CHAPTER TWO

FORMATION OF THE MUSLIM LEAGUE

The turn of the century, as we have seen in the preceding pages, found the Muslim community engaged in an apocalyptic rethinking on its status and role in Indian political life. Though the leaders of the community were, in general, reluctant to ignore Sir Syed's exhortation to eschew political activity, their growing apprehensions on various scores were irreluctantly driving them towards a political career. Indeed, as early as October 1901, the Lucknow conference had decided on the establishment of a Muslim Political Association to safeguard the interests of their community, though the general response to this proposal had not been very encouraging. However, the general developments over the next few years, culminating in the events following upon the partition of Bengal - the anti-partition agitation, which acquired veiled and overt anti-Muslim features, the boycott and swadeshi movements, the Barisal episode, and the acceptance of Sir Bampfylde Fuller's resignation as Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal - had pointed out to the Muslims that only organised endeavour could

1. Fuller (1854-1935), Chief Commissioner, Assam, 1902-05; Lieutenant Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, 1905 but soon resigned after differences with the Viceroy; Knighted; 1906, wrote a number of book including Studies of Indian Life and Sentiment, 1910.
succeed in safeguarding their interests. The general feeling of apprehension and anxiety, about their political future in the Muslim community, and their disquiet and resentment about the state of affairs, found expression through well-attended public meetings at several places, and a virtual avalanche of telegrams and letters of protest to the Governor-General and other high officials of the Government over the resignation of Fuller. The drift of these developments was inevitably towards the formation of some sort of political organization of Muslims to secure their position and interests in the Indian sub-continent.

These momentous changes in the disposition of the Muslim community were attended by the growth of extremist and militant tendencies in the Congress and outside it. Not only was the Congress being pressed in a radical direction, but a section of the Muslim youth, too, was being drawn towards the Congress movement. These developments coincided with changes in the team (of Secretary of State and Viceroy) that was to govern India. Towards the end of 1905 Lord Minto succeeded Lord Curzon as Governor-General (1905-10), while the installation of a new Ministry in Britain consequent to the general

elections of 1906, brought Viscount Morley to the India Office (1906-10). The new incumbents found India in a tense situation, and the major element in their remedial prescription to pacify educated India was the implementation of a scheme of constitutional reform.

The leaders of the Muslim community were facing a dual challenge. On the one hand was their growing fear of the political relegation to inferiority of the Muslims, and on the other was the danger of a political fragmentation of their community inherent in the attraction of their youth towards the nationalist camp, and in the growth of a radical Muslim sentiment in the direction of agitational politics, as was demonstrated during the pre-partition agitation of the Muslims of East Bengal. One of the ways of dealing with this challenge was to take an agitational approach themselves; and thereby not only pressurise the Government for concessions to the Muslims, but also rally the entire community under their leadership. "But before resorting to the methods adopted by the Congress, they wanted to approach the Government in the most constitutional and peaceful way and the opportunity was provided when Morley in his Budget speech expressed his desire.

3. The background and the evolution of the reforms scheme is dealt with in the following chapter.

4. Delivered to the House of Commons on July 20, 1906.
to consider the proposals for reforming the Legislative Councils and Minto appointed a committee to look into the matter and suggest some reforms. The Muslim leaders decided to act promptly."

An extensive correspondence ensued among the Muslim leaders immediately after Morley's announcement was published. Ideas were exchanged on the best way to approach the Government effectively, and various courses of action were suggested. The result of these exercises was the decision to constitute a delegation of leading Muslims, which would endeavour to acquaint the Governor-General with their viewpoint. The key figure in these confabulation was that of Mehdi Ali Khan Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Secretary of the Aligarh College since the death of Sir Syed.

Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote in the *Aligarh Institute Gazette* that the idea of a Muslim Deputation to be sent to the Viceroy first occurred to Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan, Rais of Datawali, Aligarh, who had been a Legislative Councillor

5. The Arundel Committee, appointed on August 16, 1906.
7. The account of the background of the famous Deputation given below is to be borne in mind to examine whether it was a 'Command Performance.'
in U.P. He despatched a letter to influential Muslims all over the country on July 30, 1906, which asserted that the Budget speech of the Secretary of State and his announcement that the Governor-General would appoint a committee to consider the proposal for the extension of councils had provided a golden chance to the Muslims of India to draw the attention of the rulers to their position. They should not let this opportunity slip from their hands and through memorials, and deputations should respectfully convince the Government of the probable adverse effects on the Muslims of the proposed reforms.

Similar letters were received by Mohsin-ul-Mulk from different parts of the country. Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan, a very influential barrister of Aligarh, also wrote to Mohsin-ul-Mulk: "You will have probably heard of the speech of Mr. Morley. If not, listen it attentively. Obviously the time has come that the Muslims should review their past policy .... Understand it thoroughly that if you will not take this work in your hand, the youngers of our community and even your students will be attracted to other side and what will be their ideas and activities no body knows." M.H.Rizvi from Allahabad brought to his notice the same fact. He wrote that in view

8. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, October 23, 1906.
9. Ibid.
of the great changes that the Liberal ministry of England was to bring in India it would be suicidal to keep silence. Political developments in India had brought about a revolution in the thinking of the Mussalmans and their bestirred state was opportune for forming a political association to safeguard their rights and their future. He wrote: "where are the Mehdis and Imams, the Shah Dins and Aftabs, Nasrulls and Nasims, and the Rafiuddins and Karamat Husains? What are they thinking? The opportunity has come for them to rise like the Muslims of old. India is not now for them a land of dreams. The interests of the silent millions of their co-religionists demand prompt and steady action on their part. They have already lost a great deal by passive loyalty. Let them be active in the field. They should at once come on the political arena and fight out their battles abreast with the rest of the world, or the very existence of the Mohammedans in India will become a shadow and a name." Sardar Yar Muhammad Khan, Vazeer of Jaora State, and Muhammad Yaqoob, a Vakil of Shahjahanpur, also contacted the Nawab, drawing his attention to the Muslim discontent. A number of such letters began pouring into the office of Mohsin-ul-Mulk.


In addition to his personal correspondence with Aohsin-ul-Mulk and others, Sahibzada Aftab Ahmad Khan attempted to mobilise Muslim opinion through the Press. He wanted to make the issue a major question of Muslim interest and wrote to the Observer of Lahore, asking for special consideration for Indian Muslims when the question of enlarging the scope of the Imperial Legislative Council was considered. He demanded that a certain number of seats be allotted to them, both in the Imperial and Provincial Councils. The Observer in one of its articles denying that India constituted one nation, condemned the mixed election to seats on legislative Councils, district boards and municipalities. Basing its arguments on the diversity of races and creeds in the population of India, it expressed the grievance that 'The Hindus, being numerically stronger and well-versed in the art of capturing votes, always manage to elect men after their own hearts and those who are the real leaders of the Muhammadan community, whose opinions carry weight with their co-religionists and who reflect the views of the Muslims in general, seldom get any opportunity of elections'. Thus political consciousness among the Muslims to safeguard their rights had grown to an extent not known earlier, and the formation of a political organization was but the logical corollary of this development.

12. The Observer, August 22, 1906.
13. Ibid., August 18, 1906.
His Highness the Aga Khan, however, attributes some other reasons for the formation of the Muslim League. In his memoirs he mentioned that political conditions in India at that time were in a state of rapid change. The Congress Party, the only active and responsible political organisation in the country, was already proving itself incapable of representing India's Muslims or of dealing adequately or justly with the needs and aspirations of the Muslim community.

The breach between the two communities had clearly become manifest. 'The pressure of Hindu extremism was too strong.' He requested Sir Pherozshah Mehta (1846-1915), who was high in the councils of the Indian National Congress to stop this breach and use his influence to make the Congress realise how significant it was to win Muslim confidence. But he failed. Gokhale (1866-1916) was anxious to change his party's attitude but he was deeply distressed to watch his political friends and associates deliberately sowing the seeds of permanent

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15. Ibid.
16. Graduated from Elphinston College Bombay, entered the Lincoln's Inn and was called to the Bar, 1868; belonged to the Liberal School of Indian politics; presided Congress session at Calcutta, 1899; C.I.E., 1894; Knighted, 1904.
17. Joined Indian National Congress, 1889; elected to Bombay Legislative Council, 1898; elected to Imperial Legislative Council, 1902; C.I.E., 1904; founded Servant of Indian Society, 1905; contributed articles to the Mahratta, a great nationalist.
disunity between Hindu and Muslim.' The Aga Khan claims that with Gokhale's private support he addressed frequent and urgent representations to the Congress on these lines, which, if heeded, would have led the Muslim community into the Congress and presented a united front to the Imperialist power, but to no avail. ('By 1906', continues the Aga Khan, 'Mohsin-ul-Mulk and I, in common with other Muslim leaders, had come to the conclusion that our only hope lay along the lines of independent organisation and action, and that we must secure independent political recognition from the British Government as a nation within a nation.')

Mohsin-ul-Mulk too realised the gravity of the situation and ultimately decided upon the proposal of a deputation to the Viceroy. His scheme was approved by both upper and middle class Muslims and, surprisingly enough, within a fortnight of Morley's announcement of reform scheme, he received 1,883 letters supporting his idea. Mohsin-ul-Mulk further writes that between a period of August 20 to September 24 he received 4,537 letters which included Members of the Legislative Council and Supreme Council, Ex M.L.C. Ill, Great Commander of the Indian Empire, Knight Commander of the Stars of India and Indian Empire.

18. The Aga Khan, op.cit., p. 76.
19. Ibid.
Nawabs and Rajas 24, Shamsul Ulama 9, Khan Bahadurs 73, Honorary Magistrates and Municipal Commissioners 225, Vakils and Barristers 278, Mukhtars 45, Zamindars 878, Businessmen 534, Servicemen 469, Editors of the Papers 30, Pensioners 100, Responsible Officials of the State 126, Members of the family of Nawab Arcot, Tipu Sultan, Nawab Oudh and Timur 73, others 1020, etc. Provinces-vise their figure was - United Provinces of Agra & Oudh - 1764, Bombay (including Sindh, Gujarat 260, Punjab 1661, Madras 77, C.P. Berar 257, Bengal-Bihar 120, Native States 26, Frontier Provinces 258, Burma 25, Eastern Bengal and Assam 89. The Nawab was sojourning those days in Bombay, and the principal of the M.A.O. College, W.A.J. Archbold, was in Simla. To Archbold, Mohsin-ul-Mulk wrote:

'You must have read and thought over Mr. John Morley’s speech on the Indian Budget. It is very much talked of among the Mohammedans of India, and is commonly believed to be a great success achieved by the "National Congress."

'You are aware that the Mohammedans already feel a little disappointed, and young educated Mohammedans seems to have a sympathy for the "Congress", and this speech will

21. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, October 23, 1906. The figures given by Mohsin-ul-Mulk provinces-vise and profession-vise do not actually tally with the total number of letters he received.

22. On August 4, 1906. This date is to be noted.
produce a greater tendency in them to join the "Congress". Although there is little reason to believe that any Mohammedans, 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 Mohammedans; they say that we do not suggest any plans for preserving their rights, and particularly do nothing and care nothing for the Mohammedans 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 Mohammedans; and no Mohammedans get into the Councils by election; every now and then the Government nominates a stray Mohammedan 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 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 Mohammedans will hardly get a seat, while Hindus will carry off the palm by dint of their majority and no Mohammedan 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 Mohammedans.
'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 Mohammedans to the Viceroy, and to request His Excellency's permission for a deputation to wait on His Excellency to submit the view of Mohammedans on the matter?'

The contents of this letter were very significant, for it not only expressed the general disquiet among the Muslims towards Government policy, their feeling of deprivation at their representation in the existing Legislative Councils, and their anxiety over the implications for their community of 'the new proposal of "elected representatives" in the Legislative Councils', but also indicated the pressures working on the moderate Muslim leadership, drawn mostly from the upper classes, to adopt a more activistic policy. Archbold immediately after receipt forwarded a copy of the letter to the Governor-General's Private Secretary, Colonel Dunlop Smith and it was placed before Minto on August 8, 1906. Meanwhile there was a burst of agitational activity among the Muslims of

23. Morley Papers, Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, August 4, 1906, enclosed with Minto to Morley, August 8, 1906.
Eastern Bengal, following the acceptance of Fuller's resignation. Archbold, who played a significant role in bringing the Muslim Deputation to fruition, was personally convinced that it was in the Muslim interest not to take to agitation or to forsake the path of loyal co-operation with the Government, and felt that unless the Government demonstrated its solicitude for the welfare of the Muslims, the Muslims would in frustration take to Congress methods. In a letter to Dunlop Smith, dated August 9, he, therefore, suggested that if the Governor-General received the Deputation and made a 'reassuring statement' to it, without injuring Hindu and other interests, it would be possible to divert Muslim activity from agitational to legitimate channels. Archbold assured Smith that the Deputation would not bring forward anything 'in the slightest degree disloyal or objectionable', for "there is no wish on the part of Mohammedans to give trouble to the Government in any way, only if I may judge, a certain widespread nervousness and uneasiness as to the future, a fear lest they should be left out in the cold."

But Archbold's fears that Lord Minto might not be favourable to the idea of receiving a Muslim Deputation were

24. *Minto Papers*, Correspondence with Persons in India, July to December 1906, See Archbold's letter to Dunlop Smith, August 20, 1906.

25. *Minto Papers*, Correspondence with Persons in India, July to December 1906, Archbold to Dunlop Smith, Simla, August 9, 1906.
misplaced, for immediately after reading through Mohsin-ul-Mulk's letter to Archbold, Minto had forwarded it to Morley on the same day (August 8, 1906) as he regarded it important in illustrating the trend of Muhammadan thought, and this apprehension that Muhammadan interests may be neglected in dealing with any increase of representation on the Legislative Councils. 'I have not had time', he added, 'to think over the advisability of receiving the proposed deputation, but I am inclined to do so.' Indeed, Dunlop Smith informed Archbold on August 10 that Minto was agreeable to the idea of receiving the Deputation.

Immediately thereafter, on August 10, 1906, Archbold informed Mohsin-ul-Mulk by letter that Minto had consented to receive the proposed Deputation, and that Dunlop Smith had advised that the Muslim leaders should submit a formal application to the Viceroy requesting an audience for the Deputation. This letter also contained Archbold’s ideas regarding the form and content of the formal application, and became the basis of the controversy that the Muslim Deputation was engineered by the Government through the agency of Archbold. However, Archbold did take the initiative in creating a climate conducive to the success of the Deputation. On the

26. Minto, Papers, Correspondence with the Secretary of State, Minto to Morley August 8, 1906.
one hand, in his letters to Muhsin-ul-Mulk, Syed Husain Bilgrami of Hyderabad and Syed Navab Ali Chowdry of Dacca, he emphasised the necessity for Muslims of adhering to constitutional action, and of professing loyalty to the Government. Indeed, on August 14, 1906, he sent to Muhsin-ul-Mulk a draft of the formal application to the Viceroy, which was, it appears, not only extremely moderate in tone, but tinged heavily with loyalist sentiments as well. (Copies of the letter and the draft are not traceable, but reference to them in other correspondence indicated this). On the other hand, in his letters to Dunlop Smith, dated August 9, 20 and 22, 1906, Archbold referred to the mounting Muslim agitation in Eastern Bengal and Assam, and by implication, to the role Muslim leaders 'on the side of order and constitutional action' could play in keeping 'the rather excited Mohammedans of Bengal within bounds.' Archbold even went to the extent of volunteering to visit Dacca to pacify the Muslims there in his letter of August 20, though this offer was politely turned down by Dunlop Smith. In this letter Archbold had written:

27. "Hindo Papers, Confidential Correspondence with Persons in India, July to December 1906. W.A.J. Archbold to Dunlop Smith, Simla, August 22, 1906.
28. Ibid., Muhsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, Bombay August 18, 1906.
29. Ibid., Archbold to Dunlop Smith, Simla, August 9, 20, 22, 1906.
30. Ibid., Archbold to Dunlop Smith, Simla, August 9, 22, 1906.
31. Ibid., Dunlop Smith to Archbold, Simla August 21, 1906. See also Dunlop Smith's letter to Sir Lancelot, Lieutenant Governor of East Bengal, August 24, 1906.
'We are all very anxious that the Mohammedans should not put themselves in the wrong; it is just that what their enemies would like. As you know, they are rather backward in the art of political agitation, and the danger is that they may go wrong through ignorance.' In his letter of August 22, 1906, Archbold endorsed Mohsin-ul-Mulk's reply to his letter of August 18, 1906. This reply was indicative of the profound ferment in the Muslim community arising out of their discontent. It is worthwhile to quote this letter in extenso.

'Thanks for your letter of the 14th instance 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 me to represent their cause to Government without the means of a political association......

'I find that Mohammedan 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 Mohammedans have suffered for their silence. The Mohammedans have generally begun to think of organising a political association and forming themselves into political

32. Ibid., Archbold to Dunlop Smith, August 20, 1906.
agitators. Although it is impossible for the Mohammedans, on account of their lack of ability and union and want of funds, to attain any success like the Hindus, and they are likely to lose rather than gain by such a course, it is yet impossible for anybody to stop them. The Mohammedan of Eastern Bengal have received a severe shock. I have got letter from Syed Nawab Ali Chowdhry of Dacca who gives utterance to the extremely sorrowful feeling prevailing there. He says, "... up till now the Mohammedans of Bengal have been careless. They have now begun to feel the consequences of their carelessness. If only the Mohammedans of Bengal, instead of following the Government, had agitated like the Hindus and had enlisted the sympathies of the Mohammedans of the whole of India, and raised their voice up to the Parliament, they would never have seen these unfortunate consequences. The resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller has produced an unrest throughout the Mohammedans in the whole of Bengal, and their aspirations for higher education and increased rank and responsibility are being subsided. Looking at it from one point of view the Government has taught a good lesson to the Mohammedans by accepting Sir Bampfylde's resignation. It has served to awaken them after a sleep of carelessness. We shall now have to proceed on the same lines as the Hindus, not only in India, but in England."
This is only a brief quotation of what I am getting from the whole of India. These people generally say that the policy of Sir Syed and that of mine has done no good to Mohammedans. They say 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 Mohammedans generally will desert us, because the policy of the College is detrimental to their interests. My dear Archbold, nobody can say that the present state of Mohammedan feeling is without its justification. The Liberal Government is at the bottom of it, and is responsible for it. I consider it a wrong policy arising out of the ignorance of the real conditions in India.

His policy has done a lot of injury to India and may do much more. Is it right for the Government to allow an important section of the Indian population, which has always supported and even depended on Government to safeguard its interests, to be disappointed and get-up a spirit of agitation like the Hindus? I only hope that the Government of India would do something to subside the growing Mohammedan feeling and to remedy their helplessness.

33. Minto Papers, Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold, Bombay August 18, 1906.
The aim of Archbold's exercise was to bring subtle pressure to bear on the Government to respond favourably to the Deputation, which Archbold regarded 'as a solvent of the difficulties, arising out of Muslim uneasiness in Dacca and elsewhere.

Meanwhile, Minto sought the suggestion and advice of Sir Lancelot Hare (1851-1922), the new Lieutenant-Governor of Eastern Bengal and Assam, and Sir Denzil Ibbetson (1847-1908), member of his council, on the Deputation, copies of the letter of Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Archbold (August 4, 1906) being forwarded to them. Both agreed that the Viceroy should receive the Deputation and give it a sympathetic answer. To Sir Hare, the Viceroy should express 'full sympathy with the hopes and aspiration of the Mohammedan community ...' and concluded his letter by uttering a caution that 'if agitation continues, and the Mohammedans are satisfied that this is the way to get their wishes, they cannot be held back from counter-agitation, and this will be ..... disastrous.'

34. Ibid., Dunlop Smith to Hare, Simla August 24, 1906.
35. Member of the Viceroy's Council, 1905-06; officiating Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1906; Lieutenant-Governor of East Bengal and Assam, 1906-11; Knighted, 1907.
36. Entered Civil Service, 1870; served as Director of Public Instruction in the Punjab; Secretary to the Government of India in the Department of Revenue and Agriculture, 1896-98; Member of the Viceroy's Council, 1902-05; Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, 1905-08.
37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., Hare to Dunlop Smith, September 1, 1906.
Ibbetson also felt the same way. He had heard much 'about the aspirations of the younger generation of Mohammedians' and was convinced that their aspirations were 'perfectly natural.' Morley, too, welcomed Minto's decision to receive the Deputation, characterising it as 'an excellent occasion for vindicating our entire and resolute impartiality between races and creeds, and deprecating any other construction of either language used by Government or action taken. We view all these questions in genuine good faith.' Minto, in his reply to Morley's telegram, which carried this observation, made his position clear on the Deputation. 'It will be a capital opportunity for making clear our position, and the line I shall try to take will be exactly as you say in the direction of indicating our entire and resolute impartiality between races and creeds. I shall say this clearly and strongly, but the position is a ticklish one, and one will have to think over very carefully all that must and must not be said. Arundel's Committee is dealing with the very points you mention - the representation of races, creeds and interests.'

Mohsin-ul-Mulk submitted a memorial, on September 7, 1906; signed by prominent Muslim leaders, requesting the Viceroy

39. Ibid., Ibbetson to Dunlop Smith, August 10, 1906.

40. Quoted by Wasti, op.cit., p.67 (Morley to Minto, Telegram, August 27, 1906).

41. Quoted by Wasti, op.cit., p.67 (Minto to Morley, Telegram, August 31, 1906).
to grant permission to a deputation of leading Muhammadans to wait on him to present an address. The memorial stated:

'In past years the Muhammadan people of India have, in spite of some temptation, kept studiously aloof from all forms of political agitation and they feel confident that the Government recognises this fact.....

'At the present moment, however, when various changes in the composition of the Legislative Council and in other Departments of the Government have been mentioned as being under consideration, it may be useful to the Authorities to hear a carefully considered expression of opinion offered by representative Mohammedans from various parts of India, dealing with their reasonable aims and expectations in regard to their future Political position in India.

'We therefore beg most respectfully that Your Excellency would allow a Deputation of leading Mohammedans to wait upon you at Simla and to present an Address embodying their views. We cannot claim to be the representatives of any general political association such, indeed, does not exist amongst the Mohammedans at the present moment; but we feel sure, living as we do in many parts of India, that we are expressing the wishes of our co-religionists in asking this favour, and also that at the present time the reception of such a Deputation would allay that anxiety as to the future which many Mohammedans feel.'
Dunlop Smith, in reply to Mohsin-ul-Mulk, fixed the appointment for October 1, 1906, at 11 A.M. at Simla and requested him to furnish him a copy of the proposed address for His Excellency's information as early as possible.

The news of the Muslim deputation to the Viceroy and his assurance to receive it was welcomed in Conservative circle with great joy and satisfaction. The Times, their spokesman, wrote that at a time when 'disloyal agitation' was a common feature of Indian life, it was 'worth while to take stock of the forces of loyalty' shown by the Muslims. It called the Muslim move as 'a new chapter in their political history' and asked the Viceroy 'to decide whether in future encouragement is to be given to the forces of loyalty, or whether the loyal minorities are to be driven to make common cause with those who declare openly that they desire, in the words of a Calcutta journal, "to make India autonomous and absolutely free from British control." But the Tribune criticised the Muslim demand to have their own special representation as distinct from other communities and rejected the implication that Muslims though fully qualified were unable to secure seats in the various councils owing to Hindu being in

43. *Minto Papers, July to December, Dunlop Smith to Mohsin-ul-Mulk, September 13, 1906.*

44. *The Times, September 26, 1906.*
the majority. It pointed out that Nawab Syed Muhammad of Madras, Hon'ble Sharfuddin and Maulvi Siraj-ul-Islam of Patna and Hon'ble Rahmatullah Sayani (1847-1902) of Bombay were elected by the Hindus for their respective Provincial Councils and pleaded that whenever a suitable Muslim candidate was found, the Hindus had always supported him as their representative. It implored the Muslims to make such demands which should be dignified: "The deputation", it wrote, "has an opportunity of doing the country a signal service by exercising a judicious discretion in framing its memorial and we sincerely

45. Belonged to one of the noblest and most aristocratic families of South India, being the grand son of the late Shahzadi Sharukh Begum, daughter of Sultan Yasin, the fourth son of Tippu Sultan; appointed a member of the Madras Legislative Council, 1896, which elected him as one of its members on the Imperial Legislative Council, 1903; was a staunch Congressman and presided over the Congress Session held at Karachi, 1913; passed away on February 12, 1919. See the Tribune, February 15, 1919.

46. Born at Patna, educated in England and returned to India in 1879 after Bar-at-Law; presided the political meeting held at the Residence of Hamid Ali Khan, barrister of Lucknow in 1902 which discussed thoroughly about the formation of a Muslim Political Association; appointed a judge at Calcutta High Court, 1906 and presided the Muhammad Educational Conference at Dacca the same year.

47. An influential man of Patna.

48. A leading Muhammadan of Bombay; graduated from the Elphinstone College Bombay (1866) and took his M.A., LL.B., from the Bombay University, 1868 and 1870 respectively; elected to Bombay Municipal Corporation, 1876, President of Bombay Corporation, 1888; elected to Bombay Legislative Council, 1880-90 and 1894-96 and to Imperial Legislative Council, 1896-98; associated with National Congress since its inception; presided the Twelfth session of the Congress, Calcutta 1896.
trust it will not fall short of its duty." But the Muslims, pressed as they were by circumstances, and motivated by apprehension regarding their interests and their future, were not likely to be influenced by such counsels.

The task of preparing the memorial was entrusted to Nawab Imaad-ul-Mulk, Syed Husain Bilgrami (1842-1926), who cautiously drafted it in collaboration with Mohsin-ul-Mulk. Three hundred copies of the memorial were sent to Muslim leaders of different provinces to express the views for its final passage. Nawab Salimullah and Nawab Ali Chowdhry of Dacca insisted the inclusion of the issue of the partition of Bengal in it and threatened their severance from the Deputation if it was not incorporated. Mian Muhammad Shafi and Justice Shah Din (1868-1918) pressed that no 'controversial' issue be included in it and they also threatened to dissociate

49. The Tribune, September 2, 15, 1906.

50. Graduated from the Calcutta University, 1866; entered Nizam's service and was awarded the title of Imaad-ul-Dowla Imaad-ul-Mulk for his services; presided the Muhammadan Educational Conference twice, 1896 and 1900; Fellow of the University of Madras; delivered Convocation Address to the Madras University, 1916; first Muslim to be appointed member of India Council, 1908; a great Scholar of many languages and a staunch supporter of the Aligarh Movement.

51. Proceeded to England for Higher Education; called to the Bar, 1890; came in contact with Sir Syed, Muhammad Shafi, Syed Ahmad, Beck, Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Aga Khan; believed that education should be a synthesis of the best of the Occidental and Oriental values; presided Muhammadan Educational Conference twice, 1894 and 1913; appointed judge of the Chief Court, Punjab, acted as Chief Justice; quite active in Politics and favoured constitutional method, one of the members of Simla Deputation.
themselves if the proposal of the Dacca leaders was acceded to. There is no doubt that the Muslims of Eastern Bengal considered the partition of Bengal, a question of their supreme interest and the Muslims of India had shown their fullest sympathy with them by calling thousands of meetings and passing countless resolutions therein in their support. However its inclusion was considered inadvisable and Mohsin-ul-Mulk felt that there was no use casting 'any bitter attack on the activity of the sister community.' The Lucknow meeting which was chaired by Mr. Hamid Ali Khan, barrister, and later under the chairmanship of Moulvi Rafiuddin, barrister, on September 15, 16, 1906 discussed the revised memorial very thoroughly. Its tone was moderated and it differed from the previous one in one important aspect. The original draft had recommended the name of Syed Ameer Ali for the appointment to the Council of the Secretary of State and also for the appointment of Indians to the Executive Council of the Viceroy. The revised draft now 'limited itself to the claim for a Muslim in the 'Viceroy's Council', and dropped the issue of the Secretary

53. Ibid.
of State's Council. An important addition was further made by mentioning the establishment of a Muslim University which was hitherto neglected. Some sentences were slightly modified and a few sentences were added 'to make the demand for more employment almost as important as that of separate electorate.'

The Lucknow meeting nominated 41 leading Muslim leaders of India to form a delegation to present the Address to the Viceroy; authorised Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk to add any name in the list already approved by the meeting and finally resolved that 'His Highness the Aga Khan be requested to join the Deputation; and head it as its spokesman.' Thus the Lucknow sitting was a departure from earlier meetings which ended after finalising the Address and the constitution of the Delegation. A copy of the memorial was soon afterwards despatched to the

55. Ibid., pp. 22, 23.

56. The Pioneer in its issue of August 27, 1902 about Aga Khan wrote: "A Persian by ancestry and trained to tastes not dissimilar to those of the average English aristocrat. His Highness may be regarded as standing in thought and habit midway between East and West. He combines what is best in both civilisations. His oriental dignity and charm are linked with frankness, sincerity and a wide and tolerant outlook on life."

About Aga Khan Morley wrote to Minto (October 26, 1906) that "he is an important man, I believe he is a real friend of the Raj; and whatever he is, he knows a great deal of all sorts of men and press that you and I can get but scanty and deceptive glimpses of." Minto Papers, Vol. II Morley to Minto.

57. The Times, September 21, 1906. See also The Aligarh Institute Gazette, October 24, 1906 Resolution No. 2 and 4.
Viceroy to facilitate him in preparing an answer.

A distinguished Congressman of Madras, Nawab Syed Muhammad was also to join the Deputation. But later Nawab Syed Muhammad voiced serious reservations on the draft. He objected to the paragraph of the memorandum which said: "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-Muslim 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." The Nawab expressed his sympathy with the objects of the Deputation in general but was opposed to the election by any particular community as to him Hindu and Muslim interests were mostly identical in India. Therefore his name was dropped. On October 1, 1906, thirty-five prominent Muslim leaders from

58. The Tribune, October 3, 1906. See also The Aligarh Institute Gazette, October 24, 1906.
59. Dr. A. Hamid in his article 'The Simla Deputation' writes that the Deputation consisted of 70 members and Maulana Muhammad Ali was one of the members of the Deputation. (See The Proceedings of the Pakistan History Conference, Sixth Session, held at Karachi under the auspices of the Pakistan Historical Society 1956, pp. 156-7). But it is not correct. Forty-one Muslim leaders were selected for the Deputation but Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan of Dacca. Nawab 444-8.
different parts of the country assembled in the Ball Room of

(Continued footnote from the previous page)

Ghayasuddin, Ahmadabad, Gujarat, Raja Jahandar Khan Hazara, Shaikh Shahid Husain, Barrister Lucknow could not join it. Maulana Muhammad Ali was not selected for the delegation. Certainly he participated in the Foundation ceremony of League at Dacca in December 1906.

60. Their names are as follows:

2. Shazadah Bakhtiar Shah, C.I.E., Head of the Mysore Family, Calcutta (Bengal).
5. Hon'ble Syed Sharfuddin, Bar-at-Law, Patna (Bihar).
8. Janab Naseer Hussain Khan Khayal, Calcutta (Bengal).
11. Nawab Sarfaraz Husain Khan, Patna (Bihar).
16. Hon'ble Syed Aladad Shah, Khairpur (Sindh).
17. Maulana H.A.Malik, Nagpur (C.P.).
23. Hakim Muhammad Ajmal Khan, Delhi (Punjab).
28. Munshi Abdul Salam, Rampur (U.P.).
29. Khan Bahadur Muhammad Muzammilullah Khan, Aligarh (U.P.).
30. Haji Muhammad Ismail Khan, Aligarh (U.P.).
32. Maulvi Mustaq Husain, Amroha (U.P.).
33. Maulvi Habibur Rahman Khan, Bhikampur (U.P.).
the Viceregal Lodge at Simla to present their Address to His Excellency the Viceroy. The assembly, received by the Viceroy, presented such an impressive look and represented such a galaxy of prominent Muslim leaders that even Morley later on expressed his wishfulness for such a resplendent gathering of Indian aristocracy.

The Address presented by the Deputation, characterised throughout by its moderation, gave the appearance of having been motivated by the anxiety of the Muslim community arising out of the extant circumstances and developments, to safeguard its position and interests in the context of the projected constitutional changes. It began with an appreciation of 'the incalculable benefits conferred by British rule on the teeming millions' of India, and expressed gratitude 'for the peace, security, personal freedom and liberty of worship' established under British administration.

(Continued footnote from the previous page)

34. Nawab Syed Sardar Ali Khan, Hyderabad (Deccan).


62. Mary, Countess of Minto, India, Minto and Morley 1906-1910 (London 1935) p.48. On October 26, Morley wrote to Minto: 'All that you tell me of your Mohammedans is full of interest and I only regret that I could not have moved about unseen at your garden party'. See Minto Papers, July to December 1906, Morley to Minto, October 26, 1906.
It pointed out the special position of over 62 million strong Muslims of India, arising out of their many exclusive interests not shared by other communities and the status they occupied in India a little more than a hundred years before. The Viceroy's attention was drawn to 'their political importance and the value of the contribution they make to the defence of the Empire.' The inadequate Muslim participation in the judiciary, local bodies and University bodies was highlighted, and the existing method of election was criticised for the insufficiency of Muslim representation in local self-Government institutions and Legislative Councils. This the Address sought to rectify by asking for Muslims the right to select their representatives by electorates confined exclusively to their community. In addition, the Address demanded that Muslim representation should be proportionate not merely to their numerical strength, but should reflect the significance of their community as 'an important factor in the state.'

The Viceroy's reply to the Address was cautious. He said: 'You have addressed me, gentlemen, at a time when the political atmosphere is full of change. We all feel it......

63. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, October 24, 1906, See also Struggle for Independence 1857-1947 (Pakistan Publication 1958) Appendix II. Address presented to Lord Minto by a Deputation of the Muslim Community of India on October 1, 1906 at Simla, p.3.

64. Ibid., pp. 3,5,8.
Hopes and ambitions, new to India, are making themselves felt; we cannot ignore them. Your Address, as I understand it, is a claim that, in any system of representation, in which it is proposed to introduce or increase an electoral organization, the Muslim community should be represented as a community 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. I am as firmly convinced as I believed 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.

Minto added a personal note to his reply in assuring the Deputation 'that their political rights and interests will be safeguarded in administration with which I am concerned.'

Minto's reply to the Address was fully approved by Morley who appreciated 'its high qualities', as to him the

65. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, October 24, 1906.
66. Ibid.
67. Minto Papers, Morley to Minto, Telegram October 4, 1906 Telegram No. 365.
Address 'was admirable alike in spirit, in the choice of topics, and in the handling.' Sir Arthur Godley, Under-Secretary of State for India, also expressed the same feeling and wrote to Minto that the Deputation and his reply was 'an excellent performance', producing an 'admirable effect' in England. While to Sir Edmund S. Poe, Commander-in-Chief - East Indies Station, from Ceylon in his congratulatory letter paid a glowing tribute to the Viceroy for his reply to the Deputation. Dunlop Smith who was closest to the Viceroy sincerely felt that 'it was really a big thing.' Hon'ble Sri Ram, a member of Viceroy's Legislative Council, eulogised the Viceroy's speech - a speech of 'great tact and consummate statesmanship' and 'was struck with the total absence of anything which can in the least be distasteful to the Hindu population.' The Muslim leaders too were full of praise, appreciation and gratitude to Minto for his 'clear and sympathetic recognition of the rights of Mohammedans.' Mohsin-ul-Mulk

68. Ibid., Morley to Minto, October 5, 1906.
69. Ibid., Sir Arthur Godley to Minto, October 12, 1906.
70. Ibid., Sir Edmund S. Poe to Minto, October 4, 1906.
71. Ibid., Dunlop Smith to Hare, October 2, 1906.
72. Ibid., Hon'ble Sri Ram to Dunlop Smith, October 7, 1906.
73. Letter from Mohsin-ul-Mulk to Dunlop Smith, October 7, 1906 cited in Martin Gilbert, Servant of India - A Study of Imperial Rule from 1905 to 1910 as told through the correspondence and diaries of Sir James Dunlop Smith (Longmans, 1966) p. 57.
felt that it was a 'historic declaration of the policy of the Indian Government' which had 'put a new heart' into them.

With Minto's reply to the Address presented by the Deputation, 'for good or ill, the die was cast' in favour of separate Muslim representation. 'Separate electorates remained an integral part of the constitution of India right up to the transfer of power.' Moreover, the apparent success of the Deputation restored Muslim faith in the Government's capacity and will to protect Muslim interests. The wind was taken out of the sails of the nascent agitational mood of the Muslims of Bengal, and the hold of the moderate Muslim leadership over the entire community was assured.

The Simla Deputation 'gave rise to one of the undying' myths of Indian politics', namely that it was not the spontaneous product of the disquiet of the Muslim leadership at current developments and the future directions of change, but was manoeuvred by the Government, or individual Britishers, to impede the development of the national movement in general and the Indian National Congress in particular. The Deputation was interpreted as the first episode of the grand design of

74. Ibid.
76. Ibid., pp. 14, 15.
77. Ibid., p. 14, n.1.
British imperial interests, in the classic pattern of divide et impera, which was followed by the formation of the Muslim League and the grant of separate electorates to Muslims, to create in Muslims 'separatism', a counter-thrust to the increasing momentum of Congress activity after the Bengal partition, a design which culminated in the finale of the partition of India.

The first expression of this viewpoint was by the Congress-leaning Aurit Bazar Patrika on October 4, 1906 which expressed that 'the whole thing appears to be a got-up affair and fully engineered by interested officials ...' Muslim leaders like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (1888-1958) and Maulana Muhammad Ali (1878-1931), too, took a somewhat similar view: to the former, the Deputation "was manouvred from Simla,"

79. A staunch Nationalist; son of Moulvi Khaimuddin, a very famous spiritual guide; received purely traditional education; opposed to British Imperialism in India and elsewhere; started an Urdu weekly, the Al-Hilal and later Al-Bilagh 1912 and 1915 respectively; Presided Unity Conference, 1924; appointed a member of Congress Parliamentary sub-Committee, 1937; twice elected President of National Congress; continued as Congress President till 1946; appointed Minister of Education after independence; a very influential writer and a believer of the composite Indian Nationalism.
80. Studied at Aligarh and Oxford, started the Comrade, 1911; his mastery over English and his journalistic aptitude made the Comrade very popular; arrested for his anti-British propaganda, 1915; started Khilafat movement and founded Jamia Milliah, 1920, presided the Indian National Congress, 1923; participated in almost every conference for Hindu-Muslim unity.
while the latter asserted that the Deputation was a "command 82 83 performance." Later, a number of Indian writers - both Hindu and Muslim - elaborated this conspiracy theory, developing it on the basis of the statements of Maulana Azad and Muhammad Ali, the Archbold-Dunlop Smith-Johnsin-ul-Mulk correspondence, the note of the British official to Lady Minto, 84


83. (a) Dr. Mohammad Ashraf, Hindustani Muslim Siyasat par Ek Nazar (Delhi 1963), p.25; (b) H.M. Chaudhri, Muslim Politics (Calcutta, 1946) p.16 (c) C.Y. Chintamani, Indian Politics Since the Quitting (London 1948) p.91 (d) M.N. Dalal, Whither Minorities? (Bombay 1940) p.65 (e) Qazi Abdul Gaffar, Asar Abdul Kalam (Delhi) p.36 (f) Abdul Majid Khan, The Communalism in India - Its Origin and Growth (Lahore 1944) p.23 (g) Lal Bahadur, The Muslim League (Agra 1954) p.34 (h) Ashok Mehta and Achut Patwar-Dhan, The Communal Triangle in India (Allahabad 1942) p.63 (i) Baqar Ali Mirza, Hindu-Muslim Problem (Bombay 1944) p.34 (j) S. Mukerji, Communalism in Muslim Politics (Calcutta) p.84 (k) Ram Gopal, op.cit., p.98 (l) G.N. Singh, op.cit., p.195 (m) Dr. Rajendra Prasad, India Divided; Stanley Wipert, Morey and India (Los Angel's 1967) p.186; Tufail Ahmad Manglory, Mussalmanon Ka Roshan Mustaqbil (Delhi 1945).

84. Vide supra p.111.

85. Vide supra, pp. 87-89, 93,95.

86. The British Official wrote to Lady Minto: "I must send Your Excellency a line to say that a very, very big thing has happened today. A work of statesmanship that will affect India and Indian history for many a long year. It is nothing less than pulling back of sixty-two millions of people from joining the ranks of the seditious opposition." See Mary, Countess of Minto, op.cit., pp.47-48.
and Lady Minto's characterization of the Simla assembly as 'Quite a Command Performance' in her *Indian Journal*.

The mainstay of this thesis was Archbold's letter of August 10, to Mohsin-ul-Mulk from which it was concluded that Archbold not only initiated the idea of the Deputation, but also gave instructions to the Muslim leadership on the formal application to the Viceroy, the membership of the Deputation and the contents of its Address in this and subsequent letters, probably at the behest of the imperial officialdom. The view appeared plausible enough, on the basis of available evidence, to be accepted unquestioningly by most of the writers, in the absence of authentic texts of the letters of August 10 and 14 from Archbold to Mohsin-ul-Mulk, and of awareness of the existence of Mohsin-ul-Mulk's original letter to Archbold of August 4. However, with the discovery of this letter in the Minto Papers it has become possible to reconstruct the sequence of events and view the background of the Deputation in proper perspective. The conclusion that emerges is that Archbold was acting on behalf of and under instruction.


88. Vide supra, p. 91.

89. Vide supra, p. 92.
from Mohsin-ul-Mulk, and not vice-versa. Mohsin-ul-Mulk soon established contact with Dunlop Smith and corresponded with him directly. H.V. Hodson, in his examination of the background of the partition of India strikes yet another blow at the 'conspiracy' thesis. According to him: "In her diary, which was later published, Lady Minto described the impressive delegation, the Princes with jewelled turbans, and exclaimed: 'Quite a Command Performance!' To an English reader, the allusion was to the presence of everybody who was somebody, in their finest garments and regalia, as at a Royal Command Performance at the opera; but to Indians unfamiliar with English social custom and idiom the phrase was taken to imply that the delegation was performing by command - a set of puppets summoned and animated to justify a policy already determined in the Government's own interest. This myth became part of the inevitable stock-in-trade of Indian opponents of communal representation." The 'conspiracy' theory, thus, falls flat on the ground.

Moreover, the belief that the Deputation was engineered from Simla, overlooks the growth of Muslim political consciousness, and its heightening from the turn of the century, as we have seen in the previous chapter, which effloresced in

91. Ibid.
the form of Muslim agitation in support of the Bengal part-
tion and the wave of resentment that spread throughout India
among the Muslims in the wake of Fuller's resignation.) 'To
subscribe to such opinions', concludes Wasti, 'is to distort
history and to underrate both Muslim political aspirations
and the integrity and actual capacity of Muslim leadership.
Archbold's close contact with high Government officials might
have facilitated the work of the Muslim leaders in approaching
the Viceroy and presenting the memorial to him, but it did
not in any way seem to have inspired them. The inspiration
came from within rather than from without.'

The tendency towards agitational activity on the part
of Muslim youth ensured a favourable response from Minto to
the Deputation. Lady Minto, whose opinions were usually in-
fluenced by her husband, commented: 'The younger generation
(of Muslims) were wavering, inclined to throw in their lot
with the advanced agitators of the Congress ....' Indeed as
Professor C.H. Philips points out, the Government realised the
advantage of encouraging a separate political identity of the
Muslims, 'but there is no evidence to suggest that they cons-
ciously sought it.' Sir Regional Coupland has written: "It

92. Wasti, op.cit.p. 76.

93. Mary, Countess of Minto, op.cit., p. 46.

may well be true that many Muslims, if their claim for separate electorates had been rejected, might have joined the Hindu extremists in attacking the Government but there is no evidence to suggest that the deputation was in any sense engineered. It was actually organised by the well-known Muslim leader, Nawab Ahsin-ul-Mulk, shortly before he died. Nor was Moslem opposition to an unqualified representative system of the British model a novelty in 1908. As early as 1883, Syed Ahmed, speaking on Lord Ripon's introduction of elections to local bodies, declared that 'election, pure and simple' was quite unsuited to diversified India where the rigour of religious institutions has kept even neighbours apart."

The Muslim Deputation was for a pretty long time the subject of much discussion in the Press. The Times in its issue of October 1, 1906, the day on which the Deputation was to wait upon the Viceroy, in an article entitled 'The Mahomedan Memorial', supported the Muslim cause. 'The manner in which they are presenting their case, no less than the nature of their proposals, is in sharp contrast with the demonstrations by which certain Hindu politicians in Calcutta have attempted to influence the course of public affairs.' It praised the


96. The Times, October 1, 1906.
Muslim statesmanship and called the 'Mohamadan memorial' as 'a remarkable document'; and the only piece of original political thought emanating from modern India. Assessing the Muslia policy the paper further observed that their policy was a departure from twenty years of political quietism, twenty years during which the Muslims faithfully kept Sir Syed Ahmad's advice not to let themselves be drawn into political agitation. The paper stated that the Mohammadans' demand of higher representation in the various bodies was based on the solid fact that the principle of representation by merely numerical majorities could not be found workable in India. The Evening Standard called October 1 as a day pregnant with meaning for the future history of the Indian Empire. The Sheffield Independent held that the noisy demands of the Bengalis were responsible for Muslim political awakening. The Pioneer praised the Deputation and wrote that the Muslims represented a much greater force than their small population. The case put forward (by the deputationists) with admirable moderation and great eloquence and skill is strong enough to command most generous attention solely on its own merits and the British

97. Ibid.
98. Ibid., October 2, 1906.
100. Ibid., November 21, 1906.
rulers of India are wise enough to see the prudence and also the justice of reciprocating by all possible means, the admirable spirit of the address.' The Pioneer further assured the Mussalmaans that their identity would not be swallowed up in a 'meaningless mass vote' created by political theorists, and that their liberties and rights would never be entrusted to the caprice of an antagonistic majority. The Hindustan Review considered the Deputation 'a move in the right direction' and calculated to do good both to the Muslim community and to the country at large. The Bengalee in its editorial wrote: 'The Mahomedan deputation is a notable fact in the political evolution of the Mahomedan community in India and may be regarded as the first fruit of that educational movement which is destined, in the near future to produce great results.' It showed its cordial sympathy with the Muslims.

But the Hindus generally did not like the demands raised by the Muslims in their Address. They believed that the Mahomedan Address, the Viceroy's reply thereto and the most encouraging comments of most of the Anglo-Indian papers on the Deputation had all the making of a policy of favouring Muslims, in order to exploit Hindu-Muslim differences to the imperial advantage.

103. The Bengalee, October 4, 1906, 'The Mahomedan Deputation.' See also the issues of October 5, 6, 1906.
This produced a very disquieting effect on the Hindu mind. 'They felt that the followers of the Prophet among other qualifications desired the professing of their faith to be recognised as a qualification for Government posts and for seats in the Legislative Councils, Senates and Syndicates, Local and Municipal Boards.' To them the demands of Muslims against the Hindus would simply take them back to the days of Aurangzeb.

A certain Sikh gentleman also criticised the Address of the Deputation, saying that religion as a qualification for admission to Government service and also for representation in Municipalities and Legislative Councils should not be recognised. The Tribune in its editorial criticised the Address and also the reply given by Minto to the Aussalaans. While the former as a plea for special treatment was 'neither graceful nor effective', the latter was 'sure to give rise to widespread disappointment and pain.' The Amrit Bazar Patrika attempted to belittle the Simla Deputation and believed that it was all official wire-pulling.

A few Hindi papers, Sat Dharm Pracharak being prominent, criticised the representative character of the Simla Deputation.

104. The Pioneer, October 25, 1906, Article 'Mahomedans and Hindus.'
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid., October 12, 1906. Article 'The Mahomedan Deputation'
108. Minto Papers, Hare to Minto, October 20, 1906.
It said that no Talukdar of Oudh participated in the Lucknow meeting, the nucleus of the Deputation. But authentic sources do not give credence to such allegations. Seven leading Taluqdars of Oudh participated in the Lucknow discussion and no less than the same number sent their concurrence with the agenda of the Lucknow sitting. Moreover the Deputation included delegates from United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, the Punjab, Bihar, Bengal, Eastern Bengal and Assam, Bombay, C.P., Sindh and Madras. Hon'ble Sardar Muhammad Hayat Khan (Vazir of Khairpur Sindh) could not join the Deputation because of his sudden official engagement but sent his concurrence to Mohsin-ul-Mulk. It is thus evident that it was 'an epoch-making document' which emerged after a heated discussion of Muslim political leaders of all-India distinction.

The success of the Simla Deputation accelerated the movement to form a separate political organization of Muslims. The initiative was taken by the leading members of the Deputation. As the Aga Khan recalled: 'Our achievement in 1906 seemed important enough, and it was obvious to those of us most closely associated with it especially Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and myself that since we had obtained separate electorate recognition, we must have the political organization to make

that separate representation effective. The All-India Muslim
League was therefore founded at a meeting at Dacca.......

Having finished his business in Siala, the Aga Khan
wrote a letter to Mohsin-ul-Ijulk on October 4, 1906 which
said that the whole of the Muslim community had evinced pro-
found interest in the Siala Deputation and the Muslims wanted
the leaders of the delegation to do their best to secure the
objects which were put forth in the Address. 'To this end',
he continued, 'I would suggest that the Deputation which
presented the address resolve itself into a committee to
endeavour to obtain the granting of the various prayers which
the address embodied.' Thus the Aga Khan advised the Muslim
leaders to convert the Siala Deputation into a 'Muhammadan
Committee', for the safeguarding of the political interests
of the Mussalims in various parts of India. But the necessity
of founding an all-India Muslim political association was
keenly felt and Ameer Ali who founded the Central National
Muhammadan Association in 1877 was repeatedly urging upon the
Indian Muslims the urgency of such a body.

110. The Aga Khan, op.cit., p. 96.
111. Mohammad Noman, op.cit., pp. 73, 74. Aga Khan also wrote
to Dunlop Smith on October 29, 1906 that 'In order to
reach the definite objects mentioned by the Deputation.....
I have asked all the members .... to form in a permanent
committee, and I have given to my old friend Nawab
Mohsin-ul-Ijulk, who as you know is a most loyal and
zealous Mohammadan, certain instructions regarding the
methods by which he is to proceed....' See Gilbert
Martin, op.cit., p. 57.
112. Ameer Ali, Dawn of a New Policy in India, The Nineteenth
Century and After, November 1906, pp. 823-34; See also
his another article 'India and the New Parliament', in
Bengal being a very turbulent part of India due to its partition, Nawab Salimullah Khan naturally wanted a powerful organisation of All-India Muslims to support the partition. It has been seen in the preceding pages that he insisted the inclusion of the Partition of Bengal issue in the Address of the Simla Deputation which was not done. It certainly would have annoyed a man of Salimullah's stature and probably under the pretence of an eye operation which he could have easily avoided he abstained from attending the Simla Deputation. The Aga Khan had not favourably seen the adjustment of the boundaries of Bengal and it was another blow to Nawab Salimullah. The 'Muhammadan Committee' suggested by the Aga Khan did not get a favourable response and Nawab Salimullah who needed a chance, circulated a scheme for the formation of the All-India Muslim Confederacy. In his memorandum the Nawab of Deccan pointed out that in the past the Muslim cause had suffered because of the non-existence of a central Muhammadan association and had there been an all-India association, it would have been easy for the authorities to ascertain the views of the community. Among other objects of such an association the most important according to the Nawab was to controvert the growing influence of the Indian National Congress which had a tendency to misinterpret and subvert the

113. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, January 2, 1907.
British Rule in India through educated young Muhammadans who had joined it for want of a confederacy such as he proposed and hoped that they would join his association which would give them opportunity and scope for public life.

The manifesto of the Nawab of Dacca had mixed reaction in the press. The Aussalaan of Calcutta condemned it in no uncertain terms. It wrote that the sole object and purpose of the Muhammadan confederacy would be 'to support all measures emanating from the Government, and further to controvert the growing influence of the so-called Indian National Congress.' It pointed out that the tone of the whole manifesto was not only rude to the Hindus, but also to the leaders of the Muslim community. Regarding the charge that young educated Muslims had joined the Congress for want of a Muslim association, the paper disclosed that the Aussalaans who had thrown in their lot with the Congress had done so because they believed, rightly or wrongly, that they would thereby serve the interest of their country and community. 'They expect no decoration nor any place of honour and emolument', it continued, 'and there is no reason to question their sincerity of purpose.' The paper believed that the Nawab's proposal was

114. The Pioneer, December 15, 1906, Article, 'Nawab of Dacca's Scheme.'

115. The Aussalaan, December 21, 1906, Article 'The Nawab of Dacca and Muhammadan Confederacy.'
disgraceful to the Muhammadan community and felt convinced that no self-respecting Mussalman would favour it. The Bengalee also criticised the scheme vehemently and believed that the Muslims would not accept the proposed confederacy. The Pioneer and the Englishman supported the scheme of Muslim confederacy and stressed on 'an authoritarian medium for the expression of their views.'

The Nawab of Dacca in his letter dated April 21, 1906 drew the attention of Mohsin-ul-Mulk to the educationally backward Muslim community of Bengal and begged him to invite the All-India Muhammadan Educational Conference to hold its annual session in December at Dacca. Since it was accepted he also desired that the concluding session of the Conference might be turned into a political gathering so as to facilitate the formation of the Muslim League.

But, before any definite decision could be reached Mohsin-ul-Mulk issued a notice mentioning that the Muhammadan Educational Conference had nothing to do with politics and if there was to be any political discussion it could be only

116. Ibid.
118. The Times, October 6, 1906.
after the session of the Conference. Those interested in
the formation of a political association would have to make
separate arrangements and that the members of the Conference
were debarred from moving any political resolution during the
proceedings of the Conference. The Muhammadan Educational
Conference being over, on December 30, 1906 several hundred
gentlemen assembled at Dacca to discuss the scheme of 'Muslim
Confederacy' proposed by Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca.
Moulvi Mushtaq Husain, popularly known as Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk,
was voted to the chair. In his presidential address, Nawab
Viqar-ul-Mulk said, 'Times and circumstances made it necessary
for Mohammedans to unite in an association so as to make their
voice heard above the din of other vociferous parties in
India across the wide sea to England.' He admitted that the
Indian Congress was serving the country, but regretted its
demand for the withdrawal of British from India; their revolu-
cutionary methods of attaining the objects; their harsh and
ill-worded speeches against the British. "The political out-
look of India", he emphasised, "was full of peril. At the
present moment the air was full of thunder. The Mohammedans,

120. The Aligarh Institute Gazette, November 28, 1906, See
article 'All India Muhomedan Educational Conference and
Politics.'

121. The Englishman, December 31, 1906.

122. Ibid., See also Vqar-e-Hayat, op.cit., pp. 675-6.
whilst uniting and making their carefully considered wants heard must maintain sanity and courtesy. The more revolu-
tionary tendencies now rife in the country should be condemned
and discouraged by all, and their watch word should be "Defence
not Definance." Thereafter the Nawab of Dacca, introducing
his Scheme, said that there was a special necessity for in-
creased political activity on the part of the Muslim community,
as only those who cried loudest had a chance of being heard.
The Moslems therefore were forced against their own wishes
to abandon the traditional policy in order ...... to avoid the
danger of their interests being neglected. Then he put a
resolution to the vote of the assembly:

'Resolved that this meeting composed of Muslims from
all parts of India assembled at Dacca decided that a Political
Association be formed, styled All-India Muslim League, for the
furtherance of the following objects:

'(a) to promote, among the Muslims of India, feelings
of loyalty to the British Government, and to remove any mis-
conception that may arise as to the intention of the Government
with regard to any of its measures.

'(b) to protect and advance the political rights and
interests of the Muslims of India, and to respectfully

123. Ibid.
124. The Englishman, December 21, 1907.
represent their needs and aspirations to the Government;

'(c) to prevent the rise, among the Muslims of India, of any feeling of hostility towards other communities, without prejudice to the other aforesaid objects of the League.'

The resolution was supported by Hakim Ajaal Khan (1863-1928), Maulana Zafar Ali Khan (1873-1953), Sh. Abdullah (1874-1965) and Maulana Muhammad Ali along with a number of others. Thus the foundation of the Muslim League, which was to play a vital role in this country, was laid. Describing the movement

125. Ibid.

126. A great Hakim by profession and the Government of India conferred on him the title of Hazlq-ul-Mulk (1907), which he renounced on Gandhi's call for Non-Cooperation movement, 1921; a Member of Simla Deputation and also participated in Dacca Conference, presided Congress session, supported Muhammad Ali's Jamia Millia programme, a staunch nationalist.

127. Graduated from M.A.O. College, 1896; worked as Secretary to Mohsin-ul-Mulk, took editorship of the Zamindar, 1909 and through it soon emerged as a national leader, took active part in Khilafat Movement; a staunch pan-Islamist.

128. Graduated from M.A.O. College, took interests in Women's welfare and education; started Girls High School at Aligarh, 1906, which developed into women's College. Closely associated with the Aligarh Muslim University; awarded LL.D. by Aligarh University, 1950, and Padam Bhushan, 1964, by the Government of India.
for the foundation of an All-Indian Muslim League, Dr. Mati-ur-Rahman rightly says that it 'did not introduce any new element in Indian politics except that the movers had certain specific political ends in view and that they sought to integrate the numerous existing Muslim associations into one central body and to form new associations on the model, more or less, of the existing ones. Even the movement for a central organisation was not an innovation. The Central National Mahomedan Association with its fifty-three branches in different parts of the country can, in a limited sense, be called the first central organisation of the Muslims in India. If Ameer Ali's plan for the All-India Mahomedan Convention had been successful then the Indian Muslims would have got their real and full-fledged all-India political party as early as 1888.'

A provisional committee consisting of 66 members, to frame the constitution of the League with Viqar-ul-Mulk and Mohsin-ul-Mulk as joint Secretaries was set up. They were also authorised to convene a meeting of the representative of the Muslims to approve the constitution thus framed within four months.

In the formation of Muslim League the critics see a force which was to oppose the Indian National Congress.


131. Lal Bahadur in his The Muslim League says. 'It was with
Undoubtedly the circular letter issued by the non-Muslim Private Secretary of Nawab Salimullah Khan contained the idea that a Muslim political institution should be established to oppose the Congress. Nevertheless, men like the strong-willed Nawab Vizar-ul-Mulk were not travelling to Dacca to found a League to oppose the Congress. When he asked those who accompanied him on the steamer about the views expressed in the Circular Letter sent in the name of Nawab Sir Salimullah, everyone of them had repudiated the idea. Nawab Vizar-ul-Mulk, Aazhar-ul-Haq (1866-1930), Syed Hasan Imam (1871-1933),

(Continued footnote from the previous page)

132. Belonged to a wealthy family of landholders of Patna; called to the Bar, 1891 and practised at Chappra, Bihar; a staunch nationalist and one of the organisers of the Bihar Provincial Conference; organised Home Rule movement in Bihar, assisted Gandhi in Champaran Satyagraha, 1917; presided League's session at Bombay, 1915; backed Khilafat and Non-Co-operation movements and gave up his roaring practice.

133. The younger brother of Sir Ali Imam; joined Middle Temple, 1889; campaigned actively for Dadabhoy Naoroji during general election in England, 1891; started practice at Calcutta High Court and became its Judge, 1912-16; a great nationalist and presided special session of the Congress at Bombay, 1918, a member of Khilafat delegation sent by Congress to London.
Syed Wazir Hasan (1872 - 1947), Syed Nabiullah, Syed Zahoor Ahaad and others set about drafting the manifesto of the League and they soon were able to win over Nawab Sir Salisullah Khan, on their side. No one can for a moment say that Mazzhar-ul-Haq and Syed Sharfuddin could be a Party to the formation of Muslim League to oppose the Congress and fight with the Hindus. (There are a number of speeches on record of the leaders of Muslim community who participated in

134. Graduated from the A.A.O. College; joined Bar and was appointed a Judicial Commissioner of Oudh, 1920 and acted as Chief Judge of Oudh, 1930-34; joined League, 1907 and functioned as its General Secretary 1912-1919; strove hard for Congress-League rapprochement; presided League's session, 1936; joined Congress when Jinnah expelled him from Muslim League, 1937.

135. Graduated from Aligarh College; returned from England after having Bar-at-Law, 1885; practised Law, founder member of the All-India Muslim League, died in 1925.


137. Hon'ble Justice Sharfuddin opposed the clause for 'minority protection' in Bradlaugh Bill introduced in the House of Commons and said that Hindus and Muslims were alike. See Chapter I p.36.

the formation of the Muslim League revealing their unbiased and non-communal approach to the problems. What they desired was the safety of their educationally and economically backward community. 

Akhshin-ul-Mulk, the organiser of the Siala deputation, was not anti-Hindu. He made many speeches, condemning the Press which was exciting the feelings of one community against the other. In a speech made at the death anniversary of Sir Syed he emphasised that the differences on one point should not lead to difference on all points and condemned the tactics of men who tried to set Hindus and Muslims against each other. (The formation of the All-India Muslim League was the result of a number of factors—Shivaji-Afazal Khan controversy, Ganapati festival, Urdu-Hindi skirmishes, agitation against the partition of Bengal, the announcement of the proposed reforms in the councils, the rise of literary percentage among the Muslims due to A.A.O. College, awakening them from the ages of slumber. It was therefore no mushroom growth but was the inevitable outcome of the political consciousness among the Muslims created by the Aligarh Movement. It was not a negative proposal for estrangement from the Hindu community but a positive assertion of their rights.

139. See Aligarh Institute Gazette, April 4, 1906; See also Jamaluddin Ahmad, 'Evolution of the Concept of Pakistan', Journal of the Pakistan Historical Society, January 1968, p. 33.

140. The Tribune, April 18, 1906.
The impression sought to be created in Hindu mind by interested parties was most illogical and at times mischievous. The Muslim League was not intended to be a precursor or harbinger of Hindu-Muslim disunity but to function as a channel of political communication between the Muslims and the British on the one hand and the politically-minded organisations on the other. It was very unfortunate that the Muslim League played a disruptive role in later years.

The first session of the All-India Muslim League was convened at Karachi on December 29-30, 1907. Delegates from all over the country attended it and it was presided over by Sir Adamjee Peerbhoy (1845-1913), a distinguished merchant of Bombay. He had expressed his surprise on the wide reception of the Muslim League all over India and appealed to the Muslims to 'discard sectional jealousies and personal animosities', 'work shoulder to shoulder' for 'a young movement' to make it 'a mighty structure.' It was in this session that the Constitution of the Muslim League was finally approved. But some points of importance remained untouched, and therefore, a special meeting of the Muslim League was called to meet on March 18 and 19, 1908 in Aligarh at the residence of Nawab

141. Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, op.cit., p. 18.
(later Sir) Muzammillullah Khan, presided over by Justice Muhammad Shah Din. This meeting of the League demanded the appointment of a Muhammadan Judge to each of the high courts and chief courts of the country; a proper share in appointments to various branches of the public service; adequate representation of Muhammadans as a distinct community in the Legislative Councils both Imperial and Provincials and also on Municipal, District and Local Boards, throughout the country; safeguarding of Muhammadan educational interests by securing their due representation on the syndicates and senates of the Indian Universities, etc. Unluckily, in the Punjab the League within the first year of its foundation, got divided into two factions led by Mian (later Sir) Muhammad Shafi and Mian (later Sir) Fazl-e-Hussain respectively. But in the above session unity was restored and this was a great achievement otherwise the danger was that the all India

142. Received oriental education but got mastery over English; supporter of the Aligarh Movement and Trustee of the A.I.O. College, and later Vice-Chancellor of Muslim University, K.C.S.I.; House Member of the U.P. Government 1930.


144. Ibid., Resolution 2.

145. Ibid., Resolution 3.

146. Ibid., Resolution 4.
character of the League might have been destroyed. In this session the Aga Khan was elected permanent President. Nawab-Vigar-ul-ululk who was the Secretary of League resigned because he took over as the Honorary Secretary of the A.A.O.College Aligarh and was replaced by Major Syed Hasan Bilgrami and Haji Muhammad Musa Khan as Secretary and Joint Secretary respectively.

The progress, made by the new born League was substantial. Its influence increased by leaps and bounds, but it was realised that to gain something substantial for the Muslims it was essential to form a favourable public opinion in England also. In this respect the League followed the line of the Congress by opening a branch in London. The time was opportune because of the presence of Rt. Hon’ble Syed Ameer Ali and Hon’ble Syed Hasain Bilgrami being there as the members

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147. Younger brother of Liaad-ul-dulk Syed Hussain Bilgrami and Syed Ali Bilgrami; studied, medicine at London and served Indian Army; presided Muhammadan Educational Conference at Lucknow, 1912.

148. A great supporter of the Aligarh movement; one of the originator of the idea of Muslim Political Association; Honorary Secretary to All-India Muslim League, joined Khilafat Movement and helped Muhammad Ali in founding Jamia Milla.

149. Tufail Ahmad Manglori, op. cit., p.366.

of the India Council. On May 6, 1908 the London branch of
the All-India Muslim League was inaugurated at the Caxton
Hall, Westminster in a meeting attended by a large number of
Indian Muslims residing in England. In the course of his
inaugural address, Syed Ameer Ali, the President of the branch,
said that it was the first gathering of the King's Muslim
subjects in the metropolis of the British Empire. Great
changes had occurred in India, and the Muslim community had
awakened to the fact that the attainment of its ideals and
the recognition of its rights rested upon its own collective
exertions. He stressed that the Muslims, had their own
particular interests and could not strive for the attainment
of their ideal under the aegis of any organisation other than
their own.

The second annual session of the League was convened at
Amritsar in December 1908. Syed (later Sir) Ali Imam (1869-

151. The objects of the London All-India Muslim League were:

(a) To promote concord and harmony among the different
nationalities of India.
(b) To work in the furtherance of the general interests
of India so far as possible in harmony and concert
with other Indian communities.
(c) To safeguard and prosecute, by all constitutional
and loyal methods, the special interests of the
Muslim subjects of the British Crown.
(d) To expound in the United Kingdom of Great Britain
and Ireland the legitimate views and feelings of
the Muslims of India. (See Rules of the London
All-India Muslim League 1915) p.1.

152. The Pioneer, May 27, 1908; See article 'Indian Moslems'.
1932), presided over the deliberations. In his presidential address he tried to convince the League's critics that theirs was 'not a mission narrowed down to self-seeking and sectarian aggression' but it was to overcome sectarian aggressiveness, and to rise above prejudice based on diversity of races, religions and languages, and to alter the alarming conditions of violent intellectual disparity among the people of India.

He assured stalwart leaders of the Indian National Congress as Sir Pherozshah Mehta, Dr. Gokhale and Dr. Rash Behari Ghose that 'The creed of the All-India Muslim League is cooperation with the rulers, cooperation with our non-Muslim countrymen and solidarity among ourselves.' The session is important because of the Government of India's reform proposal. Henceforth the League embarked upon a vigorous campaign for achieving the system of separate electorate.

153. Educated at Patna and was called to the Bar, 1890; appointed Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor-General, 1910; Knighted, 1910; C.S.I., 1911 and K.C.S.I., 1914; a linguist having knowledge of Arabic, Persian, Urdu, English and French; supported the Separate Electorate for Muslims but emphasised the basic political unity of India; presided League Session at Amritsar, 1900; Judge of Patna High Court, 1917; Chief Minister of Hyderabad, 1919; nominated as the first Indian representative to sit at the first meeting of the League of Nations, 1920.


155. Ibid.

156. Ibid.
This movement was looked upon with suspicion and was dubbed as communal and unpatriotic in approach. The *Dawn* magazine of Calcutta, saw in the educational and political activities of the Mussalman an attempt at the political rehabilitation of Islam and the establishment of its ascendancy as a world-power. The *Bengalee* and the *Punjabee* also later on fastened upon the cue supplied by the *Dawn* and charged the League for establishing an 'Islamic Swaraj' with its centre in London. Such unfounded notions were immediately refuted and Maulana Muhammad Ali assured them that the aspirations of the Indian Mussalman as those of any healthy community desirous of sharing the vast intellectual heritage of the world, to live and act as patriotic Indians and work for a nationality of which they would be a component.'

After the formation of the Muslim League a country-wide controversy — "Mohamedan first and Indian afterwards" or "Indian first and Mohamedan afterwards" — dominated the Press for some time. Since the Muslim League was looked upon as a communal body it was presumed that the Muslims supporting it were Muslim first and they had no love for India or its people. But this alleged conflict of views was more apparent than real and both the propositions were true but in an altogether


different sense. Politically and economically the Muslims were Indians first and Muslims afterwards. Spiritually and morally they were Muslims first and Indian afterwards. The Muslim Press made it absolutely clear and asserted that "Economic and Political problems are so intertwined together, that they cannot be separated. Even looking at political questions from the economic point of view we find that they have the same vital importance for the Mohammedans as for the Hindus. It is our economical and political situation that makes all of us Indian and so far as we have to live our practical lives we are Indian first and Mohammadan afterwards."

"A close cooperation between the Hindus and Muslims was considered to be most indispensable for the future prosperity of the country and for unanimous political attainment. Everywhere the League extended the hands of union and strengthened the already existing relation between the two. Mahboob Alam, the editor of the Paisa Akhbar, wrote: 'It is not necessary that Hindus and Mohammedans should agree on all conceivable points of their religious, moral, social and political belief to become friends .... A sort of mutual understanding can be arrived at after removing certain points of friction ... Unless a better understanding is brought about on several other than political questions it is impossible that the gulf can be

159. The Mussalman, December 14, 1906.
bridged to any satisfaction." He suggested a conference to be called to discuss the points of divergence between the two communities like the apportionment of Government patronage on State service, the language question like the Urdu - Nagri controversy, religious controversies and others. To him, his co-religionists after a stay of 700 years in India were as much natives of the country as the followers of Hinduism.

The Ùussalman also wrote that it was a matter of great gratification that Muslims had taken up the question of Hindu-Muslim unity with great earnestness and most fervid enthusiasm. He pointed out that the Muslims were always prepared to live at amity with their neighbours and were alive to the advantages of union with the Hindus. At Lyallpur in a meeting of agriculturalists all Ùussalmans present in the meeting registered a vow never to slaughter Kine at their festivals, while the Hindus and the Sikhs promised no longer to hurt Muslim feelings. 'If each community surrenders' the paper suggested, 'as a matter of compromise, some of the privileges obnoxious to the other, the way for a mutual rapprochement will be practically cleared of all obstacles.'

160. Cited in Ùussalman, January 18, 1907.
161. The Ùussalman, February 22, 1907.
162. Ibid.
163. Ibid.
The Punjabee also followed in the same tracks. It mentioned that whatever be the programme of the Muslim League, the Nawab of Dacca and the ideals of the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, the ultimate salvation of India lay in a close union of Hindus and Muslims. It believed that it was only through such a union that the selfish policy of Anglo-India could be defeated and only such a union could prevent the foreigners, playing off one Indian community against another.

Mr. Gokhale also expressed a similar view in a lecture on the 'Hindu Muslim Problem' at Lucknow. Referring to the fears that induced the Mussalmans to keep away from politics, he said that the basis of the future growth of India was not religious but national. Aohsin-ul-Mulk also exhorted both the communities to unite and live in unison. In days gone by, he said, 'when India was unaware of western civilization and its values the Hindus and Mahomedans were so united that excepting in religious matters, there appeared no estrangement or alienation of feelings. One used to love the other and vice-versa.' He held the western education responsible for racial hostility and communal feeling and appealed to both the Hindus and Muslims to eschew sectarian approach to problems related to India and its people.

164. Cited in the Mussalman, May 3, 1907. See also the Alhaq 165. The Mussalman, February 15, 1907. 166. The Muslim Patriot, April 11, 1907.
The outcome of all these exhortations was a close amity between the Hindus and Muslims. Countless conferences of both communities were convened to drop differences. (Leaders like Gokhale and Babu Aavika Charan Hazumdar (1850-1922) addressed the Muslims to work in harmony with the Hindus for their common motherland. It was due to all these efforts that there did not arise any serious conflict between Hindus and Muslims over the formation and functioning of the League. Indeed it was not uncommon for Muslims to retain membership of both the League and the Congress. Jinnah was a case in point. It was only later on that the interaction of several political and social factors brought about a general and irreconcilable schism between the two communities. For the present, the League merely represented the growing awareness of the Muslims of their identity, to preserve which it was necessary for them to retain the monolithic character of their community in all matters.

167. The Muslim Patriot, May 10, 1907.

168. Took his M.A. and B.L.degrees in 1857 and 1878 respectively from Presidency College Calcutta; one of the prominent leaders of Bengal in the nationalist movement; opposed the partition of Bengal, presided over Bengal Provincial Conference Calcutta, 1910; presided over the Congress deliberation of 31 Session at Lucknow, 1916; wrote Indian National Evolution, 1916.

169. The Mussalman, May 18, 1907.

170. Muhammad Ali Jinnah (1876-1948). Educated at Karachi and London; called to the Bar from the Lincoln's Inn in 1896; took active part in politics since 1916; came to be known as Qaid-e-Azam (the Great Leader) for his services to the