, would be eligible for membership.(1) It also provided for the establishment of branch associations in the North-Western Provinces and for co-operation with similar associations.(2)

The Association only lasted for a year. In 1867 its founder, Sayyid Ahmad Khan, was transferred to Benares. Thereafter we hear nothing about its activities.(3) With the exception of an elaborate scheme submitted to the Government of India for the establishment of a Vernacular University in the North-Western Provinces,(4) the Association does not appear to have done anything important.

The British Indian Association of Aligarh was perhaps the first joint Hindu-Muslim body that envisaged the development of a common outlook towards Indian problems and towards the relations of the people of India with their British rulers. The chief reason why this society was so short-lived was probably the anti-Urdu movement started about that time by the Hindus of the North-Western Provinces, prompted by the

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1. ibid., p.4, article 7.
2. ibid., pp.6, 7, articles 25 and 29.
3. Hali, op.cit.
4. For a brief account of the scheme for the Vernacular University see Hali, op.cit., p.133.

feeling that it was a language of Muslim origin,[1] and represented Muslim rather than Hindu culture.

The Urdu[2] language developed as a result of the contact of the Muslim occupation armies with the local population of Lahore and then of Delhi. It is supposed to be the developed form of the language of the Panjab[3] and of "the Western Hindi spoken for centuries in the neighbourhood of Delhi and Meerut"[4] which

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1. ibid., p.140.
2. Urdu is a Turkish word and means 'army' or 'camp'. "The Muslim army stationed in Delhi from 1193 onwards was known as the Urdu or the Urdu-e-Muallā, the Exalted Army". (See Bailey, T.Graham, A History of Urdu Literature, p.5). The language that developed as a result of contact between this army and the local population became known as Urdu.
3. ibid., p.6.
4. Saksena, Ram Babu, A History of Urdu Literature, pp.62. Maulavi Abdul Haq gives the following account of the origin and development of Urdu:
"The Urdu language. . . is of mixed origin. Neither Indo-Aryan, nor Persian can claim a monopoly in its creation and formation; it has lexically and grammatically, thrived upon the linguistic and cultural stocks borrowed from both. It is the ineffaceable monument of the mingling of two peoples and their cultures - the Hindu and the Muslim.
"With the advent of the Muhammadan conquerors from the North-West the first foundations of this language were laid in India. During the reign of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni and his son Masud many Hindus, such as Tilak, Nath and others, held highly responsible posts at the court of Ghazni. A Hindu army also was stationed there, of which during Mahmud's reign, Swendra Reo, a Hindu, was the commander. The last rulers of the Ghazni dynasty left Ghazni and settled in the Panjab, where they continued to live until their rule came to an end. Thus, both in Ghazni and at Lahore, Hindus and Muhammadans began to enter into close contact with each other. . . .This. . . contact. . .had a far-reaching influence on the languages spoken by the two communities". (Encyclopaedia of Islam, Vol.4, pp.1023-24).
Khutabat-i-Garcin De Tassy, pp.365, 457-58.

extended with the passage of time to other parts of India and came to be understood by the majority of Indians. When in 1837 the British rulers replaced Persian as the official language by English and the local vernaculars, Urdu became the court language of the North-Western Provinces and Behar and after the annexation of the Panjab, of that province as well. Apart from allowing the Muslims the economic benefit of retaining their posts in subordinate Government offices in these provinces, this language represented the centuries-old Hindu-Muslim contact and was, in the absence of a common religion, the only strong factor that could keep the two communities together. In 1867 a movement was started by the Hindus of the North-Western Provinces for its replacement by Hindi as the court language. A section of the Hindu press also demanded that in the proposed Vernacular University for the North-Western Provinces the medium of instruction should be Hindi for Hindus.(1) This development appears to have caused Ahmad Khan great disappointment as it manifested a spirit of communalism likely to divide the Hindu and Muslim communities permanently. The effect it had on the working of Ahmad Khan's mind is described by Hali in Ahmad Khan's own words and provides reason to think that he might have

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1. Hali, op.cit., p.136.

deliberately given up the idea of continuing the British Indian Association. Hali writes:

> "In 1867 some influential Hindus of Benares started the campaign that Urdu written in Persian script should be discontinued in Government courts and that in its place Hindi, written in Deva Nagri script, be introduced.
>
> "It was the first occasion that Ahmad Khan realised it to be impossible for the Hindus and Muslims to progress as a single nation and for anyone to work for both of them simultaneously. He said:
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> 'During the days when this controversy was going on in Benares, I had an occasion to meet Mr.Shakespear who was posted there as the Divisional Commissioner. I said to him something about the education of the Muslims which he listened to with an expression of amazement on his face and remarked: 'This is the first occasion that I have heard you speak about the education of Muslims alone. Heretofore you always talked of the welfare of the Indians in general'. I replied that I was convinced that the two communities would never be able to join in anything wholeheartedly. At that time hostility between them appeared to be little but as time passed it would increase on account of those who were called educated.
>
> Mr.Shakespear said that he would be very sorry if my prophecy proved to be true. I assured him that I was myself very sorry but was convinced that it would prove true.'" (1)

Within a short time of the inauguration of the anti-Urdu movement at Benares local associations and sabhas sprung up all over the North-Western Provinces with a central organization at Allahabad,[2] and a sharp controversy began between the protagonists of Urdu and Hindi on the merits and demerits of

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1. ibid., p.140.
2. ibid., pp.140-41.

each language and the Persian and Deva Nagri scripts. Ahmad Khan took an active part in this controversy.(1) His presentations of the case of Urdu as a common language of the Hindus and Muslims of the North-Western Provinces(2) saved it from being uprooted as the court language but could not stem the tide of Hindu opposition to it.

It appears that the more the opposition of the Hindus to the Urdu language grew the more Ahmad Khan became convinced that it was impossible for the Hindus and Muslims to develop a common outlook with regard to social and political problems emerging in post-Mutiny India. In 1870, while in London, he heard that the Hindu members of the Scientific Society were asked by their co-religionists to move that Urdu should be replaced by Hindi in the publications of the Society. He wrote to Mohsin-ul-Mulk:

> "I am shocked to learn that at Babu Shiv Prasad's instigation, Hindus have generally resolved to do away with the Urdu language and Persian script, which is a memento of Muslim rule. I have heard that they have

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1. ibid., pp.141-42.
2. The popularity that the Urdu language continued to enjoy as a common language of the Hindus and Muslims of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh can be ascertained from the following remarks in an official report:
"There were 36 Native newspapers published in the North-West Provinces in 1871-72, with an average circulation of 253 copies each, and nine magazines. Of the two languages Urdu keeps a decided lead in relation to Hindi, the great majority of the newspapers and magazines being in the former language." See the Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India 1872-73, p.151.

asked the Hindu members of the Scientific Society to see that Hindi should replace Urdu in the newspapers as well as books published by the Society. This is a proposal which will make Hindu-Muslim unity impossible. Muslims will never agree to Hindi, and if Hindus, also following the new move, insist on Hindi, they also will not agree to Urdu. The result will be that the Hindus and Muslims will be completely separated."(1)

Ahmad Khan's chief concern was the regeneration of the Muslim community. From now onward we find him devoted mainly to the cause of Muslim education. He did not want the Muslims to be involved in a conflict with the Hindus or the Government as that would hinder their progress. His disinterestedness in the British Indian Association after the inauguration of the anti-Urdu movement, and non-pursuance of the scheme for a Vernacular University in the North-Western Provinces appears to have been in accordance with this policy.(2) However, he bore no hatred towards the Hindus; nor did he hesitate in promoting their interests so long as they did not conflict with those of the Muslims.(3)

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1. Masud, R., Khutut-i-Sir Sayyid, p.66
2. Hali, op.cit., pp.136-37.
3. In 1877 he willingly presided over the meeting addressed by Surendranath Banerjea on the question of upper age limit for the Civil Service Examination.

IV

In other parts of the country social and religious organizations of a semi-political nature also sprung up. Their chief object was almost everywhere to bring about a better understanding between the Muslims and their British rulers and to promote the social and religious interests of the former. In the Panjab the first Muslim association of importance was the Anjuman-i-Islamia Lahore (Islamic Association Lahore) established in 1869.(1) It discussed all questions affecting the Muslim community, and its proceedings were regularly reported in the journal of the Anjuman-i-Panjab.(2) One of its chief aims was to popularise Government measures affecting Muslims and to represent to the Government the views of the Muslim community.(3) In the early 1870s the Anjuman established in Lahore an Anglo-Muhammadan school. In 1885 the number of its subscribing members was over one hundred.(4)

In 1874 an Islamic association was founded at Amritsar (The Anjuman-i-Islamia Amritsar). Its object was to encourage English and religious education among Muslims and to discuss

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1. Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1882-83, p.283.
2. ibid., p.284.
3. ibid.,
4. ibid., 1885-86. See Appendix No.65, p.cxliv. Nawab Nawazish Ali Khan and Khan Bahadur Barkat Ali Khan were its President and Secretary respectively. (See R.A.P.D., 1882-83, p.284)

all social, political and religious matters affecting the Muslim community. Soon after its inauguration the Anjuman established a school which provided modern education for Muslim students.(1) Later, Islamic associations with similar objects were also founded in some other towns of the province. Prominent among them were the Anjuman-i-Islamia Gujranwala (established in 1875),(2) the Anjuman-i-Islamia Rawalpindi (established in 1884),(3) the Anjuman-i-Islamia Peshawar (established in 1883)(4) and the Anjuman-i-Islamia Hazara (established in 1881).(5)

In Delhi a Muslim association known as Anjuman-i-Refah-i-Reayā-i-Hind(6) (An Association for the Welfare of the People of India) was founded in 1875.(7) It exercised considerable influence on the Muslims of Delhi in determining their attitude to changed circumstances and in creating confidence and better understanding between the rulers and the ruled. It was divided into two sections, one dealing exclusively with questions affecting the Muslim community and the other with matters concerning the people of India as a whole.(8) Its objects

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1. ibid., pp.285-86.
2. ibid., p.285.
3. R.A.P.D., 1885-86, p.cxlv.
4. ibid., p.cxlvi.
5. ibid.
6. انجمن رفاہِ رعایائے ہند
7. Qanūn-i-Anjuman-i-Refah-i-Reayā-i-Hind, p.2.
8. ibid., p.4.

were as follows:

1. To work for the moral and social uplift of Muslims and for the proper maintenance of Muslim places of worship and religious endowments.
2. To arrange lectures on technical and literary subjects and, if necessary, publish them for the benefit of the general public.
3. To promote co-operation and better understanding between the rulers and the ruled.
4. To keep the rulers informed about the conditions of the ruled and to suggest measures for their improvement.
5. To establish an educational institution of high standard to impart secular as well as religious education to Muslim students.(1)

The name of the Anjuman was later changed to the Anjuman-i-Rashidin-i-Ahl-i-Islam Delhi.(2)

The Anjuman made several representations to the Government on behalf of the Muslims of Delhi. It was as a result of its endeavours that the Government released to the Muslims their religious endowments in Delhi and handed them the control of the Zeenat-ul-Masajid and the shops of the Fatehpuri Mosque.(3)

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1. Ibid., pp.4-6.
2. Resala-i-Anjuman-i-Rashidin-i-Ahl-i-Islam Delhi, p.1.
3. Ibid., p.8.

On 1st January 1877 it presented an address of welcome to Lord Lytton and conveyed to him the grateful appreciation of the Muslims of Delhi for the attention the Government was now paying to the educational needs of the Muslim community.(1)

In Bombay an association known as the Anjuman-i-Islam (The Islamic Association) came into being about the middle of the 1870s and worked for the social and educational uplift of the Muslims.(2) An association of this name also existed in Lucknow. It was mainly devoted to the work of social reform among the Muslims. However, it took great pain to see that they did not give the rulers any cause to suspect their loyalty.(3)

These associations are supposed to have helped a great deal in awakening the Muslims to the need of adapting themselves to the changed social and political conditions in India. But as all of them were local in character and had been working independent of one another, their influence remained limited.

V

The Central National Muhammadan Association

The first all-India political organisation which aimed at

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1. ibid., p.4. For the full text of the address see pp.4-6.
2. See The Education Commission (1882), Bombay Provincial Report, p.55.
3. For the work of the Anjuman see Resala-i-Anjuman-i-Islam, Lucknow, Nos.4-23.

a co-ordinated effort for the regeneration of the Muslims was the Central National Muhammadan Association founded by Sayyid Ameer Ali in 1877.(1)

Sayyid Ameer Ali was born on 6th April 1849 at Chinsura.(2) His father, Sayyid Saadat Ali, was a man of liberal views. He gave his son both religious and Western education. Ameer Ali obtained from Calcutta University the degree of Master of Arts in History and Political Economy and that of Bachelor of Law and proceeded in 1869 to England to study for the Bar.(3) Having been called to the Bar in 1873 he came back to India and started practice in the Calcutta High Court. In 1874 he was elected a Fellow of Calcutta University. The next year he was appointed Lecturer on Muhammadan Law in the Presidency College. He held this post for five years. From 1878 to 1881 he served as Magistrate and, for sometime, as Chief Magistrate of Calcutta. He was a member of the Bengal Legislative Council from 1878 to 1883. For the next two years he served on the Imperial Legislative Council. In 1890 he was appointed a judge of the Calcutta High Court. He was the second Muslim to be honoured with that position

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1. Islamic Culture, January 1932: "Memoirs of Rt.Hon'ble Syed Amir Ali", p.9.
2. Eminent Musselmans, p.146.
3. Islamic Culture, October 1931, p.524.

in India, the first being Sayyid Ahmad Khan's celebrated son Sayyid Mahmood. After his retirement in 1904 Ameer Ali permanently settled in England. In 1908 he organized the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League and remained its president till 1913.(1) "In 1909 he was appointed the first Indian member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council".(2) He wrote several standard works on Muslim history and law. His best known and widely read book in the Muslim world is the "Spirit of Islam" which gives a "liberal modernist interpretation of Islam".(3) He died in London in 1928.

Ameer Ali appears to have contemplated forming a Muslim political organization while he was studying law in England. He met Sayyid Ahmad Khan several times during the latter's stay in London,(4) and discussed with him the necessity of such an organization.(5) However it was not until 1877 that he succeeded in forming the National Muhammadan Association.(6) The circumstances that necessitated its establishment were thus described in the first quinquennial report of the Association:

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition) Vol.I, p.443.
2. ibid.,
3. ibid.,
4. Sayyid Ahmad Khan stayed in London for about one and a half years during 1869-70. (See Graham, op.cit., pp.64, 133.)
5. Memoirs of Sayyid Ameer Ali, Islamic Culture, October 1931, p.540.
6. ibid., p.541.

"The present backward condition of the Indian Muslims is due partly to internal and partly to external causes. The disintegration of Muhammadan society, the decadence of their principal families and the general ruin which has overtaken all classes of the Mussalman community, combined with the absence of any means to represent to Government, faithfully and honestly, the views of the Muhammadans of India have placed them in a most disadvantageous position as regards political influence and power relatively to the other Indian communities. It may safely be affirmed that until the establishment of the Central National Muhammadan Association, there existed no political body among the Indian Muhammadans, capable of representing to the Government, from a loyal but independent standpoint, the hopes and aspirations, the legitimate wants and requirements of the large body of Muslims in this country, who by their number and homogeneity constitute such an important factor in all questions concerning the welfare of India. The few Muhammadan societies which had been formed here and there were, in the main, literary and scientific, having for their ostensible object the promotion of a desire for European knowledge among the Muhammadans. The absence of a really representative political institution occasionally forced the Government to consult these societies upon questions affecting the Muhammadan community of particular localities. The opinions thus elicited hardly represented, however, the views of the leaders of thought among them, who were alive to the exigencies of the times . . . In order to obviate the difficulties under which the Muhammadans have laboured hitherto the Central National Muhammadan Association was instituted. . ."(1)

The object of the Association was the promotion by all legitimate and constitutional means of the well-being of the Muslims of India. It was founded upon the principle of loyal adherence to the British Crown. Deriving its inspiration

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1. Rules and Objects of the Central National Mahommedan Association and its Branch Associations with the Quinquennial and Annual Reports, pp.i-ii.

from the noble tradition of the past, it proposed to work in harmony with Western culture and the progressive tendencies of the age. It aimed at the political regeneration of the Indian Muslims "by a moral revival and by constant endeavours to obtain from Government a recognition of their just and reasonable claims".(1)

The Association soon had branches in several important Muslim centres and its name was changed to the Central National Muhammadan Association.(2) In 1884, there were branches in Allahabad, Muzaffarpore, Meerut, Hardoi, Patna, Surat, Motihari, Tumkoor, Bogra, Chittagong, Hoogly, Madras, Secunderabad, Ajmer, Karachi, Sheikhupura, Gujrat and several other towns.(3) However, it was not popular in composition. Like other social and political associations in nineteenth century India it drew its members mainly from the upper and middle class Muslims. Anyhow, it represented a considerably large section of the politically conscious Muslims and held among them almost the same position as the Indian Association

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1. ibid., pp.ii, 2.
2. Ameer Ali writes:
   "When soon some 34 branches were formed, spreading from Madras to the Panjab, from Chittagong to Karachi, the name of the Association was changed to the 'Central National Muhammadan Association' and it became the de facto and de jure representative organisation of the Moslem community". Islamic Culture, January 1932, p.9.
3. Rules and Objects, pp.30b-65; Report of the Committee of the Central National Mahommedan Association for the year 1883-84, p.82.

did among the Hindus. The number of its subscribing members which was 200 in 1878[1] had risen to 700 by 1884.[2] That year its annual subscription was reduced from ten to six rupees with the object of making its membership possible for other classes of Muslims as well.[3] In the subsequent years the number of its members as well as branch associations appears to have become larger.[4]

The Association advocated co-operation among Muslims on the basis of the Islamic concept of unity and harmony.[5] But it did not entertain any hostility towards either the existing non-Muslim organizations or the non-Muslim communities. On the contrary it recognized the fact that the welfare of Indian

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1. Rules and Objects, p.3.
2. Report 1883-84, p.77.
3. Ibid., p.8.
4. In 1888 the Association had over fifty branches spreading all over India. Its branches existed in the following important centres:
   Karachi, Shahzadpur, Shikarpur, Larkana, Sukkur, Lahore, Gujrat, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Ambala, Hissar, Delhi, Hardoi, Bareilly, Badaun, Mohān, Allahabad, Lucknow, Ghazipur, Muzaffarpur, Ajmer, Surat, Dindigal, Bangalore, Tumkoor, Vizagapatam, Vizianagram, Sasseram, Arrah, Dinapore, Gaya, Patna, Chapra, Sewan, Motihari, Bhagalpur, Hoogly, Jahanabad, Pundooah, Rungpore, Midnapore, Bogra, Rajshahi, Noakhali, Mymensingh, Comillah, Shillong, Chittagong, Dumka, Brahmunbariah and Cuttuck.
5. The Report of the Committee of the Central National Mahommedan Association for the first 5 years said:
   "If the Mussulmans of India desire to regain their lost position of political influence and power in the country, they must be guided by the true Islamic precepts of unity and harmony".
   Rules and Objects, p.13.

Muslims was "intimately connected with the well-being of the other races of India" and declared that it did not "exclude from its scope, the advocacy and furtherance of the public interests of the people of India at large".(1) Non-Muslims were eligible as its members, and were entitled to vote on all matters excepting those which concerned the Muslims exclusively.(2) In 1883 it had 27 Hindus among its subscribing members.(3) The list of its honorary members contained the names of some eminent Hindus, Parsees and Englishmen including W.C.Bonnerjee, who later became the President of the First Indian National Congress and Babu (later Sir) Surendranath Banerjea, the founder of the Indian Association.(4) Three distinguished Hindus of Calcutta, Babu Saligramsingh, Babu Ganesh Chunder and K.M.Chatterjee served on its Committee.(5)

The Central National Muhammadan Association was the first Muslim political body that was organized to represent Muslim India as a whole. It made representations to the Imperial and Local Governments on several occasions and put before them the needs and requirements of the Muslim community. In 1882 it presented to the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, a memorial which

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1. ibid., pp.ii, 3.
2. Ibid., p.iv, Article 8; Islamic Culture, January 1932, p.9.
3. Rules and Objects pp.19-28. Most of these members came from Calcutta, the headquarters of the Association.
4. ibid., pp.31-32.
5. Ibid., p.15; Islamic Culture, January 1932, pp.9-10.

dealt exhaustively with the problems of Muslim education and with Muslim grievances regarding their inadequate number in Government offices.(1) This Memorial is considered to have been greatly responsible for the subsequent improvement in Government policy towards the Muslims. The problems of Muslim education discussed in it were paid special attention by the Indian Education Commission of 1882.(2) The Resolution of Lord Dufferin's Government of 15th July 1885, on the subject of Muhammadan Education which declared a policy of special consideration towards the Muslims with regard to their share in state employment originated as a direct result of this Memorial.(3)

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1. Rules and Objects, p.11. For the full text of the Memorial see S.R.G.I., No.ccv, pp.237-44.
2. See Report of the Indian Education Commission (1882), p.477.
3. The Resolution declared:
"It is only by raising their own educational qualifications to the level already attained by other races, that the Muhammadans can hope to win appointments that are awarded as the result of examination. But there are a large number of appointments, the gift of which lies in the hands of Local Governments, the High Courts, or Local Officers. The Governor-General-in-Council desires that in those provinces where Muhammadans do not receive their full share of state employment, the Local Governments and High Courts will endeavour to redress inequality as opportunity offers, and will impress upon subordinate officers the importance of attending to this in selection of candidates for appointments of the class last referred to."
(See Resolution of the Government of India, Home Department (Education) - No.7/215-25, dated Simla, the 15th July 1885. Full text of the Resolution and comments on it can also be seen in S.R.G.I. No.ccv, pp.375-91.)

The Association paid keen attention to all such legislative measures as concerned Muslim social, political and religious interests. Towards the end of 1883 it was asked by the Government of Bengal to express its opinion on the pending Municipality Bill.(1) After making a thorough study of the Bill and eliciting the opinion of its branches the Association sent a representation to the Government. It suggested that the property qualifications should be lowered so as to enable a larger number of Muslims to have the vote, and that a provision should be inserted in the Bill empowering the Government to direct the minority to elect its own representatives, where the state of feeling or other considerations rendered such a step expedient and desirable.(2) The suggestion was made with the object of obtaining for the Muslims a fair representation on Municipal Boards which, in the opinion of the Association was not possible under the provision of the Bill that entitled the Local Government to nominate one-third of the members.(3) As will be noticed later, two eminent Muslims, Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Yusuf, had already advocated that Muslims should receive

1. The Bill was passed into Law in early 1884 and became the Bengal Municipal Act No.III of 1884 - An Act to amend and consolidate the law relating to Municipalities (See Bengal Administration Report 1883-84, pp.28-29; see also the Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the year 1883-84, p.5).
2. Report of the Committee of the Central National Mahommedan Association for the year 1883-84, p.84.
3. Ibid.,

separate nomination to local self-government institutions. But the proposal that, where the circumstances demanded, the Muslim voters should be allowed to elect their own representatives came first from the Central National Muhammadan Association. However, the Local Legislature rejected it "on the ground that it would imply class legislation".(1) On the other hand, the Association asserted that as the Municipal Act stood then, it would operate to the exclusion of Muslims from Municipal Boards and would become one of the major causes of friction between them and the Hindus.(2) Later events showed how true was the opinion of the Association.

The Central National Muhammadan Association continued to work for the safeguard of Muslim interests even after 1885. However, its importance was over-shadowed by the activities of the Aligarh leaders who, under the forceful leadership of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, became the most formidable exponents of Muslim rights after the inauguration of the Indian National Congress.

The development of Muslim political organizations during the period under discussion represented the working of the Muslim mind in relation to social and political conditions

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1. ibid., p.85.
2. ibid.,

in India. As has been mentioned in the preceding pages the first concern of the Muslim leaders in post-Mutiny India was the establishment of confidence between their co-religionists and the British. Their attitude towards politics was greatly determined by this factor. Another factor that influenced their outlook was the social and economic condition of the Muslim community in the rapidly changing Indian society. The contention of the Central National Muhammadan Association that the Muslims should be treated as a separate community and provision should be made by the Government for their proper representation in Government departments and local self-government institutions is a concrete example of this influence. By the beginning of the 1880s this seems to have become the general view of the Muslim intelligentsia. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who had dissociated himself from organised political movement after the inauguration of the Hindi-Urdu controversy in the late sixties and had declined to support Sayyid Ameer Ali in organizing the National Muhammadan Association when the latter approached him in 1877,[1] proved to be one of the strongest exponents of this point of view. As early as January 1883 speaking in the Governor-General's Legislative Council on the Central Provinces Local Self-Government Bill he insisted that

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1. Islamic Culture, October 1931, p.541.

the Muslims should receive separate nomination to local boards and district councils. He said:

> "The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population, and, in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed, it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my Lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local boards and the district councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and creed and the distinctions of caste form an important element in the socio-political life of India, and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country at large, the system of election, pure and simple, cannot be safely adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community, and the ignorant public would hold Government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever."(1)

About the middle of that year an eminent Muslim from Behar, Muhammad Yusuf, advocated separate representation for the Muslims in the local self-government institutions. Basing his argument on the 47th paragraph of the Report of the Commissioner of the Presidency Division who had remarked "that the agitators in this matter are Hindus, and that Local Boards, instituted as proposed will be comprised almost entirely of

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1. Proceedings of the Governor-General's Council, 15th January 1883. For full text of Ahmad Khan's speech see Appendix A.

Hindus to the exclusion of" Muslims, Muhammad Yusuf said:

> "The Council will be pleased to remember that though in most places the Muhammadan population forms a minority as compared with the larger bodies of the Hindus, still in many places they form a large proportion of the population. Or it may be that in some places, though fewer, the case is the reverse, and the Hindus form a minority. In such cases, when there is party spirit and angry feeling between the two classes of people, it is necessary to reserve power for the representation of the minority. The Bill proposes to provide for this by nomination, but it would be an advantage and a more fit recognition of the claims of the Muhammadan population if provision could be made in the Bill for the election of Muhammadans by reserving a certain number of memberships for that community".(1)

The inquiries of the Public Service Commission of 1886 showed that educated Muslims in every part of India had become conscious of the need that Muslims should receive consideration as a separate community for their representation in public services. A large number of Muslim witnesses who appeared before the Commission were of this opinion. From Madras Munshi Ahmad Mohyud din(2) and Mir Shujaat Ali,(3) from Karachi A.D.Husain Ali,(4) from Bombay Khan Bahadur Ghulam Mohammad Munshi,(5) from Bengal Sayyid Ameer Husain(6) and Maulavi Abdul Jabbar(7) and from the Panjab Munshi Moharram Ali Chishti(8)

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1. Proceedings of the Bengal Legislative Council, Vol.XV,1883, p.65.
2. Proceedings of the Public Service Commission, Vol.V, Madras, pp.112-15.
3. ibid., pp.32-33.
4. Ibid., Vol.IV, Bombay, p.124.
5. Ibid., p.35.
6. Ibid., Vol.VI, Bengal, p.131.
7. ibid., p.218.
8. ibid., Vol.I, Panjab, pp.203-204.

are a few prominent names among the Muslim witnesses who advocated this policy.

However, the question of Muslim representation as a factor in Indian politics became prominent after the inauguration of the Congress movement based on the claim that the Congress represented the aspiration of all Indian communities and that its political creed was supported by the Muslims as well.

Chapter IV

The Muslims and Indian Nationalism 1885-1906 I.

Indian nationalism in its organized form began with the birth of the Indian National Congress in 1885. Till then the Muslims had kept almost completely aloof from political movements developing as a result of western ideas flowing into India through English education and the growing contact of English educated Indians with western thought and institutions, and had mainly remained absorbed in the work of their social and educational uplift and in bringing about a reconciliation between themselves and their rulers. With the birth of the Congress they were confronted with a new situation. This organization, having been founded with the purpose of combining all elements of the Indian population into one national whole,(1) claimed to represent all Indian communities and from the very beginning aimed at such political and administrative reforms as appeared to Muslims detrimental to their interests.(2) Before long its demands became the cause of dissension between

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1. Wedderburn, William, Allan Octavian Hume, p.47.
2. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, The Present State of Indian Politics, pp.10-11, 12-13, 26, 61.

the Hindus and the Muslims, and led to the inauguration of a movement towards the recognition of Muslims as a separate community with a distinct social and political status.

The Indian National Congress was founded on the initiative of A.O.Hume,[1] a retired member of the Indian Civil Service, and was supported from the very beginning by a group of Englishmen including Sir William Wedderburn, George Yule and Charles Bradlaugh.[2] In India, the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, himself was very favourably disposed towards this organization. In fact it was at his suggestion that this body was given the form of a political association. Hume's original intention was that it should take up social rather than political questions, the latter being left to the

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1. A.O.Hume was the "son of the radical Joseph Hume". (The Oxford History of India, Third Edition, 1958, p.737; Mazumdar, A.C., Indian National Evolution, p.46). He had been a member of the Covenanted Civil Service from 1849 to 1882 (Lovett, V., A History of the Indian Nationalist Movement, p.34.) "Towards the close of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty, that is, about 1878 and 1879" he "became convinced that some definite action was called for to counteract the growing unrest" and to direct the increasing agitation among the educated Indians "on constitutional lines". The inauguration of the Indian National Congress was the fulfilment of this desire. (See Wedderburn, W., Allan Octavian Hume, p.50; Chakrabarty and Bhattacharyya, Congress in Evolution, p.xvi.)
2. Before the inauguration of the Congress Hume paid a flying visit to England. There he sought for it the support of people like John Bright and also of some important newspapers including the Manchester Guardian, the Manchester Examiner, the Scotsman, the Glasgow Daily Mail, and the Western Times. See Wedderburn, op.cit., pp.54-55.

already existing "provincial organizations, like the Indian Association of Calcutta, the Presidency Association of Bombay, and the Mahajana Sabha of Madras".[1] He consulted Lord Dufferin, and the latter feeling the lack of an organization in India which could perform the function that "Her Majesty's opposition did in England" and could "point out to the Government in what respects the administration was defective and how it could be improved",[2] encouraged it to take a political character.[3] Lord Dufferin's opinion prevailed and the Congress came into being as a political body "with the full approval of the Government".[4]

The introduction of representative government into

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1. Bonnerjee, W.C., Indian Politics, pp.vii-viii; Sitaramayya, P., The History of the Indian National Congress, Vol.I, p.15.
2. Bonnerjee, op.cit.
3. Symonds, R., The Making of Pakistan, p.39.
4. Griffiths, P., The British Impact on India, p.280.
   Lord Dufferin "encouraged the idea of an Indian National Congress and sympathised with its aspirations at the outset". (See Banerjea, S.N., A Nation in Making, p.92.)
   That the formation of the Congress as a political body was encouraged by Lord Dufferin is also borne out by the following critical remark on his policy by Lord George Hamilton:
   "Dufferin who is one of my very oldest friends, is quite delightful in conversation, but he is a thorough Irishman; and I do not believe, he has been in any single place of responsibility and authority in which he did not more or less purchase popularity by leaving to his successors unpleasant legacies. I attribute largely to his mismanagement and want of judgement the origin and development of the Congress party". (See Hamilton Papers, Vol.II, Hamilton to Curzon, 17th May 1900.)

India was the chief aim of the Congress.(1) The reform of the Legislative Councils became its demand from the time of its inception. It urged their expansion and enlargement "by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members".(2) It suggested that the right to elect members of the Provincial

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1. A circular issued in April 1885 by the organizers of the First Indian National Congress refers to this question as follows:-
"This conference will form the germ of a Native Parliament and, if properly conducted, will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institutions".
(Mazumdar, op.cit., p.48; Besant, A., How India Wrought for Freedom", pp.3-4; Sitaramayya, op.cit., p.16. See also Report of the First Indian National Congress, Dadabhai Naoroji's speech in support of Resolution III.)
2. "That this Congress considers the reform and expansion of the Supreme and the existing Local Legislative Councils by the admission of a considerable proportion of elected members (and the creation of similar Councils for the N-W.Provinces and Oudh, and also for the Panjab) essential; and holds that all Budgets should be referred to these Councils for consideration, their members being moreover empowered to interpellate the Executive in regard to all branches of administration; and that a Standing Committee of the House of Commons be constituted to receive and consider any formal protests that may be recorded by majorities of such Councils against the exercise by the Executive of power, which would be vested in it, of over-ruling the decision of such majorities". (Resolution III, passed at the First Indian National Congress). See the Report of the First Indian National Congress, p.1; Chakrabarty, opicit., p.2; Besant, op.cit., p.13.
This Resolution was re-affirmed by the Congresses of 1886,1887, and 1888, and with certain changes by those of 1889, 1890 and 1891 - See the Reports of the Indian National Congress for the following years:
1886: Resolution III, pp.41, 70.
1887: Resolution II, pp.61, 83.
1888; Resolution I, pp.61, 84.
1889: Resolution II, pp.xli, 11-12.
1890: Resolution I, pp.xlv, 14.
1891: Resolution II, pp.xv, 13.

Councils should "be conferred only on those classes and members of the community" who were "prima facie capable of exercising it wisely and independently". It should be given to the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and Universities, or persons possessing such educational and pecuniary qualifications as might be deemed necessary.(1) With regard to the elected members of the Governor-General's Council the suggestion was that the right to elect should be vested in the elected members of the several Provincial Councils.(2)

The Congress also demanded that the competitive examination for appointments in various civil departments of the Public Service should be held simultaneously in England and in India; and that all other appointments (excluding peonships and the like) should be filled by competitive examinations.(3)

The Muslims regarded these demands as detrimental to their interests.(4) They were backward in western education and were not able to compete with the Hindus for Government

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1. Report of the Second Indian National Congress, pp.41-42; Resolution IV; Besant, op.cit., p.30; Chakrabarty, op.cit., p.3.
2. ibid.,
3. Resolution IV, passed at the First Indian National Congress. The Congress demanded that "all posts in the subordinate services, from that of Tahsildar to Subordinate Judge, should also be given by competitive examination". (See The Present State of Indian Politics, p.8.)
4. ibid., pp.2-23.

appointments.(1) They were too poor to be considered qualified to become electors in proportion to their numbers if wealth became the basis of qualification.(2) They would not get proper representation in the Legislative Councils, if the right to elect was confined to the members of Municipalities, District Boards, Chambers of Commerce and Universities as these bodies were dominated by the Hindus. The acceptance of these demands would not benefit them; they would rather be condemned to perpetual subjection to the will of a religious majority. Therefore the more Congress emphasised these demands the greater grew the Muslim opposition to the nationalist movement. This development having been, in later years, intensified by religious and cultural conflicts between the Hindus and Muslims completed by 1906 one phase of Muslim political movement in India, and prepared the way for the inauguration of a movement for separate electorates.

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1. "Now, I ask you, have Muhammadans attained to such a position as regards higher English education, which is necessary for higher appointments, as to put them on a level with Hindus or not? Most certainly not". See The Present State of Indian Politics, pp.10-11.

2. ibid., p.13.

II

The first Indian National Congress was attended by 72 delegates.[1] Only two of them were Muslims. Both came from Bombay, the place where the Congress met, and neither of them was a prominent figure in the Muslim community.[2] To this Congress the reaction of the Muslim community was that of quiet watchfulness. It was on the eve of the second Congress that the Muslim leaders indicated their disapproval of this organization and advised their co-religionists to keep aloof from it.[3]

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1. Report of the First Indian National Congress, p.5.
2. These two Muslim delegates were Bombay solicitors Rahimtulla M.Siyani and Abdullah Mehrali Dharamsi (ibid.) Rahimtulla Muhammad Siyani belonged to the Khoja community of Bombay and as he admitted in his evidence before Public Service Commission in January 1887, his knowledge about the Muslims of the Presidency was limited. He only knew the conditions of his own community. (See the Proceedings of the Public Service Commission, Vol.IV, Bombay pp.100-101)
3. During his tour of India W.S.Caine wrote from Aligarh on 16th December 1888:
"Sir Sayyid tells me that he and his friends took no notice whatever of the first Congress at Bombay; but the second one Meeting at Calcutta, attracted more attention and a number of leading Muhammadans met privately to consider what their attitude should be and decided that no official notice should be taken". (See India as seen by M.P.Caine, p.28) Government opinion about the Muslim attitude toward the Congress comes out clearly in the following extract:
"You will have observed that the Muhammadans have abstained from taking any part in the Indian National Congress. They have done this, I understand, entirely in accordance with their own views of what is politic, and not at all under any pressure from the officials. Indeed I do not think we could make a greater mistake than to endeavour to sow the seeds of dissension, suspicion or jealousy between any classes of Her Majesty's subjects. Such a policy would in the long run recoil upon our own heads. What the Muhammadans feel is that under a Bengalee constitution they would be more completely left out in the cold than they are at present". (Cross Collection - Letters from the Earl of Dufferin, Vol.II, Dufferin to Cross, 4th January 1887.)

This disapproval came first from Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the founder of the Aligarh Movement,[1] and then from other Muslim leaders including Sayyid Ameer Ali and Nawab Abdul Lateef.

A strong section of the Indian and British press had made the Congress realise that unless it got considerable support from the Muslims its national character remained untrue. The Reception Committee of the Second Congress took, therefore, particular care to ensure enough Muslim representation. It was just about the time when the Committee was approaching certain Muslim organizations to send delegates to the next Congress that Sayyid Ahmad Khan, in an article in the Aligarh Institute Gazette, condemned the Congress movement as 'seditious' and advised his co-religionists to hold aloof from it.[2] A.O.Hume having realised the harm Ahmad Khan's criticism would do to the Congress, made a long reply to it in a letter to the Statesman. He was surprised that Ahmad Khan should so "utterly disprove and dislike" what the Viceroy looked upon "with so much favour".[3] He said that Ahmad Khan's view

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1. When the Indian National Congress was founded there existed Sayyid Ameer Ali's Central National Muhammadan Association, with its branches in almost all important towns of India to organize Muslim political opinion. But the policy that decided the course of Muslim politics from this time onwards was devised not by this organization but by the leaders of the Aligarh Movement who had by that time acquired considerable importance as leaders of Muslim thought in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent.
2. See the Aligarh Institute Gazette, 23rd November 1886.
3. The Statesman, 18th, 19th and 21st December, 1886. For this letter see also the Indian Mirror, 25th December 1886 - Supplement.

that the Congress wanted to establish parliamentary government in India was not correct. All that it asked for was "such a tentative measure of representation as shall ensure a full knowledge by the Government of the wants and wishes of the country".(1) Hume's reply, did not, however, appear convincing enough to the Muslim intelligentsia and even at the Second Congress, held in December, 1886, at Calcutta, the number of Muslim delegates remained very small. They were 33 out of a total of 431 delegates, and none of them was a prominent member of the Muslim community.(2) The two Muslim associations of Calcutta, the Central National Muhammadan Association and the Muhammadan Literary Society kept completely aloof.(3) These associations were approached by the Reception Committee to send delegates but neither of them agreed, because it did not regard the Congress movement as beneficial for the Muslims.

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1. ibid.,
2. Report of the Second Indian National Congress - See the List of Delegates.
3. "Three prominent Calcutta Muhammadans, two of them the leaders of the only local Muhammadan Associations of any note, under some misapprehensions, into which it is too late now to enquire, saw fit at the last moment to declare publicly against the Congress, to which they were pleased to prefer what one of them styled 'a policy of confidence in the Government', and no time being left for threshing out the question, the Muhammadans of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, not knowing what might be behind these manifestos, almost as a body abstained from taking part in the movement". (Report of the Second Indian National Congress, pp.8-9.)

On behalf of the Central National Muhammadan Assocciation Sayyid Ameer Ali wrote that he disapproved of the policy and the demands of the Congress.(1) The secretary of the Muhammadan Literary Society, Nawab Abdul Lateef said that the Muslims did not want to bring about changes which they considered unsuited to the exigencies of the India of that day and "the various conflicting interests" therein.(2)

The Hindu press severely criticised the attitude of the Muslim leaders.(3) Even the Statesman disapproved of "Muslim indifference" towards the Congress movement which it called "great" and thought that the succeeding Muslim generation would be wiser.(4) However, later developments showed that what seemed, in the beginning, mere indifference on the part of the Muslims became, in the succeeding years, direct opposition to the Congress movement.

III

The Muhammadan Educational Conference

When the Indian National Congress was founded there existed Sayyid Ameer Ali's Central National Muhammadan Association with

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1. The Statesman, 19th December 1886.
2. The Statesman, 25th December 1886.
3. See the remarks of the Advocate of India quoted in the Statesman, 2nd January 1887.
4. The Statesman, 28th December 1886.

its branches in almost all important towns of India.(1) This organization had, in explicit terms, disapproved of the policy of the Congress. Sayyid Ahmad Khan, who henceforward became the chief exponent of the Muslim point of view with regard to political development in the country, also disapproved of the Congress movement, but he did not ally himself with Sayyid Ameer Ali's organization, nor did he contemplate founding a separate political organization to counteract the nationalist movement which was developing under official patronage,(2) and had a fair chance of attracting considerable Muslim attention

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1. Rules and Objects, p.4.
2. The Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, who was favourably disposed to the Congress invited the delegates to the Second Congress, held in Calcutta in December, 1886, "as distinguished guests to a garden party at Government House. His example was followed by Lord Connemara, the Governor of Madras, at the time of the third Congress". (Masani, R.P., Dadabhai Naoroji, p.303. . See also Wedderburn, op.cit., p.60. Lord Connemara..."received the delegates at Government House in a manner befitting his exalted position and fully worthy of the occasion. It was a brilliant function in which His Excellency freely mixed and conversed with the delegates and gave unmistakable evidence of his sympathies with the movement. Sumptuous refreshments were also provided for the delegates and the Governor's own band was in attendance." (Mazumdar, op.cit., p.71.)
Alfred Nundy said at a meeting of the East India Association, in February 1896:
"Even Government officials took part in it (i.e., the Congress), and a European civilian, now a District Magistrate, told me that he had presided at one of the Congress meetings." See his article: "The origin and aims of the Indian National Congress" in the Journal of the East India Association, April 1896.

on that account. He however took a positive step to meet the situation. He founded in December, 1886, just one year after the establishment of the Indian National Congress, the Muhammadan Educational Conference with a view to fostering among the Muslims a sense of unity and a sentiment of communal solidarity[1] and to keeping them absorbed in matters concerning the progress of their own community. This body was originally called the Muhammadan Educational Congress and retained this name till 1890 when it was changed into the Muhammadan Educational Conference.[2] Ahmad Khan did not want this body to discuss political matters.[3] He disagreed

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1. Hali, A.H., Hayat-i-Jaweed, Vol.I, p.257.
   Addressing the Conference at the first meeting of its first session Ahmad Khan said:
   "At present our situation is that, although we are said to belong to one Muslim community, the people living at one place are unacquainted with (the conditions of)people living at another, so that we are, so to speak, strangers to each other....We have not an institution where people may, occasionally come together from various provinces to hear about the conditions of each other...in order that a national unity, or, I should rather say, national brotherhood should be born, in spite of the fact that our community consists of different races....Because of these considerations it has been planned that every year people from various towns and provinces should assemble to study the education and progress of the Muslims." (Sayyid Ahmad Khan, "Mukammal Majmua-i-Lectures wa Ispeeches, p.325.)
2. Mukammal Majmua, p.458. The Pioneer, 30th December 1890.
3. Mukammal Majmua, p.325; Muhammadan Educational Conference - Khulasa-i-Karwaihai-Yazdeh salah (خلاصہ کارروائی ہائے یازدہ سالہ) p.5; Hamid, A., Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the Genesis of the Muslim Separatist Movement in Politics, p.144.

with those who thought no national progress was possible without political discussion.(1) On the contrary he stressed that education alone could be the proper means of national regeneration and advised the Muslims to strive, at that time, for nothing but the spread of education among their co-religionists.(2)

The Conference served as a forum for the discussion of the educational and social problems confronting the Muslims and for propounding schemes for their solution.(3) Although political discussions were not allowed at its meetings, it contributed indirectly a great deal to the political consciousness of the Muslims.(4) Every year it held its meeting in some important city of India about the same time as the Indian National Congress held its annual session. Hundreds of enthusiastic Muslims came to attend its meetings from all parts of India(5). Its first session was attended by 87 delegates.(6) At its session of 1890 the delegates numbered one thousand(7) and at that of 1901 they numbered 2000.(8)

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1. Mukammal Majmua, p.458, Khulasa, p.5.
2. Mukammal Majmua, p.458; Khulasa, p.5.
3. Hamid, op.cit., p.144.
4. Hali, op.cit., p.262.
5. Ibid., Hamid, op.cit., p.144.
6. Khulasa, op.cit.
7. The Pioneer, December 30, 1890.
8. The Moslem Chronicle, 4th January 1902; The Pioneer, 5th January 1902.

In 1906, the year when the All-India Muslim League was founded, the number of delegates and visitors who attended the Conference, was as great as three thousand.(1) "Uttrances from its rostrum, consultations in committee conclaves and informal conversations among the delegates, developed a sentiment of unity, a community of outlook, an identity of interest and a feeling of communal solidarity".(2)

The Conference encouraged research on subjects pertaining to the history and culture of Islam.(3) It also exerted itself successfully to get Cox's anti-Muslim history(4) excluded from the curriculum prescribed for schools by Allahabad University.(5) When in 1890 the same University decided to exclude Persian from its curriculum as one of the classical languages, the Conference lodged a strong protest against it(6) and attributed this decision to the predominantly Hindu composition of the Senate.(7) It also procured the consent of the Government of the North-Western Provinces to the introduction of religious

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1. The Pioneer, 30th December, 1906.
2. Hamid, op.cit., p.144; Hali, op.cit., p.262.
3. Hali, op.cit., p.263.
4. G.W.Cox's History of the Establishment of British Rule in India. For its anti-Muslim bias, see, for instance, pp.37-38.
5. Hali, op.cit.
6. Ibid., Mukammal Majmua, p.451; The Pioneer, 30th December 1890. It is important to note that Ahmad Khan speaking on the resolution against the decision of the University claimed that the Conference represented the opinion of the fifty million Muslims in India. (See Mukammal Majmua, p.451.)
7. The Pioneer, 30th December 1890.

instruction for Muslims in Government schools.(1) In short the Conference contributed a great deal to create a strong sense of communal solidarity among the Muslims and to keep them united before the foundation of the Muslim League.(2)

IV.

An open conflict between the Muslims and the Congress began from the year 1887. It was Sayyid Ahmad Khan who proved to be the most formidable opponent of the Congress and led his community away from it. In the first two years of its life he had not been involved in any open opposition to it. He had founded the Muhammadan Educational Conference but not with a view to opposing the Congress movement. His main object had been that the Muslims should remain absorbed in their social and educational affairs. From the time of the third Congress, however, events took such a turn that Ahmad Khan stepped into the political arena and came out openly against the National Congress. The organizers of that Congress had invited a Bombay Muslim, Badruddin Tyabji, to preside over

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1. Hali, op.cit., p.264.
2. "The Conference was also, before the foundation of the Muslim League, the political mouthpiece of the Muslims" (Albiruni, A.H., Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India, p.35.)

its deliberations at Madras in the last week of December, 1887, and had succeeded in having among their delegates 75 Muslims[1] including some Muslim students of the M.A.O. College Aligarh.[2] Considered in proportion to the total number of delegates this number showed a marked improvement on that of the previous year,[3] and indicated the influence the Congress movement could exercise on Muslims in the absence of a clear and definite policy of the Muslim leaders. Moreover the appointment of a Muslim President of the Congress within two years of its birth showed how far the Congress could go to win Muslim support for its demands, which, if accepted, would adversely affect the social and political

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1. Report of the Third Indian National Congress (1887). See Appendix I, List of Delegates, pp.168-198. Note: The Report of the Fifth Congress (1889) shows that the number of Muslim delegates to the third Congress was 81 (see p.iv). This is, however, not borne out by the names of Muslim delegates included in the above mentioned appendix.
2. The Pioneer, 11th January 1888.
   This year an effort was also made to seek the support of the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam Lahore. The Anjuman followed the example of other Muslim associations, such as the Muhammadan Literary Society and the Central National Muhammadan Association, and at its meeting of 19th November 1887 passed a resolution "to the effect that it being inadvisable for the Muhammadans to attend the Congress, the Anjuman could not send any delegates". See Mian Muhammad Shafi's statement in the Pioneer 13th July 1888.
3. In the Congress session of 1886, the total number of delegates was 436. Out of it 33 were Muslims.

conditions of the Muslim community.(1) It had also come to light that undue pressure was being used to bring Muslims into the Congress(2) and various inducements were being offered to the more pliable among them to join that body.(3) Ahmad Khan was much alarmed at this situation and, henceforward, adopted an attitude of open opposition to the demands and the activities of the Congress. He determined the policy, the Muslim community should adopt towards the Congress movement, in a public speech delivered in Lucknow on 28th December, 1887 and in a subsequent lecture delivered at Meerut in March 1888.

The Madras Congress started its proceedings on the 27th December, 1887. Tyabji in his presidential address

1. Hali, op.cit., p.273.
According to Hali, Ahmad Khan, having pondered over the demands of the Congress for the last two years, had become convinced that they would be harmful to the interests of Muslims and stressed that even if the Government did not object to them the Muslims should not support them. (ibid.)
2. Speaking of the latest Congress tactics to induce Muslims to join that body Adhmad Khan said: "They have...been wrongly tampering with our nation. In some districts they have brought pressure to bear on Muhammadans to make them join the Congress ...In some districts they pressed them by the weight of authority, in others they forced them in this way - saying that the business they had at heart could not prosper unless they took part - or they led them to suppose that they could not get bread if they held aloof". (The Present State of Indian Politics, p.32)
3. Nanan, M., Muslim India, p.40; The Present State of Indian Politics, pp.27, 32; See also Mian Shafi's statement in the Pioneer, 13th July 1888. S.N.Banerjea says in his autobiography: "Our critics regarded the National Congress as a Hindu Congress and the opposition papers described it as such. We were straining every nerve to secure the co-operation of our Muhammadan fellow-countrymen in this great national work. We sometimes paid the fares of Muhammadan delegates and offered them other facilities". (A Nation in Making, p.108)

laid stress on the representative character of that body[1] and said that there was nothing whatever in the position or the relations of different Indian communities - Hindus, Muslims, Parsees or Christians - which should make them stand aloof from one another "in their efforts to obtain those great general reforms, those great general rights which are for the common benefit of all".[2] He maintained that this was the principle on which he and his colleagues had always acted in Bombay and that he had no doubt that the same principle was being practised by his Muslim brethren in other provinces "with few, though perhaps, important exceptions".[3]

Just one day after Tyabji had pleaded for the aims and objects of the Congress Ahmad Khan delivered his Lucknow speech[4]

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1. Report of the Third Indian National Congress, p.72; Besant, op.cit., p.37.
2. Report of the Third Congress, p.72.
3. ibid., See also the Madras Times, 28th December 1887, leading article: "The opening of the Third National Congress".
4. This speech Ahmad Khan delivered before a large gathering of the Muslims of Lucknow and delegates who had come from all parts of upper India to be present at the second session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference, held in Lucknow in the last week of December, 1887. "It represented the intellect and the aristocracy, the brain and the muscle of the Muhammadan community. There were present the taluqdars of Oudh, members of the Government services, the Army, the Professions of Law, the Press and the Priesthood; Sayyids, Sheikhs, Mughals and Pathans belonging to some of the noblest families in India; and representatives of every school of thought, from orthodox Sunni and Shiah Maulvis to the young men trained in Indian Colleges or in England". (The Present State of Indian Politics, p.1.)

and advised his co-religionists against associating with the Congress movement.(1) Two and a half months later in his speech at Meerut he warned them that if they joined the Congress nothing but national disaster lay in store for them.(2) The whole discussion of Ahmad Khan centred round the fear of Hindu domination if Congress demands were accepted. He described in clear terms what he thought would be the position of the Muslims if the Congress succeeded in its objects. Speaking of the competitive examinations he said that the introduction of such a system in India would be unjust because all people in that country did not belong to one nation, nor were they equal with regard to higher English education, an essential requisite for these examinations. If the Congress demand for filling all posts, except a few minor ones, by competitive examinations was accepted, the Government offices in every part of the country would be monopolised by the community which had had a start in English Education and the Muslims would be the worst sufferers.(3)

As to the demand that the people of India should elect a certain proportion of the members of the Imperial and

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1. For the full text of the speech see The Present State of Indian Politics, pp.2-24.
2. For the full text of the speech see ibid., pp.30-53.
3. ibid., pp.8-11. Ahmad Khan also opposed the introduction of simultaneous examinations as it would "only provide some more jobs for the Hindus at the expense of the Muslims who were backward in education". (Noman, op.cit., p.51.)

Provincial legislative councils, the basis of his criticism was again the view that in a country inhabited by two "different nations"[1] the introduction of an elective system meant the domination of the Hindu majority. He said whatever system of election was adopted, there would be four times as many Hindus as Muslims. This would lead to the control of legislation by the Hindus and the degradation of the Muslim community.[2]

1. The Present State of Indian Politics, p.37.
2. ibid., p.61. In his Lucknow speech Ahmad Khan made the following observations on the Congress demand for the introduction of a system of representation by election:
"The second demand of the National Congress is that the people should elect a section of the Viceroy's Council. They want to copy the English House of Lords and the House of Commons. The elected members are to be like members of the House of Commons; the appointed members like the House of Lords. Now, let us suppose the Viceroy's Council made in this manner. And let us suppose first of all that we have universal suffrage, as in America and that everybody, chamars and all, have votes. And first suppose that all the Muhammadan electors vote for a Muhammadan member and all Hindu electors for a Hindu member, and now count how many votes the Muhammadan member has and how many the Hindu. It is certain the Hindu member will have four times as many because their population is four times as numerous. Therefore we can prove by mathematics that there will be four votes for the Hindu to every one vote for the Muhammadan. And now how can the Muhammadan guard his interests? It would be like a game of dice, in which one man had four dice and the other only one. In the second place, suppose that the electorate be limited. Some method of qualification must be made; for example, that people with a certain income shall be electors. Now, I ask you, O Muhammadans! Weep at your condition! Have you such wealth that you can compete with the Hindus? Most certainly not. Suppose, for example, that an income of Rs.5,000 a year be fixed on, how many Muhammadans will there be? Which party will have the larger number of votes? I put aside the case that by a rare stroke of luck a blessing comes through the roof and some Muhammadan is elected. In the normal case no single Muhammadan will secure a seat in the Viceroy's Council. The whole Council will consist of Babu so-and-so Mitter, Babu so-and-so Ghose, and Babu so-and-so Chuckerbutty". (The Present State of Indian Politics, pp.12-13.

Ahmad Khan said that the best course for the Muslims to safeguard their rights was to cultivate friendship with the British[1] and strengthen their rule in India so that it might not pass into the hands of the Bengalis.[2] If they joined the Congress they would reap nothing but loss, because that would place them under the subjection of the Hindus.[3] They

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1. Ahmad Khan was very anxious to maintain good relations between his co-religionists and the British. He feared if the Muslims took part in any sort of agitation it might arouse Government suspicion about their loyalty and afford it another opportunity for their repression. It was one of the main reasons for his advice to the Muslims to hold aloof from the Congress. In his reply to Badrud din Tyabji he referred to this point in the following words:
"It is not expedient that Muhammadans should take part in proceedings like that of the Congress, which holds meetings in various places in which people accuse Government before crowds of common men of withholding their rights from her subjects, and the result of which can only be that ignorant and foolish men will believe Government to be tyrannical or at least unjust. They will suffer greater misfortunes from doing so than the Hindus and the Bengalis. What took place in the Mutiny? The Hindus began it; the Muhammadans with their eager disposition rushed into it. The Hindus having bathed in the Ganges became as they were before. But the Muhammadans and all their noble families were ruined. This is the result which will befall Muhammadans from taking part in political agitation". (The Present State of Indian Politics, p.62.)
2. Ibid., p.50; W.C.Whish explained in a paper read before the East India Association in March 1889, why the Muslims opposed the Congress and supported the British rule in India. He said:
"The Muhammadans...detest the Congress for various reasons... they look upon it as a Hindoo movement, and therefore as primarily directed against themselves."
"They regard the British Government as their principal support against Hindoo encroachment, and therefore consider themselves bound to oppose its detractors, at least for the present." (See the Journal of the East India Association, Vol. XXI 1889, Article: "The Indian National Congress and the Indian Patriotic Association", p.33.
3. The Present State of Indian Politics, p.50.

should hold aloof from it and should try to improve their education,[1] because only through education they would be able to obtain an honourable position in the Government and would acquire wealth in the higher ranks of trade.[2]

It seems important here to mention that Ahmad Khan's attitude towards the Congress was not based on any sentiment of hatred or dislike towards the Hindu community. Nor was it indicative of his opposition to the inclusion of Indians in the Imperial and Provincial Councils. Similarly it did not imply his disapproval of appointing Indians to high administrative posts. During the years after the Mutiny his relations with the Hindus had been cordial.[3] His scientific society consisted of a combined Hindu-Muslim membership,[4] with Raja Jaikishandas as its first secretary.[5] His college, established especially for the Muslims, kept its doors open to other communities[6] and out of regard for Hindus prohibited

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,
3. Hali, op.cit., p.272.
4. ibid., p.121.
5. Sherwani, H.K., Studies in Muslim Political Thought and Administration, p.224.
6. "Although the primary purposes of the College relate to the advancement of education among the Muhammadans, the doors of the College are open to our Hindu brethren, and no distinctions of race or creed are allowed to affect the pecuniary or educational benefits which the College offers to its alumni in receiving secular instruction." (See the Address presented to Lord Dufferin by the Committee of the Aligarh College, on 20th November, 1888, in Addresses and Speeches Relating to the Mahomedan Anglo-Oriental College, in Aligarh [Ed.Nawab Mohsinul Mulk] p.126.)

slaughter of cows within its precincts.(1) As to the admission of Indians to the Councils of the Government he had been its strong supporter. He had advocated the acceptance of this principle as early as 1858 in his treatise on the Indian revolt.(2) Again at the time of laying the foundation of the Ghazipore school in 1864, he gratefully approved of the decision of the Government, embodied in the Indian Councils Act of 1861, that Indians should be eligible for appointment to the Viceroy's Council and expressed hope that one day that Council would be composed of representatives from every division or district.(3) It was, in fact, the demand that Indian members of councils should be appointed by election that became the chief reason for his opposition to the nationalist movement. He knew that India was inhabited by people of different religions and cultures who had not yet learnt to keep their political ideas and aspirations uninfluenced by religious prejudices.(4) In a country like that, therefore, the introduction of the principle of election in an unqualified form, would only mean representation of the views and interests of a majority based on religion and would

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1. Haq, Abdul: "Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan", Quarterly Urdu, Karachi April 1950. See p.57 for the incident leading to the decision by Ahmad Khan to prohibit slaughter of cows within the precincts of the College.
2. Asbab-i-Baghawat-i-Hind; Graham, G.FAI., The Life and Work of Sir Syed Ahmud Khan, pp.56-57.
3. ibid., pp.56-57.
4. See Appendix A.

adversely affect the smaller community.(1) Ahmad Khan seems to have held these views long before the establishment of the Indian National Congress. He first expressed them on 15th January 1883, while speaking in the Council of the Governor-General on the Central Provinces Local Government Bill,(2) and, as is claimed by him, it was due to his pleading against the introduction of the system of election in an unqualified form that Lord Ripon agreed to the appointment of one-third of the members of local bodies by nomination.(3) These views seem to have aroused no controversy at that time. In 1888, however, they were received in a different way. Their effect was different in different quarters. The Muslims welcomed them, while the Hindus, particularly Bengalis, who seem to have ignored that there was also a Muslim point of view in the Indian political question,(4) condemned them vehemently. The Hindu press subjected Ahmad Khan to severe attacks and described him as a tool in the hands of the enemies of the Congress and his

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,
3. The Present State of Indian Politics, p.22.
4. Albiruni, op.cit., p.41.

views as borrowed from them.(1) On the other hand the Muslim press was all praise for Ahmad Khan. The Mahomedan Observer, the Rafiq-i-Hind, the Muslim Herald, all supported Ahmad Khan's views and spoke with one voice against the Congress movement.(2) The Muslim Herald said, "The Syed does not mince matters but hits out straight from the shoulder, like the giant he is. In a mawkish time, enslaved by senseless conventions, it is a relief to find one man at least who, avoiding periphrasis, honestly calls a spade a spade . . . . We proudly accept the Syed as our leader and exponent - the summit and the crown of Islam, a faith that binds together with withes of iron 50,000,000 Indian Musalmans. Sir Syed leads the way. His speech sounds the keynote of our policy."(3) The Muslim

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1. The Indian Mirror called him "a tool in the hands of our enemies....who has covered himself with shame and disgrace". (See the Indian Mirror, 25th January 1888); the Young Bengal described him speech as "queer, foolish, childish, sycophantic" (Quoted in the Pioneer, 2nd February 1888); the National Guardian commented: "If ever a man deliberately set about cutting his own throat, that man is the old Muhammadan of seventy years, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of Aligarh" (ibid.); The Tribune of Lahore said that it lamented Syed's "aging in intellect as well as in years", (The Tribune, 21st January 1888. See also the Tribune, 8th February 1888, Leading Article: "A Pitiful Exhibition".)
   For Extracts from the editorial comments of the Bengalee, the Indian Spectator, the Hindoo Patriot and the Hindu on Ahmad Khan's views see the Pioneer, 2nd February 1888.
2. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, 21st July 1888.
3. Quoted in the Pioneer, 2nd February 1888.

community in almost all parts of India supported Ahmad Khan's views. Resolutions condemning the Congress activities were passed by the Muslims of Allahabad, Lucknow, Meerut, Lahore, Amritsar, Ludhiana, Madras and other places.(1) The Central National Muhammadan Association of Bengal, the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta, the Anjuman-i-Islamia of Madras, the Dindigul Anjuman, the Central National Muhammadan Association, Panjab, the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore, the Anjuman-i-Rifah-i-Am, Allahabad, denounced the aims and activities of the Congress, supported Ahmad Khan's Lucknow speech, and expressed full confidence in his leadership.(2)

Ahmad Khan's reasons for opposing the Congress Movement were further explained in a rejoinder to Hindu attacks and criticisms upon him.(3) He was no harbinger of ill-will between his co-religionists and the Hindus. "There is no person," he said, "who desires more than I that friendship and union should exist between the two peoples of India, and

1. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, 21 July 1888. See also the Civil & Military Gazette Lahore, 19 May 1888. For information about the meeting of the Muslims of Madras, the place where the third Congress met, see also The Times, 11 May 1888. Its correspondent said: "A meeting of Muhammadans was held recently at Madras to vote a resolution condemning the so-called National Congress. The son-in-law of the Prince of Arcot presided." "It was further resolved that for divers reasons any connection of the Muhammadans with the Congress was undesirable. Sir Syed Ahmad's position with reference to political matters was highly praised."
2. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, op.cit.,
   The Civil and Military Gazette, Lahore, op.cit.
3. For the full text of the rejoinder see The Present State of Indian Politics, pp.25-28.

that one should help the other. I have often said that India is like a bride whose two eyes are the Hindus and the Muhammadans. Her beauty consists in this - that her two eyes be of equal lustre . . . .But when my Hindu brothers and Bengali friends devise such a course of action as will bring us loss and heap disgrace on our nation, then indeed we can no longer remain friends. Without doubt it is our duty to protect our nation from these attacks of the Hindus and Bengalis by which we believe that she will be injured."(1) The schemes of the Congress, he believed, would only benefit the Bengalis, Mahrattas and Brahamans,(2) and alleged that the object of the promoters of that body was that the Government of India should be English in name only, and that the internal rule of the country should be entirely in their own hands.(3) "They do not", he said, "publicly avow that they wish it for themselves; but they very well know that the Muhammadans will be unable to do anything, and so the rule of the country will be monopolised by them".(4)

Ahmad Khan's criticism and the growing support of the Muslim community to his views was a matter of no little

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1. ibid., pp.25-26.
2. ibid., p.27.
3. ibid.,
4. ibid., p.28.

concern to the Congress.(1) However, it did not evoke among Congress leaders any desire to consider the Muslim question from the Muslim point of view. Nor did they show any inclination towards taking some practical steps to allay Muslim fear of Hindu domination. On the contrary they continued claiming that the Congress enjoyed the support of a considerable number of Muslims and that they shared its views. This propaganda was quite successful in England. Even men like Sir William Hunter who were supposed to have a fairly

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1. The following extracts from the private correspondence of Dadabhai Naoroji, President of the second Congress held at Calcutta in December 1886, show what serious concern Ahmah Khan's opposition caused to Congress leaders:
   (1) Dadabhai to Wacha, 9th February 1888:
   "I feel a little anxious about the next Congress. Sir Sayyid Ahmad will move heaven and earth to thwart the Congress".
   (2) Dadabhai to Malabari, 2nd March 1888:
   "It will, indeed be a good thing to bring about some reasonable understanding with the Muhammadan opponents. This split will retard our progress very much indeed. There are difficulties enough to contend against the Anglo-Indians".
   (3) Dadabhai to Malabari, 18th April 1888:
   "I hope Mr. Hume will be able to bring round Sayyid Ahmad and prevent the opposition to the Congress. The disunion among ourselves will do us very great harm. Here interest in India is growing rapidly, but this split will check it".

   (See Masani, R.P., Dadabhai Naoroji: The Grand Old Man of India, p.302.)

sound knowledge of the Muslim mind[1] in India believed that the Congress was supported by a considerable number of Muslims![2] Speaking at the annual meeting of the National Indian Association London,[3] in April 1888, Hunter said, excepting certain parts of Lower Bengal, Muslims from all parts of India attended the Congress sessions and took part in their proceedings![4] A strong reply to this assertion came

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1. Hunter being the author of The Indian Musalmans, a book still considered to be a most valuable work on the social and economic conditions of Indian Muslims in the nineteenth century and their reaction to the new developments, was supposed to be an authority on Indian Muslims.
2. Hunter seems to have been on very friendly terms with Dadabhai Naoroji. Moreover, it appears that he was favourably disposed to the Congress and wished to create sympathy for that movement among the English public. An uncautious statement on his part might have been due to these reasons. The following extracts from Naoroji's private correspondence give indications to this effect:
   (1) Dadabhai to Malabari, 30th January 1887:
   "Sir W.Hunter takes a kindly and lively interest in the Congress and intends to write to disprove the statement that Muhammadans do not join the Congress".
   (Masani, op.cit., p.297.)
   (2) Dadabhai to Wacha, 9th February 1888:
   "My stay with Sir William Hunter has been of some good in that he has seen more clearly than before the necessity of larger admission of natives into the services. He will most probably write something to create greater sympathy for the Congress among the English public". (ibid., p.302.)
3. For the full text of Sir William Hunter's address see the Indian Magazine, April 1888: "Recent Movements in India".
4. Hunter said that in the recent Congress session the resolutions "were voted for by 83 Mahomedan delegates". (ibid.) In fact, the total number of Muslim delegates did not exceed 75 (see the Report of the Third Indian National Congress, Appendix I - List of Delegates).

from a young Muslim from the Panjab, Mian Muhammad Shafi, who later played an important role in Muslim politics in India and more than once became the president of the All-India Muslim League. On the basis of reports published in newspapers Shafi proved that Hunter's information was not correct.(1) He admitted that a few Muslims sympathised with the Congress but "their voice was not the voice of Islam". He contended that none of the true representatives of the Muslims had any concern with the Congress.(2) Speaking of those Muslims who attended the Madras Congress session Shafi made the following remarks:-

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1. For the full text of Shafi's letter see the Pioneer, 13th July, 1888. Extracts from his letterwere also published as an appendix to The Present State of Indian Politics. For comments of Hindu press on Shafi's remarks see the Indian Mirror, 5th and 6th October 1888, the Hindoo Patriot, 8th October 1888, and the Bengalee, 13th October 1888.
2. Shafi said that the following were the true representatives of the "Muhammadan nation . . . in whom all fully trust and take pride":

   The Hon.Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khan, K.C.S.I., of Aligarh,
   The Hon.Sayyid Ameer Ali, LL.D., C.S.I.,
   The Hon.Sayyid Husain Khan Bahadur,
   The Hon.Raja Ameer Husain Khan Bahadur,
   The Hon.Nawab Bahadur Abdul Lateef Khan, C.I.E.,
   The Hon.Maulavi Abdul Jabbar of Bengal,
   The Hon.Muhammad Ali Rogai, and
   The Hon.Qazi Sahib Deen Khan Bahadur, C.S.I. of Bombay,
   The Hon.Nawab Sir Nawazish Ali Khan Qazilbash, K.C.I.E.,
   Nawab Abdul Majeed Khan, C.S.I., and
   Khan Bahadur Muhammad Barkat Ali Khan of Lahore.

   (See the Pioneer op.cit., The Present State of Indian Politics, Appendix, p.iv.)

(1) "The majority of them were of that type who, being themselves in a lower status in society, are always ambitious of moving in the higher orbit. When it was represented to them . . . that many noblemen and Rajas would attend the sitting of the Congress, and that they would have ample opportunities of making acquaintance with the nobility of the country" they could not resist the temptation to go.

(2) "Then there were those whose eyes can easily be blinded by honeyed words of flattery and adulation and could thus be won over to any side, no matter if it be injurious to their own cause and to that of their community."(1)

(3) "Again the upholders of the Congress . . . induced the Shias to join them because their opponents, the Sunnis, had not done so."(2)

(4) "Then there were those who went out of sheer curiosity, those who were promised notoriety, and those who were under the influence of their Hindu brethren - the clients of Hindu lawyers, the debtors of Hindu bankers, etc., being bound neck and feet to their patrons."

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1. Shafi stated: "A gentleman of my acquaintance, who holds a chair in Durbars and is a Municipal Commissioner, was once asked why he showed so great a kindness and favour towards the Aryas who were the enemies of Islam? He replied because they bowed low to him. Now it is not difficult to win gentlemen of this type". (The Pioneer, op.cit., The Present State of Indian Politics, Appendix, p.iii.)
2. This point might appear exaggerated, but contemporary evidence indicates substantial truth in that. Pandit Ajudhia Nath pleader of the Allahabad High Court who became the chairman of the Reception Committee of the Fourth Congress, delivered a lecture at Lucknow "in which he proved from the Koran that the National Congress was good for India, and denounced all Muhammadans who opposed the Congress as followers of Yazid". (See The Civil and Military Gazette, 19th May 1888.)

Ahmad Khan decided to take some practical step to counteract this propaganda. Early in August 1888, he issued an appeal to the Muslims and those Hindus who were opposed to the Congress, to join together to counteract the "false impression" that the Congress movement drew support from the whole of the people of India and to make known to the British public that not only Muslims, but also many influential and powerful Hindus, were opposed to it. A few days later he laid the foundation of the Indian Patriotic Association. This Association consisted of both Hindu and Muslim members. Its objects were:

"(a) To publish and circulate pamphlets and other papers for the information of members of Parliament, English journals and the people of Great Britain, in which those mis-statements will be pointed out by which the supporters of the Indian National Congress have wrongly attempted to convince the English people that all the Nations of India and the Indian chiefs and rulers agree with the aims and objects of the National Congress;

(b) to inform members of Parliament and the newspapers of Great Britain and its people by the same means of the opinions of Muhammadans in general, of the Islamia Anjumans, and those Hindus, and their societies which are opposed to the objects of the National Congress;

(c) to strive to preserve peace in India and to strengthen British rule; to remove those bad feelings from the hearts of the Indian peoples which the supporters of the Congress are stirring up throughout the country and by which great dissatisfaction is being raised among the people against the British Government."(1)

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1. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, 28th September 1888.

Over 50 Anjumans in various parts of the country became affiliated to it.(1) Although the Association was short-lived, mainly because of Sayyid Ahmad Khan's inability to devote proper attention to it, it made a good deal of effective propaganda to disprove the claim of the Congress to represent all sections of the Indian population.

The Congress on its part carried on its campaign to enlist enough Muslim support, as it was extremely important to uphold its claim as a national organization. Ahmad Khan's formidable opposition had made its position difficult. To attract greater Muslim attention, therefore, either its demands would have to be modified to the extent that Ahmad Khan would not consider them opposed to the interests of the Muslims, or something would have to be done to weaken his influence on his co-religionists. The Congress leaders and the Hindu press seem to have decided to pursue the latter course. A theory was now developed that a sudden change had occurred in Ahmad Khan's views and that it was due to the influence of Theodore Beck,(2) the British principal of the Aligarh

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1. Encyclopaedia of Islam, vol.II, p.483.
2. See The Tribune Lahore, 21st January 1888, Criticising Ahmad Khan's opposition to the Congress movement the paper said that it was due to his "aging in intellect as well as in years" and tauntingly remarked: "Poor old Syed! Old age and Beckish counsels have been the ruin of you."

College, and that of those Englishmen who did not like the activities of the Congress.(1) Lala Lajpat Rai, a well-known Arya Samaj leader who later became a president of the Indian National Congress, in a series of letters to the Tribune,(2) severely criticised Ahmad Khan's policy and accused him of going back on what he himself had advocated previously. He said that the Congress was demanding nothing more than Ahmad Khan had done in his book The Causes of Indian Revolt(3) and alleged that he opposed the Congress just to flatter officials.(4) A close examination of facts

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1. Sir Auckland Colvin, the Lt.Governor of the North-Western Provinces was advertised, by the Congressmen, as one of these officials, who, though favouring the Congress previously, was nowsaid to have become hostile to it. See the Report of the Fourth Indian National Congress, (1888) p.93; Banerjea, op.cit., p.109.
However, it is important to note that Auckland Colvin was not opposed to the principles or objects of the Congress. "On the contrary, he expressed sympathy with the leading proposal of the Congress programme - the expansion of the Legislative Councils on a popular basis". What he was opposed to was the aggressive propaganda of the Congress from the time of the Madras Congress of 1887. (Wedderburn, op.cit.pp.68-69).
2. For these letters see the Tribune of 27th October, 17th November and 5th and 19th December, 1888.
3. See The Report of the Fourth Indian National Congress (1888), pp.92-93, Lala Lajpat Rai's speech on Resolution I, Reform of the Legislative Councils.
4. Lajpat Rai used the Urdu word "Khushamad" (خوشامد) which literally means flattering, but according to common Urdu usage conveys the sense of flattering a person to derive undue benefit from him.

proves that none of these allegations had any foundation. Ahmad Khan had, no doubt, supported the representation of Indians on legislative councils on more than one occasion but he never had advocated the introduction of the elective system. Nor was there any evidence that official influence or Mr.Beck had affected his views. In fact, when he first openly criticised the Congress, in December 1887, it still enjoyed the support of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin and other high officials.(1) If his political views were influenced by officials, he should have spoken differently and should have advised his co-religionists to co-operate with their Hindu brethren in the Congress movement, because it was patronised by high Government officials in India and was supported by a number of influential people in England. But he did not do so; and contemporary evidence shows that he would not have done so even if it had been the desire of the Viceroy and other British officials. As a result of a correspondence relating to the Congress Movement, between Auckland Colvin and A. O. Hume,(2) in which Ahmad Khan was

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1. When Ahmad Khan was criticising the Congress Movement in a public meeting at Lucknow, Lord Connemara, Governor of Madras was entertaining the delegates to the Third Congress at a Garden Party. See supra p.135, footnote 2 ; See also Ikram, S.M., Mauj-i-Kausar, p.91.
2. See the Pioneer, 7th November, 1888.

blamed by Hume for having told his friends that "one of his ridiculously violent speeches" had been made at Colvin's suggestion,[1] Ahmad Khan issued a public statement and disclosed that two years before when Hume wrote to him about the Congress he "unmistakably stated" that he did not approve of the movement, and that even if Sir Auckland Colvin, Lord Dufferin, the Secretary of State for India and the whole House of Commons had declared in favour of it he would have been "as firmly opposed to it as ever".[2]

As to Beck, he had, no doubt, assisted Ahmad Khan a great deal[3] in his opposition to Congress demands and in the presentation of the Muslim point of view to the British public, but the assertion that Ahmad Khan's views had undergone

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1. ibid.,
2. For Ahmad Khan's statement see the Pioneer, 10th November 1888.
3. In a letter to his biographer G.F.I.Graham, written in December 1888, Ahmad Khan acknowledged the assistance he received from Beck with regard to the Patriotic Association. He said: "I have undertaken a heavy task against the so-called National Congress, and have formed an Association, 'The Indian United Patriotic Association', the work of which is much more greater (sic) than the other works, and I am very glad to tell you that Beck gives me a great deal of assistance in the matter, otherwise it would have been much more difficult, or rather impossible for us to go on further with it." (Graham, op.cit. p.273)

a change under his influence shows not only ignorance about the nature of the man himself, but also indicates complete disregard of the events contributing to the development of political institutions in India. Documentary evidence exists to the effect that the views Ahmad Khan expressed about Congress demands were neither new, nor the product of any foreign influence. He had expressed similar views as early as January 1883,[1] nearly eleven months before Beck arrived in India,[2] and almost three years before the birth of the Indian National Congress. However, this theory was widely propagated and had been much used by Hindu and nationalist Muslim writers to ascribe the origin of a Muslim separatist movement to the influence of anti-nationalist Englishmen.[3]

Anti-Ahmad Khan sentiments of orthodox Muslims arising out of his religious views, which were, in certain respects, considered to be unorthodox, seem to have also been exploited by the Congress as a means to secure Muslim support. Out of a total of 1,248 delegates[4] to the Allahabad Congress of 1888, Muslim delegates numbered 222.[5] This sudden increase

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1. See Appendix A.
2. Albiruni, op.cit., p.43; Hamid, A., op.cit., p.122: "Mr.Beck was appointed Principal of the College in November 1883".
3. S.Tufail Ahmed, Mahta and Patwardhan; Rajendra Prasad and Gurmukh Nihal Singh belong to this category of writers.
4. Report of the Fourth Indian National Congress, Appendix I, p.185; See also the List of Delegates, pages 189-249.
5. ibid.,

in their percentage[1] was claimed by one of their spokesmen, Maulavi Hidayet Rasul, to be mainly due to the opposition of the people in the "Aligarh Camp".[2] He assured his fellow-delegates that if his "hostile brethren had not made such a great show of opposition, the Congress would certainly not have been the success that it has been today".[3] He further stressed that Ahmad Khan could have no claim to the leadership of Muslims because he had been declared an infidel.[4]

Another Muslim delegate, Sheikh Raza Husain, told the gathering that he had brought with him the Fatwa of a well known spiritual leader of the Sunni Community of Lucknow which approved of Muslim participation in the Congress.[5]

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1. The following figures will show the increase in the percentage of Muslim delegates who attended the Congress sessions from 1885 to 1888:

Year	Total number of delegates	Number of Muslim delegates	Percentage of Muslim delegates
1885	72	2	2.8
1886	436	33	7.6
1887	607	75	12.4
1888	1248	222	17.8

2. Report of the Fourth Indian National Congress (1888), p.129.
3. ibid.,
4. Maulavi Hidayet Rasul said:
   "It is very strange that, while all the learned Mahomedans of India, Arabia and Persia unite in denouncing him as an unbeliever, Sir Syed, in his own vanity, should still consider himself the leader of the Mahomedans. As the Persian proverb says: 'How bold is the thief who carries a light in his hand'".
   (ibid.)
   (چہ دلاور است دزدے کہ بکف چراغ دارد)
5. ibid,, p.12, 71.

About the same time some anti-Ahmad Khan Ulama issued a Fatwa[1] which approved of Muslim participation in the Congress on the plea that it discussed only such matters as concerned the common good of the people of India as a whole and did not affect the religious or social interests of any community.[2] On the other hand the Fatwa advised the Muslims against following Ahmad Khan in religious as well as temporal matters and declared participation in his Patriotic Association as haram (حرام)[3] and kufr,[4] (کفر) because it had, among its members, bigoted and anti-Islamic Hindus like the Raja of Benares.[5]

This negative approach to a question which involved the future of a community which had not yet forgotten its past glory and ascendancy over Hindus was no solution to the matter. Some genuine and practical effort was necessary to allay Muslim fear of Hindu domination. The Congress not having done this soon began to lose the sympathy of that section of its Muslim supporters which had joined it mainly for its hatred towards Ahmad Khan but was not unmindful of the interests

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1. فتوے
2. See Nusrat-ul-Abrar, p.130 (quoted in S. M. Mian's Ulama-i-Haq Vol.I,p.100) See also Zuberi, M.A., Siyasat-i-Milliyah,p.31.
3. Forbidden by the Law of Islam. See Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, p.163.
4. Blasphemy - ibid., p.43; Johnson, Francis, A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic and English, p.1015.
5. Zuberi, op.cit.

of Muslims as a community. When in the Congress session of 1889, the Resolution on the Expansion and Reform of Legislative Councils, which was to become the basis of a bill to be introduced in the House of Commons by Charles Bradlaugh,[1] came up for discussion, Maulavi Hidayet Rasul, who had last year ascribed the increased Muslim support to the Congress to the growing opposition of the people in the "Aligarh Camp",[2] proposed that the resolution should provide "that the number of Muhammadan members shall always be equal to that of the Hindus in both the Imperial and Provincial Councils".[3] This led to a heated discussion in the course of which Maulavi Rasul said that he was now convinced that those Muslims who opposed the Congress were justified[4] and

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1. See the Congress Report, op.cit., pp.11-12.
2. See supra p. 162.
3. Report of the Fifth Indian National Congress (1889), p.28.
4. The following extracts from Maulavi Hidayet Rasul's speech are noteworthy:
   "Probably you have not forgotten what we did for the Congress movement last year. We have borne hateful taunts and great hardships for the Congress..."
   We have "not come here to prejudice the rights and injure the national honour of the Mussulmans by any underhand means.... We look upon these delegates who have come here simply to enjoy themselves, and to say Aye to everything proposed, as faithless and as murderous of their brethren ....We will support this movement only so long as our national honour is not injured..., the views I urge are the views of five crores of Mussulmans ....Out of five crores of Mussulmans there will be hardly five thousand of them who will agree that the number of seats for the Mussulmans be less than those for the Hindus in the various Councils".
   (ibid.)

that if the Muslims were not conceded what they had been frequently promised they should not support the Congress movement because that would injure their national cause. Maulavi Rasul was supported by several Muslim delegates(1) including Ali Muhammad Bhimji, a devoted Congress Muslim. The amendment was, however, defeated by an overwhelming majority and no special provision was made in the resolution which the Muslims could regard as guaranteeing their rights.

This development within the Congress seems to have served two important purposes. Firstly, it showed that the Congress point of view was not fully acceptable to many Muslims, even within that body, and that they wanted some such provision with regard to the representation of Muslims as would safeguard their rights and help to maintain their existence as a community. Secondly, it checked the influence the Congress had recently gained over Muslims. But what was extremely important at that time was to make known to the British Government the feelings of the Muslim community about the bill intended to be introduced in Parliament. With the co-operation and help of Theodore Beck, Ahmad Khan got submitted in April 1890, to the House of Commons through Richard Temple, a petition signed

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1. Sayyid Wahid Ali Rizvi (a delegate from the N-W.Provinces) supporting Maulavi Rasul said:
"Taking this Congress as a whole, I can hardly allow it the title of National....It is more a Hindu than a Muhammadan Congress". (ibid., p.29)

by nearly 40,000 Muslim inhabitants of about 70 cities and towns of India. A similar petition was sent to Parliament by the Muhammadan Literary Society of Calcutta.(1)

Indian Councils Act, 1892

The Indian Councils Act of 1892, however, provided for an elective element in the Councils and thus partly fulfilled Congress demands. The method for appointment was, in theory,

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1. The Pioneer, 12th May 1890.
The petition submitted by the Muhammadan Literary Society was signed by the following gentlemen:-

(1)	Muhammad Raheemooddeen of Mysore Family	- President
(2)	Muhammad Nuseerooddeen Hyder of Mysore Family	- Vice-President
(3)	Abdool Lateef	- Secretary
(4)	Jahan Kader Meerza	- Member
(5)	Muhammad Shahed Ali	- "
(6)	Muhammad Bakhtyar Shah of Mysore Family	- "
(7)	Abdul Jabbar	- "
(8)	Muhammad Abdur Rawoof	- "
(9)	A.F.M.Abdur Rahman	- "
(10)	Muhammad Hurmuz Shah of Mysore Family	- "
(11)	Meerza Muhammad Baker Sherazee of Calcutta	- "
(12)	Aga Syud Sadick Shoostri	- "
(13)	Ahmad Hasan Khan	- "
(14)	Kassim Ariff	- "
(15)	Buzlool Huck	- "
(16)	Abdul Hai	- "
(17)	Ahmad	- "
(18)	Ali Bukhsh	- "
(19)	Nurul Alam	- "

(See Public Letters from India and General Letters from Bengal, 1890, Vol.I, Petition of the Muhammadan Literary Society to the Secretary of State for India, 1st April 1890.)

nomination by the Head of the Government, but regulations were made under the Act[1] by which some of the seats on each Council were to be filled by representatives of various bodies or interests, such as corporations, municipalities, district boards, associations of land-holders, universities, and chambers of Commerce.[2] The system was not strictly a system of election, for the elective bodies could only recommend their representatives to the Head of the Government for nomination. In practice, however, nomination was never refused. The privilege of selecting the members for the Imperial Legislative Council was conferred upon the Legislative Councils of Madras, Bombay, Bengal and the North-Western Provinces and Oudh and upon the Bengal Chamber of Commerce.[3]

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1. The Act provided:
   "The Governor-General in Council may from time to time, with the approval of the Secretary of State in Council, make regulations as to the conditions under which such nominations, or any of them, shall be made by the Governor-General, Governors, and Lieutenant-Governors respectively, and prescribe the manner in which such regulations may be carried into effect".
   (See Banerjee, A.C., Indian Constitutional Documents, Vol.II, p.107.)
2. Morley Collection (MSS. Eur. D. 573), Question of Muhammadan Representation, October 1906 - November 1909 : " The New Legislative Councils," p. 2.
3. ibid., p.7; Forrest, G. W., The Administration of the Marquis of Lansdowne as Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1888-1894, p. 25.

The privilege to select and recommend members for the Bengal Legislative Council was bestowed upon the Corporation of Calcutta, the Senate of the University, trade associations and groups of municipalities and corporations. Rules on similar principles were drawn up for Madras, Bombay and the North Western Provinces and Oudh.(1)

This system opened the door for the election of Indian politicians to the Imperial as well as Provincial Councils. Many Congress leaders managed from now on to sit on these councils. The Muslims, however, did not feel happy about this system as it did not provide them with any safeguards and appeared to increase the influence and prestige of the Hindus who had already surpassed them in education and economic benefits. Recent communal strife had made the situation more depressing for them. Ahmad Khan seems to have shown his reaction to the whole situation by emphasising in a statement that where there was "no tangible homogeneity among the voters in point of race, religion, social manners, economic conditions and political traditions, the representative system could never be productive of any good".(2) He fervently hoped

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1. Morley Collection, op.cit., ~~ibid.,~~ pp.7-9; Forrest, op.cit.,
2. The Pioneer, 29th September, 1893.

that the British Parliament, whatever party might be in power, would never forget that India consisted of vast populations whose economic, moral, social, political, religious and historical conditions greatly differed, and that the British public would not be misled by the propaganda of the Congress.(1) The Central National Muhammadan Association reacted to the situation somewhat differently. A deputation of the Association waited on the Viceroy Lord Lansdowne on 22nd January, 1894 and presented an address to him in which it represented that the benefit of representation in Councils had been till then almost exclusively derived by one community and asked that the Muslims be given fair representation on each Council. The Viceroy in his reply assured the deputation that it had, from the first, been Government's "intention to secure them a reasonable number of seats".(2)

However, this assurance proved ineffective in practice, and the number of Muslims on the councils remained significantly

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1. ibid.,
2. Speeches by the Marquis of Lansdowne 1888-1894, pp.375-377. In his speech in the Imperial Legislative Council on 16th March, 1893, Lord Lansdowne seems to have referred indirectly to this matter, in the following words: "It is expected of us that we shall make a bona fide endeavour to render the Legislative Councils more representative of the different sections of the Indian community than they are at present". For the text of the speech see Banerjee, A.C., Indian Constitutional Documents, Vol.II, pp.128-136.

small. The following table will show the relative strength of the representatives of different communities on the Imperial Legislative Council with regard to non-official members:

Year	Hindus	Muslims	Europeans	Parsis	Total
1895	6	2	2	1	11
1896	4	2	2	1	9
1897	5	2	3	-	10
1898	6	1	2	-	9
1899	3	1	2	1	7
1900	4	2	2	1	9
1901	5	1	3	1	10
1902	5	1	3	-	9
1903	6	2	2	-	10
1904	6	2	3	-	11
1905	4	2	1	-	7

In provincial councils the position of Muslims appears to have been worse. This was particularly true of Bengal, a province which had the largest Muslim population in India. The following table will show the proportion of Muslims to the non-official members of the Bengal Legislative Council

for eleven years from 1895:-

Year	Hindus	Muslims	Europeans	Total
1895	6	3	10	19
1896	8	2	8	18
1897	8	2	10	20
1898	8	2	10	20
1899	7	2	8	17
1900	7	2	9	18
1901	8	2	10	20
1902	7	2	10	19
1903	8	3	8	19
1904	8	2	10	20
1905	8	1	10	19

The Muslims could not get proper representation even in municipalities and local boards, where the elective principle had been in vogue for many years and Hindu and Muslim voters elected their representatives jointly. In many places their entry into Municipal committees became almost impossible.

Calcutta,[1] Allahabad[2] and Poona[3] were a few important instances. This situation did not prevail only in Hindu-majority areas. Even in Muslim majority areas the well-educated and wealthy Hindu could secure a majority of seats. This not only deprived the Muslims of their genuine representation but also caused a great deal of ill-feeling between the two communities,[4] particularly at the time of election which was generallyfought on religious lines.[5]

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1. In the triennial elections for the Calcutta Municipality held in 1897 of the newly elected members only 6 were Muslims as against 36 Hindus. (See The Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress of India 1897-98, p.6.)
2. In Allahabad the Muslim element was quite large and important but on account of the preponderance of Hindu electors over Muslims it had become "impossible" for the latter "to secure representation". (See the Pioneer Mail, 24th December 1896: "The Representative System in India", p.20-21.)
3. In the election for the Poona Municipality held on 2nd March 1895, the Muslim voters almost completely abstained from voting, because they were so scattered over the city that everywhere they formed an ineffective minority and were not able to elect even one Muslim candidate. (See The Times of India [Overland Weekly Edition], 9th March 1895.
4. As early as 1890 the Deputy Commissioner of Montgomery (Panjab) made the following remarks about his town: "There was a considerable amount of ill-feeling stirred up between the Hindus and Muhammadans, the latter being especially anxious to secure the seats at Montgomery as they are in a great minority on the Committee". (See the Report on the Working of Municipalities in the Punjab, 1890-91, p.3)
5. See The Statement Exhibiting the Moral and Material Progress and Condition of India during the Year 1891-92 and the Nine Preceding Years, p.96.

This situation brought about an important change in the policy of the Aligarh leaders. They had been, until after the passage of the Indian Councils Act, 1892, emphasising their disapproval of the elective principle. They now decided to secure such a modification of the existing rules of election relating to the Legislative Councils and local bodies as would give the Muslims a reasonable and just representation on them. In December 1896 a scheme was drawn up on behalf of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association by Sayyid Mahmud and Theodore Beck dealing with the question of Muslim representation.(1) The salient points of the scheme were as follows:-

1. Legislative Councils. -

   On the Imperial and Provincial Legislative Councils the number of Hindu and Muslim members should be equal.

2. Municipalities. -

   (i) In towns where the Muslim element approximated "to one fourth of the community or more, an even balance should be secured by distributing the seats equally between Hindus" and Muslims.

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1. For the full text of the scheme see The Pioneer Mail and Indian Weekly News, 24th December 1896, pp.20-21.

(ii) In towns where the Muslim population exceeded 15 per cent and fell short of 25 per cent, their representation should be as far as possible proportionate.

(iii) in towns where Muslims did not exceed 15 per cent of the population there should be at least one Muslim on the Municipal Committee.

3. District Boards. -

As to the District Boards the percentage of Muslim representatives should be fixed as far as possible on the lines and principles suggested with regard to Municipalities.

The most important feature of the scheme was the suggestion that Muslim members of the Legislative Councils and local bodies should be elected by Muslims and Hindu members should be elected by Hindus.(1) The authors said that the great majority of electors consisted of Hindus. If their suggestion was not accepted and Hindu electors were asked to elect Muslim members as well, the latter would, in fact, represent the Hindu view point and the Muslims would remain almost as much unrepresented as before. In support

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1. "Elementary principles of representation demand that the electors of Mahomedan members should consist of Mahomedans and the electors of the Hindu members of Hindus". ibid.,

of their suggestion they gave the example of Aligarh, where each of the five wards returned to the Municipality one Hindu and one Muslim member. The system, they said, worked perfectly and made the relations between the two communities cordial.(1)

These proposals, said the authors, assumed one cardinal fact, namely that the Muslims were for political purposes a community with separate traditions, interests, political convictions and religion. It was not the question whether they were right or wrong. The point was that they had "different views, and any rational system of representation should provide for their expression".

About the same time Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan, Member of the Legislative Council of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, and one of Ahmad Khan's lieutenants, came out with a similar suggestion for a political settlement between the Hindus and Muslims. In a letter addressed to Mr.Rahmatullah Siyani, the President elect of the Congress to be held in Calcutta, in the last week of December 1896, he said that if the Congress was really desirous of Muslim co-operation and Hindu-Muslim unity it should agree to the principle of the equality of representation between the two communities.(2)

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1. ibid.
2. The Moslem Chronicle, 5th December 1896.

He suggested that the President elect should move the following resolution at the coming Congress:

> "The Congress desire that in order to give fair and effective representation to all classes of Her Majesty's Indian subjects in the Councils, District Boards and Municipalities, half of the elected members should be Hindus and the other half Mussulmans".(1)

The Muslim press welcomed Ismail Khan's proposal and assured the Congress that if it was agreed to the Muslims would have no objection to joining that organization.(2)

The Congress, however, did not show much interest in these proposals. The first seems to have been just ignored. As to the second, a reference to it was made in Siyani's Presidential Address in which he considered it premature. He said that it was a good suggestion, but so long as the Muslims did not join the Congress movement in the same numbers and with the same enthusiasm as Hindus, the Congress could not in fairness be asked to carry out such a suggestion in the manner and to the extent indicated therein.(3)

These were perhaps the last direct efforts made by the Muslims for a settlement with the Congress. Thereafter

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1. ibid.,
2. The Moslem Chronicle, 9th January 1897.
3. See The Report of the Twelfth Indian National Congress (1896) p.42.

events took such a turn that a settlement between the Hindus and the Muslims by direct negotiations remained, for many years, almost impossible.

CHAPTER V

The Muslims and Indian Nationalism 1885-1906 II

The Growth of Hindu-Muslim Antagonism and Its Effects on the Development of the Muslim Political Movement

Religious differences in India have almost always kept the Hindu and Muslim communities divided. These differences remained unabated even after the birth of the nationalist movement and greatly influenced the political outlook of the two communities.

Relations between the Hindus and Muslims had never been cordial in the decades following the Mutiny. A rift between them had begun as early as 1867 as a result of the inauguration of an anti-Urdu movement in Benares(1).

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1. See supra pp. 103-107.

In the following years the rift between the two communities seems to have grown on account of the active participation of the Hindu and Muslim press in the Urdu-Hindi controversy and the pleading of several Hindu societies and witnesses before the Education Commission of 1882 for the introduction of Hindi as the language of instruction in the North-Western Provinces and the Panjab.

During the 1870s began an intellectual movement among the educated Hindus of Bengal towards identifying nationalism with the Hindu religion in which India as "Motherland" became the symbol of Hindu unity(1). This provided nationalist writers with a new theme for their poetry and novels(2), and further embittered relations

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1. "The conception of India as 'Motherland' represented an effort to develop a religious basis for nationalism on the assumption that the religious sentiment of the Hindus was far more easy to rouse than their national feeling". (McCully, B.T., English Education and the origins of Indian Nationalism, p.267).

2. ibid., p.268.

The foremost name in this class of writers is that of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (1838-94). His novel 'Ananda Math' (The Abbey of Bliss) became the most representative manifestation of this sort of development in the nationalist thought. The Ananda Math has as its theme the sanyasi rebellion of 1771-74 and is hostile towards the Muslims. His translator, Naresh Chandra Sen-Gupta admits Bankim's "morbid dislike of Muslims". (see Sen-Gupta., The Abbey of Bliss, p.vii). The Ananda Math contains the well-known hymn Bande Mataram (Hail Mother) used by the rebellious sanyasis to signify their devotion to the motherland which they pledged to free from Muslim rule. This hymn "became the battle-cry of revolutionary movements in the 20th century". (see Ali, A.Y., A cultural History of India, p.212).

between the two communities. Hindu religious movements during this period had a similar effect. During the 1880s religious riots carried communal antagonism to the common masses.(1) From the nineties the intensity of these conflicts between the two communities grew and their attitude towards politics tended to become more and more communal.

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1. The earliest notable instance of Hindu-Muslim riots during the British period is supposed to have been the Benares riot of 1809 as a result of which "some fifty mosques had been destroyed and several hundred persons had lost their lives". (see the Indian Statutory Commission Vol.IV, p.96).
   In 1831 serious religious antagonism between the two communities appeared at Baraset in Eastern Bengal where grave riots occurred on account of the imposition by some Hindu Zamindars of a tax on their Muslim tenants known as a "fine on beards". (see Judicial Letters from Bengal, 1831-32, No.22371, 10th April 1832, pp.242-44).
   During the 1860s and 1870s bloody communal riots appear to have several times occurred in Malabar. According to Lord Hobart the chief cause of these riots had been the opposition of the Hindu landlords, who owned almost all land in that region, to the building of mosques by Muslim peasants. (see Salisbury MSS. Hobart to Salisbury 26th and 30th March and 6th June 1874; Hobart to Northbrook 27th October 1874). In the eighties the communal riots tended to become frequent and took place in several parts of India, the most notable being Malipuran in 1885 (see The Pioneer, 5th January 1885), Delhi and Etawah in 1886 (see The Times, 6th and 11th October 1886; see also The Times of 18th October 1886 for communal tension in Ludhiana, Multan and a number of other places in the Panjab) and Dera Ghazi Khan in 1889.
   About the riots at Delhi and Etawah in 1886 Lord Dufferin wrote to Lord Cross:

   > "I am sorry to say there have been riots at Etawah and Delhi between the Muhammadans and the Hindus. We do not yet know who commenced, but there is no doubt that of late years the Muhammadans are beginning to recover from the depression into which for a long time they have been plunged. The Hindus naturally regard this change of sentiment and deportment with jealousy. We may consequently expect a good deal of trouble from time to time from this cause."

   (Cross Collection, Vol.I, Dufferin to Cross, 11th October 1886)

The last quarter of the nineteenth century was marked by the inauguration of several Hindu religious movements which aimed at the revival of old Hinduism. The apostles of Hindu revivalism visualised an India in which people belonging to faiths of foreign origin - i.e. Islam and Christianity - had no place. Dayananda,[1] the most important advocate of Hindu revivalism founded the Arya Samaj movement in 1875.[2] He called the Hindus back to the ancient faith and "stirred them up to vehement opposition to Christianity and Muhammadanism".[3] In the first edition of his Sathyarth Prakash, published in 1874, he approved of beef-eating under certain conditions, but condemned it in the second edition.[4] "In 1882 he formed the Gaurakhshini Sabha or Cow-protecting Association".[5] The same year he published a book entitled Gokarunanidhi. "The purpose was" says Farquhar, "to rouse Hindu feeling against Christians and Muhammadans on account of the killing of cows and Oxen",[6]

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1. Dayananda Saraswati belonged to a Brahmin family. He was born in 1824 at Tankara in the native state of Morvi, Kathiawar. (Farquhar,J.N., Modern Religious Movements in India, p.102; Ali, A.Y., op.cit., p.199) and died in 1883.
2. The Society (Arya Samaj) was formed in Bombay. As it received greater response from the Hindus of the Panjab its head-quarters was moved to Lahore in 1877. (Farquhar, op.cit.,p.110)
3. ibid.,
4. ibid., p.111.
5. ibid., For the aims and objects of the Association see Singh, Bawa Chhajju, The Life and Teachings of Swami Dayananda Saraswati, pp.726-730.
6. Farquhar, op.cit., p.111.

and to present to Government a memorial signed by some twenty to thirty million Hindus asking for the prohibition of cow-slaughter in India.(1) Dayananda did not live long to pursue this project himself but his anti-cow-killing movement evoked much excitement among the Hindus(2) and is supposed to have been one of the

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1. Singh, B.C., op.cit., p.730; Sarda, H.B., Life of Dayananda Sarasvati, p.278.
2. The cow-protection societies were founded in most of the important centres of India, particularly in the Presidency of Bombay, in Behar and in the North-Western Provinces. In 1893 these societies ceased to be "voluntary associations and assumed the organization of a league. The principles of the organization were laid down at a great meeting at Lar in the Gorakhpur district on the 18th March" and were further elaborated at Azmatgarh (Azamgarh District) on 15th May. To collect funds for the furtherance of the objects of the movement "contributions were made compulsory on all Hindus under penalty of exclusion from caste. Each household was directed to set apart at each meal one Chutki (equal in weight or value to one paisa) of food stuff for each member of the family. The eating of food without setting apart the Chutki was declared to be an offence equal to that of eating cow's flesh". The ostensible leaders of the movement were wandering ascetics whose activity had been apparent in almost all the disturbances which for the past three years had "occurred in the Benares Province and Behar". In addition to inflammatory harangues made to meetings of Hindus, they distributed throughout the country pictures of the cow, of a kind calculated to appeal strongly to the religious sentiment of the people. One of these, for instance depicted a cow in the act of being slaughtered by three Muhammadan butchers and was headed "The Present State". Another exhibited a cow, in every part of whose body groups of Hindu deities and holy persons were shown, being assailed by a monster with a drawn sword entitled the 'Kali yug', but which had been "largely understood as typifying the Muhammadan community". A newspaper entitled the Gau-Sewak (or Worshipper of the Cow) was published at Benares. Another called the Gau-dharm Prakash (the Organ of the cow-religion) was issued monthly at Farrukhabad in the North-Western Provinces. Besides these, pamphlets, leaflets and placards of an inflammatory tendency had been disseminated throughout the country. (see Parl.Papers.CD.538, (1893-94) East India - Religious Disturbances .. pp.17, 61; see also Morison, T., Imperial Rule in India, pp.14-16).

major causes of communal riots in India.(1) In 1893 B.G. Tilak whose ascendancy in Indian politics inaugurated the era of militant Hindu nationalism "made it one of his most potent tools" to excite the religious sentiments of the Hindu masses.(2)

The latter half of the year 1893 was marked by a series of communal riots in a number of places in the country,(3) the most serious being the one that broke out in Bombay in August resulting in an alarmingly great loss of life and property.(4) Among the Mahratta population of Maharashtra religious and racial antagonism against Muslims existed as a legacy of Muslim supremacy in the past.(5) B.G. Tilak, who had already taken an active part in organizing the cow-protection society used this opportunity as an effective means of consolidating the "scattered ranks of the Hindu community"(6) and strengthening

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1. Parl.Papers, op.cit., pp.58, 61. The Calcutta Review, October 1893, p.408; The Times, 14th and 17th August and 11th September 1893; see also H.M. Ismail Khan's letter captioned "The Indian Muhammadans" in the Times, 22nd August 1893.
2. Farquhar, op.cit., p.358; Morison, op.cit., p.14.
3. During this period riots occurred in "the district of Azamgarh and other parts of the North-West Provinces and in certain parts of Behar, in the State of Junagadh in Kathiavar, and in the city of Bombay" and several other places. (The Calcutta Review, op.cit., see also The Times 3rd July and 12th and 17th August 1893).
4. The riot in Bombay began on 11th August and continued for several days. At least 50,000 men were supposed to have taken part in it. In the first two or three days of the riot the number of the dead had exceeded fifty. The total loss of life was, however, far greater than this. (See The Times, 12th, 14th, 15th and 16th August 1893)
5. Chirol, Valentine., Indian Unrest, p.43.
6. Gopal, R., Lokamanya Tilak, p.86.

its sentiments of religious nationalism. He "incubated the doctrine of force by representing that the Government sided with the Muhammadans because they resorted to force and implying that if the Hindus wished to obtain a respectful hearing they would have to adopt similar tactics and ... advised all Hindus to go in for physical exercise and to acquire familiarity with the use of weapons. The outcome was that physical drill was introduced into the curriculum of many of the Native schools and many private gymnasiums were opened"(1).

In September Tilak inaugurated at Poona a ten-day festival in honour of Ganapati,(2) the elephant headed god of learning. In the following years Ganapati societies were formed in all the chief centres of the Deccan, each with its mela or choir consisting of young men "trained in the art of fencing with sticks and other physical exercises"(3).

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1. Source material for a history of the freedom movement in India, Vol.II 1885-1920, p.208.
2. "Public Ganapati festivals appear to have arisen out of an anti-Muhammadan movement started after riots which broke out in the city of Bombay in 1893 between Hindus and Muhammadans... The idea appears to have been to make the processions in which the god is carried to his final resting-place in the water as offensive as possible to Mahammadans by framing them upon the same lines as the processions at the Mohurrum festival, when taboots representing the tombs of the martyrs at Kerbela are immersed in the sea or river". (The Sedition Committee Report, p.1.)
3. Iovett, Verney., A history of the Indian nationalist movement, p.47.

"These festivals gave occasions for theatrical performances and religious songs in which the legends of Hindu mythology were skilfully exploited to stir up hatred of the foreigner" - the European and the Muslim(1).

Tilak advocated the revocation of the rule that music should not be played before mosques, as it required Hindu processions to stop playing while passing them. He raised the matter in the Sarvajanik Sabha and used it to discredit its management "which was then guided by the 'Reform' or 'Moderate' party under Mr. Justice Ranade by compelling it to a line of action which pleased" neither the moderate Hindus nor Muslims. "The outcome was the withdrawal of the Muhammadan members of the Sabha and displacement of the 'Moderate' party in its Councils"(2). At the time of the second Ganapati festival in Poona in September 1894 the violation of the rule by Hindu processions while passing mosques resulted in a serious Hindu-Muslim riot. The Records of the Government of Bombay refer to this event in the following words:

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1. Chirol, V., Indian Unrest, p.44; Lovett, op.cit., Source Material op.cit; p.204.
2. Ibid., p.203.

"The music rules which had been framed did not meet with the approval of Tilak and his party who determined to ignore them and to play music while passing mosques. The result was the fatal riot on the morning of the 13th September 1894. After quiet had been restored Tilak's party thought the Muhammadans might lay violent hands on him and for sometime he was always accompanied by a band of Hindu youths who acted as a sort of bodyguard"(1).

A year later Tilak inaugurated a movement to revive the memory of the famous Hindu hero, Shivaji, who had, during the early part of Aurangzeb's rule, revolted against Muslim supremacy and had treacherously killed the Muslim General Afzal Khan at a conference(2). Festivals were held in his honour at all the chief centres of the Deccan with the object of sowing seeds of patriotism in the rising Hindu generation and inciting them to

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1. Source material, op.cit., p.205.
   The Calcutta Review gave the following account of the riot:
   "The City of Poonah has been the scene of a recrudescence of the Hindu-Muhammadan feud. A serious riot occurred there on the night of the 12th September, owing to the members of a Hindu procession, contrary to the orders of the police, playing a harmonium while passing mosque, where it was claimed, the Muhammadans were engaged in public worship. The Muhammadans in the mosque expostulated, and the Hindus refusing to desist, attacked them, but were outnumbered and driven off. Subsequently the Hindus ransacked the mosque, and during the rioting, which lasted till 3 a.m., many persons were injured and one Muhammadan was killed ... Great excitement prevailed for several days". (The Calcutta Review, January 1895, p.200)
2. For a brief account of the event see Smith, V.A., The Oxford History of India (Third Edition) p.406; The Cambridge History of India, Vol.IV, p.272.

emulate his deeds as a great national hero(1). The following extract from a speech made by a Brahmin professor, on the occasion of the Shivaji 'coronation festivities' gives some idea of the nature of the feeling Tilak and his co-workers wanted to stir up in the hearts of the Hindu masses:-

"Who dares to call that man a murderer who, when only nine years old, had received Divine inspiration not to bow down before a Muhammadan Emperor? Who dares to condemn Shivaji for disregarding a minor duty in the performance of a major one? Had Shivaji committed five or fifty crimes more terrible, I would have been equally ready to prostrate myself not once but one hundred times before the image of our lord Shivaji"(2).

Tilak's own remarks are more important to note:-

"Did Shivaji commit a sin in killing Afzal Khan? The answer to this question can be found in the Mahabharata itself. The Divine Krishna teaching in the Gita tells us we may kill even our teachers and our kinsmen, and no blame attaches if we are not actuated by selfish desires. Shivaji did nothing from a desire to fill his own belly. It was in a praiseworthy object that he murdered Afzal Khan for the good of others. If thieves enter our house and we have not strength to drive them out, should we not without hesitation shut in and burn them alive? God has conferred on the mlenchas (foreigners) no grant of Hindustan inscribed on imperishable brass. Shivaji strove to drive them forth out of the land of his birth, but he was guiltless of the sin of covetousness"(3).

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1. Source Material p.206.

2. Quoted in Chirol, op.cit., p.46.
3. Quoted in Chirol, op.cit., pp.46-47.

The more the influence of the advocates of Hindu militant nationalism grew among the Hindu masses the more the gulf between the Hindus and Muslims widened. The Indian National Congress which was claimed to be "the Congress of United India, of Hindus and Muhammadans, of Christians, of Parsis and of Sikhs"(1) took no notice of this development. One searches in vain for any reference in its proceedings to the narrow communalism engendered by Hindu religious revival movements and bolstered up by the activities of the cow-protection societies and by the militant Hindu nationalism of Tilak. On the contrary some prominent Congress leaders are found supporting these movements. Tilak himself enjoyed an important position in the Congress(2). The support of a number of other Congress leaders to his movement became apparent in December 1895. In the last week of that month the annual session of the Congress was held at Poona. Tilak took advantage of that opportunity and held a large public meeting in honour of Shivaji

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1. This status of the Congress was claimed by Babu Surendranath Banerjea in his Presidential Address at the 11th annual session of the Congress held at Poona in the last week of December 1895. (See Besant, A. How India wrought for freedom p.208; see also The Report of the Indian National Congress 1895).
2. Lord George Hamilton seems to have meant Tilak and his party when he refers in a letter to Carzon to a "section of Mahratta Brahmins" having "much too great influence in controlling the actions and decisions of the Congress". (Hamilton Papers Vol.I, Hamilton to Curzon, 24th October 1900).

which was addressed by a number of important Congress leaders including that year's president, Babu Surendranath Banerjea. Addressing the meeting Banerjea said:

> "My first feeling is one of intense admiration for those gentlemen who have organised this vast, this enthusiastic, this unparalleled demonstration in favour of Shivaji movement. The reflection which at the present moment at the sight of this imposing demonstration occurs to my mind is this - what may not be expected from the organisers of a movement like this in the cause of national advancement and progress? We are all - I think I may say the members of the National Congress are all - in strict sympathy with this movement, the object of which is to commemorate the memory of the greatest Hindu Hero of modern times and the founder of the mightiest Hindu Empire in these latter days"(1).

Speaking at the same meeting Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said that "the great Shivaji should not be forgotten; his memory should be cherished"(2). Several other prominent Hindus from different parts of India also adressed the meeting and "gave expression to similar sentiments"(3).

In the following years the tendency towards accepting Shivaji as a great Hindu hero began developing in other parts of the country as well. The Shivaji festival became popular even in Bengal(4) and the Bengali Hindu, who

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1. Quoted in Gopal, op.cit., pp.103-4.
2. ibid., p.104.
3. ibid.,
4. Mukherjee H. and Mukherjee U., Bepin Chandra Pal and India's Struggle for Swaraj, p.12.

once dreaded the name of Mahratta(1) now regarded Shivaji as his "national hero and drew inspiration from him"(2). Bepin Chandra Pal seems to present a fairly correct picture of Bengali feelings about Shivaji when he says: "Shivaji was a Hindu - he symbolised the religio-political ideal of the Hindu people. In honouring Shivaji we honour that Hindu ideal"(3).

The events of 1893 produced a marked change in the attitude of the Aligarh leaders. They had hitherto been opposing the Congress demands for filling all posts through competitive examinations and for introducing the elective principle into the legislative councils as detrimental to the interests of the Muslims, but had not endeavoured to organise themselves in a political body separately. They had rather worked in co-operation with such Hindus as disagreed with the activities and programme of the Congress. The Indian Patriotic Association exemplified this spirit of co-operation. Now they decided to form an association independent of Hindu support. Sayyid Ahmad Khan convened on 30th December

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1. Chirol, op.cit., p.84.
2. Thamankar, D.V., Lokamanya Tilak, p.66.
3. Pal. B.C., The New Spirit, p.49.

1893 at his house in Aligarh a meeting of some leading Muslims and Europeans including Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Sayyid Mahmud, Shams-ul- 'Ulama Maulavi Zaka-ullah, Maulavi Karamat Husain, Khan Bahadur Barkat Ali and Theodore Beck. After a long discussion the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association was formed to consist of a limited number of members to be drawn from Muslims and Europeans alone(1). Its chief purposes were (i) to make known to the Government of India and the British people the feelings and interests of the Muslims; (ii) to protect the political rights of the Muslims, and (iii) to prevent the spread of agitation among the Muslims(2).

Unlike the Indian Patriotic Association, the Defence Association did not affiliate to it other anjumans or associations. Its work was chiefly done by its Executive Council which met once or twice a year, usually at the time of the annual session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference. The association being very limited in membership and having almost a local character cannot be said to have served the

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1. Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., pp.301-302.
2. Zuberi, M.A. Siyasat-i-Milliah, p.34.

purpose of a well-organized and well-represented Muslim political organization. However, it passed resolutions on some important matters concerning Muslim rights and interests, such as competitive examinations, and made some important suggestions for Muslim representation on legislative councils and municipal and district boards.(1) Moreover its leaders having enjoyed enormous influence on Muslims in almost all parts of India, it made a considerable contribution in making the educated class of Muslims conscious of the fact that their rights should be recognized as different from those of Hindus.

The Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association could not continue after the death of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and that of Theodore Beck as its work mainly depended upon these two persons.

II

Another factor that drove the Muslims away from the Hindus and induced them to organize their co-

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1. In December 1896 the Association prepared an elaborate scheme on the question of Muslim representation and asked Congress to accept it as a compromise between the Hindus and Muslims. See supra, pp. 173 - 175.

religionists separately to protect their political and cultural interests was the anti- Urdu movement which again assumed formidable dimension about the turn of the century. In November 1895 Sir Antony MacDonnell was appointed Governor of the North-Western Provinces(1). His preference for the Hindi language and Nagri script was well known. When, during the 1870s, the Government of Bengal decided to introduce the Kaithi script in the courts and Government offices in Behar in place of Persian(2), MacDonnell was

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1. Statement exhibiting the moral and material progress and condition of India during the year 1898-99, p.2.
2. The introduction into Behar of Hindi in place of Urdu and the Devanagri script in place of the Persian script was first decided by the Government of Sir George Campbell in 1872 which decided to make an experiment in the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions. The Government again passed orders on "2nd April 1874 and 9th July 1875, which reiterated previous orders for the use of Hindi and the Nagri character in the courts and offices of the Patna, Bhaugulpore, and Chota Nagpore Divisions, directed that all processes, notifications, and proclamations should be made in Hindi; the official records should be kept in Hindi; that petitions should be received at the option of the presenters in the Hindi or Urdu character; and that a knowledge of the Hindi character should be insisted on in the case of police and ministerial officers". When Sir Ashley Eden became the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal he found that "no real advance had been made in giving effect to the wishes of Government in the matter" and "came to the conclusion that the changes enjoined by the Government would never be thoroughly introduced until Nagri (or Kaithi) was made the character for exclusive use in official documents in Behar". He ordered "that this character should be exclusively used from the 1st January 1881, and that the issue from the courts or the reception by the courts of any document in the Persian character, except as exhibits, should be absolutely forbidden. Police Officers and amlahs were also warned that if they could not read and write the Nagri character by the 1st January 1881, they would be replaced by those who could do so". (Indian Education Commission 1882. Report by the Bengal Provincial Committee, p.399).

employed in that part of the country(1) and was a strong supporter of the change(2). His assumption of office as head of Government in the North-Western Provinces gave impetus to the anti-Urdu movement and the demand to introduce Hindi written in the Nagri script as the language in the courts in the province grew stronger(3). Early in March 1898 a Hindu deputation under the leadership of some of the Pundits of Benares waited upon MacDonnell and asked him to accede to their long unfulfilled demand(4). He appreciated the point of view of the deputation and showed sympathy with their cause. But he regarded an immediate change as inadvisable because, both Government and public having become accustomed to the Urdu language and Persian character, it would involve much administrative difficulty(5). This event took place a few days before the death of Sayyid Akmad Khan whose opposition to the anti-Urdu

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1. See The Indian Army and Civil List for 1873, 1874 and 1875.
2. See the Aligarh Institute Gazette 19th March 1898, Sayyid Ahmad Khan's article on the Urdu language and Persian Script.
3. ibid.,
4. For the full text of the address presented by the deputation to the Lieutenant-Governor, see the Pioneer 3rd March 1898.
5. Hali, op.cit., Vol.I, p.144; Government Gazette N-W. Provinces and Oudh, Part, VI, 21st April 1900 For the full text of Sir Antony's reply to the deputation see the Pioneer, 10th March 1898.

movement is supposed to have been one of the chief reasons that prevented MacDonnell from agreeing to the demand of the Deputation(1). The Hindus, however, continued their efforts and within the next two years succeeded in persuading the Government to concede much of their demand. On 18th April 1900 the Government issued a resolution which declared its decision to introduce the following rules to be applicable to all the Civil and Criminal as well as to the Rent and Revenue courts:-

> "(1) All persons may present their petitions or complaints either in the Nagri or in the Persian character, as they shall desire.
>
> (2) All summonses, proclamations, and the like in vernacular, issuing to the public from courts or from Revenue Officials, shall be in the Persian and the Nagri characters, and the portion in the latter shall invariably be filled up as well as that in the former.
>
> (3) No person shall be appointed, except in a purely English office, to any ministerial appointment henceforward unless he can read and write both the Nagri and Persian characters fluently"(2).

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1. Tufail Ahmad., op. cit., p.233.
2. See the Government Gazette, North West Provinces and Oudh, 21st April 1900, Part VI.

The Hindus welcomed the Resolution with gratitude.(1) To the Muslims, on the other hand, it caused much concern as they perceived in it a probable renewal of the circumstances that followed the change of the official language in 1837(2). They regarded it as a clear triumph of Hindu communalism which tended to oppose everything that owed its origin to Muslim influence. The Muslim press subjected the Resolution to a severe criticism(3). Commenting on it, a leading Muslim weekly of Calcutta, the Moslem Chronicle said:

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1. Several Hindu meetings were held to support the Resolution and to express gratefulness to the Government of Sir Antony MacDonnell. For an account of a meeting held at Rai Bareli on 27th May see the Pioneer, 30th May 1900. For information about another Hindu meeting held at Aligarh on 3rd June 1900, under the auspices of the Kayastha Sadar Sabha, see the Pioneer, 6th June 1900.
2. See the Moslem Chronicle, 19th May 1900, Leading Article: "Crusade Against Urdu".
3. A series of articles on 'Hindi' versus Urdu' appeared in Al-Bashir of Etawah, in the Aligarh Institute Gazette, in the Paisa Akhbar, Lahore and several other Muslim newspapers and journals. At this time Al-Bashir proved to be the most important exponent of the Muslim point of view. This paper alone published about one hundred articles on the Urdu-Nagri question and the decision of Sir Antony MacDonnell's Government. (see 'Asr-i-Jadid, January 1903, pp.30-31; see also Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., p.232).

"We have not the least doubt that the replacement of Urdu in the courts of the North-West by Nagri is explainable on no other grounds but those of prejudice and sentiment. For it is inconceivable that Urdu which has so long served excellently well for the language in which deeds, documents and instruments used to be written, read and understood should now be found to fall short of the requirements of the administration"(1).

The paper advised the Muslims to stand together as one man and wage a persistent, loyal and systematic agitation against the Resolution as it affected their "most vital interests"(2). Reminding them of the pitiable condition of the educated classes of the Muslims in Bengal after the abolition of Persian as the official language it ~~remarked~~ remarked:

"To what sad strait have the Mussalmans of Bengal been brought by the removal of Persian and the gradual introduction of Bengali as a subordinate court language is too well known for relation here. Suffice it to say that they have been driven to a position only a little better than that of the serfs and slaves of the land". This disadvantageous condition "and subordinate position was brought about by the practical banishment" of Persian and Urdu from the courts of justice(3).

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1. The Moslem Chronicle, 19th May 1900, Leading Article: "Crusade against Urdu".
2. ibid.,
3. ibid.,

The Moslem Chronicle criticised the policy of the North-West Provinces Government as based on weakness as it meant to pacify a people who resorted to agitation for the achievement of their objects. The paper warned the British people that such a weak policy, if not, modified, would adversely affect the rights and interests of the Muslim community in the name of 'liberty' and 'democracy'(1).

Within less than a month of the publication of the Resolution "considerable dissatisfaction" had been shown "in the ranks of the Muhammadan community"(2), and protests had been held in almost all important Muslim centres in India(3). An organized movement against the measure was, however, started by the Aligarh leaders. This was perhaps the first occasion after the Mutiny that the Muslims decided to raise their voices in protest against an unfavourable measure of the Government. Their most influential leader now

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1. ibid.,
2. The Pioneer, 12th May 1900.
3. The Moslem Chronicle, op.cit.,

was Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk(1), Secretary of Aligarh College. On his initiative an important meeting was held in the Town Hall, Aligarh on 13th May 1900. It was presided over by Khan Bahadur Lutf Ali Khan and was attended by representatives from ~~Lineknow~~ Lucknow, Meerut, Bulandshahr, Badaon, Agra, Delhi, Lahore and several other places in the Panjab and the North-Western Provinces(2). Addressing the meeting Mohsin-ul-Mulk said the provisions of the Resolution were bound to have an adverse effect on the status and importance of Urdu. It appeared

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1. Sayyid Mehdi Ali, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was born at Etawah on 9th December 1837. "He belonged to an ancient family of Barah Sayyids who played an important part in shaping the fortunes of the Mughal dynasty". Like Sayyid Ahmad Khan, he was educated on the old orthodox lines. He started life as a clerk under the East India Company on Rs.10 per month. In 1867, having competed for the Provincial Civil Service, he headed the list of the successful candidates and was appointed a Deputy Collector in the North-Western Provinces. "As a civil servant he had a distinguished career and was picked up by Sir Salar Jang, the Prime Minister of Hyderabad, for a high appointment in the state." "He left Hyderabad in 1893 and permanently settled at Aligarh. From now on he "devoted all his time and energies to the cause of Muslim progress in India". In January 1899 he was elected secretary of the Aligarh College. This office he continued to occupy till his death in October 1907.
2. The Pioneer, 17th May 1900.

at first sight to effect merely the substitution at option of one character for another, a comparatively trifling matter, but as will be seen on further examination, it meant much more. In fact, it meant to stimulate the study of Nagri at the expense of Urdu, and to place the most widespread means of communication and the chief literary language of India in a distinctly disadvantageous position - a change whose ill-effects would ere long be manifest in education, in commerce and in social relations. The Muslims were, he emphasised, bound by the instinct of self-preservation and by the duty which they owed to posterity, to raise their voices in respectful but vigorous protest against the change(1).

Theodore Morison, Principal of the Aligarh College, also addressed the meeting. He said the implementation of the Resolution would mean the reversal of the Government's Policy according to which Urdu had been recognized as "the best and most suitable vehicle of expression for official purposes". Moreover, it would lead to the perpetuation of a "confusion of tongues" that should be regarded as little less than a national misfortune(2).

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,

The meeting passed several resolutions on the language question and asked the Local Government to reconsider its policy "so as to preserve and safeguard the social, political and educational interests" of the Muslims(1). The general feelings expressed at the meeting were conveyed to the Lieutenant-Governor by Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Pointing out the difficulties that the decision of the Government tended to create for the Muslims he said:

> "It was with much difficulty that the late Sir Sayyid Ahmad after forty year's labour, succeeded in inducing Muhammadans to learn English; and now the imposition of another non-Muhammadan dialect such as Deva-Nagri will come to them as a super-added difficulty and misfortune because unlike the English language it is likely to prove unfruitful to their educational aims and results, and injurious to their future prosperity in Government employ, without compensating benefit to the public at large"(2).

Similar meetings were held in several other parts of northern India(3). Some of them were also attended by a certain number of such Hindus as were supposed to share the opinion that Urdu was the product of a combination of Hindu-Muslim cultures and required an

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,
3. Some of the important meetings held to express Muslim feelings about the Resolution were those held at Saharanpore, Meerut and Lahore on 27th May 1900. (For an account of these meetings see The Pioneer, 30th May 1900).

unhindered progress to serve as a means of co-operation and unity between the two communities. At a public meeting held at Kakori(1) on 13th May 1900 a resolution disapproving of the decision of the North-Western Provinces Government was moved by a Hindu Mr. Gulabji and was actively supported by another distinguished local Hindu, Lala Avadh Behair Lal, Vakeel. Another resolution which regarded the maintenance and recognition of Urdu as the language of the courts and offices as "essentially necessary" for the progress of the North-Western Provinces(2) was seconded by a Hindu Rais of Kakori, Lala Doodhar Narain and was supported, among others, by another Hindu, M. Ram Dyal(3).

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1. For an account of the proceedings of the meeting see The Moslem Chronicle , 26th May 1900.
2. The text of the resolution is as follows:
   "That in the opinion of this meeting the maintenance and recognition of the Urdu language as the language of the country and language of the courts and offices of the country is essentially necessary for the progress of these provinces, and that any representation made by any particular community as detrimental to the advancement of the Urdu language should be considered by the Government of these provinces as against the public wishes and detrimental to the literary, social and economic progress of the United Provinces". (ibid.,)
3. ibid.,

As a practical step towards defending the cause of Urdu and uniting the efforts of the Muslims to look after their interests which seemed to suffer enormously as a result of the anti-Urdu movement of the Hindus and the policy of MacDonnell's Government an Urdu Defence Association was formed in Lucknow(1) with Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk as President(2) and Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, Barrister as secretary(3). The Association embarked upon an active movement to obtain the revocation of the Resolution. It was accorded active support by Muslim traders and lawyers as they believed to have to be as much adversely affected by the provisions of the Resolution as their co-religionists in the Government service.

On the advice of the Governor-General, who regarded the Resolution as implying unnecessary hardship for the Muslims(4), the Local Government postponed for one year the implementation of that provision

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1. Zuberi, M.A., Tazkira-i-Mohsin, p.99.
2. Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., p.334.
3. The Moslem Chronicle, 2nd June 1900.
4. See Government Gazette, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, 30th June 1900, Part VI, J.P. Hewett, Secretary to Government of India, Home Department to the Chief Secretary to Government, North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

of the Resolution that required for Government service the knowledge of both Hindi and Urdu(1). This did not, however, make any material change from the point of view of the Muslims. They wished that Urdu should be allowed to continue as the only officially recognised vernacular in the Province as it was as much used by the Hindus as by the Muslims, and that an additional court language should not be introduced. On 18th August 1900, the Urdu Defence Association called at Lucknow a one day conference of Muslim representatives from all parts of northern India to devise a programme to seek the revision of the Government's decision. The president, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, upheld in his address, Sayyid Ahmad Khan's "policy of non-intervention in general political questions"(2), but stressed that it was obligatory upon Muslims to endeavour to keep their language alive.(3). "If to our great misfortune this meeting and future efforts of the kind fail to save it we should at least have the consolation of

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1. ibid.,
2. The Pioneer 23rd. August 1900.
3. ibid., The Moslem Chronicle, 1st September 1900.

knowing that we have given it a funeral worthy of its great place and dignity and that we have fought for it by every constitutional means in our power(1).

Refuting the allegation that the Muslims had deviated from Ahmad Khan's policy and had resorted to political agitation, Mohsin-ul-Mulk said:

> "The best reply to those who say we are throwing aside the moderate principles of Sir Sayyid Ahmad is that we are adopting exactly the same method of defending our language... as he employed as far as 1873"(2).

The conference passed the following resolutions:

> "(1) That the free and unconditional use of the Nagri character in the public courts will tend to the inconvenience of the public; (2) that the Urdu character is used not only by Muhammadans, but by people of other sects; (3) that it has not in practice proved in any way defective,

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1. ibid.,
   In the original Urdu text of Mohsin-ul-Mulk's address, given by Zuberi the matter is referred to as follows.

"مجھے ہرگز یقین نہیں کہ گورنمنٹ ہماری زبان کو مرنے دے گی، بلکہ اس کو زندہ رکھے گی اور وہ کبھی مرنے نہ پائے گی۔ مگر اس میں کچھ شبہ نہیں کہ جو کوشش اس کے مارنے کی دوسری طرف سے ہو رہی ہے، اگر وہ برابر جاری رہی تو آئندہ کسی وقت ہماری زبان کو صدمہ پہنچے گا۔ یہی خوف ہے جس کے لیے یہ کوششیں ہو رہی ہیں تاکہ ہم اپنی زبان کو زندہ رکھ سکیں اور اگر خدانخواستہ وہ وقت آوے کہ اس کو زندہ نہ رکھ سکیں تو اس کا جنازہ تو دھوم سے نکالیں۔ ع عاشق کا جنازہ ہے ذرا دھوم سے نکلے۔"

See Zuberi, M.A., op.cit., p.101.

2. The Moslem Chronicle, op.cit.,

inconvenient, or troublesome, and hence the change introduced by the Resolution is not required; (4) that the use of the Nagri character will give rise to much confusion and many intricacies necessitating the complete replacement of one character by the other, consequently threatening the ultimate total prohibition of the use of Urdu; (5) that the literature of India in general, and northern India in particular, is contained mainly in the Urdu language, which has thus served the object of keeping the people and the Government informed as to the intention of each other, and hence it is the duty of the Government to preserve, strengthen and advance this ancient literature, particularly in these provinces which are its centre"(1).

Although the Muslims kept their protests strictly within constitutional limits, they could not succeed in inducing MacDonnell to adopt a disinterested attitude towards the matter. He had shown displeasure at the activities of the Muslims from the very beginning of the movement against the Resolution. As a result of it several weak-minded Muslims, including Kunwar Lutf Ali Khan, the president of the Aligarh protest meeting of 13th May, had

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1. The Friend of India and statesman (weekly) 23rd August 1900.
The last mentioned resolution was moved by the famous Urdu novelist, Abdul Haleem Sharer and was seconded by a Hindu Pandit Kedar Nath (see The Pioneer, 19th August 1900).

dissociated themselves from the movement(1). After the Lucknow Conference of 18th August, MacDonnell himself visited Aligarh and warned the Trustees of the M.A.O. College that if Mohsin-ul-Mulk continued as the Secretary of the College as well as the President of the Urdu Defence Association, the Government would be compelled to discontinue financial aid to the College(2). It could not allow the secretary of the college to indulge in 'political agitation'. In view of the importance of the work of the college Mohsin-ul- had to resign the presidentship of the Association(3). As was anticipated, after his withdrawal the movement lost its vigour and could not be continued for a long time in the manner it was started(4).

Fortunately for the Muslims, MacDonnell's successor, Sir James La Touche(5), did not continue his policy. He rather relieved them of a certain

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1. Zuberi, M.A., Tazkira-i-Mohsin, p.99; Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., p.334.
2. Zuberi, op.cit., pp.102; Norman, M., op.cit., p.62.
3. Makhzan, October 1904, Article: انجمن اردو (Anjuman-i-Urdu), p.6.
4. Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., p.335.
5. Sir James La Touche, assumed charge as the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh on 14th November 1901. (Report on the Administration of the United Provinces of Agra, and Oudh, 1901-1902, p.i.)

amount of anxiety about the future of Urdu by showing interest in the development of that language and by not insisting on the strict implementation of the Resolution(1). However, the bitter feelings that arose between the Hindu and Muslim communities after the publication of the Resolution, continued to grow and the chances of unity and co-operation between them gradually decreased. Commenting as late as 1903 on the effect of this Resolution on Hindu-Muslim relations the Moslem Chronicle remarked:

> "It is needless to say that we can think of no other question in recent times which has more to answer for the existence of bad blood and tension between the Hindus and Muhammadans than the egregious language blunder of Sir Antony MacDonnell"(2).

The Hindu and Muslim press took an active part

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1. See Asr-i-Jadid, January 1903, p.30.
2. The Moslem Chronicle, 30th May 1903.

in supporting Nagri and Urdu respectively(1).
However it is important to note that the general trend of Muslim argumentation represented the feeling that the growth of Urdu as a common language of the Hindus and Muslims was necessary for the development of a community of culture and interests(2), and that it should not be opposed only because it was born during the time of Muslim supremacy in India(3).

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1. See the Report on the Administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1901-1902, p.65; and 1902-1903, p.62. It is interesting to note that quite a large number of Hindu papers in the United Provinces which demanded the introduction of Hindi in Government Offices and courts were themselves published in Urdu. The Arya Samajists were the strongest supporters of the Hindi movement. But their own paper, the Arya Patra was published in Urdu and ranked among the principal Urdu newspapers of the Provinces (see the Administration Report of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1904-1905, p.43; and 1905-1906, p.42). In the Panjab too their newspapers found only Urdu as the proper medium to convey their ideas to the people.
2. This point of view continued to be presented by Muslim journals and newspapers in the succeeding years (see Makhzan, February 1905, Article: Zuban-i-Urdu [زبانِ اردو] by C.W. Whish; see also Makhzan, January 1907, article: "Urdu Zuban aur Hindu Musalman" [اردو زبان اور ہندو مسلمان] by Sayyid Muhammad Faruq.
3. From the very beginning of the anti-Urdu movement the Hindus had been arguing that Urdu was the language of Muslim religion (see supra p. 103. This viewfound wide expression in the early eighties in several memorials, presented to the Education Commission by Hindu associations in the Panjab and the North-Western Provinces and Oudh.

The renewal of the Urdu-Hindi controversy during the time of Sir Antony MacDonnell's Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-Western Provinces awakened the Muslims to the need of taking some positive steps towards the development of the Urdu language. The Hindus had formed societies to promote the cause of Hindi as early as the 1860s. In 1893 they established the Nagri Pracharini Sabha at Benares which actively engaged itself in popularising the study of Hindi among the Hindus of northern India. It published a Hindi journal and awarded prizes, certificates and medals to persons showing interest and scholarship in the Hindi language and literature(1). The Muslims had on the other hand, done nothing of the sort. No doubt they had among them historians like Shibli (1857-1914)(2) and Zakaullah (1832-1910)(3), novelists like Nazir Ahmad (1831-1912)(4) and Sharar (1860-1926)(5),

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1. Report on the Administration of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, 1901-1902, p.66.
2. For a brief account of Shibli's numerous works on historical, religious and literary subjects, see Bailey, T.G. A History of Urdu Literature, pp.88-89.
3. ibid., pp.91-92.
4. ibid., pp.89-90.
5. Abdul Halim Sharar, See Bailey, op.cit., p.91.

essayists like Sayyid Ahmad Khan (1817-98)(1) and Azad (1834-1910)(2) and poets like Hali (1837-1914)(3) and Akbar (1846-1921)(4), whose works enriched the Urdu language enormously and entitled it to be reckoned among the highly advanced modern languages of the world; but they had no organization to work for its steady development and for promoting its study among Indians of all creeds and classes. Even the Urdu Defence Association did not fulfil this need and kept its activities confined to organizing protest meetings against the Resolution of 18th April and publishing pamphlets in defence of Urdu as a common language of the Hindus and Muslims of India(5). It was not earlier than the year 1902 that an association to pursue this object was formed. At the time of the 14th session of the Muhammadan

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1. ibid., pp.85-86.
2. Muhammad Husain Azad, See Bailey, op.cit, p.87.
3. Altaf Husain Hali of Panipat. See Bailey, op.cit., pp.94-95.
4. Akebar Husain Rizvi, Akbar of Allahabad, see Bailey, pp.97-98.
5. One such pamphlet was issued by the Association soon after its formation under the title 'A defence of the Urdu language and character.' (See Report on the Administration of the N-W Provinces and Oudh, 1900-1901 p.128).

Educational Conference held at Delhi in the last week of December 1902, the Anjuman-i-Tarraqi-i-Urdu was established[1] with Professor T.W. Arnold[2] as President and Maulavies Nazir Ahmad, Zakaullah and Hali as Vice-Presidents and Shibli as secretary[3]. The Anjuman did meritorious work for the development of Urdu and succeeded in enlisting the sympathy of a considerably large number of Hindus in northern India; but its effort to bring about a unity between the Hindus and Muslims on the basis of Urdu as their common language remained unfulfilled because of the insistence of the politically active Hindus of northern India for Hindi as a major language in that part. However, with its headquarters at Delhi the Anjuman continued to work to achieve this purpose till the country was divided in 1947. Thereafter Urdu having been virtually banished from India, the main body of the Anjuman moved to Pakistan.

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1. Nadvi, Sayyid Suleman, Hayat-i-Shibli, p.403.
2. At the time of the formation of the Anjuman Arnold was Professor of Philosophy at the Government College Lahore. He remained President of the Anjuman till 1904 when he left for London to assume charge as Assistant Librarian at the India Office. (See Makhzan, January 1905).
3. Nadvi, op.cit.,

III

The Muhammadan Political Association

The developments concerning the Urdu-Hindi question brought home to the Muslims that they needed a well-represented political organization to represent their views to the Government effectively. Another factor that impressed upon them the immediate need of organizing themselves politically was the renewed Congress efforts after the death of Sayyid Ahmad Khan to wean the young educated Muslims from the creed of the Aligarh school of thought in politics.(1)

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1. At the Lucknow session of the Indian National Congress held in December 1899, nearly two years after the death of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, the Muslim contingent was unexpectedly large. Out of 739 delegates, 311 were Muslims. (See the Report of the Indian National Congress 1899, List of Delegates. However it is important to note that most of these delegates, i.e. 290, came from Lucknow. There was only one Muslim delegate from Bengal and two from Bombay. The Central Provinces, Madras andthe Panjab were completely unrepresented). The Congress had hitherto been unable to enlist enough Muslim support to justify its national character. This year's session was, therefore, considered to be a great success in the direction of the Congress ideology, (See India, 5th January 1900, Editorial: "The Fifteenth Congress"), and in the following year a great deal of propaganda was made on the part of the supporters of the Congress that the young educated Muslims were gradually accepting the ideology of the Congress. (See Alfred Nundy's letter in the Friend of India and Statesman, 20th December 1900.) This did not, however, prove true and from 1900 onward Muslim response to the Congress remained negligible, obviously due to the growing differences between the two communities on account of the Urdu-Hindi question and the partition of Bengal.

In April 1901 Nawab Fateh Nawaz Jung Maulavi Mehdi Husain of Lucknow wrote a letter to the Pioneer emphasising the importance of such an organization.(1) About the same time Mian Muhammad Shah Din discussed the political situation in the Civil and Military Gazette and pointed out that the time had come when the Muslim leaders should take practical steps to safeguard the interests of the community.(2) In September Mian Muhammad Shafi wrote a series of articles in the Observer in which he supported the view expressed by Shah Din and drew a sketch of the lines on which the proposed Muslim organization should be constituted with its name as the 'Indian Muslim Patriotic League'.(3) Theodore Morison, who succeeded Theodore Beck as Principal of the Aligarh College, also put forward a scheme.(4) He was of opinion that the Muslims should organize a council similar to the one that existed in Aligarh during the lifetime of Sayyid Ahmad Khan under the name of the Muhammadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association, and that

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1. See the Pioneer, 9th April 1901.
2. See the Civil and Military Gazette, 23rd October 1909, Mian Muhammad Shafi's address at the annual meeting of the Panjab Provincial Muslim League.
3. ibid., Eminent Mussalmans, p.218.
4. Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., p.338; The Pioneer Mail, 25th October 1901, Letter by M.K. under the heading: "Political action by Muhammadans".

they should not proceed to organize a political association with its branches all over India.(1) Mohsin-ul-Mulk also seemed to hold similar views.(2) But the younger class of the educated Muslims was generally in favour of an All India organization. In view of the importance of the matter, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, in co-operation with Mr.Hamid Ali Khan and Munshi Ehtisham Ali, called in Lucknow in the third week of October a two-day consultation meeting(3) of the Muslims of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, Behar and the Panjab to consider what step should be taken to secure a unity of action among the Muslims and to safeguard their social and political interests properly.(4) The meeting was held on 21st and 22nd October at the house of Mr.Hamid Ali Khan and was presided over on the first day by Mr.Sharf-uddin, barrister at law, Patna, and on the second day by Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk.(5)

After two days' discussion it adopted the following resolutions:-

"(i) That the Muhammadans of India should form an organization with a view to secure united action in matters social and political; (ii) that it is necessary to impress upon the minds of the Muhammadan public that the welfare of their community depends upon the stability and permanence of British rule in this

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1. Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., p.337.
2. ibid., pp.239-40.
3. For the full Urdu text of the letter of invitation which briefly explains the purpose of the meeting and throws some light on the feelings of the politically conscious Muslims see Appendix B.
4. The Statesman and Friend of India, 31st October 1901; the Pioneer Mail, 1st November 1901.
5. ibid.,

country; (iii) that the political wants of the Muhammadans should be represented respectfully and with moderation to the Government, and that an endeavour should be made that the real intentions and policy of the Government be not misunderstood by the Muhammadan public; (iv) that with due regard to the protection of political interests of their own, the Muhammadans should avoid a hostile attitude towards the other nationalities of India; (v) that as the two essential demands of the Indian National Congress, viz. a representative system of Government and competition in public service, with many other resolutions of that body which if given effect to would certainly prove injurious to the interests of the Muhammadans...and as there is and shall ever be a majority of members of that body in favour of such resolutions, therefore, the Muhammadans as a body should keep aloof from the Indian National Congress."(1)

The meeting decided that the formation of the proposed political organization should be again considered at "the next general and representative meeting of the whole community" and authorised Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, Mr.Hamid Ali Khan and Munshi Ehtisham Ali to convene such a meeting "within a reasonable time".(2)

This "representative meeting of the whole community" seems to have never been held, nor does the proposed association appear to have been formed on an all-India basis. Viqar-ul-

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1. ibid., The point of view expressed in Resolution 5, seems to have been upheld in the succeeding years even by such progressive Muslims as believed that the success of the proposed Muslim political organization depended more on the support of the educated middle and lower class Muslims than that of upper classes. (See Asr-i-Jadīd, February 1903, Article: "Muslims and the National Congress" (مسلمان اور نیشنل کانگریس) pp.46-50.
2. The Statesman and Friend of India, op.cit.,

Mulk started work for this purpose in early 1903.(1) He visited different cities in the United Provinces and established district associations in certain parts of the province to send representatives to a central body to be organized later.(2) But in the beginning of the next year he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca.(3) His work having been stopped, the formation of an all-India Muslim political organization remained deferred till the birth of the All-India Muslim League in 1906.

Although Viqar-ul-Mulk did not succeed in establishing the proposed Muhammadan Political Association, his work for it seems to have contributed a great deal to preparing ground for the formation of the Simla Deputation and the establishment of the Muslim League. He wanted the proposed organization to represent to the Government that the rights of the Muslims should be accorded proper protection, that their representation on the Legislative Councils should be in proportion to their numerical strength and that instead of

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1. According to Asr-i-Jadīd, no work was done till February 1903 to pursue the programme devised by the Lucknow Consultation Meeting of October 1901. (See Asr-i-Jadīd, April 1903, Editorial Notes: Muslim Political Association مسلمانوں کی پولیٹیکل جماعت).
2. The first of such district associations seems to have been founded in Moradabad in February 1903. (See Asr-i-Jadid, op.cit.) In the following months associations were formed also in Aligarh (See Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., p.342) and Saharanpore (See the Pioneer, 31st July and 16th August 1903).
3. Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., p.343.

being nominated their representatives should be elected by them.(1) During his campaign in 1903 to establish District Associations these were the chief points on which he laid emphasis. Afterwards these points became the basis of Muslim demands placed before Lord Minto by the Simla Deputation.

IV

The Partition of Bengal

In 1905 the unwieldy province of Bengal was partitioned. The Dacca, Rajshahi and Chittagong Divisions (excluding the Darjeeling District of the Chittagong Division) and the district of Malda having been separated from it were united with Assam and a new province under the name of Eastern Bengal and Assam was formed. In this new province, the Muslims formed an overwhelming majority of the population (i.e., 18,036,688 out of 23,152,843) and saw a better chance for their progress. The

1. See the separate notice attached to the Asr-i-Jadid of April 1903, entitled مسلمانوں کے تمدنی اور پولیٹیکل حقوق کی حفاظت (Safeguard of the social and political rights of the Muslims). This notice bears neither any date nor the names of those who issued it, but, on the authority of Asr-i-Jadīd, it is believed to have been issued in 1903 by Viqar-ul-Mulk and his colleagues authorized by the Lucknow meeting of October 1901 to convene a representative Muslim meeting to give a practical shape to the proposed Muhammadan Political Association. It asked the Muslims of each district to elect from 5 to 12 persons to represent them at the proposed meeting.

Hindus on the other hand regarded this change as detrimental to their economic and political interests and adopted an attitude of vehement opposition to it. The result was a conflict of interests between the two communities which continually strained their relations in the following years.

As appears from the extant evidence on the subject the idea of partition owed its origin to the view that Bengal was too large a territory to be administered efficiently by a single Lieutenant-Governor. However this view was not a recent one. It had existed long before the final scheme for the partition was devised. As early as 1854 Lord Dalhousie had "described the burden which fell upon the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal as one that was more than a mortal man could bear".(1) About the close of the 1860s Sir William Grey complained that the administration of so vast a territory as Bengal was too heavy a burden "thrown on the shoulders of the Lieutenant-Governor"!(2) In 1872 Sir George Campbell(3) asked for a somewhat similar change as was made in 1905.(4) As a result of such recommendations the Province of Assam was separated from Bengal in 1874

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1. Parliamentary Debates 1905, Vol.151, p.886.
2. ibid.; Parliamentary Papers, Cd.2658(1905) - Papers relating to the reconstruction of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam, H.H.Risley, Secretary to the Government of India to the Chief Secretary to the Govt. of Bengal, 3rd December 1903, para.2.
3. Sir George Campbell served as the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal from March 1871 to April 1874.
4. Parliamentary Debates, op.cit.

and was "made into a separate administrative unit under a Chief Commissioner".(1) In 1892 the territory comprising the Lushi Hills was also added to that province(2). "In 1896-97 there was a prolonged discussion as to whether the Chittagong Division should also be transferred to Assam".(3) The project was, however, deferred(4) till 1903, when the Government of India prepared a new scheme which later developed into the scheme of 1905 and resulted in the creation of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam.

The scheme of 1903 envisaged the transfer to Assam of not only the Chittagong Division but also the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh.(5) It was published in the Official Gazette in December 1903.(6) The main argument given in favour of the scheme was that the administration of the districts to be transferred to Assam "was exceedingly defective,

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1. H.H.Risley, op.cit., para.3; Banerjea, S.N., A nation in making, p.184.
2. H.H.Risley, op.cit., para.18.
3. ibid.,
4. According to Lord Curzon "the main reasons for its temporary postponement were that the Chittagong Settlement had not been completed, and that the Assam Bengal Railway was in the same condition". (See Parliamentary Papers, Cd.2746(1905) - Further papers relating to the reconstruction of the Provinces of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Lord Curzon's address at Chittagong, p.216).
5. H.H.Risley, op.cit., para.27.
6. Parliamentary Papers, 1905(Cd.2746), op.cit., Resolution of the Govt.of India in the Home Department, No.2491, dated Simla, the 19th July 1905, para.1.

and that Eastern Bengal needed more immediate personal contact with the higher authorities".(1) Moreover it was supported on the ground that it would relieve Bengal of a great deal of burden, and would help erecting "Assam into a vigorous and self-contained administration, capable of playing the same part on the North-East Frontier of India that the Central Provinces have done in the centre, and that the Punjab formerly did on the North-West".(2)

As was feared by some officials(3) the scheme aroused much opposition, especially among the Hindu intelligentsia of Bengal. The Bengalee, an influential English Daily of Calcutta, which represented the views of a large section of the educated Hindus of Bengal wrote, soon after the scheme was made public:

> "We object to the proposed dismemberment of Bengal and we are sure the whole country will rise as one man against it."(4)

The Hindu press in general followed the line of the Bengalee and subjected the scheme to severe criticism. The most notable expression of the opposition to the scheme following its publication was made at a public meeting held at the Town Hall Calcutta on 18th March 1904.(5) The meeting

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1. Fraser, L., India under Curzon and After, p.380; H.H.Risley, op.cit., para.3.
   See also The Administration of Bengal under Sir Andrew Fraser 1903-08, pp.2 and 5.
2. H.H.Risley, op.cit., para.19.
3. Fuller, J.B., Some Personal Experiences, p.124.
4. The Bengalee, 13th December 1903.
5. Fraser, L., op.cit., p.380.

was held under the auspices of the British Indian Association and was presided over by a leading landlord of Bengal, Raja Peary Mohun Mukerjee and was addressed by the Maharaja of Natore, Babu Bhupindranath Basu, Rai Sita Nath Bahadur, Lal Mohun Ghosh, Babu Surendranath Banerjea and Babu Amvika Charan Mazumdar. It passed a series of resolutions condemning the scheme and asking the Government for its withdrawal.(1)

The Muslims also did not like the scheme and conveyed their opinion to the Government in several representations made to it.(2) In February 1904 the Central National Muhammadan Association Calcutta declared, at a special meeting attended by a number of prominent members of the Muslim community in Bengal, that the Muslims did not want the transfer of Bengal districts to backward Assam. The meeting was addressed by some eminent Muslim leaders of Bengal like Maulavi Shamsul-Huda and Maulavi Siraj ul-Islam(3) who advised their

1. For a detailed report of the meeting see All About Partition, pp.56-72.
2. According to the Moslem Chronicle the Hindus and Muslims showed 'unanimity' in their opposition to the scheme. The paper said: "We do not recollect that there has been, in the discussion of public questions, ever before so much unanimity of voice as that which is raising the shouts of protest against the proposed partition of Bengal". (The Moslem Chronicle, 9th January 1904).
3. Maulavi Siraj-ul-Islam had opposed even in 1896 the proposed transfer of the Chittagong Division to Assam. As the President of the Histasadhini Sabha (Welfare Society), he submitted a memorial to the Government of Bengal which argued that the people of Chittagong differed from those of Assam in language, tradition and literature and that Assam being a non-regulation province did not enjoy the privilege of having a local legislative council. If Chittagong were transferred to that province it would be deprived of many privileges it enjoyed as part of a province (i.e. Bengal) with an advanced educational and administrative system. (See Public Letters from India and General Letters from Bengal 1897, Siraj-ul-Islam, President Histasadhini Sabha to the Government of Bengal, 16th February 1896.)

co-religionists to condemn the scheme as strongly as their Hindu fellow-countrymen did.(1) The Dacca Muslims also held a meeting and declared that the proposed transfer of Dacca to Assam would be prejudicial to their interests. It would hamper the progress of their education and would deprive them of privileges like aid from the Mohsin Educational Fund.(2)

The chief objection upon which the Muslims seemed to lay stress was the transfer of these parts of Bengal under the rule of a Chief Commissioner and the probable loss of the educational facilities of Calcutta to the people of these parts. This is well proved by the following extracts from a letter sent to the Government of Bengal by Sayyid Ameer Husain on behalf of the Committee of the Central National Muhammadan Association Calcutta:

> "The people of the Chittagong Division, of Dacca and Mymensingh, have hitherto looked to Calcutta for inspiration and guidance. The best colleges and the best madrasas are in Calcutta, and students from those quarters are flowing here in daily increasing numbers. Their connection with Calcutta has therefore been very intimate....Besides the administration of Bengal is carried on, on more enlightened principles than that of Assam, the former being adapted to the higher education and civilization of the people under its care. A scheme to bring under the same laws and govern on the same lines a people who have taken the fullest advantage of the benefits of the British rule and who have reached a high level of civilization under its

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1. The Moslem Chronicle, 6th February 1904.
2. The meeting was held under the auspices of the Muhammadan Friends Association and was presided over by a Muslim Zamindar, Kazem ud din Ahmad Siddiqi. (See The Moslem Chronicle, 30th January 1904.)

fostering care, and another just emerging from a state of primitive culture, is one of great difficulties and distinctly to the disadvantage of the former. That the people of Bengal should object to be placed under the Government of Assam, is most natural. A vigilant press, a strong public opinion, a local council for making laws, with a number of non-official members, partly elected, to represent the various interests of the province, the right of interpellation so useful in bringing about a better understanding between the rulers and the ruled, a Board of Revenue presided over by two senior members of the Civil Service thoroughly familiar with the most intricate revenue problems, are assets that no people will willingly part with".(1)

The letter suggested that if the Government was determined to carry out the scheme, it should compensate the people for their losses by founding a Lieutenant-Governorship for the reconstituted province of Assam, with a Council similar in constitution to "that in Bengal, and a Board of Revenue charged with the Revenue Administration of the Province".(2)

In February 1904 Lord Curzon himself visited Chittagong, Dacca and Mymensingh to ascertain public opinion about the proposed transfer of these parts to Assam. He consulted local leaders at all stages of his journey and came to the conclusion that the scheme as it stood then would not be acceptable to the people.(3) However, as the Government of India later

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1. Parliamentary Papers Cd.2746 (1905) op.cit., pp.92-93. Nawab Sayyid Ameer Husain to the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated Calcutta, the 17th February 1904.
2. ibid.,
3. Fraser, L., op.cit., p.381.
"The trend of public feeling was sufficiently manifested by the swarms of small boys in the streets carrying placards on which was inscribed the legend, 'Do not turn us into Assamese'." (ibid.,).

stated, the "public discussion" of the matter indicated to him that the scheme would have a fair chance of being accepted if it envisaged "the formation of an Eastern Province, organized on the scale of a Lieutenant-Governorship with a Legislative Council and an independent revenue authority".(1) Accordingly at Dacca and Mymensingh he spoke of a possible expansion of the scheme on some such lines.(2)

This served a great deal to lessen Muslim opposition to the Government move.(3) On the other hand, the Hindu opposition to it continued. It emanated mainly from Calcutta and was not altogether disinterested. "The Calcutta bar, the most numerous and powerful in India" visualised the creation of a separate High Court "to serve the populous districts of the proposed new province" and thought that this would cause them both economic and political

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1. Parliamentary Papers, Cd.2746 (1905) op.cit., Letter from the Government of India to St.John Brodrick, dated 22nd February 1905, para.12.
2. ibid., see pp.217-229 for the text of Lord Curzon's addresses at Dacca and Mymensingh.
3. The attitude of the Muslims towards the new situation is angrily described by Amvika Charan Mazumdar, in the following words: "The Mussalmans of Eastern Bengal headed by Nawab Salimullah of Dacca saw their opportunity and took the bait. Henceforth the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal forgetting the broader question of national advancement and ignoring the interests of their own community in Western Bengal deserted the national cause and gradually began to secede from the anti-partition agitation." (Mazumdar A.C., Indian National Evolution, p.207)

loss.(1) The newspaper owners of Calcutta also anticipated curtailment of their "activities and influence in the event of other newspapers springing to life in the capital of a new Administration".(2)

In July 1905 the Government of India published its modified scheme for the reconstitution of the Provinces of Bengal and Assam.(3) On 16th October 1905 the Province of

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1. Ronaldshay, Earl of, The Life of Lord Curzon, Vol.II, p.322. Writing in December 1905 to Mr.Morley, Lord Minto said: "The present agitation is really not due to any genuine national feeling in India, but that it has been brought about largely by the loss of a certain amount of business, especially legal business, which will now migrate from Calcutta to the large cities of Eastern Bengal and that this feeling has been fanned into a blaze by wire-pullers at Calcutta..." (See Morley Papers, Vol.I, Minto to Morley, 13th December 1905). Lancelot Hare, the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam informed Dunlop Smith as late as September 1906 that "the agitation is still being engineered almost exclusively from Calcutta". (Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Letter No.86, Hare to Dunlop Smith, 19th September 1906; see also Letter No.106, Seraj-ul-Islam to Hare.)
2. Ronaldshay, op.cit., These and other similar reasons are supposed to have also induced the Anglo-Indian newspapers and some members of the Anglo-Indian community to oppose the partition scheme. (See Parliamentary Debates [House of Commons] 1905, Vol.151, p.880). Mr.Herbert Roberts speaking in the House of Commons on 9th August 1905 against the partition scheme admitted that one of the chief reasons "for the aversion of the people was that the change would overthrow the political ascendancy of Calcutta, which was not only the capital of Bengal, but the centre of wealth, intelligence and Indian life generally". (ibid., p.881)
3. For the full text of the scheme see Parliamentary Papers Cd.2658 (1905) op.cit., pp.15-18, Resolution of the Government of India (Home Department) No.2491, dated 19th July 1905.

Bengal was partitioned and a new Lieutenant-Governor's Province named as Eastern Bengal and Assam was formed with Dacca as its capital and with a Legislative Council and a Revenue Authority of its own. This Province comprised the territories of Chittagong (excluding Darjeeling), Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions, the district of Malda, the state of Hill Tippera, and Assam.(1)

Unlike the scheme of 1903 the creation of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam did not produce a similar effect on the Hindu and Muslim communities. The Muslims in general regarded it as a great boon for them,(2) and hoped it would afford better opportunities for their moral and material development. To the Hindus, on the other hand, it caused great resentment and they embarked upon a prolonged agitation against it. This agitation soon took the form of a communal movement and produced marked effects on the political developments in the subsequent years. The preponderance of the Muslims in the new province seemed to be a major factor that

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1. ibid.,
2. "The Muhammadans who largely preponderate in Eastern Bengal appear to be generally satisfied with what has occurred". (Morley Papers, Vol.I, Minto to Morley, 20th December 1905.)
"The Muhammadans, who are in a majority, are in favour of the new administrative division".
(Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol. II, Letter No.66, Hare to Dunlop Smith, 1st September 1906.)

agitated the mind of the Bengali Hindu,(1) and his opposition to the partition became in effect an opposition to Muslim feelings and interests.(2)

Another factor that manifested the communal character of the anti-partition movement was the religious flavour given it, most probably to popularise it among the Hindu masses.(3) The people were made to understand that the partition meant the vivisection of the motherland and an insult to the goddess Kali who was the symbol of motherland. As an economic method

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1. "The fact that the Muhammadans outnumbered the Hindus in the new Province gave infinite offence" to the latter. (Fraser, L., op.cit., p.385)
   Speaking at the Calcutta Town Hall meeting of 7th August 1905, Mahindra Chunder Nandi, the chairman, said:
   "In the new province the Muhammadan population will preponderate....We shall be strangers in our own land. I dread the prospect and the outlook fills me with anxiety as to the future of our race." (See All-About Partition, p.88)
   The Hindus "objected to the constitution of Eastern Bengal into a distinct province" because "in that province Muhammadans would be in a large majority." (See The Indian Spectator, 21st September 1907, Editorial)
2. Smith, W.C., Modern Islam in India, p.201.
3. Year after year the Partition Day (16th October) was observed by the Hindus as the day of mourning. "The ceremony of rakhi bandhan was performed, wherein the sister tied a slight woollen thread round her brother's wrist and asked him to take the vow to undo the partition of Bengal. Thus the religious instinct of this highly imaginative and emotional people was brought to bear upon the political scene in this manner."
   (Andrews and Mukerji, op.cit., p.206; see also Mazumdar, op.cit., p.209).

to compel the Government to yield to the demand of the agitators they were made to pledge im the name of the goddess to abstain from buying British goods so long as the partition was not undone.(1)

The anti-partitionists adopted Bande Mataram (Hail Mother) as their national song.(2) It was taken from Bankim Chandra Chatterji's novel Ananda Math(3) (The Abbey of Bliss) having as its theme the Sanyāsi rebellion against Muslim rule in Bengal in the 1770s, and was essentially "an anti-Muhammadan cry".(4) Its extensive use in processions and meetings offended Muslim feelings.(5)

The communal aspect of the agitation became manifest in

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1. The Times, 30th December 1906.
2. Nevinson, Henry W., The New Spirit in India, p.127.
3. The Ananda Math was published in 1883. "Its subject was the revolt of a number of Sanyasis or Hindu ascetics against the Muhammadans. The former were represented as having, in the course of their revolt, defeated some sepoys under an English commander, and after the action the Bande Mataram song was sung by their leader." (The Administration of Bengal under Sir Andrew Fraser, 1903-1908, p.16).
4. The Indian Spectator, 20th October 1906, see Editorial Notes.
5. Morley Papers, Vol.II, Minto to Morley 25th April 1906. See also Public Letters from India 1906, for a resolution passed on 6th August 1906 by the Netrokana Muhammadan Anjuman which said the song Bande Mataram was "meant to offend the feelings of the Muhammadans and Europeans". In November 1906 the insistence of a Hindu procession on shouting Bande Mataram before a mosque where some Muslims were at prayer resulted in the outbreak of a communal riot. (See Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Hare to Minto 15th November 1906).

the relations of the tenants and landlords as well. In Eastern Bengal the tenantry consisted mainly of Muslims. The landlords, who were mainly Hindu, attempted "to enforce swadeshi views on the tenants and to induce them to join in the anti-partition movement";[1] and in the event of non-co-operation and opposition on the part of the latter usually resorted to oppressive means.[2]

About the middle of 1906 Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, resigned as a result of differences with the Government of India over his policy to deal with the anti-partition movement. This event also affected the relations between the Hindus and Muslims of the new province.

Before the inauguration of the partition "the Government of Bengal had prohibited the participation of students in the

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1. Morley Papers, Vol.IV, Minto to Morley 11th November 1906. Early in October 1906, Maulavi Seraj-ul-Islam wrote to L.Hare:
"The Hindu agitators...are pressing the Muhammadans hard to join them in their anti-British movement. The Muhammadan Zamindars are being boycotted and the Muhammadan tenantry oppressed by their Hindu landlords unless they follow them in their agitation." Seraj-ul-Islam to L.Hare, Enclosure to Hare's letter to Minto, 6th October 1906 (See Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Letter No.106).
2. Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, Vol.II, 1906, Hare to Dunlop Smith, 19th September 1906.

boycott movement, and warned the heads of schools and colleges that, if this prohibition were disregarded, state aid would be withdrawn, and Calcutta University would be asked to disaffiliate such institutions".(1) In February 1906 the Government of Sir Bampfylde Fuller asked the Calcutta University to withdraw recognition from two Serajgang schools,(2) the boys of which "had been guilty of violently unruly conduct in the town".(3) The Government of India did not approve of this course of action and asked the Lieutenant-Governor to withdraw the recommendation on the ground that "the political objections to pressing the application to the Syndicate outweigh whatever educational advantages might be supposed to attach to a withdrawal of recognition from the schools".(4) Fuller replied:

> "To withdraw from our position in this case would be to make a concession, not in the interests of education, but to those people in Calcutta who have been striving to render my government impossible in order to discredit the partition..."
> "It is my conviction that, if I give way in this matter, my authority will be so greatly weakened that I shall not be able to maintain that respect for the Government which is so essential for the maintenance of public order in this country; and I beg that your Excellency will forgive me for venturing to ask that these orders may be reconsidered, or that, if I am to give effect to them, my resignation may be accepted."(5)

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1. Buchan, John, Lord Minto: A Memoir, p.237.
2. Banwarilal and Victoria High Schools.
3. Morley (John Viscount), Recollections, Vol.II, p.151.
4. Parliamentary Papers, Cd.3242 (1906) - Resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, H.H.Risley, Secretary to the Government of India, Home Department to Sir Bampfylde Fuller, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 5th July 1906.
5. Parliamentary Papers, Cd.3242 (1906), No.5. Bampfylde Fuller to the Viceroy, 15th July 1906.

Lord Minto seems to have been of opinion that Sir Bampfylde Fuller was not tactful enough in handling the situation in his province,(1) and had been waiting for an opportunity to remove him to some other place.(2) This occasion provided him with the opportunity and, contrary to the expectation of Fuller,(3) Minto accepted his resignation.(4)

Fuller seemed to be determined to make the new province work successfully, and adopted strict measures against the activities of the anti-partitionists. He earned, therefore,

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1. Morley Papers, Vol.I, Minto to Morley 5th February and 29th March 1906; Vol.II, Minto to Morley 25th April and 9th May 1906.
   Mr.Morley also seemed to hold a similar opinion about him. (See Recollections, Vol.II, pp.138, 151)
2. He wrote to Morley on 24th May:
   "I am thoroughly dissatisfied with Fuller, and yet he has done nothing for which we could possibly be justified in removing him....I sincerely wish Fuller could migrate to some other sphere of activity, and I shall not remain happy as long as he remains where he is. But there is nowhere to send him to. The only thing I can think of for him, and I hope you won't think me unkind, is a place on your own Council, at home, where he can be kept in order. You may not assume at any rate that if any opportunity arises I will miss it."
   (Morley Papers, Vol.II, Minto to Morley 24th May 1906)
3. Morley, John: Recollections, Vol.II, p.153.
4. Minto wrote to Fuller:
   "As I am unable to reconsider the orders conveyed to you to which you take exception, I have decided, with much regret, to accept the resignation you have tendered."
   (Parliamentary Papers, Cd.3242(1906) op.cit., Telegram from His Excellency the Viceroy to Lieutenant-Governor Eastern Bengal and Assam, 3rd August 1906.)

quite soon the opposition of the Hindus. The Muslims were, on the other hand, satisfied with his policy as it seemed to convince them that the Government was determined to keep the new province intact. His downfall which the agitators claimed as their triumph "produced an unrest throughout the Muhammadans in the whole of Bengal"(1) and increased bitterness between the two communities.(2)

By the close of the year 1906 these factors had not only driven the Hindus and Muslims of Bengal wide apart but also had given rise to violent communal conflicts.(3)

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1. Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Archbold to Dunlop Smith, 22nd August 1906, Enclosure, Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, 18th August 1906.
2. Commenting on the effect of Fuller's resignation on Hindu-Muslim relations in Bengal the Indian Spectator remarked:
"The partition of Bengal is no longer a question of mere territorial re-adjustment: with the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller it has developed into a contest for victory between Hindus and Muhammadans." (See the Indian Spectator, 20th October 1906, Editorial Notes)
3. About the close of the year 1906 riots occurred in Mymensingh, Sylhet, and Barisal. (See Minto Papers, op.cit., Hare to Minto 19th September and 15th November 1906).
For an account of communal riots in Faridpore, Dacca and Mymensingh in early 1907 see Public Letters from India 1907, Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam to Government of India, 29th April 1907, paragraphs 2 and 3.

V

The Partition of Bengal and the Indian National Congress.

The Indian National Congress had been associated with the anti-partition movement from the time it had been started. The scheme proposing the transfer of the Chittagong Division and the districts of Dacca and Mymensingh to Assam was published in the first week of December 1903. In the last week of that month the Congress held its annual session at Madras and opposed in one of its resolutions any territorial transfer from the then Province of Bengal to any other Provinces.(1) At its session of 1904, the Congress again expressed its strong disapproval of the scheme and urged the Government to abandon it.(2) Since till that time the scheme seemed to be unacceptable to both Muslims and Hindus of Bengal, the opposition of the Congress to it could not be regarded as

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1. The Congress passed the following resolution on the proposed scheme:
"That this Congress views with deep concern the present policy of the Government of India in breaking up territorial divisions which have been of long standing and are closely united by ethnological, legislative, social and administrative relations and deprecates the separation from Bengal of Dacca, Mymensingh, Chittagong Divisions and portions of Chota Nagpur Division, and also the separation of the District of Ganjam and the agency tracts of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts from the Madras Presidency."
(See the Report of the Indian National Congress 1903, p.128.)
2. See the Report of the Indian National Congress, 1904, p.222.

based on partiality in favour of the Hindus. But the Congress support of the anti-partition movement continued even after it became evident that the majority of the Muslims supported the reformed scheme which resulted in the creation of a new province (Eastern Bengal and Assam) with Dacca, the old Muslim capital of Bengal, as the seat of its government.

At its session of 1905 the Congress practically approved of all methods used by the agitators to compel the Government to undo the partition. The President of that year Mr.Gokhale denounced the 'partition' as a 'cruel wrong',(1) and in utter disregard of the sentiments of the Muslims of the new province described the movement against it as based on the common feelings of the people of Bengal and as constituting a "landmark" in the history of "national progress" in India.(2) The song Bande Mataram was imported into the Congress session that year and the anti-partition resolution (Resolution XII) was moved by Babu Surendranath Banerjea after it was sung by a special choir.(3) The nature of that year's

1. The Twenty-first Indian National Congress, Presidential Address, p.4.
2. ibid., p.7.
3. Considering the singing of Bande Mataram at the Congress meetings as one of the causes to keep the Muslims away from it the Indian Spectator remarked: "'Bande Mataram' was originally an anti-Muhammadan cry, and it is popular with educated Hindus. One wonders whether an essentially anti-Hindu cry, if recommended by Muhammadans as a patriotic watchword, would have been equally popular, or would have been heard in the Congress pavillion." (See the Indian Spectator, 21st September 1907, Editorial).

resolution shows how unmindful was the Congress of the sentiments of the Muslims who not only supported the partition but also insisted on the retention of Eastern Bengal and Assam as a separate province in the form it was constituted in accordance with the provisions of the Resolution of 19th July 1905. The Resolution said:

> "That this Congress records its emphatic protest against the Partition of Bengal in the face of the strongest opposition on the part of the people of the Province.
> "That having regard to the intense dissatisfaction felt by the entire Bengali community at the dismemberment of their Province and their manifest disinclination to accept the Partition as an accomplished fact, this Congress appeals to the Government of India and to the Secretary of State to reverse or modify the arrangements made in such a manner as to conciliate public opinion, and allay the excitement and unrest manifest among large masses of the people."

In 1906 the Congress went to the extent of officially supporting the boycott movement started by the anti-partitionists as a weapon to compel the Government to yield to their demand.(1)

There is no denying the fact that some Muslims of Bengal

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1. The following Resolution was passed to support the Boycott Movement:
"That having regard to the fact that the people of this country have little or no voice in its administration, and that their representations to the Government do not receive due consideration, this Congress is of opinion that the Boycott Movement inaugurated in Bengal by way of protest against the partition of that province, was, and is, legitimate." (Report of the Indian National Congress 1906, p.81.)

were opposed to the partition.(1) But it is hard to prove that their opinion was shared by their co-religionists in any considerable number. The majority of Muslims in Eastern Bengal followed people like Nawab Khawaja Salimullah,(2) the Nawab of Dacca, and Sayyid Nawab Ali Chaudhury who supported the partition and advised their co-religionists to keep aloof from the anti-partition agitation.

The general support of the Muslim community to the partition had become manifest on more than one occasion, the most important being the first anniversary of the Partition which they, unlike the Hindus,(3) observed with joy and satisfaction. Lancelot Hare, who succeeded Bampfylde Fuller as the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern

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1. Among the Muslims who sided with the Hindus in their opposition to the partition, the most prominent name was that of Mr.A. Rasul. He came from the district of Comilla in Eastern Bengal. "He was a graduate of Oxford University and was a member of the Calcutta High Court Bar" (Banerjea, op.cit., p.231). He presided over the Bengal Provincial Conference held at Barisal in April 1906 (ibid., p.222). From the circumstantial evidence it appears that in the latter years of the anti-partition movement his attitude underwent a change. The Muslim League supported the partition and he was Treasurer of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League in 1911 (See the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the All-India Muslim League, held at Nagpore, on the 28th and 30th December 1910, p.127). He was also present at the meeting of the representatives of the Muslims of both Bengals held at Dacca on 31st December 1911 to record their "sense of regret and disappointment at the announcement of the annulment of the partition". (See the Pioneer Mail, 5th January 1912).
2. Asr-i-Jadid, July 1907.
3. The Hindus observed 16th October as the day of mourning.

Bengal and Assam wrote to Minto on 20th October 1906:

> "I have received telegrams of 21 Muhammadan meetings on 16th October to celebrate the Partition Day. Some of these are said to have been very largely attended - 20,000 in Dacca, 10,000 at Mymensingh, 6,000 at Faridpur, 1,000 at Sylhet, but I have not had official verification of the figures."(1)

A few days later he wrote:

> "I have been watching very carefully to see if the Muhammadan pro-Partition movement is genuine or not, and how far it really represents Muhammadan feeling. The Bengalee and Amrita(2) of course try and belittle it as much as possible and do not hesitate to say it is got up by the officials. This of course is absolutely false. As far as I can ascertain, the movement has genuine support from the great mass of the Muhammadans of this Province....The Commissioner puts the Muhammadan gathering at Dacca at nearly 30,000....In Serajganj...also where there has been much anti-Partition trouble, the Muhammadans came out very strong....The pro-Partition Muhammadans here are said to have turned out to the strength of 8,000-12,000 people."(3)

However, the Congress does not appear to have given any consideration to the general feelings of the Muslims. It rather spent its efforts on gaining the support of some influential Muslims to show that its anti-partition policy represented the feelings of the Muslim community as well. And these efforts did not always fail. At its 22nd session

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1. Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Hare to Minto, 20th October 1906.
2. Amrita Bazar Patrika.
3. Minto Papers, op.cit., Hare to Minto, 31st October 1906.

held at Calcutta in the last week of December 1906, it got the anti-partition Resolution moved by Nawab Khawaja Atiqullah, a brother of Nawab Salimullah.(1) However Atiqullah's support for the Congress point of view was not of a lasting nature. He had not for sometime been on good terms with his brother on account of some family quarrels.(2) This seems to have been the chief cause of his support for the Congress point of view which was opposed to that of his brother.(3) In the following years the relations between the two brothers seem to have been cordial and Atiqullah seems to have stopped not only to attend the Congress sessions but also to support the anti-partition movement.(4) In 1911 we find him expressing along with Salimullah a "deep sense of regret and disappointment at the announcement of the annulment of the partition".(5)

It appears that almost every factor that affected, directly or indirectly, the development of political movement

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1. See the Indian Spectator, 5th January 1907, Editorial Notes. For the speech of the Nawab at the Congress see the Report of the Indian National Congress, 1906, p.71.
2. Minto Papers, op.cit., Hare to Minto 2nd September 1906, and 31st October 1906.
3. ibid.,
4. Atiqullah's name is not found among the delegates to the annual sessions of the Congress after 1906. (See List of Delegates in the Report of the Indian National Congress, 1908, 1909, 1910 and 1911).
5. The Pioneer Mail, 5th January 1912, Report about a meeting held at Dacca on 31st December 1911.

in India since the birth of the Indian National Congress, contributed more to divide the Hindus and Muslims than to unite them. The general nature of events proved that what was regarded as national by the Hindus was considered by the Muslims to be detrimental to their interests. The Congress demand for an increased number of Indian members on legislative councils appointed by election, and for filling all government posts through competitive examination, without safeguarding the interests of the Muslims, caused much dissension between the two communities. The growth of Hindu religious nationalism and the anti-Urdu movement of the Hindus further divided them. The final event before the birth of the All-India Muslim League that increased distrust and antagonism between the two communities was the partition of Bengal. Whereas these factors appear to have contributed to strengthen the feelings of unity among the Hindus, they drove the Muslims gradually away from them.

Thus before the organization of the Simla Deputation and the birth of the All-India Muslim League the two communities had almost completely drifted apart. The Congress movement as a factor for welding the people of India into one Indian nationality[1] had proved a failure.

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1. See the Muslim Patriot, 30th November 1906, Leading Article: "Indian Nationality".

Chapter VI

The Simla Deputation

On 20th July 1906, John Morley, the Secretary of State for India, announced in the House of Commons that the Governor-General of India was about to appoint a small committee from his Executive Council to consider the extension of the representative element in his Legislative Council[1] and that he was expecting a despatch from the Government of India empowering him to state to the House the definite results at which the Governor-General and his committee had arrived.[2] The Muslims had not been satisfied with the working of the Indian Councils Act of 1892 as it had resulted in their scanty representation on the Councils. Neither had they been pleased with the political developments of the last two decades. This announcement awakened them to the need of representing to the Government their point of view as to their share in the reformed councils. This they did through an all-India Muslim deputation which waited on the Viceroy at Simla on 1st October 1906 and came to be known as the Simla Deputation.

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1. Morley made this announcement during his speech on the Indian Budget.
2. Parliamentary Debates (House of Commons) Vol. 161, 17th - 26th July 1906, p.588.

The Simla Deputation is a landmark in the history of the Muslim political movement in India. It owed its origin to the feeling among the Muslims that if they did not make an organized effort to place their demands before their rulers, the interests of the Muslim community might once more be overlooked[1] as a result of Congress propaganda. The circumstances which had recently led to the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, the Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, had strengthened this feeling. Soon after Morley's announcement was published in India several eminent Muslim leaders and Muslim newspapers began emphasing that something must be done to safeguard Muslim interests. Suggestions began pouring in as to the principles on which the nature and extent of Muslim representation should be determined. As early as the first week of August 1906 Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan[2]

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1. There was a feeling among the Muslims that the Government overlooked their interests in 1892 by not making any provision for their safeguard in the Indian Councils Act passed that year.
2. Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan was born in May 1867 in Karnal. He was educated at Aligarh and Cambridge. In 1897 he was elected a Trustee of the M.A.O. College and belonged to the progressive group of the Aligarh school of thought. In 1917 he was appointed a member of the India Council. After his return to India he was elected the Honorary Vice-Chancellor of the Muslim University, Aligarh. In 1925 he was nominated a member of the Council of State. (See Eminent Mussalmans, pp.338-352)

wrote to the Pioneer:

> "At a time when the question of enlarging the scope af the Imperial Legislative Council, so far as it concerns the Indian element, is before the Imperial Government, it seems proper to point out that the interests of the Indian Muslims should receive special consideration... Something should be done to secure their representation in the Imperial and Provincial Councils of the country. Indian members are appointed to these Councils either by nomination or by election, but so far as Muhammadans are concerned nomination has been almost the only means whereby their representatives have obtained seats in the Councils, and so long as the present system of election remains in force it is doubtful whether Muhammadans will ever have a fair chance of being duly represented either in the Imperial or Provincial Councils. The reason is obvious, the majority of electors being Hindus, they naturally prefer to elect one of their own community. As to appointment by nomination, its practical utility can be measured by the actual results. The Government naturally selects those whom they regard as influential and deserving of official recognition, but such gentlemen, unfortunately, are not always the best fitted to represent the interests of their community. Thus neither election, as conducted at present, nor nomination are suited to the requirements of the Indian Mussalmans. Their position in this country demands that a certain number of seats be allotted to them both in the Imperial and Provincial Councils and these seats should be filled up by Muhammadan members elected by voters of their own community."(1)

About the same time Sayyid Ameer Ali published an article in the Nineteenth Century and urged his co-religionists to organize themselves and "to place before Government their considered views on public matters".(2) An important reason

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1. The Pioneer, 11th August 1906.
2. See the Nineteenth Century, August 1906, Article: "India and the New Parliament".

for such exhortations seemed to be the growing impression among educated Muslims that the Government tended to yield to the Congress point of view. And this impression was not without foundation. In their private correspondence Morley and Minto had more than once agreed that the Government should recognize the Congress as a factor in Indian politics with which they had to deal and should "be friends with the best of them".(1) In his speech on the Indian Budget in the House of Commons on 20th July 1906 Morley openly expressed sympathy for the Congress.(2) Besides, it was well known that the Council's Committee was 'to consider the policy of representation enunciated in Gokhale's address before the Benares Congress'(3) — a policy making no reference to the question of Muslim representation and based on the assumption that the people of India belonged to one nationality. Commenting on this a Madras Muslim weekly, the Muslim Patriot, said:

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1. Morley Papers, Vol.II, Minto to Morley 28th May 1906; see also Minto to Morley 9th May and 27th June 1906; and Minto, Mary, India, Minto and Morley, p.30.
2. The following remarks of Morley are significant:
"I do not know that I agree with all that the Congress desires; but speaking broadly of what I conceive to be at the bottom of the Congress, I do not see why anyone who takes a cool and steady view of Indian Government should be frightened". (Parliamentary Debates [House of Commons] Vol.161, 17th-26th July 1906, p.586.)
3. See The Times, 7th August 1907. For Gokhale's proposals, see "The Twenty-First Indian National Congress, Presidential Address".

"As is well known the Indian continent is not inhabited by one class or by one race of people, but by a heterogeneous mass of different races and creeds whose interests are often times at variance....According to the London Times, Lord Minto's Committee will consider the policy of representation enunciated in Mr.Gokhale's address before the Benares Congress. Apart from the other objections that may be taken to Mr.Gokhale's proposals, there is the false supposition...that the several communities in India form an united nationality. ...It is our firm conviction that if that principle were once conceded, all representation would become the monopoly of the more forward communities like the Brahmins, the lesser communities like the Musalmans and Christians remaining unrepresented. Such a result would be disastrous to the interests of these latter in the present stage of Indian progress, when people have not yet learnt to respect the feelings and claims of those who do not belong to their own community. We do ask for an extended representation in the Legislative Councils, but wish it were based on the recognition of class interests, each distinct community having representatives of its own in proportion to its importance".(1)

The paper advised the Muslims to place this view of the question "before the Government of India without delay", so that it might give it "due consideration before deciding the lines of extending popular representation" in the reformed Councils.(2)

While this discussion was going on in the press, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk was busy in giving shape to the idea of organizing a deputation to represent the Muslim point of view to the Government. He was in Bombay when he read Morley's

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1. The Muslim Patriot, 24th August 1906, Editorial: "Expansion of Legislative Councils".
2. ibid.,

speech in the newspapers. As is reported by Haji Mohy-ul-Islam Zuberi, who was at that time Mohsin-ul-Mulk's private secretary, the immediate effect on the Nawab appeared in the decision that Muslim claims should be placed before the Viceroy through a representative deputation.(1) Having received similar suggestions from several eminent Muslims, including Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan, Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan and Maulavi Muhammad Yaqub,(2) he soon busied himself with the task of giving his proposal a practical shape. On 4th August 1906 he wrote to Archbold, Principal of the Aligarh College, who was spending his Long Vacation in Simla, to ascertain official opinion about his proposal that a Muslim deputation should call on Lord Minto and place before him the Muslim point of view on the question of representation. Nationalist writers have generally held that the Simla Deputation was got up by officials through Archbold.(3) They base their argument mainly on a letter from Archbold to Mohsin-ul-Mulk written on 10th August 1906, of which they appear to have seen only a part, and even that in Urdu translation given by Sayyid Tufail Ahmad in his book Musalmanon ka

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1. Zuberi, M.A., Tazkira-i-Mohsin, pp.301-302.
2. ibid., Noman, op.cit., p.71.
3. See Prasad, R., India Divided, pp.106-107; Mehta and Patwardhan, The Communal Triangle in India, pp.61-63. The Sapru Committee Report, pp.101-102; Banerjee, A.C., Indian Constitutional Documents, Vol.II, pp.205-206.

Roshan Mustaqbil.[1] Since Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter was written earlier than that of Archbold[2] and clarifies not only the position about the origin of the Deputation but also illustrates the trend of Muslim feeling about the middle of

1. Tufail Ahmad, pp.348-49.
2. I have not been able to see Archbold's original letter, which is probably deposited in the Aligarh University Library. The extract quoted by Tufail Ahmad and re-translated by the Sapru Committee into English is given below, which, although not an authentic version of Archbold's letter, indicates clearly that Archbold wrote in reply to Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter of 4th August 1906:

"Colonel Dunlop Smith, Private-Secretary to H.E.the Viceroy, informs me that His Excellency is agreeable to receive the Muslim deputation. He advises that a formal letter requesting permission to wait on His Excellency be sent to him. In this connection, I would like to make a few suggestions. The formal letter should be sent with signatures of some representative Mussalmans. The deputation should consist of the representatives of all the provinces. The third point to be considered is the text of the address. I would here suggest that we begin with a solemn expression of loyalty. The Government decision to take a step in the direction of self-government should be appreciated. But our apprehension should be expressed that the principle of election, if introduced, would prove detrimental to the interest of the Muslim community. It should respectfully be suggested that nomination or representation by religion be introduced to meet Muslim opinion. We should also say, that in a country like India, due weight must be given to the views of zamindars.

"Personally I think it will be wise of the Muslims to support nomination, as the time to experiment with elections has not yet come. In elections it will be very difficult for the Muslims to secure their due share. But in all these views, I must be in the background. They must come from you...I can prepare for you the draft of the Address or revise it. If it is prepared in Bombay, I can go through it as,you are aware, I know how to phrase these things in proper language. Please remember that if we want to organise a powerful movement, in the short time at our disposal, we must expedite matters". (See The Sapru Committee Report, pp.101-102.)

1906, it is quoted below in full:

"You must have read and thought over Mr.John Morley's speech on the Indian Budget. It is very much talked of among the Muhammadans of India, and is commonly believed to be a great success achieved by the 'National Congress'.

"You are aware that the Muhammadans already feel a little disappointed, and young educated Muhammadans seem to have a sympathy for the 'Congress'; and this speech will produce a greater tendency in them to join 'the Congress'. Although there is little reason to believe that any Muhammadan, except the young educated ones, will join that body, there is still a general complaint on their part that we (Aligarh people) take no part in politics, and do not safeguard the political rights of Muhammadans; they say that we do not suggest any plans for preserving their rights, and practically do nothing and care nothing for Muhammadans beyond asking for funds to help the College. I have got several letters drawing attention particularly to the new proposal of 'elected representatives' in the Legislative Councils. They say that the existing rules confer no rights on Muhammadans, and no Muhammadans get into the Councils by election; every now and then Government nominates a stray Muhammadan or two by kindness, not however on the ground of his ability, but of his position, who is neither fit to discharge his duties in the Council, nor is he considered a true representative of his community. If the new rules now to be drawn up introduce election on a more extended scale, the Muhammadans will hardly get a seat, while Hindus will carry off the palm by dint of their majority, and no Muhammadan will get into the Councils by election.

"It has also been proposed that a memorial be submitted to His Excellency the Viceroy to draw the attention of Government to a consideration of the rights of Muhammadans.

"I feel it is a very important matter, and, if we remain silent, I am afraid, people will leave us to go their own way and act up to their own personal opinions.

"Will you therefore inform me if it would be advisable to submit a memorial from the Muhammadans to the Viceroy, and to request His Excellency's permission for a deputation to wait on His Excellency to submit the views of Muhammadans on the matter?

"You have, there, an opportunity of knowing the opinion of Government officials on the matter, and you can thus give me valuable advice in this connection.

"I shall be highly grateful if you will consider this a very important matter, and inform me of your opinion as soon as possible after enquiring everything and giving it full consideration." (1)

Having consulted Colonel Dunlop Smith, Archbold advised Mohsin-ul-Mulk to send a formal application to the former asking the Viceroy if he would receive the Muslim deputation. Archbold also prepared a formal application for this purpose in which he suggested that the Muslims should assure the Government to keep aloof from 'political agitation'. In view of a general feeling among the Muslim intelligentsia that the interests of the Muslims suffered because of their keeping aloof from active politics,(2) Mohsin-ul-Mulk did not agree to this suggestion.(3) He replied:

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1. Morley Papers, Vol.III, Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, 4th August 1906, Enclosure to Minto's letter to Morley, dated 8th August 1906.
2. "I find that Muhammadan feeling is very much changed, and I am constantly getting letters using emphatic language, and saying that the Hindus have succeeded owing to their agitation, and the Muhammadans have suffered for their silence".
   (See Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, 18th August 1906.)
3. ibid.,

"Thank you for your letter of the 14th instant, together with a draft of the formal application. I am sending it to a few of my friends, but I am sure nobody will like the opening phrases which give an assurance of a deliberate aloofness from political agitation in the future. Probably also they will not like to represent their cause to Government without the means of a political association..."(1)

Mohsin-ul-Mulk also said that if he insisted on following the line proposed by Archbold, he and his College might lose the support of the young educated Muslims.(2)

The above evidence shows that the idea of the Deputation originated with Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Archbold had nothing to do with it. It also indicates that the line of action the Muslims proposed to adopt to seek the safeguard of their rights was not influenced by him. However, it is to be admitted that Archbold played an important role in impressing upon the Government the advisability of receiving the Deputation and giving a sympathetic hearing to Muslim grievances. The dissatisfaction

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1. ibid.,
2. Referring to this point Mohsin-ul-Mulk said:
"These people generally say that the policy of Sir Sayyid and that of mine has done no good to the Muhammadans. They say that the Government has proved by its actions that without agitation there is no hope for any community, and that if we can do nothing for them we must not hope to get any help for the College; in short, the Muhammadans generally will desert us, because the policy of the College is detrimental to their interests".
(See Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, 18th August 1906.)

shown by the Muslims of Eastern Bengal at the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller seems to have been one of the chief causes of concern to him. He wrote to Dunlop Smith on 9th August 1906:

> "The Dacca Muhammadans...will certainly join in any deputation of the kind suggested in the Nawab's letter...It might be a good thing, if in their present excited state, their energies could be directed in a natural and legitimate direction, and it would, I am sure, quiet things if some reassuring statement could be made to the deputation, all of which need not involve injustice to the Hindus or to any one else....When I read of the meeting and uneasiness in Dacca, and saw the names of those concerned, I was very anxious to suggest the deputation as a solvent of the difficulties there, as well as possibly elsewhere."(1)

He wished the activities of the Muslims to be confined to constitutional means. On 20th August he again wrote to Dunlop Smith:

> "What I am thinking of is this. His Excellency the Viceroy has consented to receive the Deputation provided all is in order....It would be quite easy to show the leading people how fatal to their own cause any violence would be, and how much better it would prove to stick to the constitutional course, even though they may feel it difficult in the present excited state of feeling to do so."(2)

Two days later he again wrote:

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1. Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Archbold to Dunlop Smith, 9th August 1906.
2. Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol. II, Archbold to Dunlop Smith, 20th August 1906.

"I have just had a wire from S.Husain Bilgrami of Hyderabad...he is on the side of order and constitutional action. This is a great moral gain, as he will have much to say, and in many ways a leader. I hope that he will now keep the rather excited Muhammadans of Bengal within bounds..."(1)

In Government circles also the feeling seemed to be that discontent among the Muslims should not take a wrong direction. Mohsin-ul-Mulk's suggestion received, therefore, prompt attention. The day his letter to Archbold was placed before Lord Minto he wrote to Morley :

> "I think it is worthwhile to enclose you a copy of a letter to Mr.Archbold, Principal of the Aligarh College, from Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Manager of the College. It was only put before me to-day and is important as illustrating the trend of the Muhammadan thought, and the apprehension that Muhammadan interests may be neglected in dealing with any increase of representation on the Legislative Councils. I have not had time to think over the advisability of receiving the proposed deputation, but am inclined to do so."(2)

The reason for this inclination is explained in the following passage of Minto's letter:

> "There have been other signs besides the letter to Mr.Archbold pointing in the same direction,(3) and

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1. Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol. II, Archbold to Dunlop Smith, 22nd August 1906.
2. Morley Papers, Vol.III, Minto to Morley, 8th August 1906.
3. Sir Denzil Ibbetson, Member of the Viceroy's Council, also pointed to these signs and considered it advisable that the Viceroy should receive the deputation. He wrote to Dunlop Smith: "I return Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter, and entirely agree with you that His Excellency should receive the deputation, and answer them sympathetically. I have heard from other quarters, also, what Mohsin-ul-Mulk says about the aspirations of the younger generation of Muhammadans." (See Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Ibbetson to Dunlop Smith, 10th August 1906.)

there is no doubt a natural fear in many quarters lest perpetual Bengalee demands should lead to the neglect of other claims to representation throughout India; so that we must be very careful in taking up these questions to give full value to the importance of other interests besides those so largely represented by the Congress."(1)

Some high officials strongly favoured the view that the Viceroy should agree to receive the deputation and should impress upon the Muslims that the Government was not unmindful of the necessity of safeguarding their rights. Lancelot Hare, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, was asked by Colonel Dunlop Smith to suggest what the Viceroy should say in his reply if the deputation referred to the perturbed feelings of the Muslims of Eastern Bengal.(2) He suggested that the Government should recognize the Muslims who approached it as representative of the feelings and opinions of the

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1. Morley Papers, Vol.III, Minto to Morley, 8th August 1906.
2. Dunlop Smith wrote to Lancelot Hare on 24th August 1906:
   "The Viceroy has consented to receive a large and representative Deputation of Muhammadans sometime next month. I have not yet got a draft of their address, but they are sure to allude to the idea of their co-religionists in Bengal that they have been thrown over by the Government. Is there anything you would like the Viceroy to say in his reply? His Excellency would feel grateful for any suggestions you may have".
   (Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India 1906, Vol. II. Dunlop Smith to Hare, 24th August, 1906.)

Muslims generally[1] and should make clear to them that it fully sympathised with the hopes and aspirations of the Muslim community and was "prepared to help them, as far as possible, without undue favour or detriment to other classes".[2] He believed such a course would avert the danger of an agitation on the part of the Muslims of his province which, if started, would be more troublesome than that of the Hindus.[3]

As a result of a formal application bearing the signatures of a large number of educated and eminent Muslims[4] Nawab

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1. About the representative position of such Muslims in Eastern Bengal Hare said:
   "Mr.Morley may ask, do these Muhammadan representatives really represent Muhammadan opinion? I answer most certainly they do. The Hindu papers may talk of the three Tailors of Tooley Street, and no doubt in Eastern Bengal the Muhammadan leaders of position and distinction are few, but unless these leaders go counter to the Maulavis, which would only be in some religious or quasi-religious question... the Muhammadans will follow" them "without question, and to a man almost". (See Minto Papers, op.cit., Hare to Dunlop Smith, 1st September 1906.)
2. ibid.,
3. ibid., Hare said:
   "The Muhammadan organization through the Maulavis, and based on religious practices is far and away in advance of the Hindu organization...The recent events at Dacca...prove this and we all know it well. We have advised the Muhammadans so far that it was unnecessary to organize counter demonstrations. If these are started the fat will be in the fire, and we do not know where it will end. There will be a recrudescence of all the old disturbances in a much worse and more dangerous form, and the country wants peace." (ibid.)
4. According to Zuberi 1183 persons signed this application. (See Zuberi, M.A., Tazkira-i-Mohsin, p.168.)

Mohsin-ul-Mulk was officially informed about the second week of September that the Viceroy agreed to receive the proposed Muslim deputation on 1st October 1906.

Mohsin-ul-Mulk took great care to make the deputation as representative as possible and to see that the address presented by it to the Viceroy represented true Muslim feelings. About the time he wrote to Archbold to ascertain official opinion about his proposal, he also started work for the preparation of the address. A draft having been prepared[1] by the last week of August "was submitted and carefully scrutinized and discussed in every" Muslim centre "from Peshawar to Madras".[2] With the exception of Eastern Bengal and Assam, Muslim representatives and associations in all provinces felt satisfied with the points raised in it. The Muslim leaders of Eastern Bengal, especially Nawab Khawja Salimullah and Sayyid Nawab Ali Chaudhury, insisted that the feelings of the Muslims of their province about the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller should be mentioned and the Government should be asked to declare that no reconsideration of the 'Partition' was possible.[3] This demand caused a great

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1. Mohsin-ul-Mulk got the address prepared at Bombay with the help of Nawab Imad-ul-Mulk Sayyid Husain Bilgrami who later became the first Muslim member of the India Council.
2. Rules and Regulationsof the All-India Muslim League, quoted in the Hindustan Review, February 1909, p.144.
3. Zuberi, op.cit., p.304.

deal of controversy among Muslim leaders. The Panjab representatives Mian Muhammad Shafi and Muhammad Shah Din stressed that the incorporation of such controversial matters in the address would lessen the importance of the basic and more important demands of the Muslim community.(1) This also seemed to be the opinion of the majority of Muslim leaders, including Mohsin-ul-Mulk.(2) However it was finally decided

1. ibid.,
2. According to the Simla representative of the Indian Daily News the Aga Khan was also very much opposed to the inclusion of "controversial topics" in the address. He told the representative in an interview on 2nd October that "any reference either to partition or to Sir Bampfylde Fuller would have precluded" him "from joining the deputation." (The Indian Daily News, 3rd October 1906)

The view that the Deputation should avoid any direct reference to the 'Partition' question seems to have been influenced by the repeated suggestions to that effect by the Hindu press in Bengal. The Bengalee was particularly anxious to see that the Deputation did not point to Muslim disappointment at the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller and did not insist on the retention of the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam as one of the demands of the Muslim community. It wrote on 9th September 1906: "We think the object of the deputation should be defined in clear and precise terms. We should like...to have a definite declaration as to whether the resignation of Bampfylde Fuller will find a place on the programme of the deputation. If the answer to this question be in the affirmative...the deputation will merely be a glorified edition of the Dacca meeting...and a distinctly anti-Hindu demonstration in the bargain. We warn all Muhammadan leaders in and outside Bengal not to consent to join this deputation, or to contribute to its cost or indeed to identify themselves in any way with it, unless and until they have obtained a definite assurance from the organizers of the deputation that 'recent events in Eastern Bengal' will be rigorously tabooed."

It is interesting to note that the paper interpreted the Muslim meetings held in Eastern Bengal to express concern at the resignation of Sir Bampfylde as amounting to demonstrations against Morley and Minto, and warned Muslims that any reference to that matter in the address would amount to the same thing: "Let them bear in mind the fact, which no amount of subterfuge can shake, that the meetings got up by the Dacca clique since the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller, are really demonstrations against Mr. Morley, the Secretary of State, the Earl of Minto, the Viceroy and the Hindu community of India. We do not believe that any Muhammadan leader of position and influence...will join the deputation if it is to be merely a reproduction of the Dacca force on a bigger scale...The Viceroy cannot possibly be pleased with such a deputation." (See The Bengalee, 9th September 1906, Editorial.)

at a meeting of Muslim representatives held at Lucknow on 16th September 1906, to give final approval to the address and to select members to form the deputation.[1] It was agreed that the inclusion of anything contentious in the address was not advisable.[2]

As was fixed a Muslim deputation of thirty-five members[3]

1. Zuberi, op.cit., p.305; The Pioneer Mail, 21st September 1906; The Asr-Jadid, October 1906, p.476.
2. Zuberi, op.cit., The Hindustan Review, October and November 1906, p.392, see the extract given from the speech of the Nawab of Dacca, delivered at Dacca on 16th October.
3. The names of Muslim representatives who attended the deputation are as follows:-

(1) Aga Khan(His Highness Aga Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah, G.C.I.E., Bombay)
(2) Bakhtiar Shah,(Shahzadah,C.I.E.,Head of the Mysore Family, Calcutta,Bengal)
(3) Omar Hayat Khan,(Hon'ble Malik,C.I.E., Shahpore, Panjab)
(4) Mian Muhammad Shah Din, Bar-at-Law, Lahore, Panjab.
(5) Moulvi Sharfuddin, Bar-at-Law, Patna, Behar.
(6) Khan Bahadur Sayyid Nawab Ali Chowdhury,Mymensingh,Eastern Bengal.
(7) Nawab Bahadur Sayyid Amir Husain Khan, C.I.E.,Calcutta,Bengal.
(8) Naseer Husain Khan Khayal, Calcutta, Bengal.
(9) Khan Bahadur Mirza Shujaat Ali Khan,Persian Consul-General, Murshidabad,Calcutta,Bengal.
(10) Sayyid Ali Imam, Bar-at-Law, Patna, Behar.
(11) Nawab Sarfraz Husain Khan, Patna, Behar.
(12) Khan Bahadur Ahmad Mohiuddin Khan,President Carnatic Family Association, Madras.
(13) Ebrahimbhoy Adamji Peerbhoy,General Merchant, Bombay.
(14) Moulvi Rafi-ud din Ahmad, Bar-at-Law, Bombay.
(15) Abdur Rahim, Bar-at-Law, Calcutta, Bengal.
(16) Sayyid Alahdad Shah, Vice-President Zamindars Association, Khairpur, Sind.
(17) Khalifa Sayyid Muhammad Husain,Member State Council,Patiala.
(18) Maulana H.M.Malek,Head of Mehdi Bagh Bohras,Nagpur, C.P.
(19) Khan Bahadur Abdul Majid Khan,Foreign Minister,Patiala.
(20) Khan Bahadur Khawja Yusuf Shah, Amritsar, Panjab.
(21) Mian Muhammad Shafi, Bar-at-Law, Lahore, Panjab.
(22) Sheikh Ghulam Sadiq, Amritsar, Panjab.
(23) Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan, Delhi.
(24) Muhammad Ihtisham Ali, Rais Kakori, Oudh.
(25) Sayyid Nabiullah, Bar-at-Law, Allahabad, U.P.
(26) Moulvi Sayyid Karamat Husain, Bar-at-Law, Allahabad, U.P.
(27) Adbus Salam Khan, Retired Sub-Judge, Rampur, U.P.
(28) Muhammad Muzammil-ullah Khan,Joint-Secretary,M.A.O.College, Aligarh, U.P.
(29) Sayyid Abdur Raoof, Bar-at-Law, Allahabad, U.P.
(30) Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan,Zamindar, Aligarh, U.P.
(31) Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
(32) Moulvi Mushtaq Husain, Rais Amroha, U.P.
(33) Moulvi Habib-ur-Rehman Khan, Zamindar, Bankipur, U.P.
(34) Nawab Sayyid Sardar Ali Khan, Hyderabad Deccan.
(35) Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Moulvi, Sayyid Mehdi Ali Khan.

representing all parts of Muslim India waited upon the Viceroy and presented an address which was read by the Aga Khan.(1) Since the demands made in the address became the basis of Muslim political movement in the succeeding years, it seems necessary to examine it at some length. The address made the following main points:-

(1) that, according to the 1901 census, the number of the Muslims in India was over 62 millions or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population;

(2) that if Animists and people belonging to other classes ordinarily classed as Hindus, but not properly Hindus, were deducted, the proportion of Muslims to Hindus would be much larger;

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1. The Deputation was at first to be headed by Nawab Sayyid Muhammad of Madras (see The Times, 25th September 1906). Later the Aga Khan having been selected its leader, the Nawab decided to stand aloof from it. There seems to be no sound evidence to believe that he withdrew from the Deputation merely because he did not agree to its decision to ask for separate electorates for Muslims. Lord Minto explained the actual position in the following words: "Nawab Muhammad, whom Dutt mentioned to you as a Congress-man who was to have headed the Muhammadan deputation to me, is a member of my Legislative Council and I believe the real reason of his not attending with the deputation was a little personal jealousy on account of the Aga Khan being selected to do so instead of himself." (Morley Papers, Vol.IV, Minto to Morley, 4th November 1906.)

(3) that as their numbers exceeded the entire population of any first class European power except Russia, the Muslims might justly claim adequate recognition as an important factor in the State;

(4) that the position accorded to the Muslim community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways affecting their status and influence should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire;

(5) that the representation hitherto accorded to Muslims, almost entirely by nomination, had been inadequate to their requirements and had not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent;

(6) that the Muslims of India were a distinct community with additional interests of their own, which were not shared by other communities, and had hitherto suffered from the fact that they had not been adequately represented;

(7) that it was unlikely that the name of any Muslim candidate would ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted unless he was in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance.

The Deputation made the following proposals to secure proper representation to the Muslims on various representative bodies:

(1) that in the case of municipal and district boards, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government, the number of Hindus and Muslims entitled to seats should be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence and special requirements of either community, and each community should be allowed to severally return their own representatives as is the practice in many towns in the Panjab;

(2) that the senates and syndicates of Indian Universities should be similarly dealt with and there should, so far as possible, be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which the Muslims were entitled to be represented in either body;

(3) that in the case of provincial Legislative Councils the proportion of Muslim representatives should be determined with due regard to the considerations pointed out above and that important Muslim land-owners, lawyers, merchants and representatives of other important interests, the Muslim members of district boards and municipalities and graduates of universities of a certain standing, say

five years, should be formed into electoral colleges and be authorised to return the number of members that might be declared to be eligible;

(4) with regard to Muslim representation in the Imperial Legislative Council the Deputation suggested -

(a) that the proportion of Muslim representatives should not be determined on the basis of numerical strength and that they should never be an ineffective minority;

(b) that as far as possible appointment by election should be given preference over nomination;

(c) that for the purpose of choosing Muslim members, Muslim land-owners, lawyers and merchants, and representatives of every important interest of a status to be subsequently determined by Government, Muslim members of provincial Legislative Councils and Muslim fellows of universities should be invested with electoral powers.(1)

It is important to note that the Deputation did not think it fair to find fault with the desire of the Hindus to take full advantage of their numerical strength and vote for members belonging to their own community. What it stressed was that the Muslims as a distinct community had additional

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1. See Appendix C.

interests of their own which could not be adequately represented except by Muslim members elected by their own community.(1)

The Deputation admitted that the Muslims had many an important interest in common with the Hindus and hoped that members representing different communities in the Legislative Councils would safeguard these interests, irrespective of their nationality.(2)

In his reply to the address Lord Minto recognized the representative character of the Deputation and accepted its views as representing the feelings of the Muslim community of India.(3) Referring to the points raised by the Deputation

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1. ibid.,
2. ibid.,
3. Minto recognized the Deputation as representing the point of view of the Muslims of India in accordance with the desire of Lancelot Hare, Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, who believed that it would help to lessen discontent among the Muslims. The day Minto received the Deputation he wrote to Hare:
"I have just received the Muhammadan Address, and followed your advice as pointedly as I could in the direction of recognizing the Deputation as a thoroughly representative body. There were a good many quicksands to avoid in replying to them, but they seemed satisfied with my answer, and I hope this morning's work may help to clear the air in your direction."
(See Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1906, Vol.II, Minto to Hare, 1st October 1906.)

with regard to the question of Muslim representation he said:

> "The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that under any system of representation, whether it affects a municipality or a district board or a legislative council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Muslim community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies as now constituted cannot be expected to return a Muslim candidate, and that if by chance they did so, it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his community whom he would in no way represent; and you justly claim that your position should be estimated not only on your numerical strength but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you. Please do not misunderstand me. I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced as I believe you to be that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions. I agree with you, gentlemen, that the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the municipal and district boards and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people. In the meantime I can only say to you that the Muhammadan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative re-organization with which I am concerned." (1)

Although Lord Minto's reply was cautious with regard to the method to be adopted to secure proper representation to communities, it indicated full agreement with the Muslim

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1. See Appendix C.

point of view and was generally welcomed by the Muslim press and prominent Muslims.(1) A few days after the Deputation waited upon the Viceroy Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote to his Private Secretary:

> "You will allow me, on behalf of the members of the Deputation, to assure you that His Excellency's great speech in reply to the address, embodying,as it does, a clear and sympathetic recognition of the rights of the Muhammadans of India, as a distinct community based on a generous appreciation of their political importance as being inferior to that of no others, has put a new heart in us, and will always, with graditude be treasured by us and our posterity as a historic declaration of the policy of the Indian Government."(2)

In official circles it was felt that the Viceroy's conciliatory reply to the Muslim Deputation would check the growing discontent among the Muslims(3) and would restore

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1. The Times, 8th October 1906.
2. Minto Papers, op.cit., Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Private Secretary 7th October 1906.
   Commenting on the effect of the conciliatory attitude of the Viceroy towards the Deputation and the demands put forward by it, Sir Adamji Peerbhoy said in his Presidential Address at the first annual session of the All-India Muslim League:
   "The splendid courtesy with which that deputation was received by H.E.the Viceroy, inspired the Muhammadans throughout India with complete confidence. His speech in reply to our Memorial was a statesmanlike uttrance, and the very words of it are engraven indelibly on our memory. It breathed confidence, and whilst it committed neither His Excellency nor his Government to any particular line of action, we knew that the great interests of Muhammadans would never be lightly set aside or suffer neglect". (See The Surat Congress and Conferences, Appendix E: All-India Muslim League, Presidential Address by Sir Adamji Peerbhoy.)
3. See Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India,1906, Vol.II, Minto to Hare 1st October 1906; Dunlop Smith to Hare 2nd October 1906; Vice-Admiral Sir Edmund S.Poe, Commander, East Indies Station to Lord Minto, 4th October 1906.

their confidence in the Government. The same evening Lady Minto received the following letter from an official:

> "I must send your Excellency a line to say that a very very big thing has happened to-day. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian History for many a long year. It's nothing less than pulling back 62 millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition, and ranging them on the side of real progress."(1)

On 4th October Minto himself wrote to Morley:

"As to the Deputation, I very much hope you will be satisfied with the reports of my speech...I was very anxious to avoid appearing to take sides, while yet heartily acknowledging the soundness of Muhammadan arguments...As far as I can judge, the whole affair was an immense success."(2)

As Minto hoped, Morley also felt much satisfied with the manner in which the Viceroy had handled the situation. When he saw newspaper reports concerning the meeting between the Deputation and the Viceroy he wrote to Minto:

> "Your address was admirable alike in spirit" and "in the choice of topics".(3)

A few days later he again wrote:

> "All that you tell me of your Muhammadans is full of interest, and I only regret that I could not have moved about unseen at your garden party. The whole thing has been as good as it could be."(4)

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1. Lady Minto, My Indian Journal, 1905-6, Vol.II, p.202.
2. Morley Papers, Vol.III, Minto to Morley, 4th October 1906.
3. Morley Papers, Vol.I, Morley to Minto, 5th October 1906.
4. Morley Papers, Vol.I, Morley to Minto, 26th October 1906.

The Simla Deputation marks a significant development in the history of Indian politics. The proposals put forward by it represented the only practical solution[1] to the communal problem which was becoming acute because of the domination of the majority community in the councils of Government. Later events showed that co-operation between Hindus and Muslims became possible only when the two communities entered into a pact[2] on lines proposed by the Deputation.

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1. The Times, 1st October 1906.
2. The Lucknow Pact 1916.

Chapter VII.

The Muslim League and the Development of Muslim Politics

1906 - 1916

Part I.

As is explained in a previous chapter a movement towards forming an all-India Muslim political organization had been developing among the Muslims since 1901.(1) The factors that brought about the formation of the Simla Deputation made also the inauguration of such an organization inevitable. Three months after the meeting between the Deputation and the Viceroy the All-India Muslim League was formed. From this time to the birth of the Khilafat Movement in the early twenties Muslim politics in India remained almost completely the politics of the Muslim League.

The first steps towards the formation of the League were taken as early as the middle of September 1906. On 16th September a meeting of Muslim delegates representing the various provinces was held at Lucknow to decide the composition of the Simla Deputation and to give final shape to the address to be presented by it to the Viceroy. At this meeting the question of forming an all-India Muslim political

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1. See Chapter V, pp.213-18.

organization was also discussed(1) and it was decided that such an organization should be formally inaugurated at the time of the next annual meeting of the Muhammadan Educational Conference. On the suggestion of Mian Muhammad Shafi it was also agreed that the organization be named the All-India Muslim League.(2)

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1. See the Muslim Patriot, 12th October 1906, Editorial: "Mussalmans and Politics".
2. According to the Muslim Patriot there existed in Lahore an association known as the Indian Muslim League, prior to the decision of the Lucknow meeting to give the name of Muslim League to the proposed Muslim political organization. (See the Muslim Patriot, op.cit.,). Azim Husain holds that this association was formed by Mian Fazl-i-Husain (See Husain, A., Fazl-i-Husain, p.96). At the annual session of the Panjab Provincial Muslim League of 1909, Mian Muhammad Shafi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, thus explained the decisions taken at the Lucknow meeting: "The gentlemen...present at Lucknow met at the house of Raja Naushad Ali Khan, now Honorary Secretary of the United Provinces Muslim League. The need for such an organization (i.e. an all-India Muslim political organization) having been unanimously admitted, the question next discussed was whether they were to begin by establishing district associations all over the country and then proceed to build the fabric of the organization upwards or, on the other hand, to settle the constitution, make an immediate start by commencing with the central body and proceed to work downwards to the lowest rung of the ladder. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk, having expressed a desire that I should explain to the gentlemen present the views entertained on this side of the country, I ventured to point out that however ideal the first of these two methods may be...it would involve an inordinate amount of delay and the widely scattered efforts made in carrying it out might, in the end result in absolute waste of national and individual energies. Meanwhile, there was need for immediate action...The right way to proceed was to take the advantage of the annual gathering of Muhammadan representatives from all parts of the country during the Christmas holidays on the occasion of the anniversary of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference, lay the foundation of an all-India political organization at once, devise a constitution and call upon provincial leaders to complete the whole plan as soon as possible. After some discussion all present agreed to the adoption of this method of action and Nawabs Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk were elected provisional secretaries to carry out the plan decided upon in this meeting. The question of a suitable name for the proposed organization was next taken up. To me the designation of 'Muslim League' had a peculiar fascination...I wrote these words on a slip of paper and passed it on to...Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan...who having given a nod of assent to my proposal showed the paper to the two venerable leaders. With their consent the proposed name was placed before the meeting and unanimously adopted ..." (See the Civil and Military Gazette, 23rd October 1909, Mian Muhammad Shafi's address.)

The matter was again discussed at Simla by a more numerously attended meeting of Muslim representatives assembled there in connection with the Simla Deputation. The proposals of the Lucknow meeting were accepted and a small committee was appointed to draw up lines on which the proposed association should be organized.(1) This meeting also considered a memorandum sent by the Nawab of Dacca(2) who had not been able to join the Deputation owing to illness,(3) and

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1. The Muslim Patriot wrote on 12th October about the Simla meeting of the Muslim representatives and its decisions as follows
"A discussion took place again at Simla and it was practically decided to form a Central Muslim Political Association which would adequately represent the community as a whole throughout India and to create its provincial branches in important centres throughout India. The drawing up of its constitution and rules have been entrusted to a small committee and its report will be finally considered at Dacca after the sittings of the Educational Conference when the proposed political association will come into being." (The Muslim Patriot, op.cit.)
2. The Pioneer Mail 21st December 1906.
In anticipation of the meeting of Muslim representatives to be held at Dacca in the last week of December 1906 to formally establish the proposed Muslim association, the Nawab published about the middle of December an elaborate scheme suggesting that the association be called the "Muslim All-India Confederacy" and that one of its objects should be "to controvert the growing influence of the so-called Indian National Congress". (For a summary of the scheme see the Pioneer Mail 21st December 1906. For its critical analysis see The Times of India [Weekly] 26th December 1906, Editorial: "Mahomedan Schemes of Union".)
3. On 26th September the Nawab's left eye was operated on and he was unable to proceed to Simla (See the Pioneer Mail, 5th October 1906; see also the Bengalee, 29th September 1906, Editorial: "The Mahomedan Deputation".)

decided that the nature and the aims and objects of the proposed association should be finally determined at a representative meeting of Muslim delegates at Dacca to be held after the conclusion of the annual session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference in the last week of December. Accordingly a meeting of delegates to the Educational Conference, and of other prominent Muslims, was held at that historic centre of Muslim culture on 30th December 1906.(1) Nawab Vigar-ul-Mulk presided.(2) In his inaugural speech the Nawab explained the purpose of the meeting and emphasised that "time and circumstances" demanded of the Muslims "to unite in association so as to make their voice heard above the din of other vociferous parties in India and across the wide seas in England".(3) After an animated discussion over the necessity

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1. The Pioneer Mail, 4th January 1907. According to the Indian Spectator the meeting was attended by nearly 8,000 Muslims. (See the Indian Spectator, 5th January 1907, "Editorial Notes".)
2. Nawab Mushtaq Husain Viqar-ul-Mulk was born in the Muradabad District of the United Provinces in 1841. He joined the Hyderabad state service in 1875 where he held high appointments till his resignation in 1892. He had been associated with the Aligarh educational movement from its beginning and was a Trustee of the Aligarh College. He became the Secretary of the Aligarh College after the death of Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk in 1907. Till his death in 1917 he remained closely associated with the Muslim League and played an important role in the development of that organization. (See Albiruni, pp.102-116.)
3. The Pioneer Mail, op.cit.,

of forming the proposed organization the following resolution, proposed by Nawab Khawja Salimullah, the Nawab of Dacca,[1] seconded by Hakeem Muhammad Ajmal Khan[2] and supported by several eminent Muslims representing different parts of India, including Maulana Muhammad Ali[3] and Maulana Zafar

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1. Introducing the resolution the Nawab of Dacca said: "Had the party now in power in England been familiar with the position of Muslims, and had Indian public men represented justly Muslim claims, the movement might perhaps not have been heard of, but quiet unobtrusive work was now at a discount and only those who cried the loudest had a chance of being heard. Moslems had therefore been forced against their own wishes to abandon their traditional policy in order to secure easement of very real disabilities, and to avoid the danger that their interests might be neglected, whilst other communities in India were benefited." (ibid.,)
2. Hakeem Ajmal Khan (1863-1927) was a well-known Unani physician of Delhi. He was the Chairman of the Reception Committee at the third session of the Muslim League held at Delhi in January 1910. He served for many years as one of the Vice-Presidents of the League. He presided over the Khilafat Conference held at Ahmadabad in December 1921. The Congress session of that year was also presided over by him. (See Ghaffar, Q.A., Hayat-i-Ajmal.)
3. Muhammad Ali (1878-1931) was educated at Aligarh and Oxford. After his return from Oxford in 1902 he spent some years in the service of the Nawab of Rampur. Then he took to journalism. In January 1911 he started the Comrade (an English Weekly) and two years later started the Hamdard (an Urdu Weekly). For his supporting the cause of Turkey in the Tripoli and the Balkan War he rose to great prominence from the year 1911. His papers played a very important role in moulding the policy of the Muslim League after 1911. In May 1915 he was interned under the Defence of India Ordinance for his alleged "sympathy with the King's enemies" and was released in December 1919. He was the chief leader of the Khilafat Movement in India . He died in London in February 1931 where he had gone to attend the first Round Table Conference (See Jafri, R.A., Seerat-i-Muhammad Ali; Albiruni, A.H., Makers of Pakistan and Modern Muslim India, pp.151-165; Cumming, J., Political India, 1832-1932, pp.199-201.)

Ali Khan,[1] was unanimously passed, and the long contemplated Muslim political association was formed under the name of the All-India Muslim League:-

"That this meeting composed of Mussalmans from all parts of India, assembled at Dacca, decides that a political association, styled the All-India Muslim League, be formed for the furtherance of the following objects:

(a) To promote among the Mussalmans of India feelings of loyalty to the British Government and to remove any misconceptions that may arise as to the intentions of Government with regard to any of its measures;

(b) to protect and advance the political rights and interests of Mussalmans of India and respectfully to represent their needs and aspirations to Government;

(c) to prevent the rise among Mussalmans of India of any feelings of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to other objects of the League."[2]

A committee consisting of leading Muslims representing all provinces was appointed with Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and

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1. Zafar Ali Khan came of a Rajput family of the Panjab. He was one of the foremost Urdu poets of modern India. In 1903 his father, Maulavi Sirajuddin, started from Lahore a weekly newspaper, the Zamindar. This paper was later edited by Zafar Ali and was issued daily. During the Tripoli War 1911 and the Balkan War 1912, the Zamindar became very popular among Muslims for its pro-Turkish policy and had the largest circulation among the daily papers of northern India. (In 1912 its circulation approximated to 12000; in 1913 to 15000, and in 1915 to 12000. See Report on the Administration of the Punjab and its Dependencies, 1912-13, p.89; 1913-14, p.68; and 1915-16, p.70) Zafar Ali Khan was one of the few prominent leaders of the Khilafat Movement. Both he and his paper played an important role in promoting the Pakistan Movement. He died in 1956.
2. The Pioneer Mail, 4th January 1907.

Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk as joint secretaries, to frame a constitution for the League and place it for approval before a representative meeting of Muslims to be convened at a suitable time and place.(1)

The objects of the League seemed to satisfy both the old and the young sections of the Muslim community. The older class wished to do nothing that would create a misconception in the minds of the rulers about the loyalty of the Muslims. The young educated Muslims insisted that they should be able to protect their interests and make their voice heard by the rulers through an effective political organization. An organized movement towards protecting Muslim rights began, therefore, as a compromise between the older and younger sections of the community.

It is important to note that while the Dacca meeting was holding deliberations in connection with the formation of the Muslim League, another Muslim meeting presided over by a Berar Zamindar Maulavi Ghulam Ahmad Khan was being held at Calcutta also with the object of forming a Muslim political organization. It was attended mainly by the Muslim delegates to the Congress of 1906 which was held at the same city. The meeting resulted in the formation of an organization known

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1. The Pioneer Mail, 4th January 1907; The Aligarh Institute Gazette , 9th January 1907, p.5.

as the Indian Mussalman Association with Nawab Sayyid Muhammad of Madras as President, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Abbas Tayyabji and Kazi Kabir-uddin as Vice-Presidents and A. Rasul as Secretary.(1) The objects of the Association included the ventilation of "the special grievances of the Muslims" and the "safeguard of their legitimate interests"(2) but its chief purpose was "to work with other communities in all political and economic matters because the interests of the Muslims were in no way different from those of others."(3) It is believed that the Association enjoyed the support of the Congress and was organized to counteract the Muslim League which was formed with the purpose of promoting the interests of the Muslims and protecting their political rights as a distinct community.(4) However the Association does not appear to

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1. The Bengalee, 9th January 1907.
   All these gentlemen were present at the Congress session of 1906 (See the Report of the Indian National Congress, 1906, List of Delegates)
2. The Bengalee, 9th January 1907.
3. The Bengalee, 9th January 1907.
4. The Hindu press seemed to be quite satisfied with the formation of the Indian Mussalman Association. The Bengalee which accorded full support to it remarked that it was destined "ere long, to become a powerful factor in initiating progressive movements and promoting whatever" tended "to the well-being and advancement of the Muhammadan community". (See The Bengalee, op.cit.,) The Muslim League was, on the other hand, regarded by the paper as a reactionary organization "engineered mostly by Government pensioners or ex-officials or gentlemen....compelled to solicit Government assistance in their family or pecuniary difficulties". (See The Bengalee, 18th January 1907.)

have developed into an effective political body owing to its inability to attract the attention of the politically conscious Muslims.

The First session of the League was held at Karachi in the last week of December 1907[1] and was presided over by Sir Adamji Peerbhoy, a well known Bombay merchant. About the same time the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference also held its annual meeting at Karachi. This made it possible for the delegates to the Conference to attend the League session and brought the League into contact with a fairly large number of middle class Muslim intelligentsia from which the Conference was mainly drawn. Commenting on the enthusiasm with which the Muslim delegates attended this session Sir Adamji said:

> "As I look round me today, I can only express my surprise that a young movement has so quickly found the heart of our people and touched us with one common object, the advancement of our historic people. What the future has in store for the League I dare not prognosticate; but if the same spirit which animates us today guides its destinies, it will not be long before our rulers, and Muhammadans world over, will look to the proceedings of this League for knowledge of our advancement along those paths we are destined to proceed."[2]

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1. This session was held on 29th and 30th December 1907. (See The Pioneer Mail, 3rd January 1908)
2. The Surat Congress and Conferences, A Collection of the Presidential and inaugural speeches, See Appendix E, Presidential Address of Sir Adamji Peerbhoy.

The President appealed to every Muslim in India to do all in his power to strengthen the League and to further its objects. Reminding his co-religionists of the importance of the step they had taken in establishing the League he said:

> "We have ventured to draw the attention of the whole of the peoples of India upon us; we have elected to give evidence to our rulers that we are a community imbued with high ambitions, and we have thus imposed upon ourselves a task from which we dare not shrink. We have taken a step forward; to go back would be to drop into oblivion and stamp ourselves as unworthy of the place we demand in the British Empire."(1)

The most important work done at the Karachi session of the League was concerning the constitution of the organization. It was here that the constitution committee appointed the previous year at Dacca completed its work in co-operation with some newly appointed members.(2) It was however decided that the new office bearers should be elected at a special session of the League to be held at Aligarh in March 1908.(3)

This special session was held on 18th and 19th March 1908.(4) With slight modifications(5) it approved of the constitution of the League framed by the Constitution Committee at Karachi

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1. ibid.,
2. The Civil & Military Gazette, 23rd October 1909, Shafi's address.
3. ibid.,
4. ibid.,
5. ibid.,

in the previous December. According to this constitution the objects of the League now read as follows:

(1) "To promote among Indian Muslims feelings of loyalty towards the British Government, and remove any misconception that may arise, as to the intentions of the Government with regard to any of its measures;

(2) to protect the political and other rights of Indian Muslims and to place their needs and aspirations before the Government in temperate language;

(3) so far as possible, without prejudice to the objects mentioned under (1) and (2) to promote friendly feelings between the Muslims and other communities of India."(1)

It was at the Aligarh meeting of the League that Sir Aga Khan was elected its President. This meeting also elected Major Sayyid Hasan Bilgrami as General Secretary and Haji Musa Khan as Joint Secretary of the League(2) and decided that the Central Committee of the League should consist of 40 members representing all provinces of India, Indian States and Burma in the following proportion:(3)

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1. It is important to note that according to the modified objects of the League the purpose of the organization was not only to protect the interests of the Muslims but also to promote friendly feelings between them and other Indian communities.
2. The Pioneer Mail, 27th March 1908.
3. See Bahadur, L. The Muslim League, p.73.

(1)	The United Provinces of Agra and Oudh ...	7
(2)	The Panjab	7
(3)	Eastern Bengal and Assam	7
(4)	Bengal, Behar and Orissa	7
(5)	Bombay	4
(6)	Madras	2
(7)	The North-West Frontier and Baluchistan	1
(8)	The Central Provinces and Berar	2
(9)	Indian States	2
(10)	Burma	1

The year 1908 is very important in the history of the Muslim League. During this year in addition to the inauguration of its constitution, district and provincial branches were established in many parts of the country. A provincial branch of the League had come into being in the Panjab as early as December 1907,[1] with Mian Muhammad Shah Din[2]

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1. The Pioneer Mail, 13th December 1907; The Civil & Military Gazette, 23rd October 1909, Mian Muhammad Shafi's address.
2. Mian Muhammad Shah Din was born at Lahore in 1868. In 1887 he proceeded to England to study for the Bar as a member of the Middle Temple, and was called to the Bar in 1890. In 1894 he presided over the annual session of the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference. In 1903 he was appointed a member of the Panjab Legislative Council. In 1908 he was appointed the first Muslim judge of the Panjab Chief Court. Shah Din died in 1918. (Eminent Mussalmans, pp.371-384; See also Humayun, January 1922)

as President and Mian Muhammad Shafi[1] as Secretary. By the middle of 1908 provincial leagues had also been established in Behar, Eastern Bengal and Assam and Bombay, with Sayyid Ali Imam,[2] Nawab Khawja Salimullah and the Aga Khan as their presidents. Besides 75 district leagues were formed.[3]

In this year a branch of the Muslim League was also formed in London with a view to bringing the feelings and needs of the Muslim community to the notice of British people

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1. Mian Sir Muhammad Shafi (1869-1932) came of a well-known Mian family of Lahore. In his early youth he went to England and was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1892. "He soon attained a leading position at the Lahore Bar, and rapidly assumed a foremost place in the counsels of the Muslim community". He presided over the sixth annual session of the All-India Muslim League held at Lucknow in March 1913. "In July 1919 he became Education Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council and was instrumental in the creation of several new universities." He attended two sessions of the Round Table Conference. (Cumming, J., Political India, p.201; Eminent Mussalmans, pp.209-247).
2. Sayyid Ali Iman belonged to a distinguished Muslim family of Behar. In 1887 he went to England to study law and was called to the Bar at the Middle Temple in 1890. He was elected a Trustee of the Aligarh College in 1903. In 1908 he presided over the second annual session of the All-Indian Muslim League. In 1910 he was appointed a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council. He represented India at the first meeting of the League of Nations (Eminent Mussalmans, pp.248-262).
3. See The Pioneer Mail, 4th September 1908: "The Muslim League".

effectively. The inaugural session of the London League was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on 6th May under the presidency of Sayyid Ameer Ali who was elected its President. Mr. Ibni Hasan was elected Secretary.(1)

The League held its second session at Amritsar in December 1908. Sayyid Ali Imam presided. The attention of this session remained devoted mainly to the question of Muslim representation in the proposed reformed councils.

The third session of the Muslim League was held at Delhi in the last week of January 1910.(2) This session was to be presided over by Sayyid Ameer Ali, but owing to his recent elevation to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council he was unable to leave England. However, he sent the address prepared for the occasion, which was read on his behalf by Sir Ali Muhammad Khan, the Raja of Mahmudabad.(3) This session was presided over by Sir Ghulam Muhammad Ali, the

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1. See the Report on the Inaugural Meeting of the London Branch of the All-India Moslem League, p.9. The Committee of the London League which consisted of about 12 persons included Dr. Sheikh (later Sir) Muhammad Iqbal, (ibid.,)
2. This session began on 29th and ended on 31st January 1910. (See The Times, 31st January and 1st February 1910)
3. The Times, 31st January 1910.

Prince of Arcot,[1] and was attended by about two hundred delegates and several thousand visitors.[2]

An important feature of this session was the satisfaction expressed at the separate representation granted to Muslims in the reformed councils.[3]

This session elected Maulavi Muhammad Aziz Mirza as the Secretary of the League.[4] It also decided to move the central office of the League from Aligarh to Lucknow.[5] The headquarters of the League had been at Aligarh since the time of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk's secretaryship of the organization. The decision to move it to Lucknow was made mainly on the insistence of the Aga Khan in accordance with the wishes of Sir John Hewett, Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, who did not like the League to develop under the direct influence of Viqar-

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1. Tufail Ahmad writes that this session of the League was presided over by H. H. Sir Aga Khan (See "Musalmanon ka Roshan Mustaqbil", p.364). Mirza Akhtar Hasan on the other hand, holds that it was presided over by the Prince of Arcot (See Tarikh-i-Muslim League, p.44). From the Times report it appears that the Aga Khan delivered an inaugural address at this session but there is no indication to the effect that he presided over it. (See The Times, 31st January 1910).
2. The Times, 31st January 1910.
3. ibid.,
4. Hasan, M.A., Tarikh-i-Muslim League, p.45.
5. The Times, 31st January 1910.

ul-Mulk[1] and his young progressive associates like Muhammad Ali. He rather wished to see it a conservative organization controlled by people whose loyalty to the Government was beyond suspicion. Only two days after the conclusion of the Delhi session of the League Hewett wrote the following letter to Lord Minto which explains this development fairly clearly and shows how much interested the Government was to

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1. Nawab Mushtaq Husain Viqar-ul-Mulk seems to have not been in the good books of Sir John Hewett as he did not seem to pursue the policy of Sayyid Ahmad Khan in politics in the manner Mohsin-ul-Mulk did. He was opposed to the view that the Muslims should join the Congress but had been since 1901 advocating active Muslim participation in politics. He was supported by the progressive group of the Aligarh school of thought in politics. As to the Aligarh College itself he advocated a policy different from that of his predecessors and was opposed to giving too much power to European staff and Principal. After the death of Mohsin-ul-Mulk Sir John Hewett had only unwillingly agreed to his appointment as the Honorary Secretary of the College. Hewett believed he was "not very fond of English ideas and his appointment would certainly be most unpopular with the staff"; but he did not oppose him so that he might not throw him strongly into opposition. (See Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India, 1907, Vol.II, Hewett to Dunlop Smith, 4th November 1907)
   Early in 1909 there arose a serious conflict between Viqar-ul-Mulk and Archbold, Principal of the Aligarh College, which resulted in the resignation of the latter. (See Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., pp.216-18; Albiruni, op.cit., pp.107-108) This development seems to have also prejudiced Sir John Hewett against Viqar-ul-Mulk and his supporters.

keep the League free from the influence of the young progressive element of educated Muslims:

> "The Aga Khan has managed to carry out a wish of mine that the headquarters of the Central body of the League should be removed from Aligarh...He has had a hard fight to do this, for the Aligarh people led and influenced by Nawab Mushtaq Husain, the Honorary Secretary of the Trustees of the College, and Hon'ble Aftab Ahmad, a barrister who has a great deal more influence than he should have among the Trustees, fought against the suggestion as involving a slight on them. The Aga Khan had to put his foot down, and they are in consequence sore. The headquarters of the centre of the League are now to be at Lucknow. The Aga Khan is the President, the old Secretary (Musa Khan of Aligarh) is being replaced by Mr.Aziz Mirza. The latter was till recently in the employment of the Hyderabad State. I do not know the circumstances under which he left its service. He is a man of middle age, a scholar, educated at the Aligarh College, and of moderate views... The idea which the Aga Khan and those working with him have is that the League should be a conservative institution, designed to further the Muhammadan cause, and also to strengthen hands of Government but with no animosity towards the Hindus. They wish it to act in co-operation with Government, and in loyal association with it; to be cordial without being servile. His object has been to bring the more stable Muhammadans, who have hitherto not joined the League, into the fold. I think myself that all these objects are good, and such as Government can sympathise with. In proof of the wishes of the League to meet Government in co-operation, he points to the fact that it has, as desired, removed its headquarters from Aligarh...What has been absent hitherto is the authority of a man like the Aga Khan on the spot to keep the Muhammadan community generally in order. Different parties have been contending among themselves often for their own ends. I have felt frightened lest the lawyer party, mainly consisting of young and irresponsible persons, should attain a predominant position in the League and that they might at some time coalesce with the advanced Hindu politicians against the Government on one or more questions, and later rue that they had

done so. I think that the Aga Khan has put an effectual check to this, and that the League may be expected to be much more conservative and stable than it once promised to be."(1)

As will be seen in the second part of this chapter the Aga Khan's influence on the League diminished in the next few years and it did not remain a conservative political organization as conceived by Sir John Hewett.

The fourth session of the Muslim League was held at Nagpur on 28th and 30th December 1910 under the presidency of Sayyid Nabiullah.(2) This session is considered to be the end of the first phase of the League. Its next session was held in March 1912 which marked the beginning of a movement towards making it a progressive organization with regard to its political objects. Before we start a discussion on that phase of the League it seems important to survey briefly the work done by it up to the year 1911.

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1. Minto Papers, Correspondence with Persons in India 1910, Vol.I, Hewett to Minto 3rd February 1910.
   Lord Minto also felt quite satisfied at this development, About two weeks after receiving Hewett's letter he replied: "I did not answer your letter of 3rd February at once, as I hoped before doing so to have a talk with the Aga Khan. This I have now done and he confirmed all you had already told me. I am sure the moving of the central body of the League from Aligarh is in the right direction, and that it will be much better at Lucknow. The Aga Khan explained to me the line he hoped the League would follow and which seemed to me thoroughly sound." (ibid., Minto to Hewett, 15th February 1910)
2. For a complete account of the Nagpur session of the League see Mirza, M.A., Proceedings of the All-India Muslim League, 1910.

As is shown above the League was formed (i) to protect the political and other rights of the Muslims, (ii) to develop friendly feelings between the Muslims and other Indian communities, and (iii) to promote among the Muslims feelings of loyalty towards their rulers.

During the period under discussion it consistently endeavoured to pursue these objects. The matter that engaged the most of its attention till 1909 was the question of Muslim representation. In August 1906 Lord Minto appointed the committee to which Mr.Morley had made reference in his speech on the Indian Budget in the previous month, to consider the question of increased representation on the Imperial and provincial Legislative Councils. In view of the demands made by the Simla Deputation the Committee gave special attention to the question of Muslim representation, and, after enquiries, found that the Muslims had not been sufficiently represented on the existing councils, that the few elected Muslim "members had not been really representative, and that nomination had failed to secure the appointment of Muslims of the class desired by the community".(1) The Committee suggested that "in addition to the small number of Muslims who might be able to secure election in the ordinary manner, a certain number of

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1. Indian Statutory Commission, Vol.IV, p.132.

seats should be assigned to be filled exclusively by Muslims, and . . . that for the purpose of filling those seats, or a proportion of them, a separate Muslim electorate should be formed".(1) The Government of India supported these proposals(2) and communicated them to the Secretary of State. The latter agreed to the principle that the Muslims were entitled to a special representation on the Imperial and local legislative councils commensurate with their numbers and political and historical importance, but did not support the view that a separate Muslim electorate should be formed to fill Muslim seats. In his Dispatch to Government of India dated 27th November 1908,(3) he rather suggested that there should be a fixed number of seats for each community to be filled by means of mixed electoral colleges composed of members of different communities in proportion to their numerical strength in each electoral area.(4) The demand of the Simla Deputation

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1. ibid.,
2. Parliamentary Papers, Cd.3710(1907), Vol.LVIII: Papers relating to an Imperial Advisory Council and Provincial Advisory Councils; The Enlargement of the Legislative Councils; and the Discussion of the Budget, see Circular from the Government of India to the Local Governments and Administrations, 24th August 1907, para.16.
   The proposals for the special representation of Muslims were also supported by all local Governments. See Mukherji,P., Indian Constitutional Documents, Vol.I, pp.293-94, Dispatch from the Government of India to the Secretary of State, 1st October 1908, para.30.
3. For the full text of the Dispatch see Mukherji, op.cit., pp.310-326.
4. ibid., pp.314-315.

was that the Muslim members of councils should be elected exclusively by Muslim voters. The suggestion of mixed electoral colleges was, therefore, followed by vigorous protests on the part of the Muslims.(1) At its second annual session held at Amritsar the All-India Muslim League passed emphatic resolutions on the subject demanding that Muslim seats in councils should be filled only by Muslim electorates.(2) About the same time the London Muslim League declared that any method that entrusted the election of Muslim representatives to the Viceregal and Provincial Councils to a mixed body of electors would be highly detrimental to Muslim interests and that the only system which would meet the just claims and requirements of 'His Majesty's Muslim subjects' was the election of their representatives by the voters of their own community.(3) On 27th January 1909 a Muslim deputation headed by Sayyid Ameer Ali, President of the London branch of the All-India Muslim League, personally presented the Muslim case to Lord Morley and acquainted him with the feelings of the Muslim community with regard to the proposed mixed electoral colleges.(4) The

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1. Morley Collection, op. cit., ~~Question of Muhammadan Representation~~, see Viceroy's telegram to Secretary of State, 8th January 1909.
2. For the full text of these resolutions see The Indian Mahomedans and the Government, pp.33-34.
3. ibid., p.9.
4. ibid., p.10.

deputation urged that there should be separate Muslim electorates for the election of Muslim representatives from rural boards upwards.(1)

Lord Minto had already agreed to separate Muslim electorates. Muslim representations to Lord Morley succeeded in procuring his agreement too.(2) But now another question arose, the number of seats to be filled by means of separate Muslim electorates. The Government of India maintained its assurance given to the Simla Deputation by Lord Minto in October 1906 and affirmed by Lord Morley in the House of Lords on 23rd February 1909 that the Muslims were entitled to representation in excess of their actual numerical position,(3) but it proposed to fulfil it in the way explained in the following telegram of the Viceroy to the Secretary of State:

> "The method proposed is . . . that in general electorates, such as municipalities, district boards, and . . . provincial Councils, all sects and all classes, including Muhammadans, will vote together. By this means, some, but not sufficient representation will be obtained for Muhammadans. In addition, a certain number of seats will be reserved for Muhammadans, and none but Muhammadans will have voice in filling these. They may be filled in various ways, by election pure and simple, by election by associations, by electoral colleges, or by nomination, as

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1. Morley Collection, op.cit., ~~India Office Collection, Question of Muhammadan Representation,~~ Telegram from Secretary of State to Viceroy 2nd February 1909; See also Morley Papers, Vol.IV, Morley to Minto 28th January 1909.
2. Morley Collection, op.cit., See also Secretary of State's telegram to Viceroy 16th February 1909.
3. Parl.Debates (House of Lords) 1909, Vol.I, p.125.

circumstances of each province require . . . Methods will vary in different provinces and will be subject to alteration from time to time in individual provinces as experience may dictate."(1)

The knowledge of this proposal caused much disappointment to the Muslims. It brought to light the fact that the special Muslim seats were designed to be supplemental to those in the mixed electorates "instead of the former constituting the staple representation and the latter being supplemental."(2) Moreover it showed that in spite of several representations on the part of the Muslims that nominated members could not be regarded as true representatives of the Muslim community, the Government wanted to continue the system of nomination. This led to a strong Muslim protest which continued for many months. Meetings were held all over the country under the auspices of the various branches of the All-India Muslim League or other local Muslim associations. Strongly worded resolutions were passed disapproving of the proposed method and urging the Government to concede the Muslim demand that all Muslim representatives, from rural boards to the Imperial Council,

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1. Morley ~~India Office~~ Collection, op.cit., See Viceroy's telegram to Secretary of State 12th April 1909.
2. Morley Collection, op.cit., "The New Legislative Councils".

be elected by Muslim voters alone.(1) As a result of continued Muslim opposition the Government amended its proposal considerably. It decided to reserve a larger number of Muslim seats in the provinces of Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Bombay, Madras and the United Provinces to be filled by separate Muslim electorates than was originally proposed. The seats thus reserved gave the Muslims of

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1. For meetings held in different parts of India and resolutions passed by them in the months of April and May see The Indian Mahomedans and the Government, pp.36-60.
   Some of the important Muslim meetings held during the period of July - Octoberr 1909 to demand separate electorates for Muslims are mentioned below:-
   (a) All India Muslim League, an urgent meeting held at Lucknow, 12th July 1909. (See the Statesman Weekly, 15th July 1909)
   (b) Madras Presidency Muslim League, Council Meeting, 19th July 1909. (See the Statesman Weekly, 22nd July 1909)
   (c) Bombay Muslim Meeting, presided over by Sir Karimbhai Ibrahim, 2nd August 1909. (See the Statesman Weekly, 5th August 1909)
   (d) Eastern Bengal and Assam Muslim League, meeting held at Dacca, 21st August 1909. (See the Statesman Weekly, 26th August 1909)
   (e) The Panjab Provincial Muslim League, meeting held at Lahore, 20th August 1909. (ibid.,)
   (f) The United Provinces Muslim League, meeting held at Lucknow, 7th September 1909. (See the Statesman Weekly, 9th September 1909)
   (g) All-India Muslim League, special meeting of the Central Committee held at Aligarh in the second week of September 1909. (See the Statesman Weekly, 15th September 1909)
   (h) The Bombay Presidency Muslim League, telegram to Lord Morley, 19th October 1909. (See the Civil and Military Gazette, 21st October 1909)

Madras[1] and the United Provinces[2] representation in excess of their population, whereas in Bengal[3] and Bombay[4] they got representation slightly below and in Eastern Bengal and Assam much below[5] their numerical proportion. In all these provinces the Muslims could also take part in the general election and could thus supplement their representation. In the Panjab, where Muslims formed the bulk of the population, the great majority of the non-official seats were to be filled by nomination. The Muslims were not, therefore, given the right to elect their representatives in that province. In the Imperial Council, however, provision for separate Muslim representation was made on somewhat similar lines as in the provinces.

The grant of separate electorates to the Muslims established

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1. In the Madras Council the total number of elected seats was 19; the number specially assigned to Muslims was 2. Thus the percentage of Muslim seats was slightly over 10, while the percentage of the Muslim population was 7. (Morley Collection, op.cit.:"The New Legislative Councils")
2. In the United Provinces the Muslims formed 14 per cent of the population. They were assigned four of the 20 elected seats, or 20 per cent. (ibid.)
3. In Bengal the Muslims were to be given four out of a total of 26 elected seats, or 15.4 per cent. They formed 18 per cent of the population. (ibid.)
4. In Bombay the Muslims were assigned four out of a total of 21 elected seats or 19 per cent, whereas their percentage in the population was 20. (ibid.)
5. In Eastern Bengal and Assam the Muslim formed 56 per cent of the total population. Four or 22 per cent of the elected seats were assigned to them. The reason given was that the status of the bulk of the Muslims in Eastern Bengal and Assam was not "sufficiently advanced to entitle them to representation in excess of, or even in proportion to, their numerical strength". (ibid.)

the status of the Muslim community in India as a distinct community and that of the Muslim League as a major organization of the Muslims. This development produced a marked effect on Congress-League relations. Hitherto the Congress had neither recognized the Muslim League as representing the majority of the politically conscious Muslims nor had it shown any desire to discuss with it how the growing dissension between the Hindus and Muslims could be checked. But only one year after the inauguration of the Morley-Minto reforms the members of the two organizations were discussing the questions affecting Hindu-Muslim relations. On the initiative of Sir William Wedderburn, the President of the 1910 session of the Congress, a conference of sixty Hindu and forty Muslim representatives(1) was held at Allahabad on 1st January 1911. The Conference discussed almost all issues affecting Hindu-Muslim relations,

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1. Following are the names of some of the members who attended the Conference:-
H.H.The Aga Khan; the Maharaja of Darbhanga; Nawab Sayyid Muhammad; Babu Seroda Charan Mitra; Maulavi Shams-ul-Huda; Babu Surendranath Banerjea; Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk; Mr.G.K. Gokhale; the Prince of Arcot; Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya; Mr. Ibrahim Rahimtoolah; Maulavi Aziz Mirza; Pandit Motilal Nehru; Mian Muhammad Shafi; Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan; Sayyid Nabiullah; Lala Harkishan Lal; M.A. Jinnah; Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque; Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru; Mr. Muhammad Ali.
(See The Pioneer 4th January 1911)

including Muslim claims to separate representation.(1) Although the deliberations of the conference did not result in any practical solution of the Hindu-Muslim questions, they showed that the Congress began to realise that the Muslim League had become a factor in Indian politics and could no longer be neglected.

Other important matters concerning Muslim interests specially attended to by the League concerned (i) the partition of Bengal; (ii) the question of Muslim representation in the public service and (iii) the preservation of Urdu as the language of the courts in the United Provinces and the Panjab.

As to the partition of Bengal Hindu agitation against it was much resented by the League. The matter was considered to be very important and was attended to as early as the inception of the League in 1906. The following resolution was passed which marked the first step by the newly-formed organization towards demanding protection of Muslim interests in Eastern Bengal and Assam:

> "That this meeting considers that partition is sure to prove beneficial to the community which constitutes the majority of the population, and that all such methods of agitation as boycotting should be firmly condemned and discouraged." (2)

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1. For a brief account of the proceedings of the Conference see the Pioneer, 4th January 1911; see also the Aligarh Institute Gazette, 4th January 1911.
2. The Pioneer Mail, 4th January 1907.

The question of Muslim representation in the public service was considered by the League to be one of fundamental importance from the point of view of economic betterment and social and political prestige of the community.(1) Almost every year it passed a resolution demanding proportionate Muslim representation in every important department of Government.(2) On several occasions the League made

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1. Mirza, op.cit., p.39.
2. For the resolution passed on this subject at the Amritsar session see Hasan M.A., op.cit., p.42.
   At the Delhi session of the League held in January 1910 the following resolution was passed:-
"In view of the necessity and importance, under the existing circumstances of India, of each community being duly represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League considers the number of Mussalmans employed in the various branches of the public service, absolutely inadequate and strongly urges on Government to give the Mussalman community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength." (Mirza, op.cit.)
   At its session at Nagpur in December 1910 the League passed this resolution in the following form:-
"In view of the necessity and importance under the existing circumstances of India, of each community being duly represented in the administration, the All-India Muslim League reiterates its resolution of last year that the number of Muhammadans employed in the various branches of the public service, is absolutely inadequate and strongly urges the Government to give the Muhammadan community that share in the public service to which it is entitled by reason of its importance and numerical strength, the League being of opinion that a sufficient number of qualified Muhammadans is available for the purpose."
(ibid., p.97)

representations to the Government on this question. However it "sought for no special favours, nor was it desirous of placing a premium on inefficiency". Its "sole contention was that when fully qualified Mussalman candidates were forthcoming there was no reason why their claims should not be taken into consideration".(1) These representations appear to have received the sympathetic consideration of the Government.

The anti-Urdu movement in the United Provinces and the Panjab began growing strong again about 1909 as the time for the new decennial census was approaching. The League gave special attention to this matter and at its Delhi session adopted a strongly worded resolution demanding the preservation of Urdu as the common language of these provinces.(2) During the year 1910 the Secretary of the League took special interest in the matter and "repeatedly circulated the Provincial Secretaries concerned to be on the look-out and see that Urdu-speaking people are returned in the Census form as speaking that language and none else".(3) At its Nagpur session the League discussed the matter in detail and asked the Government "to discountenance all such attempts" as were being made to

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1. ibid., p.40.
2. Mirza, op.cit., p.43.
3. ibid.,

injure Urdu.(1)

The attitude of the League towards non-Muslim communities remained, on the whole, cordial. Almost all persons who presided over the annual sessions of the League during this period expressed keen desire to bring about a better understanding between the two major communities of India - Hindus and Muslims. This also appears to have remained the attitude of other eminent League leaders. The first public assurance that the League was not hostile to other communities and wished to develop good relations between the Muslims and other communities came as early as 1907 from Sir Adamji Peerbhoy, the President of the first annual session of the League.

Commenting on the third object of the League he said:

> "With that object I am in complete sympathy, for it passes my understanding why the Muhammadans should in the advancement of their own interests injure those of any other people. We contribute to the common good by improving our own surroundings. It

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1. At its Nagpur session the League passed the following resolution concerning the Urdu language:-
"The All-India Muslim League deplores the persistent attempts that are being made in various forms to set up what are called Hindi and Punjabi as the vernaculars of the United Provinces and the Punjab respectively, and to displace Urdu from the position so long occupied by it as the lingua franca of India, and having regard to the fact that the preservation of the Urdu language and literature is essential to the general progress of the country, particularly in Northern India, the League hopes and prays that the Government will be pleased to discountenance all such attempts to injure Urdu."
(ibid., p.76)

is no part of the purpose of this League to oppose the progress of other communities or to be aggressive towards them in any direction whatever. We respect all who work for the common good of the country".(1)

A few months(2) later Sayyid Ameer Ali speaking at the inaugural session of the London Branch of the All-India Muslim League emphasised that all progress in India depended upon cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims(3) and declared that so long as his guidance was accepted the League was "not likely to depart from its attitude of cordiality and concord with other Indian nationalities".(4)

At the second annual session of the League held at Amritsar in December 1908, the President Sayyid Ali Imam expressed in clear terms that the Muslims attached great importance to friendly relations among Indian communities and identified themselves with all that aimed at the general advancement of the country.(5) As a practical step towards bringing about, wherever possible, a unity of action between

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1. The Surat Congress and Conferences, op.cit.
2. In May 1908.
3. Ameer Ali said:
   "I believe that the welfare of our common country, her material and intellectual development, depend on the harmonious co-operation of the two great communities that inhabit India in the work of reform and progress."
   (See Report on the Inaugural Meeting of the London Branch of the All-India Moslem League, p.6)
4. Ibid.,
5. Speech of Sayyid Ali Imam, President of the All-India Muslim League Amritsar Session 1908, p.14.

the Hindus and Muslims he suggested co-operation between the Congress and the League on the following questions which affected the interests of the two communities almost identically:-

(1) The separation of judicial from executive functions.

(2) The repeal of degrading Colonial Ordinances.

(3) The extension of Primary Education.

(4) The adoption of measures of sanitation.

(5) The admission of Indians of all races in larger numbers into the higher branches of the public service.

(6) Discontinuance of Official interference in matters of Local Self-Government.

(7) Reasonable reduction of military expenditure without endangering efficiency.

(8) The grant of commissions in the army to Indians.

(9) An equitable adjustment of Home Charges.

(10) Limitation on revenue on land belonging to the state.

(11) Establishment and development of village unions for the disposal of petty civil and criminal cases.

(12) Encouragement and protection of indigenous arts and industries.

(13) The eradication of insolence on one hand and feeling of inferiority and mortification on the other between the rulers and the ruled.(1)

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1. ibid., p.19.

Similar feelings were expressed by Mian Muhammad Shafi at the 1909 session of the Panjab Provincial Muslim League held in October 1909,[1] by the Aga Khan in his inaugural address at the 3rd session of the League held at Delhi in January 1910,[2] and by Sayyid Nabi-ullah in his presidential address at the Nagpur League session of December 1910.[3]

The point of view of the League was that cordial relations between the Hindus and Muslims were conditioned by the equitable representation of Muslims on the councils of Government which was possible only through separate electorates. In order to facilitate co-operation between the two communities in matters of common interest League leaders advised the Hindus to accept this point of view, which, in their opinion, represented the only practical method to secure proper representation to the Muslims.

In addition to its devotion to the special interests of Muslims the League gave sincere attention to matters of common interest to the people of India. With regard to the adverse Asiatic Legislation in the Transval it expressed its feelings

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1. Shafi remarked:
"The Muslim League has not been conceived in any spirit of hostility whatever to any of the other communities. We are willing and ready to co-operate with our Christian, Hindu and Parsi fellow-subjects in all that concerns the common welfare of our motherland". (The Civil & Military Gazette, 23rd October 1909)
2. See The Times 19th August 1910: "The Position of Indian Muhammadans".
3. Mirza, op.cit., pp.24, 26, 28.

as pointedly as any national organization would have done.

The matter was taken up by both the Central and Provincial Leagues. As early as January 1908 the Panjab Provincial Muslim League passed the following resolutions at a meeting[1] attended by leading Muslims of the Province:

"That this meeting of the Provincial Muslim League of the Panjab places on record its emphatic protest against the passing of the Asiatic Immigration Ordinance by the Transval Government, with a view to exclude His Majesty's British Indian subjects from that colony and deeply regrets that the Imperial Government should not have seen its way to veto that objectionable document, inasmuch as the practical working thereof has resulted, and will result in the creation of serious complications within the British Empire. This meeting further tenders its sincere sympathy with the British Indian subjects in the Transval who have been subjected to hardships and indignities in the working of the anti-Immigration Law and in their legitimate struggle for considerate treatment, to which as subjects of the British Empire they are fully entitled.

"This meeting strongly feels the urgent necessity of the Government of India taking effective steps to safeguard the rights of its Indian subjects in the Transval and requests that the Viceroy may be pleased to use his influence with the Home Government for bringing about such modifications of the anti-Asiatic Immigration Law in force in the Transval as would secure equitable treatment for the British Indian residents of that colony".(2)

A few days later[3] the Bombay Provincial Muslim League adopted the following resolutions calling on the Home Government

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1. The meeting was held at Lahore on 29th January 1908. (See the Hindustan Review, April 1909, p.349)
2. ibid.,
3. i.e., 4th February 1908.

to bring pressure on the Colonial Government to repeal the objectionable legislation:

> "That the All-India Muslim League (Bombay branch) has noticed with great concern and regret the whole attitude of the Transval Government towards British Indians residing in South Africa, among whom they count many co-religionists; that it views with special repugnance the Registration clauses of the recent Transval Immigration Act which inflict great and unnecessary humiliation and hardship on a section of His Majesty the King Emperor's loyal, faithful and industrious subjects; and that they regard with great grief and indignation the harsh sentences recently passed on the leaders of their community in South Africa with whom they fully sympathise in their noble efforts to protest against legislation far more stringent and degrading and far more rigorously carried out than any under the rule of the Boers, whose ill-treatment of the British Indians was authoritatively proclaimed as one of the justifications of the last Boer War; and that in a country where the supremacy of the British Government is well recognized such hardships on a section of the King-Emperor's loyal subjects cannot be regarded as in the best interests of Imperial policy."(1)

On 9th August 1908 the Central Committee of the League passed the following resolution:-

> "That the All-India Muslim League views with deep regret the anti-Asiatic Registration in the Transval and hopes that early steps will be taken by the Government of India and the Secretary of State for India for impressing on His Majesty's Government in England the necessity of intervention on behalf of British Indians for the repeal of the Asiatic Law Amendment Act and the Immigration Restriction Bill

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1. ibid.,

> in view of the strong and unanimous feeling against the said two measures among British Indians in the Transval and their fellow-countrymen in India".(1)

In subsequent years both the Central and Provincial Leagues constantly advocated strong measures on the part of the Government of India and the British Government to protect the rights of Indians in South Africa as citizens of the Empire.(2)

It is important to note that the League did not, during this period, advocate self-government for India even in a limited form. It rather considered this idea as premature because India had not yet overcome racial and religious prejudices and social and intellectual dis-

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1. ibid., See also the Pioneer Mail, 14th August 1908.
2. At its Nagpur session the League passed the following resolutions in this connection:-
"The League most respectfully and earnestly urges upon the Government the necessity of exercising the power recently conferred by the Legislature to prohibit the indenture of Indian labour for the South African Union, as a matter of retaliation, so long as any South African Colony adheres to the present selfish policy and denies to His Majesty's Indian subjects their just rights as citizens of the Empire.
"The League protests against the unrighteous and barbarous treatment of Indian immigrants in British Colonies and Dependencies, and draws the attention of the Indian and Imperial Governments to the grave consequences of permitting these dominions of the King to enforce regulations and legislative enactments based on racial distinctions, which are humiliating to His Majesty's Indian subjects, and earnestly appeals to the Imperial Government to assert its undoubted supremacy in matters of imperial importance, and to secure for the Indian subjects of the British Crown the full rights and privileges of British citizenship by the removal of such racial distinctions within the Empire"
(Mirza, op.cit., p.102)

parities.(1) Under these circumstances self-government would cause dissension rather than create unity.

From the point of view of organization the League had by 1911 reached a well developed stage. It had its provincial branches in all parts of India. Its branches existed in Burma and London as well. Moreover all important districts in each Indian province had their own district leagues.

At this time membership of the League was not very large. In 1911 there were only 274(2) members of the All-India Muslim League, whereas the statutory requirement was 800.(3) Most of these members belonged to the upper and middle class intelligentsia. With the exception of a few Congressite Muslims there was no rival movement among the Muslims to controvert their representative character. They are, therefore, supposed to have represented the views of the majority of the politically conscious Muslims.

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1. The view of the League was expressed by Sayyid Ali Imam in the following words:-
"Swaraj or self-government, autonomy or a self-governing Member of the Empire, in other words, home rule under the aegis of the British Crown in India, is possible only when racial, religious, social and intellectual disparities are removed." (Speech of Sayyid Ali Imam, op.cit., p.17)
In his address read, in his absence, at the Delhi session of the Muslim League Sayyid Ameer Ali advised the people of India to put aside any "visionary dreams about India's sudden emergence to independence". He said, self-government would, in the natural course of evolution, come as elsewhere, when the races of India had learnt, "individually and collectively, the value of self-restraint and discipline, of compromise and toleration". (See The Times 31st January 1910)
2. For their names see Appendix D.
3. Mirza, op.cit., p.50.

Part II.

A

There existed a small group of educated Muslims who hoped the League from its early days would develop into a progressive political organization.[1] From 1911 events developed in such a way that within a few years their wish was fulfilled. The League adopted self-government for India as one of its objects and began to criticise the Government openly.

The circumstances that brought about a rapid change in the policy of the Muslim League are supposed to have been influenced mainly by two developments. First, the growth of a large number of educated Muslims imbued with progressive ideas of western thought which induced them to have as advanced a political ideal before them as their Hindu fellow-countrymen did and, second, a decrease in Muslim confidence in their British rulers owing to certain events within and without India.

The first factor that caused this development was the

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1. A group of young educated Muslims consisting of people like Maulana Muhammad Ali and Abul Kalam Azad is supposed to have from the beginning of the Muslim League advocated a progressive policy. Among old class Muslims Shibli seems to have been a very strong advocate of this point of view.

attitude of the British Government towards the 1911 Tripoli War. This war began between Italy and Turkey in September 1911 when Italian armies attacked, without warning, the Turkish province of Tripoli.(1) Turkey being the only independent Muslim state of importance, the Muslims of India attached great significance to its prestige and territorial integrity. In the past they had not been attracted by the Pan-Islamic movement of Sultan Abdul Hamid II,(2) but the Italian attack on Tripoli caused them great concern. Meetings were held in all important centres of Muslim India and resolutions were passed "calling upon the British Government to intervene and urging all Muhammadans in India to boycott Italian goods".(3) The British Government had from the beginning declared its neutrality.(4) The Muslims regarded

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1. The New Cambridge Modern History, Vol.XII, p.328; The Annual Register 1911, p.64.
2. The Pan-Islamic feelings seem to have never been considerably strong among the politically conscious Muslims of India in the last quarter of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century owing to the fact that, under the influence of people like Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Mohsin-ul-Mulk, their attention remained absorbed mainly in the work of their economic and educational uplift. Shibli was the only important Muslim who showed Pan-Islamic tendencies during this period but his influence seems to have been negligible. The importance of the Sultan of Turkey as Caliph seems to have grown among the young educated Muslims from the time of the Turko-Italian War.
3. Parl.Debates (House of Commons) 1911, Vol.32, p.113.
4. Parl.Debates (House of Commons) 1911, Vol.30, p.271.

this attitude as connivance at Italy's act of aggression and their failure to persuade Britain to support the cause of Turkey engendered much bitterness of feeling among them.(1)

The policy of the British Government in Persia which had given Russia practically a free hand in the northern parts of the country had also for some time caused concern to Indian Muslims. Russian interference in the internal affairs of Persia had for some years increased. As a result of nationalist opposition to this intervention in November 1911, "Russian troops advanced as far as Qazvin, slaughtered many of the liberals at Tabriz, and at Mashhad bombarded the shrine of Imam Reza".(2) This was considered to be contrary to the terms of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 which required the contracting parties to respect the integrity and independence of Persia.(3) The British failure to force Russia to adhere to these terms was resented by Indian Muslims.(4)

1. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, p.22.
2. Wilber, D.N., Iran, Past and Present, p.82.
3. Wilber, op.cit., p.81; Yeselson,A., United States-Persian Diplomatic Relations 1883-1921, p.114.
4. In the following verses written in 1912, Zafar Ali Khan expresses the grief of the Muslims at the atrocities committed by Russians in Persia and criticises the policy of Sir Edward Grey, the British Foreign Secretary:

بے گناہوں کے لہو کی بہ رہی ہیں ندیاں — خاکِ ایراں خونِ عصمت سے ہوئی ہے لالہ رنگ
آج ایراں ہے تو کل کابل کی باری آئے گی — گرم ہی ہے روسیوں کی چال ڈھال اور رنگ ڈھنگ
آ اے انصاف ہم ڈھونڈیں کہاں جا کر تجھے — سینٹ پیٹرسبرگ جب سفاک اور لندن ہو چنگ
اب بھی سر اٹھا کر دیکھ اپنا فریضہ دیں ہل — ہو گر انگلستان کا اُن کو کچھ بھی پاسِ نام و ننگ

See Zafar Ali Khan, Baharistan, pp.242-43: جنگِ طرابلس
See also p.247, the poem entitled دنیائے توحید پر دنیائے تثلیث کی تاخت
See also p.234, the poem, Bombardment of Mashhad مشہدِ مقدس پر گولہ باری

In December 1911 came the announcement of the annulment of the partition of Bengal. During the Viceroyalty of Lord Minto it was believed that the partition was a "settled fact" and Hindu agitation against it had almost died down. In November 1910 Lord Hardinge assumed office as the Viceroy of India and in May 1911 Lord Crewe became the Secretary of State. This change induced the anti-partitionists to agitate for a reconsideration of the partition question. They approached both the Secretary of State and the Governor-General,(1) and in a few months succeeded in getting the "settled fact" unsettled.

In August 1911 in a secret despatch to the Secretary of State the Government of India proposed the annulment of the partition.(2) In December the King-Emperor came to India in connection with his coronation. At the Coronation Durbar in Delhi on 12th December 1911, the revocation(3) of the

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1. See Mazumdar,A.C., op.cit., pp.216-220.
2. Parl.Papers, Cd.5979 (1911) Vol.LV, Announcements by and on behalf of His Majesty the King-Emperor at the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi on the 12th December 1911, Government of India to the Secretary of State, 25th August 1911.
3. Ibid.,
The announcement made by the King-Emperor is as follows:-
"We are pleased to announce to our people that on the advice of our ministers and after consultation with our Governor-General-in-Council, we have decided upon the transfer of the seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to the ancient capital of Delhi and simultaneously as a consequence of that transfer, the creation at as early a date as possible of a Governorship-in-Council for the Presidency of Bengal, of a new Lieutenant-Governorship-in-Council administering the areas of Behar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa and of a Chief-Commissionership of Assam, with such administrative changes and redistribution of boundaries as our Governor-General-in-Council, with the approval of our Secretary of State for India-in-Council, may in due course determine. It is our earnest desire that these changes may conduce to the better administration of India and the greater prosperity and happiness of our beloved people."

partition was announced.

This announcement evoked among the Hindus enormous praise for the British Government.(1) To the Muslims on the other hand, it came as a severe shock and greatly undermined their trust in the Government.(2) They were told again and again that the partition was a 'settled fact' and that the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam would continue to exist in the form it was constituted in 1905.(3) The decision

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1. A.C.Mazumdar one of the prominent leaders of the anti-partition movement writes:
"So great was the joy and enthusiasm created by the announcement that after the King left a number of young men, mostly Bengalees, rushed in and kneeling before the throne reverently kissed the footsteps from which the announcement had just been made. The glad tidings were flashed throughout the country and (sic) was the signal for an outburst of loyal and enthusiastic demonstration throughout Bengal which was as genuine as it was unprecedented." (Indian National Evolution, p.223)
2. The Muslims regarded it as a "deplorable breach of faith". The Nawab of Dacca wrote to Lord Curzon that the Government officials from the highest downwards had pledged themselves to him that the partition was irrevocable and that he had so pledged himself to his people, but now his face was blackened. How could he or his people trust the British Government. (See Chamberlain, A., Politics From Inside, p.441; See also Parliamentary Debates [House of Lords] 1912, Vol.11 Lord Curzon's speech, p.152.)
3. Speaking in the House of Lords on 22nd February 1912 Lord Minto said:
"Throughout my term of office the Government of India warmly supported Lord Curzon's policy in the Bengals. We were told from home that the 'partition' was a 'settled fact'. We over and over again asserted that it must continue to be so. We assured the Muhammadan population of Eastern Bengal of our appreciation of their loyalty and our determination to safeguard their interests. I should think there is scarcely a civil servant in India who has not declared that it would be impossible for any British Government to reverse the decision it had come to..." (Parliamentary Debates [House of Lords] 1912, Vol.11, p.193)

of the Government led to the complete elimination of the Province.(1)

The general feeling among the politically conscious Muslims in Bengal was that the Government had ignored their interests and humiliated them.(2) By yielding to the clamour of the opponents of the partition it showed that the loyal co-operation of the Muslims with its policies was not considered to be of much importance. What disappointed them more was the fact that the decision to undo the partition was announced by the King himself which meant that its reversal

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1. The Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was dissolved on 1st April 1912. Its territories comprising the Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions were united with Bengal. Its remaining parts were again "formed into a Chief Commissionership, to be called the Chief Commissionership of Assam". (Parl. Papers Cd.6189 (1912-13) Vol.LXI: Reconstruction of the Province of Bengal&c p.4)
2. The Muslims felt very much humiliated for the reason that whereas the matter was kept completely secret from them till the last moment some Hindu leaders appeared to have known it in advance of the announcement. Surendranath Banerjea writes:
"I had heard about it a week before; but from the general public and from the newspaper press it was kept a secret. Indeed, the officials and others most interested knew nothing at all about it until the actual announcement was made, and some of them were staggered at the news. Among them was the late Nawab Salimulla of Dacca, who was the Government's right-hand man in supporting the Partition and securing the assent of the Muhammadan community of Eastern Bengal". (A Nation in Making, p.285)

was not possible[1] and that any agitation against it would be interpreted as agitation against the person of the King.[2]

The most significant reaction among the Muslims to the Durbar announcement was that blind reliance on Government would no more safeguard their interests, and that they should learn to rely on their own strength. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk wrote a series of articles on the future policy of Muslims and advised them to develop their political movement on independent and progressive lines. In an article on the discontent among the Muslims of India contributed to the Aligarh Institute Gazette of 20th December 1911, he said:

> "It is now manifest like the midday sun that, after seeing what has lately happened, it is useless to advise the Muslims to place their reliance on Government. Now the time for such reliances is

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1. Parl.Debates, op.cit., Lord Curzon's speech.
2. The feeling among the Muslims that they had no other choice but to accept the annulment of the partition is well manifested in the following resolution passed at a meeting of Muslim representatives of both Bengals held at Dacca on 30th December 1911:-
"That this meeting of Muhammadan representatives of Bengal records its deep sense of regret and disappointment at the announcement of the annulment of the partition of Bengal in utter disregard of Muhammadan feeling and specially of the interests of the Muhammadans of Eastern Bengal, but inasmuch as the same has been proclaimed by his Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor himself, the Muhammadans out of their loyalty and profound respect and regard for the throne, feel that they have no other alternative but to desist from entering protest."
(See The Pioneer Mail, 5th January 1912)

past. After confidence in God, what we should rely on is the strength of our own arm. For this we have before us the example of our worthy countrymen".(1)

Viqar-ul-Mulk's views were criticised by the Anglo-Indian press as preaching deviation from the policy devised by Sayyid Ahmad Khan(2) but were "vigorously supported by the Muslim press - particularly the Comrade of Calcutta and the Zamindar of Lahore".(3)

It is important to note that, unlike some other Muslims, Viqar-ul-Mulk did not advocate the merger of the League with the Congress.(4) Such a policy he rather regarded as suicidal

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1. See the Aligarh Institute Gazette, 20th December 1911. The Urdu text of the part quoted from Viqar-ul-Mulk's article is as follows:-

وہ یہ تو آفتاب نصف النہار کی طرح روشن ہے کہ ان واقعات کو دیکھنے کے بعد جب اس وقت مشاہدہ میں آئے یہ مشورہ دینا کہ مسلمانوں کو گورنمنٹ پر بھروسہ کرنا چاہیئے" لاحاصل مشورہ ہے۔ اب زمانہ اس قسم کے بھروسوں کا نہیں رہا۔ خدا کے فضل و کرم کے بعد جس پر بھروسہ کرنا چاہیئے وہ ہماری اپنی قوتِ بازو ہے اور اس کی نظیر جو ہمارے قابلِ احترام ابنائے وطن نے پیش کی ہے، ہمارے سامنے موجود ہے۔"

2. For the criticism of the Pioneer, see the Pioneer Mail, 29th December 1911, 'Current Comments'.
3. Alberuni, op.cit., p.lll.
4. S.Riza Ali, Secretary District Muslim League Moradabad belonged to that section of the Muslims who advocated that either of the two parties, the Congress or the League should be abolished and there should remain only one party supported by the Hindus and Muslims jointly. (See his letter entitled "The Future Policy of Indian Muslims" in the Pioneer Mail, 5th January 1912.)

for the Muslims.(1) However, a demand to change the policy of the Muslim League seemed to get the support of a fairly large number of educated Muslims, and suggestions began pouring in that self-government within the British Empire should be adopted as an object of the League to bring it in line with the Congress and effort should be made to bring about an early rapprochement between the Hindus and the Muslims.(2) Some eminent Muslims like M.A. Jinnah, Nawab Sayyid Muhammad, Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque and A.Rasul(3) who were associated with both the Congress and the Muslim League and were later instrumental in bringing the two organizations to a compromise, appear to have at this juncture played an important role in influencing the outlook of the younger sections of educated Muslims. On 24th December 1911 a meeting mainly attended by such Muslims(4)

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1. See the Aligarh Institute Gazette, 20th December 1911.
2. See the Pioneer Mail, 5th January, S.Riza Ali's letter; see also the Pioneer Mail, 19th January 1912, Mirza Salimullah Beg's letter, "The Future Policy of Muhammadans".
3. M.A.Jinnah did not become a member of the Muslim League till 1913, but he appears to have been in sympathy with certain objects of the League. The annual report of the Muslim League for the year 1910 shows that he had been in contact with the League High Command and undertook, at its suggestion, to introduce in the Council of the Governor-General a bill on the subject of Wakf-alal-Aulad وقف علی الاولاد (Mirza, op. cit., p.42). Nawab Sayyid Muhammad and Mr.Mazhar-ul-Haque were, in 1910, regular members of the League and Mr.A.Rasul held the office of Treasurer of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League (ibid., pp.119, 122, 127).
4. The meeting was supported by such staunch Leaguers as Mian Muhammad Shafi of Lahore, Nawab Ali Chawdhry of Dacca, Ibrahim Rahimtullah of Bombay and Khan Bahadur Sarfaraz Husain Khan of Patna. Their letters and telegrams were read at the meeting by Dr. Suhrawardy (See the Pioneer Mail 5th January 1912).

and presided over by Nawab Sayyid Muhammad was held at Calcutta "to consider the present position and the future policy of Mussalmans". Some members, including Dr.Suhrawardy, "urged immediate change of policy and a rapprochement with the Hindu community". However, whereas the meeting agreed that the time had come for the Muslims to change their policy towards other communities, in view of the importance of the matter it "considered it desirable that the line of the policy to be adopted should be determined after further deliberations".(1)

In the following year the Balkan war became a further cause of discontent among Muslims. In October 1912 the four contiguous Christian states of the Balkan peninsula, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro, who had recently entered into an alliance, declared war against Turkey.(2) Within a few months of the War Turkey suffered a great loss of life and lost almost all its European territory.(3) This situation roused among Indian Muslims great sympathy for Turkey.

The Balkan War was represented as a struggle between the Cross and the Crescent(4) and the Balkan states were

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1. ibid.,
2. Schevill, F., The History of the Balkan Peninsula, from the earliest times to the present day, pp.470-71; The Annual Register, 1912, p.353.
3. Schevill, op.cit., pp.472-74.
4. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, p.22.

believed to have been enjoying the tacit consent of the Great Powers.(1) A very large section of politically conscious Muslims in India seemed to feel that Christian Europe including Britain, was determined to destroy Muslim culture and oppress Muslims.(2) Their poets and essayists wrote forceful poems and essays to express their feelings. Shibli's 'Trouble in Tripoli and the Balkans'(3) and Iqbal's famous 'Complaint'(4) represented the main trend in Muslim literature at this time which greatly influenced the mind of the Muslim intelligentsia and gave rise to those Pan-Islamic feelings which later found manifestation in the Khilafat Movement.

Abul Kalam Azad, Zafar Ali Khan, Muhammad Ali, all of whom later played a prominent role in the Khilafat Movement, upheld the cause of Turkey in their papers(5) and disseminated

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1. Muslim India and Islamic Review, February 1913: "The Struggle in the Near East and the Muslim feeling in India" by Zafar Ali Khan, p.30.
2. Smith, W.C., Modern Islam in India, p.226. The following verse from Zafar Ali Khan's poem, "Sir Edward Grey" fairly represents this feeling:

یہ مسلماں ہیں، اس جُرم میں کر دو انہیں قتل
دستِ بلقاں میں یورپ کا یہ فرماں ہونا

See Baharistan, p.248.
3. See Kulliyāt-i-Shibli, pp.58-59: ہنگامۂ بلقان و طرابلس
4. See Iqbal, Muhammad, Bang-i-Darā, شکوہ
5. Abul Kalam started the Weekly Al-Hilal in July 1912. Within six months (i.e., by the end of 1912) its circulation reached 11,000. (See Desai, M., Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, p.47)

through them their views to the remotest parts of the country. It was at this time that they established themselves as popular Muslim leaders in India. Articles of Abul Kalam and Zafar Ali written in forceful language with Islam and Muslims as their theme, engendered a new love for Islam in the hearts of young educated Muslims. In England Khwaja Kamal-ud-din gave expression to the feelings of Muslim India regarding the Balkan War,[1] through his recently started monthly, Muslim India and Islamic Review.[2]

As a practical step towards showing their sympathy for the Turks Indian Muslims despatched to Turkey in December 1912, a medical mission headed by Dr.Mukhtar Ahmad Ansari. About the same time Maulana Shaukat Ali, the elder brother of Maulana Muhammad Ali, who also became a prominent leader of the Khilafat Movement, began to organize Indian volunteers and founded an organization called the Anjuman-i-Khuddam-i-Kaaba (Society of the Servants of Kaaba) "whose members took an oath to sacrifice life and property in defence of the holy shrine against non-Muslim aggressors".[3] The Muslims all

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1. See Muslim India and Islamic Review February 1913, pp.28-32; "The Struggle in the Near East and the Muslim Feeling in India" by Zafar Ali Khan; see also Muslim India and Islamic Review May 1913, pp.126-129; June 1913, pp.164-167; and July 1913, pp.219-221, for Khawja Kamal-ud-din's open Letter to the British Prime Minister.
2. This periodical was first published in London in February 1913.
3. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, p.22.

over India held meetings which passed "resolutions of denunciation of affairs in Balkan states supported by prayers for the success of the Porte".(1) Funds were collected to be sent to Turkey for the help of the sufferers in the War. Among Aligarh students sympathy for the Turks was so great that they went to the extent of saving money from their diet to be contributed to the Turkish Relief Fund.(2)

About the same period the Muslims received another shock. They had been working from the beginning of the century for the establishment of a Muslim University to be a centre of Muslim "religious and intellectual life".(3) They wished that the Aligarh College should be raised to that status and collected over three million rupees for that purpose.(4) Negotiations had for sometime been in progress with the Government. In August 1912 the University Constitution Committee was informed by Sir Harcourt Butler, Education Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, that the Secretary of State had decided that the proposed university be styled the University

1. For meetings held at Bareli, Lahore, Madras, Lucknow, and Karachi see the Comrade, 1st February 1913. For the general trend of Muslim feeling see the Comrade, 15th February 1913, Leading Article: "Indian Moslems and the War"; see also the Comrade, 8th March 1913, Zafar Ali Khan's letter: "Moslem Feeling in India".
2. Tufail Ahmad, op.cit., p.376.
3. See Appendix C : Address presented by the Simla Deputation to Lord Minto on 1st October 1906, para.16.
4. Aga Khan, Memoirs of Aga Khan, p.115.

of Aligarh and that it should not have powers of affiliation outside the locality inwhich it was established.(1) Besides, the Secretary of State favoured stronger control of the University by the Governor-General-in-Council.(2) The members of the Committee could not agree to these terms.(3) To them the name Muslim University Aligarh was of paramount importance. Moreover they did not want the Government to exercise greater control over the University than it had been doing with regard to the M.A.O. College.(4) In spite of their best efforts the committee could not persuade the Government to accede to their demands. Consequently the establishment of the Muslim University remained deferred till 1920 and caused much bitter feeling among the young educated Muslims towards the Government.

There were signs of improvement in Muslim feelings as a

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1. Indian Review, September 1912, Harcourt Butler's letter to the Raja of Mahmudabad, dated 9th August 1912; see also the Round Table, December 1913, p.83.
2. Indian Review, September 1912, Harcourt Butler's letter.
3. The Round Table, December 1913, p.83. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Muhammad Ali were the strongest opponents of the idea of establishing the proposed Muslim University on these terms. (See Kulliyat-i-Shibli, pp.91-92)
4. At its meeting held at Lucknow on 27th and 29th December 1912, the University Constitution Committee demanded that the proposed University should be established on the lines proposed by the Committee. (See the Comrade, 4th January 1913, p.9; see also the leading article: "The Blank Cheque")

result of the reoccupation of Adrianople by Turkey in July 1913, when in the month of August an unhappy event in Cawnpore in the United Provinces became another disturbing factor.(1) In July the municipal authorities demolished a portion of a mosque containing bathrooms with a view to straightening the road on which it was situated. Some prominent local Muslims approached the Local Government with the request that the demolished portion be restored because it made a part of the mosque itself and was considered to be sacred by the Muslims.(2) The Government's refusal to concede to this request, led, on 3rd August, to a large Muslim gathering at the mosque who attempted to build the demolished portion.(3) A conflict occurred with the police which resulted in the loss of about 30 lives including some young boys.(4) This incident caused much grief to the Muslims all over India. Meetings were held in all important Muslim centres(5) to protest against the action of local authorities and to demand restoration of the

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1. Montagu-Chelmsford Report, p.20.
2. See the Memorial submitted on 16th August 1913 to the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, Sir James Meston, by a Muslim deputation consisting of the Raja of Mahmudabad, the Raja of Jahangirabad, Maulana Abdul Bari, Mr.Raza Ali, Sayyid Nabiullah, Maulavi M.H.Khan, Mr.Muhammad Naseem and Munshi Ehtisham Ali. For full text of the Memorial, see the Pioneer Mail, 22nd August 1913.
3. For an account of the incident see the Pioneer Mail 8th August 1913.
4. Nadvi, S.S., Hayat-i-Shibli, p.601.
5. For feelings expressed and resolution passed at meetings held at Lucknow, Calcutta and Bombay see the Pioneer Mail 8th and 15th August 1913.

demolished portion.(1) The Muslim press subjected the action of the Local Governmment to a severe criticism and Muslim poets wrote pathetic poems expressing grief over such a great loss of life.(2) The Cawnpore incident was the first after the Mutiny that caused the Ulama to participate openly in an agitation against the Government. Maulavi Abdul Bari of Farangi Mahal, an eminent religious leader of his time, was one of the few important Muslim leaders who agitated for the restoration of the demolished portion of the mosque under dispute. The affair was, at last, settled in October 1913 by the personal intervention of the Viceroy who himself went to Cawnpore, got the demolished portion restored and made the Local Government withdraw the case against the Muslims prosecuted as a result of the incident of 3rd August.(3)

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1. A committee of eminent Muslim lawyers from different parts of the country was formed to defend the Muslims prosecuted for their alleged participation in the conflict with the police on 3rd August. (Nadvi, S.S., op.cit., pp.601-602) The great poet-philosopher Muhammad Iqbal also went to Cawnpore to help the Committee in its work. (The Paisa Akhbar, 11th September 1913)
2. Shibli was the most prominent among those who wrote poems on the Cawnpore incident. See Kulliyat-i-Shibli, pp.82-88. See particularly his poem "ہم کشتگانِ معرکۂ کانپور ہیں"
3. See the Pioneer Mail, 17th October 1913; Nadvi, S.S., Hayat-i-Shibli, p.606.
The Viceroy's intervention seems to have averted the danger of a bigger Muslim agitation. The Muslims had begun to emphasise that since the question in dispute was strictly a question of Muslim law, it should only be decided by the Ulama. (See the Comrade, 4th October 1913.). Had the dispute been prolonged, it would have created a difficult situation.

B.

The fifth session of the Muslim League was held at Calcutta in the first week of March 1912.(1) It manifested much change in the feelings of educated Muslims and indicated that a change in their political outlook was imminent. It was perhaps for the first time that the affairs of Turkey and Iran figured prominently in the discussions of the League. The Chairman of the Reception Committee Maulavi Badruddin Ahmad expressed great concern at the Tripoli War and the attrocities committed by Russian troops in Iran and hoped that in deference to the feelings of their Muslim subjects the British Government would soon realise its responsibilities with regard to these matters.(2) The League passed a strongly worded resolution expressing abhorrence at the action of Italy in Tripoli.(3) In another resolution it expressed sympathy with the people of Persia and urged the British Government to see that Russia adhered to the spirit of the Anglo-Russian Agreement.(4) The President of the session, Nawab Khawja Salimullah devoted much of his time to explaining the depressing effect on the Muslims of the recent Government announcement to dissolve the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. He said that the Partition gave

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1. This session opened on 3rd March 1912.
2. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, 6th March 1912.
3. The Pioneer Mail, 8th March 1912.
4. ibid.,

the Muslims of Eastern Bengal and Assam a great opportunity to bestir themselves and awakened in their hearts the throbbings of a new national life. They came to realise for the first time that they too had rights and privileges as British subjects and it was only necessary for them to put their shoulders to the wheel to free themselves "from the state of servile dependence on a dominant community" in which they had been living before the partition. The annulment of the partition meant the deprivation of those splendid opportunities at self improvement which they had secured in the Province of Eastern Bengal and Assam. Referring to the repeated assurances of the Government that the partition was a settled fact the Nawab said that hitherto the word of British Government had been regarded as its bond. But the annulment of the partition had greatly disappointed the Muslims.(1)

At this session the League saw the necessity of revising its pre-reform constitution in order to alter it in the light of changed conditions. In April 1912 Sayyid Wazir Hasan, who

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1. For the text of Nawab Salimullah's address see the Pioneer Mail 8th March 1912.
The League passed the following resolution on the annulment of the partition of Bengal:
"That the All-India Muslim League places on record its deep sense of regret and disappointment at the annulment of the partition of Bengal, in utter disregard to Muslim feeling, and trusts that the Government will take early steps to safeguard Muslim interests in the Presidency of Bengal". (ibid.,)

was now acting as Secretary of the League,[1] issued a circular to the members of the Muslim League and other leading Muslims inviting their opinion about the political aims of the Muslim League.[2] The view of a large majority was that the Muslim political movement should in future develop on such progressive lines as would give the Muslims much more confidence in their own strength than they hitherto had, and that the Muslim League should place on its programme self-government for India as its political ideal.[3] Accordingly, Sayyid Wazir Hasan prepared the amended objects of the League and placed them before its Council which met at Lucknow on 31st December 1912[4] under the presidency of the Aga Khan. A resolution was passed which laid down the new objects of the League as follows:-

> "(1) To promote and maintain among Indians feelings of loyalty towards the British Crown;
>
> (2) To protect and advance the political and other rights and interests of Indian Musalmans;
>
> (3) To promote friendship and union among the Musalmans and other communities of India;

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1. After the death of Maulavi Muhammad Aziz Mirza, Sayyid Wazir Hasan, Joint Secretary of the League, had, for some time, been working as secretary of the League.
2. The Pioneer Mail, 28th March 1913, Presidential address delivered at the annual session of the Muslim League held in Lucknow in March 1913; Muslim India and Islamic Review November 1913: "Muslim-Hindu Relations" by Sayyid Wazir Hasan, p.437; For this article see also the Comrade, 8th November 1913.
3. ibid.,
4. ibid.,

(4) Without detriment to the foregoing objects, the attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India by bringing about through constitutional means a steady reform of administration, by promoting national unity and fostering public spirit among the people of India; and by co-operating with other communities for the said purposes."(1)

It is important here to mention that M.A. Jinnah who became a regular member of the League only in the following year was also present at the meeting and was instrumental in getting the resolution passed in the above form.

There were some like Mr.Mazhar-ul-Haque who were not satisfied with the phrase "self-government suitable to India" which they regarded as "meaningless".(2) They advocated its substitution by the phrase "colonial self-government".(3) On the other hand some members did not like self-government, in any form, as an object of the League. Their reason was that India had not yet reached the stage where it could aspire for self-government.(4) Jinnah was of opinion that the League had placed the right ideal before the community. He said a system of self-government on Colonial lines was not workable in India, because conditions were different. Commenting on the view that India was not yet prepared for self-government Jinnah said this condition should not be a hindrance to having it as

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1. The Civil and Military Gazette, 5th January 1913; The Pioneer Mail, 3rd January 1913.
2. The Civil and Military Gazette, 5th January 1913.
3. ibid.,
4. Ibid.,

the ultimate goal of the League. Although Jinnah did not have the right to vote himself, his views are supposed to have helped people like Maulana Muhammad Ali, Editor of the Comrade, who held similar views, in getting the resolution passed.(1)

The sixth session of the League was held at Lucknow in March 1913 under the presidency of Mian Muhammad Shafi. This session marked a decisive change in the development of the Muslim political outlook. The decision of the League Council about the new objects of the League was placed before it and was approved, but only after much opposition on the part of the group which wished to keep the League a conservative organization.(2) "Attainment of a system of self-government suitable to India" now officially became the political creed of the League.

Another very important feature of this League, which placed it ahead of the Congress, was the declaration of the necessity of a harmonious working and co-operation between Hindus and Muslims in questions of public good to be obtained through means recommended by periodical meetings of leaders on both sides. The League passed the following resolution in

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1. ibid., See also the Comrade 4th January 1913, Leading Article: "The Creed of the Moslem League".
2. The Pioneer Mail, 28th March 1913.

this regard:

> "That the All-India Muslim League places on record its firm belief that the future development and progress of the people of India depend exclusively on the harmonious working and co-operation of various communities; deprecates all mischievous attempt to widen the unfortunate breach between the Hindus and Musalmans; and hopes that the leaders on both sides will periodically meet together to restore the amicable relations prevailing between them in the past and find a modus operandi for joint and concerted action in questions of the public good."(1)

This League also made an important departure from the established policy of the Muslims from the time of Sayyid Ahmad Khan by demanding that the competitive examinations should be held simultaneously in England and in India. The resolution passed on this question was as follows:-

> "The All-India Muslim League is of opinion that the present system of recruitment by open competitive examination held in England for the Indian Civil Service entails great injustice on the Indian subjects of His Majesty, and expresses the hope that the Royal Commission on the Public Service will be able to devise a system of recruitment equally suitable to the various sections of His Majesty's subjects in India and in Great Britain."(2)

All this change in the League's policy came without in any way affecting its fundamental belief that the election of Muslim representatives to all Government councils by the voters of their own community was necessary both for a genuine representation of Muslim interests and for the successful working of the

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1. The Pioneer Mail, 28th March 1913.
2. ibid., see also Indian Review, April 1913, p.347.

councils. The League re-stated this belief in the following resolution:-

> "The All-India Muslim League once again records its deliberate opinion that in the interests of the Musalman community it is absolutely necessary that the principle of communal representation be extended to all self-governing public bodies, and respectfully urges that a provision for the adequate and effective representation of the Musalmans on Municipal and district boards is a necessary corollary of the application of the principle to the Imperial and the Provincial Legislative Councils, and at the same time essential to the successful working of those public bodies."(1)

After the passage of the Indian Councils Act of 1909 the separate representation of Muslims in the Imperial and Provincial Councils on the principle of separate electorates, having become an established fact, the moderate Hindus seemed to become reconciled to it. This tended to make a co-operation between the Congress and the League possible. Now that the League had adopted self-government as one of its objects, similarity in the basic political ideal seemed to make the harmonious working and co-operation of the two organizations probable. Its first signs were found in the presence at this session of the League of some eminent Congress leaders such as Mrs.Sarojini Naidu and Pandit Bishan Narayan Dhar.(2)

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1. The Pioneer Mail, 28th March 1913.
2. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, 26th March 1913; The Pioneer Mail, 28th March 1913.

The seventh session of the Muslim League was held at Agra in the last week of December 1913 and was presided over by Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah. The speeches made and resolutions passed at this session fully represented the feelings manifested at the Lucknow session. The Chairman of the Reception Committee Mr.Aāl-e-Nabi made a special reference to attempts being made in certain quarters to create a division in the body of the League on account of its new policy.(1) He advised his fellow-members that whatever policy was adopted by a majority of votes that should be loyally accepted by the minority.(2) Similar advice was given by Sir Ibrahim in his presidential address.(3) He refuted the allegation that the views of the educated young Muslims verged on disloyalty to the Government and upheld their right to use "freely and fully" all the constitutional means open and available to them "to promote the best interests" of the Muslim community and "to secure better administration".(4) Towards the Hindus he advocated a policy of friendly co-operation but conditioned it by the acceptance on the part of the Hindus of the Muslim right to separate electorate.(5)

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1. The Pioneer Mail, 2nd January 1914.
2. ibid.,
3. For the full text of Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, see the Comrade, 10th January 1914, pp.13-20.
4. Ibid.,
5. Ibid.,

In 1914 no session of the League was held. The chief reason seems to have been a rift among the members of the League because of its recently changed policy. A feeling gained strength among the supporters of the conservative school of thought in the League that it was becoming more and more influenced by the Congress. They thought this development jeopardized the political interests of Muslims and tended to cause misunderstanding between them and their rulers. That such a view existed was clear from references made to the aspirations of the League by such important people as the Aga Khan.(1) In June 1914 a section of Behar Muslims issued a manifesto saying that the Behar Muslims did not take any interest in the aims and ideas of the All-India Muslim League for they regarded it "as the follower and colleague of the Indian National Congress".(2) They advocated dissociation from the League and the establishment of a Behar Muslim Association "which should aim at safeguarding the political rights of Muslims and bringing about a good understanding with the ruling authorities" by refraining from everything that was against their wishes.(3) In October 1914 the All-India Shia Conference at its eighth annual session held at Lucknow

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1. See Edinburgh Review, January 1914: "The Indian Moslem Outlook", by The Aga Khan, p.10.
2. The Pioneer Mail, 19th June 1914.
3. The Pioneer Mail, 19th June 1914.

disapproved of the League resolution on self-government. The President, As-Sayyid Ali Al-haivi, said both the Congress and the Muslim League would be well-advised if they dropped the idea of self-government; it would not benefit the Muslims whether it was granted in the form demanded by the Muslim League or in that demanded by the Congress.(1) The Anglo-Indian and British press also adopted a hostile attitude towards the League. In official circles too it began to grow unpopular.(2)

However, this development did not cause the League to withdraw the steps it had taken. Rather its progressive group continued to grow strong. The internment of Muhammad Ali and Shaukat Ali in May 1915 and later, of certain other eminent Muslim leaders under the recently promulgated Defence of India Ordinance appears to have further strengthened the sympathy of the young educated intelligentsia with its views.

The eighth session of the League manifested that this organization had passed almost completely under the control of the advocates of the new policy. Under the presidency of Mr. Mazhar-ul-Haque this session was held at Bombay in the last week of December at the time when the Congress was holding its

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1. The Pioneer Mail, 23rd October 1914.
2. See the Comrade, 8th November 1913: "The Hindu-Moslem Problem", by Sayyid Wazir Hasan.

annual meeting there. It elected the Raja of Mahmudabad as the President of the League in place of the Aga Khan who had resigned.(1) Some eminent Congress leaders - S.P.Sinha, D.E.Wacha, Surendranath Banerjea, Parbha Shanker, D.Pattani, Mrs.Annie Besant, Mrs.Sarojini Naidu, Madan Mohan Malaviya, M.K. Gandhi and R.N.Madholkar - were present at this session as visitors.(2)

The Bombay session of the League is considered to be a landmark in the development of Hindu-Muslim relations. It was here that the first practical steps were taken towards bringing about an entente cordiale which culminated within a year in an important agreement between the Congress and the League. However the programme of this session could not be completed without being interrupted by the noisy opposition of a section of the delegates who were opposed to the policy of the group in power. The apparent cause of this opposition was the suspicion that the League was in the process of being merged into the Congress. This suspicion was expressed in certain quarters as soon as it was made known that the League had, at the invitation of M.A.Jinnah, decided to hold its session at Bombay at the same time when the Congress was to

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1. Hasan, M.A., op.cit., pp.117; The Indian Review, January 1916, p.86.
2. Hasan, M.A., op.cit., p.102; Saiyid, M.H., Mohammad Ali Jinnah, pp.118-119.

hold its annual session there.[1] In order to remove this suspicion and to seek the co-operation of all sections of the League, Jinnah issued the following appeal on 11th November 1915:

"Now that the Council of the All-India Muslim League has decided to hold the sessions of the League in Bombay, may I appeal to Muslim leaders in general to close our ranks? We are bound by our constitution. Reverence for and obedience to that constitution and discipline are absolutely necessary qualities to enable us to say that we are fit for real political franchise, freedom and self-government.

"At this juncture we are watched not only by India but by the whole of the British Empire of which we aspire to be an independent, free and equal member along with the Dominions who already enjoy freedom and self-government. No consideration of any kind or nature whatsoever should weigh with us or influence us except the best interests of the country and the community. The Indian National Congress and the All-India Muslim League both have for their goal the attainment of self-government for India. The recognition of this claim will have to be judged — and will depend greatly upon how the Congress and the League organize, control and conduct themselves this year and in the near future.

"I wish to state with the greatest emphasis that there is no truth in the baseless statements made in some quarters that any responsible Muslim leader thinks that the League should be merged into the Indian National Congress. But conference, in collaboration, if possible, is the object and what objection is there to this course?

"Now that the majority of the leading representatives of the Council have decided on holding the sessions in Bombay, can we not bury our differences, show a united

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1. ibid., p.115; Hasan, M.A., op.cit., p.98.

front and acquit ourselves with credit and honour? What will the success of the sessions of the League this year mean?

"1. It will show the power of organization, the solidarity of Muslim opinion and their true worth. This will entitle them to claim the rights and privileges of a free people.

"2. It will make our Hindu friends value us all the more and will make them feel more than ever that we are worthy of standing shoulder to shoulder with them for the cause of the motherland.

"3. It will prove to British politicians and statesmen, to Parliament and the British nation generally, that we are not crying for the moon when we ask for self-government but that we are determined and are in earnest about it and that we shall pursue our course steadfastly and unitedly till the goal is realised.

"4. It will convince the Government here and in England and the British Empire at large that the Muslims of India, notwithstanding their religious sentiments and feelings at this juncture of the greatest crisis that the Empire has to face, can show due control, restraint and moderation in their deliberations and can exercise judgement and pursue a course which is worthy of the highest statesmanship.

"In conclusion, I urge all the Muslims to rally round the flag of the All-India Muslim League and as true patriots stand by its constitution and thus make the community proud of the only political organization it possesses at present."(1)

In spite of Jinnah's assurance that there was no move towards merging the League into the Congress the opponents could not be won over completely. On the second day of the session when Jinnah rose to move his resolution for the appointment of a committee to formulate, in consultation with Congress leaders,

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1. Quoted in Saiyid, M.H., op.cit., pp.116-117.

India's political demands, an ordinary interpellation between the President and Maulana Hasrat Mohani developed into a scene of uproar and confusion.(1) The President Mr.Mazhar-ul-Haque was decried and it was alleged that the conveners of the session were playing into the hands of the Congress leaders.(2) Suleman Haji Qasim Mitha who was the leader of the opposition group present at the meeting endeavoured, with the help of some of his supporters, to capture the stage. The President finding it difficult to continue the proceedings adjourned the meeting.(3) Next day the delegates re-assembled at the Taj Mahal Hotel and the rest of the proceedings were conducted there. It was here that M.A. Jinnah moved his resolution asking the League that a committee be appointed to formulate, in consultation with the Congress, such a scheme of reform as should keep in view the special interests of the Muslim community and be placed before the British Government as representing the demands of an United India.(4) The

1. Noman, p.147; Saiyid, M.A., Mohammad Ali Jinnah, p.119.
2. Noman, p.148; Zuberi, M.A., Siyasat-i-Milliya, pp.117-118.
3. For full account of this trouble see Hasan, M.A., Tarikh-i-Muslim League, pp.105-108.
4. The full text of the Resolution which was passed on 1st January 1916 is as follows:- "The All-India Muslim League resolves that a Committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to formulate and frame a scheme of reforms, and that the said Committee is authorized to confer with political and other organizations or committees, if any, appointed by any such organization as they may deem fit, provided always that due regard is paid to the needs and interests of the Musalmans of India in the formulation of the aforesaid scheme of reforms.
   The Committee shall submit its report and scheme to the Council of the All-India Muslim League to be presented to the League at its next annual sessions."
   (See the Indian Review, January 1916, p.65.)

resolution having been passed, a committee representing all provinces was appointed[1] to complete its work before the

1. The committee consisted of the following persons representing different provinces:-
The United Provinces:- Raja of Mahmudabad; Maulavi Abdul Majid, Allahabad; Sayyid Nabiullah, Lucknow; Sayyid Aal-i-Nabi, Agra; Sayyid Reza Ali, Moradabad; Sahebzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, Aligarh; Sheikh Shahid Husain, Lucknow; Dr.Nazir-ud-Din Hasan, Lucknow; M.A.Khawaja, Aligarh; Munshi Azhar Ali, Lucknow; Zahur Ahmad, Allahabad; Mirza Samiullah Beg, Lucknow; Munshi Shaukat Ali, Lucknow, Sayyid Zahur Ahmad,Lucknow; Sayyid Wazir Hasan, Lucknow.
The Panjab:- Nawab Zulfiqar Ali Khan, Lahore; Mian Muhammad Shafi, Lahore; Sayyid Mohsin Shah, Lahore; Malik Barkat Ali, Lahore; Maulavi Ghulam Mohyuddin, Qasur; Mian Fazl-i-Husain, Lahore; Chawdhry Shahab-uddin, Lahore; Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Lahore; Shiekh Ghulam Sadiq,Amritsar; Babu Nizam uddin, Amritsar.
Bengal:- Sayyid Nawab Ali Chawdhury, Dacca; Muhammad Ismail, Barisal; Mujibur Rehman, Editor Musalman, Calcutta; M.A. Rasul, Calcutta; Nawab Nasir Husain Khayal, Calcutta; Maulavi Fazlul-Haq, Calcutta; Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Calcutta; Maulavi Muhammad Akram Khan, Editor Muhammadi, Calcutta; Maulavi Najmuddin Ahmad, Calcutta; Chawdhry Alimuzzaman, Faridpur; Abul Qasim, Burdwan.
Bombay and Sindh:- Sir Aga Khan, Bombay; Sir Ibrahim Rahimtullah, Bombay; Abdul Hasnain Adamji Peerbhoy, Bombay; Mr. Bhargari, Hyderabad (Sind); Mr. Ghulam Husain, Hyderabad (Sind); Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Bombay; Faiz Ji Tayyab Ji, Bombay; Nawab Ghulam Jilani, Bombay; Mian Muhammad Jattani, Bombay; Muhammad Hafiz, Sind; Ghulam Ali Chagla, Sind; Umar Subhani, Bombay; Sharif Deveji Kanji, Bombay; M.A. Jiwanji, Bombay; Mirza Ali Muhammad Khan, Bombay.
Madras:- Seth Yaqub Hasan, Madras; Nawab Sayyid Muhammad, Madras; Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Kalami, Mysore; Khan Bahadur Dal Ji Lal Ji, Madras.
Behar and Orissa:- Sayyid Ali Imam, Bankipur; Mr.Mazhar-ul-Naque, Bankipur; Wasi Ahmad, Bankipur; Maulavi Fakhr-uddin, Bankipur; Nawab Sarfaraz Husain Khan, Patna; Maulavi Ahmad Husain, Muzaffarpur; Maulavi Akhtar Husain, Muzaffarpur; Dr. Sayyid Mahmud, Bankipur; Sayyid Muhammad Naim Bhagal-pur.
Central Provinces:- Khan Bahadur S.A.Malik, Nagpur.
North-West Frontier Province:- Abdul Aziz Khan, Peshawar.
Burma:- Haji Muhammad Abdushakoor Jamal, Rangoon; Haji Ahmad Mulla Daood, Rangoon.
Delhi:- Dr.M.A. Ansari; Maulana Muhammad Ali; Hakeem Ajmal Khan.
(See Hasan, M.A., op.cit., pp.111-115)

next annual session of the League.

The Indian National Congress which held its annual session in the same city also passed a resolution on similar lines. It entrusted the task of framing a scheme of reform to the All-India Congress Committee and asked it to confer with the Committee appointed for the same purpose by the All-India Muslim League.(1)

It is important to note that notwithstanding the fact that the most important leaders of the League were now such people whose association with the Congress had been longer than with the League, no deviation had been made from the original principle of the League that in any system of representative government in India the Muslims should be treated as a distinct community; and all efforts for unity with the Congress were conditioned by the recognition of this principle by that body. The Bombay session of the League, side by side with its decision to appoint a committee to confer with the Congress to formulate a reform scheme for India, passed a resolution emphasising the need of extending the system of separate electorates to all provincial councils and local bodies all over India. When, with a view to avoiding any possible hindrance to the expected unity between the League and the Congress, some members proposed that the

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1. Chakrabarty and Bhattacharyya, Congress in Evolution, p.17.

resolution be dropped, their amendments were withdrawn at the request of M.A. Jinnah, the chief exponent of the idea of unity.(1) Contrary to his views in the past,(2) Jinnah, although a staunch Congressite, now believed that separate electorates for the Muslims were essential in a country like India and that unity between the Hindus and Muslims on a sound basis was possible only after the Hindus agreed to this principle. Commenting on this question on a later occasion,(3) Jinnah said:

> "The Muslims want proper, adequate and effective representation in the Council chambers of the country and in the District and Municipal Boards, a claim which no right-minded Hindu disputes for a moment. But the Muslims further require that representation in the various Boards and Council chambers should be secured to them by means of separate electorates...To most of us the question is no more open to further discussion or argument as it has become a mandate of the community. As far as I understand the demand for separate electorates is a matter of necessity to Muslims."(4)

The pleading of Jinnah with the Hindus to agree to Muslim demands for separate electorates proved successful. The Reform

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1. Hasan, M.A., op.cit., pp.116-117.
2. At the 25th session of the Congress held at Allahabad in December 1910 Jinnah moved the Resolution XVI which opposed the extension of communal representation to local bodies. (See Besant, A., How India Wrought for Freedom, p.518).
3. In October 1916 at the Bombay Provincial Conference over which he presided.
4. See Saiyid, M.H., op.cit., Appendix II, Presidential Address of M.A.Jinnah at the Bombay Provincial Conference.

Committee of the Muslim League and the All-India Congress Committee held in November 1916 a joint meeting at Calcutta at which the question of communal representation was discussed, and an agreed scheme of reform[1] prepared. This was to be placed before the Congress and the League at the time of their annual sessions in the following December. The two organizations met simultaneously at Lucknow in the last week of December, and on the principles outlined in the scheme arrived at an agreement which came to be known as the Lucknow Pact.[2]

A reform scheme based on the Lucknow Pact was presented to the Government jointly by the Muslim League and the Congress with the demand that it be introduced after the war "as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete self-government in India".[3] Its proposals concerning Muslim representation which were with certain variations accepted by the Government of India, were as follows:-

Provincial Legislative Councils:

"Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Musalmans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following proportions:

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1. Hasan, M.A., op.cit., p.127.
2. For the full text of the agreement see Appendix E.
3. ibid.,

Panjab, one half of the elected Indian members.

United Provinces, 30 per cent of the elected Indian members.

Bengal, 40 per cent of the elected Indian members.

Behar, 25 per cent of the elected Indian members.

Central Provinces, 15 per cent of the elected Indian members.

Madras, 15 per cent of the elected Indian members.

Bombay, one-third of the elected Indian members.

"Provided that no Musalman shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Councils, save and except those by electorates representing special interests."

Imperial Legislative Council:

"One third of the Indian elected members should be Musalmans elected by separate Musalman electorates in the several provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Musalman electorates."(1)

The Lucknow Pact solved the long existing Hindu-Muslim controversy on the question of representation and inaugurated an era of united Congress-League action in the direction of self-government for India. In the words of M.A. Jinnah, the President of the League Lucknow session, who was mainly responsible to bring the Congress and the League together, in the Pact were found the first signs of the birth of a united India.(2) The basis of the Pact was the agreement of the

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1. ibid., M.H., op.cit.,
2. Saiyid, See Appendix III, Presidential Address of M.A.Jinnah delivered at the Lucknow session of the Muslim League held in December 1916.

Congress to the principle that the Muslims as a community should be represented on the councils of the Government by means of separate electorates. When in the twenties this principle again became a disputed question the Hindu and Muslim communities again drifted apart. The ultimate result of the Hindu-Muslim controversy on the question of representation was the partition of India in 1947.

APPENDIX A

Extract from Proceedings of the Council of the Governor-General of India, 1883.

Central Provinces Local Self-Government Bill

The Hon'ble Syed Ahmad Khan said: "My Lord, I intend to vote in favour of the passing of this Bill, but, in explanation of my vote, I am anxious, with your Lordship's permission, to make a few observations on some features of this Bill. My Lord, I am one of those who believe that the success of local self-government will, in a great measure, depend upon the amount of independent power to be conferred upon the local boards and the district councils....I rejoice to feel that I have lived long enough to see the inauguration of the day when India is to learn at the hand of her rulers those principles of self-help and self-government which have given birth to representative institutions in England, and have made her great among the nations of the world. My Lord, I sincerely believe that all the intelligent classes throughout India sympathise with the feelings which I have expressed, that they feel grateful to the Goverhment for the privileges which the scheme of local self-government will confer upon them, and that the effect of those privileges will be to enhance the popularity of the British rule, and to inspire the feelings of loyalty and devotion among the vast population of British India. The more real those privileges are, the more beneficial will be the results.

Having such views and feelings as these, I cannot possibly have sympathy with those who deprecate the withdrawal of Government from the direct management of local funds and local affairs; and it is natural for me to wish, as a matter of principle, that the local boards and the district councils should consist, as far as possible, of persons whom the voice of the people has elected as their representatives. But, my Lord, I feel that I am not acting inconsistently with my feelings and views in cordially supporting those provisions of this Bill which reserve to Government the power of appointing one-third of the members

of the local boards and district councils. I am convinced that no part of India has yet arrived at the stage when the system of representation can be adopted, in its fullest scope, even in regard to local affairs. The principle of self-government by means of representative institutions is perhaps the greatest and noblest lesson which the beneficence of England will teach India. But, in borrowing from England the system of representative institutions, it is of the greatest importance to remember those socio-political matters in which India is distinguishable from England. The present socio-political condition of India is the outcome of the history of centuries of despotism and misrule, of the dominancy of race over race, of religion over religion. The traditions and feelings of the people and their present economic and political condition are in a vast measure influenced and regulated by the history of the past: the humanising effects of the British rule have not yet demolished the remembrance of the days of strife and discord which preceded the peace brought to India by the British supremacy. India, a continent in itself, is inhabited by vast populations of different races and different creeds: the rigour of religious institutions has kept even neighbours apart: the system of caste is still dominant and powerful. In one and the same district the population may consist of various creeds and various nationalities; and, whilst one section of the population commands wealth and commerce, the other may possess learning and influence. One section may be numerically larger than the other, and the standard of enlightenment which one section of the community has reached may be far higher than that attained by the rest of the population. One community may be fully alive to the importance of securing representation on the local boards and district councils, whilst the other may be wholly indifferent to such matters.

Under these circumstances, it is hardly possible to deny that the introduction of representative institutions in India will be attended with considerable difficulty and socio-political risks. In a country like England, where the distinctions of race no longer exist, where the differences of sectarianism in religious matters have been mitigated by the advance of toleration, the matter does not present such difficulties. The community of race and creed makes

the English people one and the same nation, and the advance of education has rendered smaller differences wholly insignificant in matters connected with the welfare of the country at large. Christian constituencies do not object to return Jews to represent their interests in Parliament, and, indeed, for socio-political purposes, it may be said that the whole of the population of England forms but one community. It is obvious, of course, that the same cannot be said of India. The system of representation by election means the representation of the views and interests of the majority of the population, and, in countries where the population is composed of one race and one creed, it is no doubt the best system that can be adopted. But, my Lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all the sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local boards and the district councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and the distinctions of caste form an important element in the socio-political life of India, and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with the administration and welfare of the country at large, the system of election, pure and simple, cannot be safely adopted. The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community, and the ignorant public would hold Government responsible for introducing measures which might make the differences of race and creed more violent than ever. My Lord, I have dwelt upon this matter at such length in order to explain why I, a sincere admirer of the representative system, have given my cordial support to such provisions of this Bill as appear to militate against the system of election, pure and simple. Government, in reserving to itself the power of appointing one-third of the members of the local boards and district councils, is adopting the only measure which can be adopted to guarantee the success of local self-government, by securing and maintaining that due and just balance in the representation of the various sections of the Indian population which the system of election, pure and simple, would fail to achieve."

A P P E N D I X B

The following is the letter of invitation issued by the organizors of the Lucknow Muslim meeting of October I90I :-

تجربہ کار اشخاص کا اس امر پر مدت سے اتفاق ہے کہ ہندوستان کے مسلمانوں کی حالت خراب اور بہت کچھ قابلِ اصلاح ہے اور وہ اسی وجہ سے ترقی کے زینہ پر بھی دوسری اقوام کے قدم بقدم نہیں ہیں۔ ایسی صورت میں اس امر کی ضرورت محسوس ہوتی ہے کہ قوم کے بہی خواہوں میں جو حضرات اہل الرائے ہیں ایک جگہ مجتمع ہو کر حالتِ موجودہ پر غور و بحث فرماویں اور اس روز بد کے اسباب و علل کی تنقید کے بعد کوئی مناسب معقول مصلح تجویز کریں۔ دنیا دار العمل ہے اور معاملاتِ دنیا میں بغیر عملی تدابیر کے کوئی کام چھوٹا ہو یا بڑا انجام نہیں پاتا۔ نظر برآں ایک جلسہ بمقام لکھنؤ بتاریخ ۲۱ و ۲۲ اکتوبر سنہ ۱۹۰۱ء منعقد کیا گیا ہے۔ التماس ہے کہ جناب قدم رنجہ فرما کر شریکِ مشورہ ہوں اور اپنی گراں بہا رائے سے قوم کی مدد فرما کر ہم کو مشکور بنائیں۔ علاوہ رسم کے اردو ڈیفنس کی ناتمام کارروائیوں کی تکمیل بھی اس صورت پر منحصر ہے۔ تشریف آوری کے متعلق وقتِ معینہ سے ذرا پہلے اطلاع ملنی چاہیئے تاکہ جناب کے آرام و آسائش کا انتظام ہو سکے۔

المکلف۔ وقار الملک مشتاق حسین۔ حامد علی خاں بیرسٹر ایٹ لا۔ منشی احتشام علی۔

۱۱۔ اکتوبر سنہ ۱۹۰۱ء لکھنؤ (1)

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1. Quoted in Hayat-i-Maseeh by Muhammad Husain Sulemani, p. I75.

APPENDIX C

I

Address presented by the Simla Deputation to Lord Minto on 1st October 1906

"May it please Your Excellency, - Availing ourselves of the permission accorded to us, we, the undersigned nobles, jagirdars, talukdars, lawyers, zemindars, merchants, and others, representing a large body of the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty the King-Emperior in different parts of India, beg most respectfully to approach Your Excellency with the following address for your favourable consideration.

"2. We fully realise and appreciate the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions belonging to divers races and professing divers religions, who form the population of the vast continent of India; and have every reason to be grateful for the peace, security, personal freedom, and liberty of worship that we now enjoy. Further, from the wise and enlightened character of the Government, we have every reasonable ground for anticipating that these benefits will be progressive, and that India will, in the future, occupy an increasingly important position in the comity of nations.

"3. One of the most important characteristics of British policy in India is the increasing deference that has, so far as possible, been paid from the first to the views and wishes of the people of the country in matters affecting their interests, with due regard always to the diversity of race and religion, which forms such an important feature of all Indian problems.

"4. Beginning with the confidential and unobtrusive method of consulting influential members of important communities in different parts of the country, this principle was gradually extended by the recognition of the right of recognised political or commerical organisations to communicate to the authorities their criticisms and views on measures of public importance; and, finally, by the nomination and election of direct representatives of the people in Municipalities, District Boards, and - above all - in the Legislative Chambers of the country.

This last element is, we understand, about to be dealt with by the Committee appointed by Your Excellency, with the view of giving it further extension; and it is with reference mainly to our claim to a fair share in such extended representation and some other matters of importance affecting the interests of our community that we have ventured to approach Your Excellency on the present occasion.

"5. The Mohammedans of India number, according to the census taken in the year 1901, over sixty-two millions, or between one-fifth and one-fourth of the total population of His Majesty's Indian dominions; and if a reduction be made for the uncivilised portions of the community enumerated under the heads of animists and other minor religions, as well as for those classes who are ordinarily classified as Hindus, but, properly speaking, are not Hindus at all, the proportion of Mohammedans to the Hindu majority becomes much larger. We therefore desire to submit that, under any system of representation, extended or limited, a community in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first class European power, except Russia, may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State. We venture, indeed, with Your Excellency's permission, to go a step further, and urge that the position accorded to the Modammedan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect, and in all other ways, affecting their status and influence, should be commensurate not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance, and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the Empire; and we also hope that Your Excellency will, in this connection, be pleased to give due consideration to the position which they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years ago, and of which the traditions have naturally not faded from their minds.

"6. The Mohammedans of India have always placed implicit reliance on the sense of justice and love of fair dealing that have characterised their rulers, and have, in consequence, abstained from pressing their claims by methods that might prove at all embarrassing; but earnestly as we desire that the Mohammedans of India should not in the future depart from that excellent and time-honoured tradition, recent events have stirred up feelings, especially among the younger generation of

Mohammedans, which might, in certain circumstances and under certain contingencies, easily pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance.

"7. We, therefore, pray that the representations we herewith venture to submit, after a careful consideration of the views and wishes of a large number of our co-religionists in all parts of India, may be favoured with Your Excellency's earnest attention.

"8. We hope Your Excellency will pardon our stating at the outset that representative institutions of the European type are new to the Indian people. Many of the most thoughtful members of our community, in fact, consider that the greatest care, forethought, and caution will be necessary if they are to be successfully adapted to the social, religious, and political conditions obtaining in India; and that, in the absence of such care and caution, their adoption is likely, among other evils, to place our national interests at the mercy of an unsympathic majority. Since, however, our rulers have, in pursuance of the immemorial instincts and traditions, found it expedient to give these institutions an increasingly important place in the government of the country, we Mohammedans cannot any longer, in justice to our own national interests, hold aloof from participating in the conditions to which their policy has given rise. While, therefore, we are bound to acknowledge with gratitude that such representation as the Mohammedans of India have hitherto enjoyed has been due to a sense of justice and fairness on the part of Your Excellency and your illustrious predecessors in office, and the Heads of Local Governments by whom the Mohammedan members of Legislative Chambers have, almost without exception, been nominated, we cannot help observing that the representation thus accorded to us has necessarily been inadequate to our requirements, and has not always carried with it the approval of those whom the nominees were selected to represent. This state of things was probably, under existing circumstances, unavoidable; for while, on the one hand, the number of nominations reserved to the Viceroy and Local Governments has necessarily been strictly limited, the selection, on the other hand, of really representative men has, in the absence of any reliable method of ascertaining the direction of popular choice, been far from easy. As for the results of election, it is most unlikely that the

name of any Mohammedan candidate will ever be submitted for the approval of Government by the electoral bodies as now constituted, unless he is in sympathy with the majority in all matters of importance. Nor can we, in fairness, find fault with the desire of our non-Moslim fellow-subjects to take full advantage of their strength and vote only for members of their own community, or for persons who, if not Hindus, are expected to vote with the Hindu majority, on whose good-will they would have to depend for their future re-election. It is true that we have many and important interests in common with our Hindu fellow-countrymen, and it will always be a matter of the utmost satisfaction to us to see these interests safeguarded by the presence, in our Legislative Chambers, of able supporters of these interests, irrespective of their nationality. Still it cannot be denied that we Mohammedans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own, which are not shared by other communities, and these have hitherto suffered from the fact that they have not been adequately represented. Even in the provinces in which the Mohammedans constitute a distinct majority of the population, they have too often been treated as though they were inappreciably small political factors that might, without unfairness, be neglected. This has been the case, to some extent, in the Punjab; but in a more marked degree in Sind and in Eastern Bengal.

"9. Before formulating our views with regard to the election of representatives, we beg to observe that the political importance of a community to a considerable extent gains strength or suffers detriment, according to the position that the members of that community occupy in the service of the State. If, as is unfortunately the case with the Mohammedans, they are not adequately represented in this manner, they lose in the prestige and influence which are justly their due. We, therefore, pray that Government will be graciously pleased to provide that, both in the gazetted and the subordinate and ministerial services of all Indian provinces, a due proportion of Mohammedans shall always find place. Orders of like import have, at times, been issued by Local Governments in some provinces, but have not unfortunately,

in all cases, been strictly observed, on the ground that qualified Mohammedans were not forthcoming. This allegation, however well-founded it may have been at one time, is, we submit, no longer tenable now; and wherever the will to employ them is not wanting, the supply of qualified Mohammedans, we are happy to be able to assure Your Excellency, is equal to the demand. Since, however, the number of qualified Mohammedans has increased, a tendency is unfortunately perceptible to reject them on the ground of relatively superior qualifications having to be given precedence. This introduces something like the competitive element in its worst form, and we may be permitted to draw Your Excellency's attention to the political significance of the monopoly of all official influence by one class. We may also point out in this connection that the efforts of Mohammedan educationists have, from the very outset of the educational movement among them, been strenuously directed towards the development of character, and this, we venture to think, is of greater importance than mere mental alertness in the making of a good public servant.

"10. We venture to submit that the generality of Mohammedans in all parts of India feel aggrieved that Mohammedan Judges are not more frequently appointed to the High Courts and Chief Courts of Judicature. Since the creation of these Courts, only three Mohammedan lawyers have held these honourable appointments, all of whom have fully justified their elevation to the Bench. At the present moment there is not a single Mohammedan Judge sitting on the Bench of any of these Courts, while there are three Hindu Judges in the Calcutta High Court, where the proportion of Mohammedans in the population is very large; and two in the Chief Court of the Punjab, where the Mohammedans form the majority of the population. It is not therefore an extravagant request on our part that a Mohammedan should be given a seat on the Bench of each of the High Courts and Chief Courts. Qualified Mohammedan lawyers eligible for these appointments can always be found, if not in one province then in another. We beg permission further to submit that the presence on the Bench of these Courts of a Judge, learned in the Mohammedan Law, will be a source of considerable strength to the administration of justice.

"11. As Municipal and District Boards have to deal with important local interests, affecting to a great extent the health, comfort, educational needs, and even the religious concerns of the inhabitants, we shall, we hope, be pardoned if we solicit, for a moment, Your Excellency's attention to the position of Mohammedans thereon before passing to higher concerns. These institutions form, as it were, the initial rungs in the ladder of self-government, and it is here that the principle of representation is brought home intimately to the intelligence of the people. Yet the position of Mohammedans on these Boards is not at present regulated by any guiding principle capable of general application, and practice varies in different localities. The Aligarh Municipality, for example, is divided into six wards, and each ward returns one Hindu and one Mohammedan Commissioner; and the same principle, we understand, is adopted in a number of Municipalities in the Punjab and elsewhere, but in a good many places the Mohammedan tax-payers are not adequately represented. We would, therefore, respectfully suggest that local authority should, in every case, be required to declare the number of Hindus and Mohammedans entitled to seats on Municipal and District Boards, such proportion to be determined in accordance with the numerical strength, social status, local influence, and special requirements of either community. Once their relative proportion is authoritatively determined, we would suggest that either community should be allowed severally to return their own representatives, as is the practice in many towns in the Punjab.

"12. We would also suggest that the Senates and Syndicates of Indian Universities might be similarly dealt with: that is to say, there should, so far as possible, be an authoritative declaration of the proportion in which Mohammedans are entitled to be represented in either body.

"13. We now proceed to the consideration of the question of our representation in the Legislative Chambers of the country. Beginning with the Provincial Councils, we would most respectfully suggest that as in the case of Municipalities and District Boards, the proportion of Mohammedan representatives entitled to a

seat should be determined and declared with due regard to the important considerations which we have ventured to point out in paragraph 5 of this address; and that the important Mohammedan landowners, lawyers, merchants, and representatives of other important interests, the Mohammedan members of District Boards and Municipalities, and the Mohammedan graduates of Universities, of a certain standing, say 5 years, should be formed into electoral colleges, and be authorised, in accordance with such rules of procedure as Your Excellency's Government may be pleased to prescribe in that behalf, to return the number of members that may be declared to be eligible.

"14. With regard to the Imperial Legislative Council, whereon the due representation of Mohammedan interests is a matter of vital importance, we crave leave to suggest:-

"(1) That, in the cadre of the Council, the proportion of Mohammedan representatives should not be determined on the basis of the numerical strength of the commuhity, and that, in any case, the Mohammedan representatives should never be an ineffective minority.

"(2) That, as far as possible, appointment by election should be given preference over nomination.

"(3) That, for purposes of choosing Mohammedan members, Mohammedan landowners, lawyers, merchants, and representatives of other important interests of a status to be subsequently determined by Your Excellency's Government, Mohammedan members of the Provincial Councils and Mohammedan Fellows of Universities should be invested with electorial powers to be exercised in accordance with such procedure as may be prescribed by Your Excellency's Government in that behalf.

"15. An impression has lately been gaining ground that one or more Indian Members may be appointed on the Executive Council of the Viceroy. In the event of such appointments being made, we beg that the claims

of Mohammedans in that connection may not be overlooked. More than one Mohammedan, we venture to say, will be found in the country fit to serve with distinction in that august chamber.

"16. We beg to approach Your Excellency on a subject which most closely affects our national welfare. We are convinced that our aspirations as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on the foundation of a Mohammedan University, which will be the centre of our religious and intellectual life. We therefore most respectfully pray that Your Excellency will take steps to help us in an undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested.

"17. In conclusion, we beg to assure Your Excellency that, in assisting the Mohammedan subjects of His Majesty, at this stage in the development of Indian affairs, in the directions indicated in the present address, Your Excellency will be strengthening the basis of their unswerving loyalty to the Throne and laying the foundation of their political advancement and national prosperity, and Your Excellency's name will be remembered with gratitude by their posterity for generations to come; and we feel confident that Your Excellency will be gracious enough to give due consideration to our prayers".

II

Lord Minto's Reply to the Address

Your Highness and Gentlemen, - Allow me, before I attempt to reply to the many considerations your address embodies, to welcome you heartily to Simla.

Your presence here to-day is very full of meaning. To the document with which you have presented me are attached the signatures of nobles, of ministers of various States, of great landowners, of lawyers, of merchants, and of many other of His Majesty's Mohammedan subjects. I welcome the representative character of your Deputation

as expressing the views and aspirations of the enlightened Moslim community of India. I feel that all you have said emanates from a representative body, basing its opinions on a matured consideration of the existing political conditions of India, totally apart from the small personal or political sympathies and antipathies of scattered localities; and I am grateful to you for the opportunity you are affording me of expressing my appreciation of the just aims of the followers of Islam and their determination to share in the political history of our Empire.

As your Viceroy, I am proud of the recognition you express of the benefits conferred by British rule on the diverse races of many creeds who go to form the population of this huge continent. You yourselves, the descendants of a conquering and ruling race, have told me to-day of your gratitude for the personal freedom, the liberty of worship, the general peace, and the hopeful future which British administration has secured for India.

It is interesting to look back on early British efforts to assist the Mohammedan population to qualify themselves for public service. In 1782 Warren Hastings founded the Calcutta Madrassah with the intention of enabling its students "to compete on more equal terms with the Hindus for employment under Government." In 1811 my ancester, Lord Minto, advocated improvements in the Madrassah and the establishment of Mohammedan colleges at other places throughout India. In later years the efforts of the Mohammedan Association led to the Government Resolution of 1885, dealing with the educational position of the Mohammedan community and their employment in the public service, whilst Mohammedan educational effort has culminated in the College of Aligarh, that great institution which the noble and broadminded devotion of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan has dedicated to his co-religionists. It was in July 1877 that Lord Lytton laid the foundation stone of Aligarh, when Sir Syed Ahmed Khan addressed these memorable words to the Viceroy:-

"The personal honour which you have done me assures me of a great fact, and fills me with feelings of a much higher nature than mere personal gratitude. I am assured that you, who upon this occasion represent

the British rule, have sympathies with our labours, and to me this assurance is very valuable, and a source of great happiness. At my time of life it is a comfort to me to feel that the undertaking which has been for many years, and is now, the sole object of my life, has roused, on the one hand, the energies of my own countrymen, and, on the other, has won the sympathy of our British fellow-subjects and the support of our rulers; so that when the few years I may still be spared are over, and when I shall be no longer amongst you, the college will still prosper, and succeed in educating my countrymen to have the same affection for their country, the same feelings of loyalty for the British rule, the same appreciation of its blessings, the same sincerity of friendship with our British fellow-subjects as have been the ruling feelings of my life."

Aligarh has won its laurels. Its students have gone forth to fight the battle of life strong in the tenets of their own religion, strong in the precepts of loyalty and patriotism, and now, when there is much that is critical in the political future of India, the inspiration of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan and the teachings of Aligarh shine forth brilliantly in the pride of Mohammedan history, in the loyalty, commonsense, and sound reasoning so eloquently expressed in your address.

But, Gentlemen, you go on to tell me that sincere as your belief is in the justice and fair dealing of your rulers and unwilling as you are to embarrass them at the present moment, you cannot but be aware that "recent events" have stirred up feelings amongst the younger generation of Mohammedans which might "pass beyond the control of temperate counsel and sober guidance." Now, I have no intention of entering into any discussion upon the affairs of Eastern Bengal and Assam, yet I hope that, without offence to any one, I may thank the Mohammedan community of the new Province for the moderation and self-restraint they have shown under conditions which were new to them, and as to which there has been inevitably much misunderstanding, and that I may at the same time sympathize with all that is sincere in Bengali sentiment. But above all, what I would ask you to believe is that the course the Viceroy and the Government of India

have pursued in connection with the affairs of the new Province, the future of which is now I hope assured, has been dictated solely by a regard for what has appeared best for its present and future populations as a whole, irrespective of race or creed; and that the Mohammedan community of Eastern Bengal and Assam can rely as firmly as ever on British justice and fair-play for the appreciation of its loyalty and the safeguarding of its interests.

You have addressed me, Gentlemen, at a time when the political atmosphere is full of change. We all feel it. It would be foolish to attempt to deny its existence. Hopes and ambitions new to India are making themselves felt. We cannot ignore them. We should be wrong to wish to do so. But to what is all this unrest due? Not to the discontent of misgoverned millions, I defy any one honestly to assert that; not to any uprising of a disaffected people; it is due to that educational growth in which only a very small portion of the population has as yet shared, of which British rule first sowed the seed, and the fruits of which British rule is now doing its best to foster and to direct. There may be many tares in the harvest we are now reaping; the Western grain which we have sown may not be entirely suitable to the requirements of the people of India, but the educational harvest will increase as years go on, and the healthiness of the nourishment it gives will depend on the careful administration and distribution of its products.

You need not ask my pardon, Gentlemen, for telling me that "representative institutions of the European type are entirely new to the people of India," or that their introduction here requires the most earnest thought and care. I should be very far from welcoming all the political machinery of the Western world amongst the hereditary instincts and traditions of Eastern races. Western breadth of thought, the teachings of Western civilisation, the freedom of British individuality can do much for the people of India. But I recognise with you that they must not carry with them an impracticable insistence on the acceptance of political methods.

And now, Gentlemen, I come to your own position in respect to the political future - the position of the Mohammedan community for whom you speak.

You will, I feel sure, recognise that it is impossible for me to follow you through any detailed consideration of the conditions and the share that community has a right to claim in the administration of public affairs. I can at present only deal with generalities. The points which you have raised are before the Committee which, as you know, I have lately appointed to consider the question of representation, and I will take care that your address is submitted to them. But at the same time I hope I may be able to reply to the general tenor of your remarks without in any way forestalling the Committee's report.

The pith of your address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, whether it affects a Municipality, a District Board, or a Legislative Council, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organisation, the Mohammedan community should be represented as a community. You point out that in many cases electoral bodies as now constituted cannot be expected to return a Mohammedan candidate, and that, if by chance they did so, it could only be at the sacrifice of such a candidate's views to those of a majority opposed to his own community, whom he would in no way represent, and you justly claim that your position should be estimated not merely on your numerical strength, but in respect to the political importance of your community and the service it has rendered to the Empire. I am entirely in accord with you. Please do not misunderstand me; I make no attempt to indicate by what means the representation of communities can be obtained, but I am as firmly convinced, as I believe you to be, that any electoral representation in India would be doomed to mischievous failure which aimed at granting a personal enfranchisement regardless of the beliefs and traditions of the communities composing the population of this continent. The great mass of the people of India have no knowledge of representative institutions. I agree with you, Gentlemen, that the

initial rungs in the ladder of self-government are to be found in the Municipal and District Boards, and that it is in that direction that we must look for the gradual political education of the people. In the meantime I can only say to you that the Mohammedan community may rest assured that their political rights and interests as a community will be safeguarded in any administrative reorganisation with which I am concerned, and that you and the people of India may rely upon the British Raj to respect, as it has been its pride to do, the religious beliefs and the national traditions of the myriads composing the population of His Majesty's Indian Empire.

Your Highness and Gentlemen, I sincerely thank you for the unique opportunity your Deputation has given me of meeting so many distinguished and representative Mohammedans. I deeply appreciate the energy and interest in public affairs which have brought you here from great distances, and I only regret that your visit to Simla is necessarily so short.

APPENDIX D

List of the Members of the All-India Moslem League up to 1st June, 1911.

BOMBAY PRESIDENCY.

1. Sir Adamji Peerbhoy, Kt., Bombay.
2. Ebrahimbhai Adamji Peerbhoy, Esqr., Babulla Tank, Bombay.
3. The Hon'ble Moulvi Rafi-uddin Ahmed, Bar-at-Law, Honorary Secretary, Bombay Presidency Muslim League, Poona.
4. The Hon'ble Syed Allahanda Shah Sahib, Honorary Magistrate, Noshera Feroze, P.O. Durbella, District Hyderabad (Sindh).
5. Nawabzada Nasrullah Khan, Bar-at-Law, Chaupati, Bombay.
6. Nawab Ghulam Jilani Sahib of Wai, District Satara.
7. Nawab Meer Mahboob Ali Khan Sahib of Sannur Family, Hubli.
8. Abdul Qadir Sahib Pathan, Pleader, Dharwar.
9. Meer Asghar Ali Sahib, Poona.
10. Kazi Meer Inayetullah Khan Sahib, Jagirdar, Ahmadnagar.
11. Nawab Abdulferoz Khan Sahib, Poona.
12. Dost Mohammed Peer Mohammed Sahib, Merchant, Poona.
13. Meer Ghyasuddin Sahib, Kazi of Nasik.
14. Kazi Meer Ashraf Ali Sahib, Nasirabad, Jalgaon.
15. Khan Sahib Kazi Mohammed Ali Murghay, Kazi of Bombay.
16. Kazi Kabir-uddin Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Mazagon, Bombay.
17. The Hon'ble Mr.Ibrahim Rahmatullah, C.I.E., 112 Tandal Street, Bombay.

UNITED PROVINCES OF AGRA AND OUDH.

18. Haji Mohammad Musa Khan Sahib, Rais, Datavli, Aligarh, Honorary Joint Secretary, All-India Muslim League.
19. Nawab Mohammod Mozummilullah Khan Bahadur, Honorary Magistrate, Rais, Bhikampur, Aligarh.

20. Moulvi Habibur Rahman Khan Sahib, Honorary Magistrate, Rais, Habibgunge, Aligarh.
21. The Hon'ble Sahibzada Aftab Ahmed Khan, B.A.(Cantab.), Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
22. Amir Mustafa Khan Sahib, Rais, Burhagaon, Kunker House, Aligarh.
23. Haji Mohammad Saleh Khan Sahib Rais, Bhikampore, Aligarh.
24. Moulvi Mohammad Abdus Salam Sahib, B.A., LL.B., Aligarh.
25. R.B. Qadri, Esqr., Bar-at-Law, Aligarh.
26. Haji Mohammed Yusuf Khan Sahib, Rais, Budhansi, Aligarh.
27. Maulvi Khalilurrahman Khan Sahib, Rais, Bhikampore, Aligarh.
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APPENDIX E

The Lucknow Pact — The Congress - League Reform Scheme

Below is given the text of the reform scheme prepared as a result of an agreement between the All-India Muslim League and the Indian National Congress at Lucknow in December 1916, and submitted to the Government for "introduction after the war as the first necessary step towards the establishment of complete self-government in India":

I - Provincial Legislative Councils

1. Provincial Legislative Councils shall consist of four-fifths elected and of one-fifth nominated members.

2. Their strength shall be not less than 125 members in the major provinces, and from 50 to 75 in the minor provinces.

3. The members of Councils should be elected directly by the people on as broad a franchise as possible.

4. Adequate provision should be made for the representation of important minorities by election, and the Musalmans should be represented through special electorates on the Provincial Legislative Councils in the following propositions:-

PUNJAB - one-half of the elected Indian members.

UNITED PROVINCES - 30 p.c. of the elected Indian members.

BENGAL - 40 p.c. of the elected Indian members.

BIHAR - 25 p.c. of the elected Indian members.

CENTRAL PROVINCES - 15 p.c. of the elected Indian members.

MADRAS-15 p.c. of the elected Indian members.

BOMBAY - One-third of the elected Indian members.

Provided that no Musalman shall participate in any of the other elections to the Imperial or Provincial Legislative Council, save and except those by electorates representing special interests.

Provided further that no bill, nor any clause thereof, nor a resolution introduced by a non-official member affecting one or the other community, which question is to be determined by the members of that community in the Legislative Council concerned, shall be proceeded with, if three-fourths of the members of that community in the particular Council, Imperial or Provincial, oppose the bill or any clause thereof or the resolution.

5. The head of the Provincial Government should not be the President of the Legislative Council, but the Council should have the right of electing its President.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions should not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. (a) Except customs, posts, telegraphs, mint, salt, opium, railways, army and navy, and tributes from Indian States, all other sources of revenue should be Provincial.

(b) There should be no divided heads of revenue. The Government of India should be provided with fixed contributions from the Provincial Governments, such fixed contributions being liable to revision when extraordinary and unforeseen contingencies render such revision necessary.

(c) The Provincial Council should have full authority to deal with all matters affecting the internal administration of the province including the

power to raise loans, to impose and alter taxation, and to vote on the Budget. All items of expenditure and all proposals concerning ways and means for raising the necessary revenue, should be embodied in Bills and submitted to the Provincial Council for adoption.

(d) Resolution on all matters within the purview of the Provincial Government should be allowed for discussion in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself.

(e) A resolution passed by the Provincial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-in-Council, provided however, that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

(f) A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

8. A special meeting of the Provincial Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eighth of the members.

9. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Government should not be required therefor.

10. All Bills passed by Provincial Legislatures shall have to receive the assent of the Governor before they become law, but may be vetoed by the Governor-General.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

II - Provincial Governments

1. The head of every Provincial Government shall be a Governor who shall not ordinarily belong to the Indian Civil Service or any of the permanent services.

2. There shall be in every Province an Executive Council which, with the Governor shall constitute the Executive Government of the Province.

3. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Councils.

4. Not less than one-half of the members of the Executive Council shall consist of Indians to be elected by the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Council.

5. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

III - Imperial Legislative Councils

1. The strength of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be 150.

2. Four-fifths of the members shall be elected.

3. The franchise for the Imperial Legislative Council should be widened as far as possible on the lines of the electorates for Musalmans for the Provincial Legislative Councils, and the elected members of the Provincial Legislative Councils should also form an electorate for the return of members to the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. One-third of the Indian elected members should be Musalmans elected by separate Musalman electorates in the several Provinces, in the proportion, as nearly as may be, in which they are represented on the Provincial Legislative Councils by separate Musalman electorates. - Vide provisos to section I, clause 4.

5. The President of the Council shall be elected by the Council itself.

6. The right of asking supplementary questions shall not be restricted to the member putting the original question, but should be allowed to be exercised by any other member.

7. A special meeting of the Council may be summoned on a requisition by not less than one-eight of the members.

8. A Bill, other than a Money Bill, may be introduced in Council in accordance with rules made in that behalf by the Council itself, and the consent of the Executive Government should not be required therefor.

9. All Bills passed by the Council shall have to receive the assent of the Governor-General before they become law.

10. All financial proposals relating to sources of income and items of expenditure shall be embodied in Bills. Every such Bill and the Budget as a whole shall be submitted for the vote of the Imperial Legislative Council.

11. The term of office of the members shall be five years.

12. The matters mentioned herinbelow shall be exclusively under the control of the Imperial Legislative Council:-

(a) Matters in regard to which uniform legislation for the whole of India is desirable.

(b) Provincial legislation in so far as it may affect inter-provincial fiscal relations.

(c) Questions affecting purely Imperial Revenue, excepting tributes from Indian States.

(d) Questions affecting purely Imperial expenditure, except that no resolution of the Imperial Legislative Council shall be binding on the Governor-General in Council in respect of military charges for the defence of the country.

(e) The right of revising Indian tariffs and custom-duties of imposing, altering, or removing any tax or cess, modifying the existing system of currency and banking, and granting any aids or bounties to any or all deserving and nascent industries of the country.

(f) Resolutions on all matters relating to the administration of the country as a whole.

13. A resolution passed by the Legislative Council should be binding on the Executive Government, unless vetoed by the Governor-General in Council: provided however that if the resolution is again passed by the Council after an interval of not less than one year, it must be given effect to.

14. A motion for adjournment may be brought forward for the discussion of a definite matter of urgent public importance, if supported by not less than one-eighth of the members present.

15. When the Crown chooses to exercise its power of veto in regard to a Bill passed by a Provincial Legislative Council or by the Imperial Legislative Council, it should be exercised within twelve months from the date on which it is passed, and the Bill shall cease to have effect as from the date on which the fact of such veto is made known to the Legislative Council concerned.

16. The Imperial Legislative Council shall have no power to interfere with the Government of India's direction of the military affairs and the foreign and political relations of India, including the declaration of war, the making of peace and the entering into treaties.

IV - The Government of India

1. The Governor-General of India will be the head of the Government of India.

2. He will have an Executive Council, half of whom shall be Indians.

3. The Indian members should be elected by the elected members of the Imperial Legislative Council.

4. Members of the Indian Civil Service shall not ordinarily be appointed to the Executive Council of the Governor-General.

5. The power of making all appointments in the Imperial Civil Services shall vest in the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, due regard being paid to existing interests, subject to any laws that may be made by the Imperial Legislative Council.

6. The Government of India shall not ordinarily interfere in the local affairs of a province, and powers not specifically given to a Provincial Government, shall be deemed to be vested in the former. The authority of the Government of India will ordinarily be limited to general supervision and superintendence over the Provincial Governments.

7. In legislative and administrative matters the Government of India, as constituted under this scheme, shall, as far as possible, be independent of the Secretary of State.

8. A system of independent audit of the accounts of the Government of India should be instituted.

V - The Secretary of State-in-Council

1. The Council of the Secretary of State for India should be abolished.

2. The salary of the Secretary of State should be placed on the British Estimates.

3. The Secretary of State should, as far as possible, occupy the same position in relation to the Government of India as the Secretary of State for the Colonies does in relation to the Government of the self-governing Dominions.

4. The Secretary of State for India should be assisted by two permanent Under-Secretaries, one of whom should always be an Indian.

VI - India and the Empire

1. In any Council or other body which may be constituted or convened for the settlement or control of Imperial affairs, India shall be adequately represented in like manner with the Dominions and with equal rights.

2. Indians should be placed on a footing of equality in respect of status and right of citizenship with other subjects of His Majesty the King throughout the Empire.

VII - Military and other matters

1. The military and naval services of His Majesty, both in their commissioned and non-commissioned ranks, should be thrown open to Indians and adequate provision should be made for their selection, training and instruction in India.

2. Indians should be allowed to enlist as volunteers.

3. Executive officers in India shall have no judicial powers entrusted to them, and the judiciary in every province shall be placed under the highest Court of that province.

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2. Cross Collection

The Cross Collection is deposited in the India Office Library and comprises the correspondence of Richard Cross, 1st Viscount Cross (1823-1914) as Secretary of State for India from 1886 to 1892. It consists of fifty-seven volumes of correspondence and indexes. Five volumes containing letters of Lord Dufferin, the Viceroy of India 1884-1888, have been consulted.

3. Hamilton Collection

The Collection deposited in the India Office Library comprises the correspondence of Lord George Hamilton (1845-1927) as Secretary of State for India from 1895 to 1903. It consists of thirty volumes. The first two volumes containing Hamilton's letters to Curzon have been consulted.

4. Morley Papers

The Papers of Lord Morley have recently been made available to readers in the India Office Library and are not yet

completely catalogued. For the purpose of this thesis the correspondence between Lord Minto, the Viceroy and Governor-General of India from 1905 to 1910 and Lord Morley, the Secretary of State during this period, has been consulted. It consists of nineteen volumes of Minto's letters to Morley and five volumes of Morley's letters to Minto.

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